SHADES OF GREY

NATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHY AND ALTERNATIVE HISTORIES

THE INFLUENCE OF CONVENTION AND FRAMING
ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF PHOTOGRAPHIC NARRATIVES
SURROUNDING THE 1945-1949 'POLICE ACTIONS' IN INDONESIA

MA THESIS

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CONTENTS

FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS, I WAS UNABLE TO INCLUDE ANY PHOTOGRAPHIC MATERIAL IN THIS VERSION. ALL PHOTOGRAPHS CAN BE FOUND IN THEIR RESPECTIVE ARCHIVES, AND MANY CAN BE VIEWED ONLINE.

PREFACE

Last year, my grandmother gave me a gift. As my father and I sipped our coffees in her living room, she headed upstairs and returned with an old Yashica Electro 35 camera, complete with extra lenses and an external flash. I had never known my grandfather was a photographer, then again, I had never known much about my grandfather at all. A few months later, towards the end of my BA program, I asked her if she still had any old photographs. She returned with a briefcase full of photographs; some in which she was still a little girl, some in colour, taken only shortly before my grandfather passed away. Instantly however, I found myself most intrigued by the classic studio portraits that were among them. On the way home in the car I kept asking my father if he knew who the people in the pictures were. One had a name written on it: "Johnny", and on the back it read "Un souvenir d'un copain du Canada" followed by a full name and address in Canada. My father told me that my grandfather had fought with Canadian soldiers during the Second World War and that they had become close friends. Looking more closely at the portrait of my grandfather, I could see that he was wearing the same Canadian military uniform as "Johnny" even though he was Dutch. As it turns out, my grandfather had hoped to join his Canadian friends on their way back to Canada after the war, to start a new life there, but his father had forbidden it, and so he stayed and eventually met my grandmother. If it had not been for the writing on the photograph, this story of friendship would have surely been forgotten once my grandmother and father could no longer pass it on. As photographs move from personal collections into national archives, the stories that accompany them are often lost. All that is left is an old piece of paper, a faded image displaced from its origins, absorbed into the national collective memory of the time they represent. As they move in and out of different collections, they gain and lose their frames of reference and in turn, acquire new significance and meaning. By studying this creation and recreation of frames and meanings, we can come to conclusions not only about the construction of a national memory, but about the construction of photographic conventions, frames and alternative histories.

I would like to thank Liesbeth Ouwehand and Fridus Steylen at the KITLV, Freek Baars at Spaarnestad Photo, Elwin Hendrikse at the Nationaal Archief, and Otto Groot at the NIMH for their time and effort in helping me navigate the field and providing me with essential contextual information surrounding the archives and their collections. I would also like to thank Jan G and Jan S for opening their homes and sharing their personal stories with me, Tess Altman for being everything I am not and for believing in me, and Patricia Spyer for her guidance and criticism where I needed it.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my grandmother, in memory of her late husband, my grandfather, Piet Bulters.

INTRODUCTION

"Photographs never reach us in an unmediated or 'pure' state:
they are both embedding frames and embedded in frames" -P. Bijl.

This research project has developed from two personal interests of mine coming together. Initially, I became interested in old war photography as my grandmother presented me with a collection of photographs taken by my late grandfather. Looking through the photographs, I discovered that they told a story different than any I had previously heard about the war. Most striking to me were the portrait photograph of my grandfather, a Dutch man, wearing a Canadian uniform and the accompanying portrait of a Canadian soldier signed "Johnny". I realized at this point that more than half the story told by this photograph was on the back of it, rather than contained in the image printed on the front. Although I had never been interested in any particular aspect of war, I became intrigued by the alternative narratives hidden in these photographs, in the subtleties of their images, and in the forgotten scribbles on their backs. Secondly, as I began to explore the possibility of researching war photography and familiarized myself with the literature on the subject of the photograph, I encountered arguments that inspired me to question the dominance of written and spoken text in the methodological tradition of anthropology. Freek Baars at Spaarnestad Photo explained to me that the debate surrounding the importance of images also plays among historians and is therefore not limited to anthropology. As a photographer and filmmaker, I wanted to find out if images really can speak louder, more extensively, or perhaps just differently than words. The coming together of these two interests has led me on a mostly epistemological journey, in which I have primarily sought to change the way anthropologists and anthropological methodologies handle visual materials.

All together, this project was constructed around two questions that have shaped both the process and outcome significantly, I will explain why. Firstly, I set out to answer a single question that brought together anthropological theory with my area of interest: the movement of war photography in and out of personal and national collections and the narratives associated with them. This research question is; how do photographic conventions and frames contribute to the construction of a national photographic canon and alternative histories? I set out to answer this question by looking at and analyzing several photographic collections. As I oriented myself in the local archives, it became clear to me that the largest and most accessible photographic collections were of the "Police Actions" that took place after World War 2, therefore I have shifted my focus to that period.

"Police Actions" is the term originally attributed to the military operations carried out between 1945 and 1949, designed by the Dutch government to regain control of the Indies, a Dutch colony that had been lost to Japanese occupation during WW2. In 1945, following the turbulent times of the war, Soekarno, the leader of the Indonesian Nationalist Party, declared Indonesia an independent state.

The period that followed, now known as Bersiap (be ready), was the most period in the formation of the Indonesian state. For the Indonesian people, the period marks the confirmation of their national identities. As the English came to the realization that their mission was bound to fail and the Japanese struggled to "keep the violent nationalists in check" and were eventually forced to surrender. With the young and radical Indonesian Nationalists as a new common enemy, the Dutch were forced to remain in their camps, and the Japanese were now in charge of keeping their former enemy safe from the "Pemudas" as they waited for allied forces to arrive. Sukarno was able to spread his ideology of a sovereign Indonesian state throughout Java and Sumatra, the two main islands of the Indonesian archipelago. As they continued to attack Japanese weapon supplies, the Indonesian Nationalists became a substantial military force. By the time the first British boats arrived in Batavia, the capitol was already controlled by the Nationalists, the city streets covered in English-language anti-Dutch graffiti slogans, and the British were forced to join the Republicans. On October 2nd, Dutch officials returned to Batavia to form a temporary government, but the British did not allow them to dispatch military forces on a large scale. To avoid an impending colonial war, the British forced the Dutch to enter into negotiations with Soekarno but the situation escalated so far that the British eventually retreated all together in 1946, and the Dutch began their first attempt at restoring order.

On March 25th in 1947 the Indonesian Republic and the Netherlands came to an agreement now called the "Linggajati agreement", in which they agreed upon the impending formation of the Indonesian state. It didn't take long, however, for the two parties to disagree on the details in the agreement, and the Indonesians demanded more sovereignty than the Dutch were prepared to give. The Dutch government responded on July 21st, 1947 with a large scale, two part military action designed to restore Dutch control in the major economic areas of the archipelago. It did not take them long to regain control over the major cities, businesses and industrial sites on Java and Sumatra as the Indonesian nationalists' armed forces did not compare to the Dutch. Pressured by international politics, on the 5th of August the Dutch seized military action and the Round Table Convention began in The Hague, which eventually led to the official (overdracht) of sovereignty on December 27th 1949.

These military operations were not defined as war by the Dutch government and media, presented to the public as a "humanitarian mission", aimed at protecting the local population. The Dutch argued they were there to "restore domestic order, [and] the attacks were denoted under mitigated terms" (Kok, 2009: 6). At the Cineblend film and debate evening themed "Rawagede and the Police Actions in the Dutch East-Indies", Martin Elands (military historian at the Veterans Institute) described the period: "These were not 'police actions', this was a four year long guerilla war" (Elands, 07/02/2012). He added that, even though Indonesia had already declared their own independence in 1945, because the Dutch government considered this an internal affair, it could not be defined as war. Although there was never an official declaration of war, and the Dutch downplayed their aggressive role in the

war that ultimately lead to the liberation and independence of Indonesia, the Police Actions are now commonly recognized as the "Colonial War".

To study the photographic conventions and frames that accompany the photographic representation of this colonial war, I examined a large selection of photographs included in four of the largest national archive collections on the subject (KITLV, Spaarnestad Photo, Nationaal Archief, NIMH), newspaper archives (Koninklijke Bibliotheek), and personal photo albums kept by veterans. Throughout my search, I focused primarily on the two aspects of the photographs that are essential to the analysis of photographic conventions and frames: what was photographed, what was not, and how are the photographs presented? In order to fully understand the complexities of photographic conventions and processes of framing, it is necessary to outline several theoretical debates surrounding the materiality of photographs and national remembrance, which I will introduce later on in this introduction.

As I engulfed myself with material sources, and familiarized myself with the anthropological debates surrounding materiality and photographs, another important question arose. To what extent can photographs serve as a methodological tool in anthropological research? This question became more relevant as my fieldwork progressed. I encountered setbacks in my search for respondents to interview, and was left with only four interviews to support my other findings. This limited selection of personal accounts has forced me to rely more substantially on the photographic collections I viewed than I had initially anticipated. For this reason, my conclusions on the construction of a national narrative surrounding the Police Actions through photographic collections are of a limited nature, as I was unable to gain enough insight into the motivations behind collecting and interacting with photographs. This methodological turn has however allowed me to better understand the value, as well as the limitations, of photographs as a methodological tool. Thus, the understanding of the epistemological properties of photographs and therefore the theoretical and methodological backgrounds, have taken the foreground in this thesis.

THE VALUE OF THE IMAGE

The debate surrounding the use of both archives and audio-visual media in anthropological methodologies has interested me since I first began studying media and material culture, though I had been under the impression that the debates surrounding the value of images and visual archives in research was relatively new. Although Margaret Meade used photography as a form of data collection and presentation in the 1930's, her research was concerned primarily with the production of such visual sources by the ethnographer. Photography as produced by those observed has received hardly as much attention as the image produced by the ethnographer; the image was presented as a methodological tool, rather than a kind of source material. However, I found that G.W. Ovink pointed out the importance of these visual sources and their contents back in 1958. "The magazine should be

exploited more as a source of knowledge about history. Secondly, we must study magazines as a method for the propagation of concepts, knowledge, moral ideologies, human rights, practical patterns of behavior" (Hemels, J & Vegt, R, 1997: 158). Sadly, many theorists are still arguing for the recognition of images as more than a secondary or supplementary source as visual sources have not yet found their way into widespread mainstream anthropological methodology. The big difference between Meade's work and Ovink's argument is that the latter treats the image as an object, a material representation of cultural processes. Arjun Appadurai first described objects as "things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context" and anthropologists "need to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories" (Appadurai, 1986: 5). Elizabeth Edwards now argues for the recognition of photographs as three dimensional objects with social lives. Edwards writes that the "materiality of photographs takes two broad and interrelated forms" (Edwards, 2004: 3): firstly, the plasticity of the image itself, and secondly, their presentational forms. She argues that materiality is closely connected to social biography, which she also calls a "recent turn in anthropology over the years" (Edwards, 2004: 4). In order to use photography as a material source in research, we must approach them as an object: multi-dimensional, tangible and circulating in a wider context, all of which influence the greater meaning and purpose a photograph serves.

Karen Strassler recognizes the material nature of photographs as a significant component in the construction of identities because "everyday encounters with photographs entangle widely shared visions with affectively charged personal narratives and memories" (Strassler, 2010: 23) and they give "visual and tangible form to national subjects, spaces and narratives" (Strassler, 2010: 13) that are otherwise abstract. What people do with photographs in the now is not only a reflection of current social behaviors, but also a reflection of how people connect to the past. Without photographs, it would become significantly more difficult to stay connected to our heritage. In *Photography's Other Histories*, Tsinhnahjinnie describes the photograph as "a message in a bottle, or like a seed: an object transmitted to the future, ready at any moment to burst forth" (Pinney, 2006: 5). According to the editor of *Photography's Other Histories* , Christopher Pinney, "It is cultural practice that is the true motor of photography" (Pinney, 2006: 14), "photographs are necessarily contrived and reflect the culture that produces them" (Pinney, 2006: 7). Photographs can therefore act as valuable sources of embedded information about social conventions, provided that their contexts and biographies are preserved. Not only anthropologists are speaking up about this. Both Elwin Hendrikse at the National Archive and his colleague Freek Baars from Spaarestad Photo recognize the importance of context and materiality, as do many others working with objects and archives.

Although these archivists and historians are working hard to preserve collections, archivists have told me that budget-cuts and lack of space have forced archives to be selective, and many photographs, negatives, film-rolls and glass-plates have been thrown away. Similarly, the origin of photographs:

where they were taken, by whom and for what purpose, have not always been recorded. Many archives are unable to trace the origins of their material, and cannot even trace back by whom, why and when notations were made on the back since their acquisition. Christopher Pinney argues that "photography lives in many cultural worlds … the presence and nature of specific subjects/persons and the ways in which they can act, as well as the possibilities that have for representation and identity" (Pinney, 2003: 6) are not a given. As photographs pass through many people's hands, they are marked with notations, folds and scratches. Like scars on an old man's hands; every indentation, every tear, every marking, tells the story of a material biography uncompleted. Clearly, anthropologists know that to truly understand the lives of photographs, as well as the lives of archives, we must document their transformations carefully, but to achieve that we must first understand, accept and appreciate their value as objects with social lives in the present, rather than static images that capture the past. Unfortunately, this theory has not made the transformation into widespread practice, and more and more information is lost adding to that which was simply never recorded.

FRAMING

Of all the physical aspects that contribute to the meaning of a photograph, I have opted to focus on the presentational forms in which images are experienced by audiences. I have identified four genres in which photographs of the 'police actions' circulate: publication, personal, archive and reflection, which consequently form the ethnographic chapters of this paper. Each genre is subject to different conventions, which form a frame which influences the way photographs are both presented and viewed. These frames form the most significant factors acting on the communicational properties of the photographs. By juxtaposing the genres and outlining their specific differences, I hope to present the effects of framing most effectively and efficiently. According to Paulus Bijl, "photographs never reach us in an unmediated or 'pure' state: they are both embedding frames and embedded in frames" (Bijl, 2011). Photographs do not simply capture a moment that has passed, but experience a social biography during which they are continuously semanticized and related to the past, present and future. The way in which photographs are kept is influenced by the purpose they serve. "Framing thereby indicates the process through which the photograph gains meaning in the interaction with its contextual surroundings"(Bijl, 2011).

Most of the photographs of the Police Actions that were published were taken by photographers working directly for the Dienst voor Leger Contacten (DLC). The DLC was founded on the 1st of April 1947. The earlier service, the Leger Voorlichtingsdienst was hereafter included under the DLC. Besides the production and selection of the majority of (audio-) visual material taken of the Police Actions, the DLC was to handle all technical, design and styling aspects of all publications and visual and audio expressions. This means that any photographs, captions, articles, films, announcements, radio broadcasts, press-releases or speeches needed to be screened and pre-approved by the DLC; the interests of the military permeated every form of journalism and propaganda surrounding their

activities in the East. I will elaborate on the role of the DLC in the production, and publication of photographs in Chapter 1, where I discuss the official photographic material that was published between 1945 and 1949.

Several large press agencies also had photographers in the field. Spaarnestad Publishers had one specific photographer working for them, Hugo Wilmars. His photographs were published in the magazines published by Spaarnestad, the two most prominent of which are *Panorama* and *Katholieke Illustratie*, as well as distributed to other publishers both nationally and internationally. I will elaborate on the Spaarnestad publications in Chapter 1. ANP (General Dutch Press) and ABC Press also had photographers working in the field. It is unknown whether these photographers were subject to the DLC censorship, although it is likely that they often relied on the military to ship their negatives to the Netherlands. Freek Baars at Spaarnestad Photo explained to me that there is no documentation available on the extent of the DLC censorship and whether press photos were subjected to the same treatment as photos that were property of the DLC. "Photos marked ABC Press service arrived at Spaarnestad publishing via the American, British or French routes" and never passed through the Dutch official networks. However, there was also a lot of self-censorship happening, rooted in the Dutch sense of Nationalism: "right or wrong, my country" (Groot, 1991: 111).

Almost all other photographs were taken by soldiers for personal use; to send to family members back home and to be glued in a family photo album. The kinds of photographs produced by the DLC are vastly different from those produced by soldiers for personal reasons, which can be attributed to the stark differences in intent and convention when photographing for personal versus official use. To what extent do photographic conventions contribute to the construction of the frames in which these photographs are presented? I will further address the role of photographic convention, specifically in relation to family albums, in Chapter 2 where I discuss the photographs in the personal photo albums of several Dutch veterans.

The archive collections discussed in Chapter 3 are a combination of the previously published photographs taken for the DLC and their unpublished counterparts. These archives include the original prints sent to publishers by photographers, some of which were marked "not for publication" and some of which were marked with the name, issue and page numbers and publication dates of the magazines they appeared in. By comparing the original prints to those that appeared in the publications, I was able to discover some evidence of censorship, most commonly in the form of touch-ups and cropping. Also included in some of these archives are photographs selected by archivists from personal collections and even whole sets of personal albums. The archive collections represent the reframing of photographs, as they move from one genre to another and gain new significance and meaning in the process. This process is especially important in my research as it gives insight into the effect of the frame a photograph is presented in on the meaning and value attributed

to that photograph. Are these photographs able to transcend their original genres, and as they resurface within a new frame, do their narratives shift accordingly?

According to Edwards, "an object cannot be fully understood at any single point in its existence but should be understood as belonging in a continuing process of production, exchange, usage and meaning" (Edwards, 2004: 4). Hypothetically, photographs first produced by the DLC during the Police Actions may have served a specific purpose at that time, but can resurface in an archive several decades later and serve a new purpose, and gain new meaning as they are adopted and enmeshed into a new frame of representation. Pinney argues similarly, that "photography lives in many cultural worlds … the presence and nature of specific subjects/persons and the ways in which they can act, as well as the possibilities that have for representation and identity" (Pinney, 2003: 6) are not a given. Values ascribed to photographs are only momentarily fixed and continuously subject to change, depending on the frame in which they are presented. Moreover, "everyday encounters with photographs entangle widely shared visions with effectively charged personal narratives and memories" (Strassler, 2010: 23). Taking this as my premise, I expected to find that the National narratives attributed to these photographs in their early life are adapted and reinterpreted as they become part of new collections over time. To what extent do changes in framing influence the reevaluation, transformation or replacement of narratives, as the same kind of photograph is included in a certain genre, thereby presented in a certain frame?

Moreover, photographs are three dimensional artifacts: printed on paper, subject to discoloration over time, can be torn, folded, and written upon. Being both physical objects *and* images, they are different than other commodity objects; enmeshed with subjective, embodied and sensuous interactions, being both a product of our experiences as well as an object that we experience. "Thinking materially about photographs encompasses processes of intention, making, distributing, consuming, using, discarding, and recycling, all of which impact on the way in which photographs as images are understood"(Edwards, 2004: 1). These intentions are interrelated to the way in which photographs circulate, are kept out of circulation and the frames in which they are presented. As I mentioned before, as the photographs move from one frame into another, they gain a new meaning and purpose. Similarly, as photographs are embedded with new meaning, they are reframed accordingly. Therefore, in order to answer the questions I had about the role of framing, I had to look at the context surrounding the photographs and why, more so than the photographic image itself.

PHOTOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

It is safe to say that different photographic conventions apply to the photographs produced for official publication than those produced as personal memorabilia. Similarly, the attention paid to representation of the Police Actions at a later point in time, as discussed in Chapter 4, are subject to conventions of popular television, film and publication. There are two aspects of photographic

convention that are important in this research project, the first of which is concerned with the images themselves: the visual information that was recorded through the photographer's lens onto the paper.

In 1965, Pierre Bourdieu published a study which extensively looked at the conventional uses of photography amongst the middle class. In this study, he identifies that there are rules applied to photographic practice that influence not only how photographs are used and presented, but also what is photographed and why. He argues that the motivations behind photographic practice, at least for the middle class, stem from the need to fulfill certain satisfactions: "protection against time, communication with others and the expression of feelings, self-realization, social prestige, distraction or escape" (Bourdieu, 1965: 14). In order to fulfill these specific needs, people have created a photographic convention that suits such needs, and according to Bourdieu, they rarely stray from that convention. Although, for professional photographers (in this case working for the large press agencies), the "field of the photographable may broaden" (Bourdieu, 1965, 37), photographic practice remains as strictly bound to conventions; "given that the social norm defines both what must and what may be photographed, the field of the photographable cannot extend indefinitely" (Bourdieu, 1965: 34). Therefore, although professional photographers work with a different purpose to individual soldiers with a camera, they are still for a large part bound to the same photographic conventions, as their audience come from the same middle class that has provided the conventions. These photographic conventions that shape 'the photographable' do not only influence the content of personal photo albums, but also influence the photographs that are published in magazines and newspapers. Therefore, although dissimilar in many ways, the photographs that are presented in either genre, will not be vastly different in their content, but differ primarily in their framing.

Additional useful information about the photographic conventions lies not in the images themselves, but in the way the photographs have been physically reproduced, preserved and collected; what people do to and with the photographs. Are the photographs stored in archive collections, or stored in small, thematic albums? The context in which a photograph is presented is a reflection of the intent with which the photograph was collected in the first place, and a photograph is not limited to a single context throughout its social life. Building on this idea that photographs are given different meanings depending on the context in which they are viewed, collected and produced, Karen Strassler argues that the same photograph can carry many different meanings. In post-colonial Indonesia, identity photographs of citizens were produced originally during the New Order to represent legitimate belonging within the state-authorized national community. These static portrait photographs were "appropriated for popular use – circulated among friends, incorporated into personal albums, or reframed as memorial images" (Strassler, 2010: 21) and through these new applications in new contexts, the photographs came to represent different claims to belonging beyond the state as the sole agent of recognition in the nation. As identity photographs become decontextualized, moving from official spheres into the personal, they form new ways of communicating new values, and new

identities. As I lay out my findings, it will become clear whether this process is also occurring in the Netherlands with these photographs of the Police Actions.

The make-up and material properties of official collections and personal albums are constructed from different photographic conventions. Official photographic evidence is produced in a context of journalism, and confirmation of national ideologies. They are produced under different intentional and financial circumstances, and therefore have different material properties. Snapshot photography is produced in a personal setting, without direct political goals, without the intention for a larger audience. The snapshot genre, which is most prevalent in personal albums, therefore produces a different kind of image. For example, Marianne Hirsch argues that "the activity of staging is basic to the familial scene of photography" (Hirsch, 1999: xviii) whereas within the journalistic genre, staging is considered unacceptable. Furthermore, whereas the DLC actively aimed to produce photographs for publication in the present, the familial genre (the personal photo album) is concerned with "producing both memory and forgetting" (Hirsch, 1999: 178). Family albums serve their purpose on a personal level; they are intended to reflect personal histories as we want to remember them, and therefore include the important moments, the moments we choose to remember and exclude those moments we find insignificant, or actively wish to forget. These differences in intent lead to different selections of what is photographed. Whereas portraits of soldiers hanging out and posing for the camera are significant to a veteran who wants to be able to remember his comrades in the future, such photographs are of no interest to the general public. However, similarities in photographic material do not necessarily reflect shared intent. The aspects of the Police Actions that were censored by the DLC are often also the aspects that would rather be forgotten, and are therefore excluded from both newspapers as well as personal albums, though for different reasons. Whereas the DLC censorship excluded images of excessive violence for socio-political reasons, personal albums exclude these aspects because they are not part of the legacy people want to leave behind, not part of how they want to be remembered.

THE IMAGE AS A PRIMARY SOURCE OF DATA

MATERIAL METHODOLOGIES

My research took place in the Netherlands, specifically in The Hague and Leiden. I worked primarily with publicly available sources and the archives at the National Archive and the National Institute for Military History (NIMH) in The Hague, and the Royal Netherlands Institute of South East Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) in Leiden. I travelled to each location as needed from my home in Delft, where I also did research online, in the databases of the archives. Initially I had planned to focus more extensively on the material aspects of the photographs, but I was advised against going through the physical archive at the National Archive and the NIMH as many of the photographs are not in an ideal condition for handling and would require me to take a lot of precautions (such as temperature and humidity regulation and wearing gloves). For this reason, I was unable to look at the writing on the back of most of the photographs and was limited to the captions that were included in the digital databases. Because I was to a large extent dependent on the availability of photographic material, I focused on material that is publicly available, to avoid the risk of not finding anything. As I needed to accompany my findings in the archives with interviews, I hoped to meet archivists and veterans to interview about the composition of their collections through the archives and other official bodies. Unfortunately, I experienced a lot of roadblocks as I tried to network. I contacted many archives initially by email, and attended a discussion evening on "Rawagede" organized by Cineblend where I met several experts on the Police Actions including historians, archivists, filmmakers and anthropologists. Although a few of these contacts were very helpful, most of them proved too busy to help me as they never got back to me, or replied to my requests several months after the completion of my fieldwork period. Two of my family members are veterans and both own photo albums from the Police Actions. I also looked at several personal albums collected by the KTLV and the NIMH. Unlike most collections, in this specific case the albums have been kept intact, instead of tearing out "interesting" photographs and leaving the rest of the album with its owner. Unfortunately the owners of these albums are either deceased or anonymous and I was unable to conduct any accompanying interviews for these albums. Despite this limitation, as "family pictures are often so similar, so much shaped by similar conventions that they are readily available for identification across the broadest and most radical divides" (Hirsch, 1999: xiii), the materiality of the photographs and albums allow me to compare them to the other personal albums of which I was able to interview the owners.

The bulk of my research was with the photographic archives at the Dutch National Archive, NIMH and the KITLV to find images taken in the Indies by Dutch soldiers between 1945 and 1949. They combine the professionally produced photographs that were published at the time with those marked as "not for publication" by the DLC, as well as snapshots from personal photo albums. The coming together of these photographs proves that alternative visual representations were produced, but were

previously not available as part of the Dutch visual history as the DLC implemented a strict censorship policy. Even as these photographs marked "not for publication" have been made available in public archives, their captions were written by the same DLC under the same intentions. I will elaborate on these later on. Although these photographs were not previously included in the published image of the Police Actions, the captions that now accompany them in the archive, are the same captions that the DLC wrote and approved. The only alternative captions are those written down by veterans in their personal photo albums, and the spoken captions that arise in photo elicitation interviews. Unfortunately this means, that most written information on the subject is biased and censored in one way or another.

It is in the coming together of the personal and publication genres especially where the materiality of photographs becomes important, as it is often the only way to identify the photographs' origins. The physical attributes of a photograph can give more insight into the origin and intention behind a photograph than the visual content itself. "The plasticity of the image itself, its chemistry, the paper it is printed on, the toning, the resulting surface variations … technical and physical choices in making photographs [that] are seldom random" (Edwards, 2004: 3). The photographs in the DLC collection, for example, all came from the same official source. They are all printed on the same paper, and are all 13 x 18 cm. The press photographs in the Spaarnestad collection are mostly 13 x 18 cm or even larger. In mixed archives, such as the one at the KITLV, these kinds of photographs come together with photographs from personal collections which are often printed smaller, on lower quality paper. It is therefore possible to tell them apart by their physical properties. It is also possible to identify photographs from official photographers used in personal albums with those from amateur photographers as they tend to be, like the DLC photographs, higher quality, larger prints.

It is important to make note of the fact that, like the individual photographs, collections or archives are not static representations of the historic truth, but are subject to social and political changes throughout their lives. Many objects may be lost, discarded, ignored, or forgotten and no longer available or accessible for whatever reason; looking simply at photographic material is not enough to formulate a complete analysis. For this reason, I interviewed archivists at each Institute in order to establish how the collections were constructed. During my visit to each of the archives, I interviewed the attending researcher about their collection, how it was constructed, how it has changed over time, what material was collected (or not collected) and why, what material is excluded and why. I also interviewed two veterans about their relationship to the photographs they kept in personal albums and about their own memories of the war in the form of photo-elicitation interviews. These interviews allowed me to contextualize the images in the personal photo albums and gave insight into their motivation to keep, collect, donate or discard photographs.

I also familiarized myself with the available non-fiction filmic sources produced for the Dutch audience both during the war, as well as in the years following, in order to construct a typology of the different representations of the Police Actions. The films included DLC propaganda films republished by the NIOD and NIMH, televised debates and interviews, and full length documentaries for the KITLV collection. These films represent the public representation of the Police Actions over time. As we move temporally away from the events, it becomes more pressing to discuss the other side of the story not only as the veterans that were directly involved are passing away or speaking up, but also as the subject surfaces in political discussions, and censored DLC material appears in archives and becomes public record.

I then brought together the different sources and related them to each other through a comparison of context (frame), content and materiality (photographic convention). In my analysis, I compare four different kinds of visual representations: the published (audio-)visual material from the DLC, photographs from personal albums, photographs produced in both settings that are now included in national archives, and photographs and films that were produced for the public in retrospect.

ETHICS

In a research project that concerns itself mainly with material culture and a methodology that primarily follows objects rather than people, the usual ethical concerns associated with anthropological research present themselves differently. With photographs for example, informed consent is a complicated issue. If the photographs belong to an individual, it is important that the owner knows what their photographic collection is being used for, and what the potential results may entail. The reproduction of such photographs is further complicated by the inability to track down all the individuals portrayed in the photographs, albeit because the owner no longer has contact with them, because they cannot be identified, or because they have died. In my research however, I worked primarily with photographs from public archives. The only policy directly regarding the photographs that can be viewed on the National Archive photo database states that "any denomination of patent, author, trademarks, and other rights associated with intellectual ownership may not be removed or changed". As long as the photographs and their captions are correctly cited, they are to be used freely. It is often impossible to track down the original owner of the photographs to explain to them what the photographs are being used for. Similarly, issues like privacy and representation cannot be discussed with the people in the photographs, as they are often not identified, and if they are, they have likely passed away. If the people in the photograph are identified in the text on the website, or in the captions, the identities can simply be quoted, but it is up to the researcher to decide whether they want to, and can justify representing the people identified in the photographs in a new way. Although I have included photographs in the presentation of my findings, I have chosen not to identify any people in the photographs by name, as I do not feel I can sufficiently protect their reputations.

However, I have not chosen to make the people in the photographs unrecognizable, as the photographs are all publically available, and the faces would easily be tracked down regardless. I have also chosen to use pseudonyms for the people I interviewed to guarantee their anonymity. More broadly philosophical forms of ethics, such as the "responsibility to scholarship and science" and "responsibility to the public" apply to any and all anthropological research, and therefore also applied to my research.

Just recently, the Dutch government refused to co-fund a new research project into the use of excessive violence during the "Police Actions" proposed by the KITLV, NIOD and NIMH this year. In December 2012, the Dutch minister of Foreign Affairs turned down the collective plea for funds, asserting that such a research project would not be supported by the Indonesian government, and the required cross-national cooperation could therefore not be guaranteed. Although the subject has been deemed sensitive on a political level, the institutes are still discussing the continuation of scientific research concerning the subject. In light of this news, it has become even more apparent to me that socio-political relationships can influence scientific research and that, as researchers, we must remain aware of the implications of our work beyond our own direct reach. Not only can the scale of my project not begin to compare to the scale of the project proposed by the three institutes, my research project is concerned with the Dutch socio-political narratives surrounding photographic collections, and not directly concerned with excessive violence and the Dutch-Indonesian colonial history. It is important however, to continually be aware of the national, political and scientific relevance and sensitivity of the subject as well as the social and political ethical implications of post-colonial research on colonizers and colonized.

The AAA Code of Ethics also states that Anthropological researchers are obligated to "work for the long-term conservation of the archaeological, fossil, and historical records". This would include the handling of photographic material in an archive. In my research specifically, I decided not to handle the physical photographs because I had been told by the archivist that the photographs were not all in the best state, and would be difficult to handle. I was shown a small selection of the physical photographs and explained about the way they are stored and to be handled. Where I worked with personal photo albums, I was careful not to damage the albums or their contents. I even had to stop one respondent from tearing one photograph from his own album. Upon mentioning that I found one photograph particularly interesting, he instantly moved to tear the photograph from its page intending to give it to me to use. Not wanting to harm the integrity of the album as a whole, I told him not to tear the photograph out.

Throughout my research, I strove to be open and honest about my intent and the use of my data. I recorded my interviews as I felt excessive note taking would distract from the informal nature of the interviews. I asked my respondents permission to record beforehand, and assured them that I would

be the only person who would listen to the recordings and that their sole purpose was to aid me in recalling what was said.

BRIGHT WHITE HEROISM: IMAGES SCREENED FOR PUBLICATION

In 1946 after the end of the Second World War, the Dutch sent several thousand soldiers and war volunteers to their former colony Indonesia to eradicate the Japanese, and "restore order and bring peace" to the people. At the same time, after a long period of occupation, it finally became possible to publish and distribute magazines and newspapers on a large scale. Photography and film were used to inform both the soldiers about what was to come, and the people back home about what was happening, most of which occurred under the strict supervision of the DLC, the Dienst voor Leger Contacten. The DLC was founded on the 1st of April 1947. The earlier informational service, the Leger Voorlichtingsdienst was hereafter included under the DLC. The service was appointed two distinct goals. Within the military, the service was to "inform the troupes in the Dutch East Indies about the military and political events, as well as subjects of a general nature, in such a way that strives to develop and expand the soldiers' field, without seeming pedantic"[1] as well as "providing information that stimulates the moral standing of the soldier by reminding him of the values that are underlying to the task and calling of the military forces".[1] To externals, the goal of the service was to "provide information concerning the goals, objectives and activities and the most important events in the army"[2].

DIENST VOOR LEGERCONTACTEN: CENSORSHIP

The extensive influence of the DLC means that themes present in the photographic material also permeated other aspects of the publication genre; aside from cropping, editing and excluding photographs, the DLC also controlled the background information and captions that accompanied the photographs that made it to the presses. It is important to acknowledge that such effective censorship and selective representation is only possible with physical photographs. "Digital images are produced without the intermediaries of film, paper or chemicals and as such 'never acquire the burden of being originals because they do not pass through a material phase'" (Edwards, 2004: 186). The ability to damage or destroy images to avoid publication is tied strongly to the form in which the photographs are produced. The reproduction process and the destruction process are in large part dependent on the material life of photographs. Photographs produced in the analogue era existed primarily as a

[1] Original quote: "Voorlichting van de onder de legercommano in Nederlands-Indië ressorterende troepen en diensten omtrent de militaire en politieke gebeurtenissen, alsmede onderwerpen van algemende aard, waarbij de wijze van voorlichting ingesteld diende te zijn op het streven naar ontwikkeling en verruiming van het gezichtsveld van de militair, zonder daarbij het karakter te dragen 'beleerend' te willen zijn of het terrein te betreden van de Dienst Voorlichting. De voorlichting diende de morele eigenschappen van de militair te stimuleren door hem te doordingen van de geestelijke waarde welke aan de taak en de roeping van de weermacht voor land en volk ter grondslag liggen". ARA, Dienst voor Legercontacten Indonesië, Archivalia, 1946-1950

[2] Original quote: "Voorlichting naar 'buiten' omtrent doel, streven en verrichtingen van en de belangrijkste gebeurtenissen in het leger". ARA, Dienst voor Legercontacten Indonesië, Archivalia, 1946-1950

negative inside the camera. To reproduce and multiply them, they needed to be transferred onto a different medium. The possibility to damage or destroy the negatives before this transfer occurs is an essential part of the censorship process, as this is the only way of ensuring no copies, nor copies of copies, can be made. Not only are physical photographs much easier to destroy as they are bound to an original, they are also more easily marked and identified as "not for publication" and provided with a pre-approved caption on the backs. The three dimensional material nature of the material photograph formed a key premise for the careful application of censorship on the reporting of the Police Actions.

"JAN SOLDAAT" AND "ONZE JONGENS": GENERALIZATIONS

For use throughout (audio-) visual publications the DLC invented "Jan Soldaat", a generic term to describe the average soldier in the East Indies. The term was used in films intended for internal as well as external use. Films shown aboard the ships intended to prepare the soldiers used the term to identify each soldier as if they were all preparing for the same experience. "Jan Soldaat", supposedly representative of every soldier on board, was on his way to "help the population and aid the reconstruction of the largest Dutch colony" [3]. There was only one official purpose for these soldiers, and only one official experience. "On the roads, snipers will surely be hiding. These need to be exterminated before you can speak of the occupation of a town. Although a number will surrender, it is likely you will need to kill many more than you will capture as prisoners" [4].

The NIWIN, an organization that provided soldiers with "pieces of home" such as magazines and gramophone players aired several fund-raising films in Dutch cinemas. In these films, they spoke of the same "Jan Soldaat", the generic soldier that represented every mother's son and every wife's husband. The film spoke to the public at home to donate to NIWIN so that they could send such pieces of home to loved ones: "Onze Jongens in Indië" (Our boys in the East). Although not all soldiers would receive these NIWIN packages, as far as their relatives could tell, all soldiers were receiving the same treatment, and their money would benefit their own loved ones directly.

The DLC produced series "Soldaat Overzee" (Soldier overseas) was intended for the Dutch cinemas. Subjects from everyday soldier life were presented by "Soldaat Jan". Mothers were reassured that their children were safe. This generic soldier was actually a journalist named Bob Kroon and the scenes were exclusively staged. According to the film, sons were fulfilling a beautiful task and there was no reason for concern. The scenes were presented as journalistic truth, genuine footage from the field, representative of real soldiers.

[3] Original quote: "de bevolking the helpen en mee te werken aan de wederopbouw van de grootste nederlandse kolonie".
[4] Original quote: "Op de wegen zijn zeker sluipschutters verborgen. Deze moeten worden uitgeschakeld voordat u kunt zeggen dat de stad in uw bezit is. Hoewel een aantal zich zullen overgeven zult u er waarschijnlijk veel meer moeten doden dan gevangen nemen."

The generic representative for all soldiers in the Indies created the false pretense that the situation was under control and progressing entirely as planned. All soldiers were prepared for the same situation, whereas the actual situations they ended up in were vastly variable. The same was being reported to their relatives back home. Every mother, wife, girlfriend or otherwise was convinced that they were in the same boat. This common ground amongst relatives and soldiers presented a national experience. All those involved whether in the field or back home were equal and could relate to one another, and the DLC spoke of "a successful propaganda campaign". Through these personally loaded representations, the national narrative became one of personal and familial norms and values: close to home and relatable. The framing provided by the DLC, personified the situation in the Indies: brought the action closer to home, made it more relatable. Without the extensive control asserted by the DLC on this process of framing, the "Police Actions" would have remained disjointed from daily life back home, and would have been more easily defined as a "colonial war", taking place far from home.

Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, November 12th, 1948, Nieuwenhuis, Groningen

TO THE PRESSES: MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

The photographs screened by the DLC were printed in major newspapers and the three illustrated magazines. Panorama, Katholieke Illustratie and De Spiegel had reappeared after the war. These magazines were, for the most part, dependent on photographs taken by the "embedded" photographers, working in the field under military supervision. I was able to look at the two magazines published by *Spaarnestad*: *Panorama* and *Katholieke Illustratie*. Both magazines were widely available and published a relatively large number of photographs. In 1946, *Panorama* and *Katholieke Illustratie* were published once every 14 days instead of weekly due to paper scarcity. Either could be bought at bookstores for 30 cents, or sent by mail by the publisher to subscribers for 25 cents per issue. Photographs were published in black and white. *Katholieke Illustratie* measured 263 x 361 mm and counted 110,000 copies per issue (Hemels & Vegt, 1997). The daily newspapers *Trouw*, *De Waarheid* and *Volkskrant* were all nationally distributed. *De Waarheid* was linked to the Communist Party and founded in 1940 as a resistance newsletter. *Trouw*, which also a began as a resistance publication was founded in 1943 by an orthodox protestant resistance group. In 1941, a new editor-in-chief was appointed at *De Volkskrant*: a member of the NSB (Nationaal Socilalistische Beweging). Soon after, the newspaper ceased to exist, as was to be re-established in 1945. De Volkskrant quickly gained 109,000 subscribers and carried the subtitle "Catholic Newspaper for the Dutch", though it did not have any strong religious or political ties.

As a religious publication, *Katholieke Illustratie* applied its own censorship to the photographs. I came across one photographs in the Spaarnestad collection that was marked on the back with instructions

to "adjust to our moral code S.V.P !!!". The photograph shows a child with bandaged feet sitting on a man's lap as he is tended to by a nurse. Initially, I could not see what the proposed adjustment might be, as the area marked for editing was where the little boy's feet were located. As I looked more closely, I could see that the man's pants were badly damaged, and if I looked really closely, I could discern something that may have been the man's penis. It was hardly noticeable in the large print, and when I found the published version in the magazine[5], I found that the photo had been printed no larger than 8 by 5 cm, and that the presumed phallus had been removed. Although, to me, the adjustment seemed unnecessary, as I could hardly spot the issue in the large high quality print in the first place, clearly the magazine took extensive care in the selection and correction of their photographs as not to break with their Catholic ties.

De Waarheid's use of photography was highly suggestive. They frequently compared the Dutch presence in the East to the German occupation during the War. To support their cause, the newspaper used photographs from other countries to make their point. They also used reports from the Dutch Indies to reinforce their own political standing. In January of 1947, De Waarheid published a photograph captioned "He did not forget about recruitment!" which depicted "their" chairman Gerben Wagenaar accepting a piece of paper from the Propaganda-leader in Amsterdam. The caption further explains that the chairmen is due to leave for the Indies, but in all the busy preparations did not forget about his party, and acquired six new members in just a few days. Bringing together the activity in the Indies with positive journalism on their political leader, the magazine links the actions to existing social and political narratives: they become positive by association.

POINTING THE FINGER: THE TNI

The TNI (Indonesian National Armed Forces), now the Indonesian army, was formed in 1947 as the TRI (Indonesian People's Army). It's foundation marked the professionalization of the former BKR (People's Security Force) that formed in 1945 upon the declaration of Indonesian independence. Although the Dutch claimed to fight for the progression of Indonesian independence, the TNI was considered their most proportional opponent. As Freek Baars pointed out to me "the Dutch had no idea that the Independence movement was that extensive", which Jan G confirmed when I spoke to him. To them, the TNI were an organized gang of rebels that disturbed the peace and threatened the local communities. The TNI were referred to widely throughout newspaper and magazine publications. Destruction and cruelty was almost exclusively attributed to the TNI. Of course, reports on the Police Actions included very selective photographic material from the field; photographs and film footage of cruelties were actively excluded from publication. The Dutch public was not allowed to see the hardships of the so called Police Actions. The DLC censorship avoided images that

[5] Katholieke Illustratie, No. 20: page 6

suggested 'real war' "[6]. After all, they were not at war; the actions were a controlled undertaking of "limited proportions". On top of that, each newspaper selecting photographs that had passed the DLC censor had a political agenda of its own. *Volkskrant* and *Trouw*, published on a national scale, supported the police actions (Groot, 1991: 108). Both newspapers never published photographs that showed the opposing party, only suggesting their presence. Any representation of destruction was indirect. One photograph[7] depicts a group of Dutch soldiers in a "zuiverings patrouille" (cleansing patrol) resting in a kampong, which according to the caption, was "destroyed by TNI soldiers during a cease-fire" (fig. 4). No actual destruction is visible in the photograph. The image shows a group of soldiers, accompanied by a truck and a small tank on a road. In the foreground are the foundations of a building and some rubble but no indication that the destruction was recent or deliberate. This illustrates how violence and negative depictions of the Colonial war were managed and policed through controlling material representations in the form of visual and textual censorship.

De Waarheid ("the Truth"), a political newspaper with communist ties, also opposed the Actions, and was the only newspaper that published photographs that showed the opposition directly. However, if published at all, photographs depicting TNI soldiers were accompanied by captions that state evacuations progressed promptly and that omit any sign of resistance. One photograph shows three Indonesian men, identified by the caption as TNI soldiers, holding folded banana leaves. The caption provided by the DLC states they were captured, provided with food by the cooks of 4-5 R.I., and transported by truck. Another photograph in the DLC archive depicts Dutch cooks serving food to a line of Indonesians. The photograph is accompanied by the exact same caption as the previous photo. There is no evidence that the Dutch used excessive violence against their enemies and the photographs depict more than fair treatment of prisoners; in fact, these photographs depict the Dutch as a benevolent and paternal presence which is far from the national narrative on the Dutch activities today.

PORTRAYING THE VICTIM: CHILDREN AND CHINESE INDONESIANS

By selectively showing either children, or victims identified as Chinese, it is possible to create the illusion that the Indonesians are not the victims but the aggressors, which further confirms the Dutch role as keepers of the peace, in the same way as reducing the Indonesian Liberation Movement to rebels and extremists does. The number of mentions of hostilities against Chinese Indonesians is notable: I encountered numerous captions mentioning the Chinese on photographs of rubble in all collections. One photograph from the DLC collection[8] shows a man crouched in the ruins of a building. The caption reads, "The Chinese citizens of Purwakarto search amongst the rubble left by the TNI for what is left of their belongings". In the same series, a photograph of burnt shop fronts:

[6] Groot, C (1991) Jamabatan, 9(3), p 109

[7] ARA, Dienst voor Legercontacten Indonesië, 121

[8] ARA, Dienst voor Legercontacten Indonesië, 221

"the remains of the 'massive blowout' organized by the TNI as a 'final sale'". The Spaarnestad collection of published photographs also contains many ruined streetscapes, one of which is identified in the caption on the back, accompanying the red "Legercontacten" stamp, as "the Chinese district of Soekaboemi … torched by refugees"[9]. Furthermore, many of Hugo Wilmar's photographs show burnt houses, sometimes whole blocks, identified as Chinese areas. One specific photograph shows, according to the caption, "the Chinese district of Tjibadak, bombed by the English in 1946, and recently plundered and torched by republicans/extremists". A series of photographs by Wilmar, at least one of which were published in Panorama, show "a Chinese woman searching for usable remnants inside her house burnt by republicans".

At the NIMH, I was able to look through a small piece of the DLC collection that was accidentally left behind when the rest was moved to the National Archive. Among the photographs I was given for consultation by my contact at the institute, Okke Groot, I found photographs that describe "the Chinese Massacre" (Caption, AKL062802 and AKL062804). Unlike the photographs at the National Archive and Spaarnestad Photo that portrayed the aftermath; mostly unharmed Chinese Indonesians searching through rubble, these photographs depict the lifeless, mutilated (partially skinned) bodies of Chinese men. Another photograph vividly shows the body of a "Chinese Child burnt alive". The boy's face is unrecognizable, covered in blisters and burnt, loose skin. The photograph is marked with pen to annotate how it needs to be cropped, suggesting this photograph was indeed published.

Furthermore, showing starved and injured children is an obviously effective tactic to induce sympathy in an audience. With the absence of TNI soldiers in the published portrayal of the situation in the Indies, images of victims were the primary means of portraying the character of the TNI as well as the character of an Indonesia without Dutch control. By focusing on the poor living conditions of young children, the publishers and DLC were undoubtedly trying to play on the heartstrings of their Dutch audience. One photograph I found in the Spaarnestad Photo archive, and retraced to its magazine publication, shows four young boys, skin and bones, holding shovels. The cropped version in the magazine only shows two of them. Freek Baars explained to me that, back then, photographs were cropped as the layout designers pleased without consultation with the photographer; it was a simple matter of space.

Many of Hugo Wilmar's photographs also show emaciated children, crouching or sleeping in the street. I was surprised that one of the images was published in Panorama. The lifeless body of a young child is left on a table in an abandoned camp; the joints at the hip are angular, the ribs are easily counted. The child's face is covered by a white rag. The caption explains that the staff at the camp is well fed and that food was circulating well. The children supposedly came from families victimized by

[9] Spaarnestad Photo, 5241-H

the republican rebels. Similarly, one of the DLC produced photographs shows a boy in a similarly emaciated state lying nude in a bed, covered only by a tiny piece of cloth. The caption accompanying the photograph not only identifies him as "Soerat, age 12", but also attributes his poor health to "what they call 'freedom' and 'humanity' in Djokja". Through these photographs it becomes apparent that it is mostly the frames around them, specifically the captions that write the narrative. These children could have become emaciated as a result of malnutrition under Dutch care, or they may have arrived there in such a state. The only information provided is that in the caption, which was written under such strict supervision by the DLC officials, that the objectivity is questionable at best. Similarly, these are the kinds of photographs that surface later on to underline arguments against the Dutch, accompanied by captions that blame the Dutch soldiers for the children's' poor health.

SUGAR COATING THE BITTER REALITY

Photographs of local people confirm the Dutch soldiers' roles as bringers of peace and order. One photograph shows a group of local children and men, some of which are giving the soldiers and the photographer a thumbs-up. The caption reads "What bridges the separation between people of different tongues and races; the gesture of friendship and trust. With thumbs up our troupes greet the population, who flocked together along the roads now that hunger and terror belong to the past" (fig. 17).

POINTS OF LIGHT IN A DIM AND GRIM SITUATION: PERSONAL MEMENTOS

In my research, I looked at two personal albums accompanied by interviews in the personal homes of two veterans, six albums at the KITLV that all belonged to one person, and 25 personal photo albums at the NIMH that were collected between 2006 and 2011 as part of a special project. In order to compare the contents of the albums, I came up with sixteen categories to describe the contents of the images. The categories include: transportation, people (groups, individuals, local adults, local children), architecture, landscapes, action, weapons, leisure, events (official, local), and destruction. Photographs were placed in categories according to the most prominent things in the image. Some photographs therefore ended up in multiple categories, as multiple things were prominently featured. I did this almost exclusively with portraits of people posing in front of landscapes.

These albums are obviously produced under different circumstances than newspapers and magazine publications, and the photographs are included with different motivations. As became evident on the first page of album number 524 at the NIMH, personal albums serve to illustrate "pleasant and happy memories". Bourdieu argues that "the family album expresses the essence of social memory" (Bourdieu, 1965: 30). These personal photo-albums reflect that which we want to remember and how we want our relatives to remember us. On top of this, individuals did not have access to the same variety of photographs as official publishers did, as most of them did not have a camera. As Jan G pointed out in our interview, many soldiers were dependent on a comrade for their photographs, one that happened to have a camera. In most cases, prints of photographs were distributed in large numbers to anyone who wanted to have them, all coming from one or two photographers, ending up in many albums. I discovered the extent of this when I was at the NIMH, where I came across two photo albums (500 and 502) that belonged to people who had both spent some time in Sumatra. Both albums, although seemingly unrelated, contained a series of photographs of a "trip to Lake Toba", four of which were the exact same photos. Identical prints of the photographs occurred in both albums, and the former owner of album 500, is mentioned by name in album 502. Not only does this confirm the wide circulation of the few available photographs among soldiers (and, in this case, nurses), but it also proves that these people knew each other at one point in time, and were separated shortly after, as this is the only place where the same people and events appear in both albums. The sharing of personal photographs entangles widely shared visions with affectively charged personal narratives and memories. In this way, the collective narrative both constructs and is constructed by the personal narrative.

One of these albums also contained another interesting confirmation of photographic convention as it was laid out by Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu argued that "colour photography in particular, prolongs the festivity of which is it a part and whose importance it signals" (Bourdieu, 1965: 26). Album 500 from

the NIMH collection was the only album that contained colored photographs. The photographs were clearly taken in black and white, and the colour added in the lab. This technique is also explored by Karen Strassler's account on photographic practice in Indonesia, and although more expensive than regular black and white printing, is not uncommon. The three hand-colored photographs depict a local wedding ceremony, one of the most exceptionally festive social gatherings to be experienced, and therefore, photographed. Two albums I looked at, I was able to accompany with a photo elicitation interview, which allowed me to gain more insight into the personal significance of the albums. These albums belong to Jan S, my great uncle, and Jan G, my grandfather.

SOLDIER JAN S

Jan lives alone in a rather large apartment in Schijndel. He studied law when he was younger, and had spoken to many scholars about his photographs and his time in the Indies, so he is familiar with the process I have suggested to him. He expects me to have a set list of specific questions I want to ask him, and when I explain to him that I would like to let the conversation flow naturally as we flip through the pages of his photo albums, he advises me to "shop up more prepared" to my other interviews. Not sure whether I have offended him, I proceed slightly more aggressively than planned. Jan revealed to me that he had been approached and interviewed about his photographs before and that they had been different. His previous experience with interviews limited the extent to which I was able to conduct a photo-elicitation interview, as he expected me to be much more forward with my questioning. Aside from the fact that I had wanted to let the photographs lead the conversation, I had not intended to steer the interviews in any direction by asking many questions primarily because I knew that some of my respondents did not hear very well, and that asking questions could be frustrating for both of us, and disturb the flow of the conversation.

This Jan was different though, he was well aware of the implications of participating in academic research and I really believe that this was a disadvantage. Not only did I fail to meet his expectations of me, it was clear he realized I was there to "get something" and not out of pure interest in his personal stories. As engaging as I tried to be in order to convince him I was genuinely interested, not just trying to get him to tell me what I wanted to hear, I never quite felt like he believed me. I was a researcher, and clearly not the first to speak to him about this subject. This sensation was confirmed as we started viewing his photographs. Some of the pages showed signs that photographs had been stuck to them and torn out. Jan explained that some of his photographs have been removed to be included in archival collections, but only the "interesting ones". Later in the conversation when I mentioned that I found a particular photograph especially intriguing, he instantly offered and moved to tear the photograph from its page. I explained to him that part of my research is the appreciation of albums as a whole, and the importance of a photographs placement.

Although I wasn't planning to participate in the process, the removal of photographs from personal albums is certainly of interest to me. In Jan's case, multiple photographs had been torn from their pages, leaving behind damaged spots or remnants of torn photographic paper on the pages. Such spots are the evidence of photographs moving in and out of certain frames, specifically from the personal album into the archive, into new regimes of value.

VOLUNTEER JAN G

In the comfort of his own home Jan welcomes me to view his personal albums. He makes coffee and invited me to the dinner table. Loudly and slowly I explain to him that I would like to record the conversation so that I will not have to write too much during our talk and to allow me to pay closer attention to him and the photographs. Although he is assured by the fact that I promise the recordings are for my ears only, he admits that his stories are very personal and emotional, and that the idea of them being recorded is a little strange. It is clear that, to him, these photographs are a lot more than just images of a historical time. Perhaps the recorder reminds him of historians and archivists. Like Jan S, he too has been approached by academics looking to hear about his photos and stories, hoping to obtain something "interesting" for their collections. However, Jan's album is not the kind that photo's are torn out of. His large album is in perfect condition. Bound in a brown batik fabric cover, the pages are pristine; glossy and perfectly white. Unlike the other albums, this one does not give the impression of being old or having been frequently viewed. The photographs are neatly stuck in and there are no written captions.

In his bookcase, Jan has several books about the Dutch Indies and the Police Actions. Among them are issues of ...., as well as scientific publications by scholars and archivists. Jan is still very connected to his time in the Indies. When his daughter moved to Indonesia with her family in the 1990's, he visited them on multiple occasions, and took the opportunity to travel around and revisit his past. He attended a reunion a couple years back of which photographs have been added to his album. He points out that most of the people that attended the reunion have since died; he reckons he's one of two or three soldiers left. Unfortunately, Jan's hearing has deteriorated over the years. It is impossible for him to follow a conversation between multiple people, and even when wearing his hearing aid he finds it hard to understand what people are saying when speaking to him directly. For this reason I explained the purpose of the interview in a postcard and allowed him to speak freely, without asking too many questions, letting the photographs lead his stories.

Jan explains that he went to the Indies as a volunteer alongside a group of conscripts. He was told he would be fighting the Jappen (Japanese) but that by the time they arrived, the Japanese had already been sent home. The mentality of the volunteers was very different to that of the conscripts, Jan explains, because they were under the impression that they were there to protect the local population and to restore order. "We wanted to do that", he told me, "that was fine with us, but the locals... well,

most of them were no longer in their own environment, they had fled". In Jan's experience, the Police Actions were nothing like they were made out to be; there were hardly any locals to protect in the areas where he was stationed. The only people they encountered as they rode through the streets in their armored trucks were small scale rebel groups. "There were rebels from all kinds of groups and organizations and they all had their own ideas. None of them had very many weapons so they often ran off, fleeing into the mountains just like the locals. So, the troupes that were performing those Actions didn't have very much opposition". Jan explains to me that although the rebels did not form much of an opposition for the Dutch soldiers, they scared the locals, causing them to abandon their homes. Later on, Jan and his comrades found out that the locals had been more than willing to return to their homes, but they were still afraid of the rebel groups, and had been made afraid of the Belandas (Dutch) too. With no local around, and only rebels hiding by the roadsides, the only interaction with locals Jan encountered was gunfire.

Most of the time, the rebels were outnumbered and outgunned, and quickly fled. Occasionally, however, things would get out of hand. Jan points to one of the magazines (Sobat) he keeps. "If you read this, you can get an idea of what I mean". I can tell he would prefer not to discuss the times where people were wounded or killed, instead using the story in the magazine as a reference. In the case described by the magazine article, there was a battalion of students, well organized, and much larger than most others. According to Jan, these kinds of rebel groups were well armed and very "persistent". Men were walking around there, not knowing what was going on, or what to expect because they were badly informed about the situation. "That was the government's mistake, but well, the government made a lot of mistakes in the Indies". I can sense that Jan feels strongly about the Police Actions; what they were supposed to be and what they actually turned out to be. He continuously refers to himself, and other groups with the same orders, as "schietschijven": surfaces used for target practice. He explains that morale quickly shifted, as the situation lead both volunteers and conscripts to question what they were doing and why. There was very little motivation to do anything as everyone began to feel like all they were was targets for the opposition.

Eventually, a few of the men began to refuse certain tasks because they felt that all it would lead to was getting shot or killed. "When you're in the army, you can't just refuse orders like that. You needed to do what you were told. They were given a chance to recover themselves, but when they didn't, they were sent back to the Netherlands to be tried and punished. Those men did time long after their mates who had stayed had returned home". The mentality amongst the troupes was changing, men started to question their purpose. "Why are we here? For the people with money, that's who we are risking our lives for. Schietschijf, and nothing else". Especially during cease-fires the morale dropped significantly, because rebel groups don't cease fire.

Jan explains he doesn't have that many photographs because there were not that many boys with cameras. He laughs when I ask him whether there were any official photographers working for the

army. "Never saw any", he says. "not around us". Jan speaks candidly about his photographs, but doesn't go into detail about any of the people in the pictures. He doesn't seem to find any of these things important. Unlike Jan S' album, Jan G doesn't have any photographs that were sent from home. Jan never got mail from back home. They heard stories about boys that received letters from home every single day. "We couldn't even imagine that. We never got anything". According to Jan, they were not really contacted by anyone, and badly informed. "All those things that were published by the government, were as unfamiliar to us as it was to the people back home in the Netherlands. We weren't informed about anything. Even the little things…", any orders that were given were kept vague, more often than not they left with five men where we expected to have nine. They never spoke of numbers, only "units".

Jan doesn't have much to say about his photographs, and it is hard for me to ask him questions. Most of the photographs don't show much more than landscapes or soldiers during times of leisure. I can understand that Jan doesn't feel they reveal any stories of interest to me. However, these photographs of leisure activities are exactly what I expected to find. Considering Bourdieu's ethnography, these albums are constructed with the intention of remembering a certain time within the familial sphere. "To be photographed is to bear witness to one's presence" (Bourdieu, 1965: 23); it is the expression of Jan's presence and taking part. At the same time, Jan does not want to be remembered for killing and destroying, but for being a comrade that could be counted on, as part of the group that relied on each other and took care of each other. Out of the 202 photographs in his album, 82 (40.5%) are photos of landscapes[10] and architecture[11], and 60 (29.7%) are posed portraits. There are 11 photographs of local people, 17 depicting modes of transportation (mostly ships), and only 13 that show the soldiers actually doing something, mostly walking. The rest of the photos were taken at official events such as funerals, at the swimming pool or tennis courts. This prevalence of organized social gatherings occurs in all the photo albums I viewed during my fieldwork, but it is also to be expected. "Ritually associated with festivities, ceremonies, or social gatherings, [photography] accentuates the sense of the festivity as an exceptional moment" (Bourdieu, 1965: 27). In Jan's album, only five photographs show some form of destruction, and not a single weapon is prominently visible in any of the photographs. The album is mostly a collection remembering places and people, not actions or political convictions.

UNKNOWN JAN K

At the KITLV archive in Leiden and the NIMH, I found a rare collection of personal albums that remained intact. AT the KITLV, six whole albums that belonged to the same person have found their

[10] Photographs considered landscapes include photos of waterfalls, harbors, skyscapes, waterscapes, jungle and farmland that do not include any people in the foreground.

[11] The category architecture includes houses, bridges, streets, churches or mosques, arches, tents, cemeteries, governmental buildings and headquarters.

way into the archive and remained together. At the NIMH, I was able to look at 25 albums, collected in a special project in 2009. Together with the Veterans Institute, the NIMH organized a collection of personal photo albums. Unlike the photographs that were torn from their original album page, these photographs have remained in their original frame, embedding their stories with personal memories, despite their acquisition in the larger archive context. As the albums are still in their original state, it is possible to extract them from their archive surroundings and view them alongside the other personal albums, as equals. Although not accompanied by an interview, these albums reveal that the themes addressed in the other albums, are just as much present here, and likely repeated in most personal albums. Jan S' and Jan G's personal account s reveal that although their experiences in the Indies are vastly different, their albums are very much alike. The same can be said for these albums. Although I cannot be sure of exactly who all the albums belonged to, and what their personal opinions and experiences of the Police Actions were, after looking at the composition of the albums I can safely conclude that the kinds of things they wanted to remember though their respective personal albums were very similar to the others; camaraderie and friendship, leisure and celebration, and beautiful, exotic landscapes and cultures: pleasant memories.

Clearly stationed under different circumstances than the other two Jan's, Jan V's[12] albums showcase a combination of personal and official photography. Although this albums includes more photographs of weapons, destruction and official occasions, the photographs in these categories all show physical signs of being produced under different circumstances. Larger prints on higher quality paper suggest that the photographs were taken by a different photographer, with different means for reproduction. There are a total of 126 photographs taken at two funerals and one commemoration, 22 of which are a larger size and printed on stronger paper, suggesting they were taken by a different, official, photographer. Similarly, 23 out of 47 photographs I labeled "action"[13] and all three photographs that prominently featured weapons, shared these superior material characteristics. Although these categories are more prominently present in these albums, the photographs were probably produced under different circumstances and with different intentions.

Out of the 892 photos included in the six albums, 216 (24.2%) were posed portraits of soldiers, and another 279 (31.2%) photographs were landscapes (21.7%) or architecture (9.5%). Another 68 (7.6%) photographs showed the men playing sports or engaging in other leisurely activities[14]. Despite the inclusion of material more evident of wartime, like the other albums, the majority of the photographs are of a highly personal nature, focusing on people and places. Looking through these albums, it becomes clear that for the individual soldier, it was not important to remember the official duties they

[12] Pseudonym, real name unknown.

[13] Photographs of activities such as walking, driving, digging, reconstruction, towing, supplying or building

[14] Within the category "leisure", this album included photographs of swimming, volleyball, boxing, resting, football, eating, music, cockfights, beaches and parties.

were carrying out, but rather the moments of social interaction. Photographs of landscapes and architecture, Jan told me, were taken to show family back home what it was like in the Indies. Aspects of war and violence are not actively commemorated in these personal albums, nor are the national messages of liberation and restoration of order and peace.

UNKNOWN JANNIE

At the NIMH, I found two albums that offered me the starkest contrast with official images, as they belonged to women in the field. Whereas the presence of women was hardly noticeable, and their presence was certainly not as obvious as that of male soldiers, in these albums it becomes apparent that they most definitely did play a significant role in the Actions, and that they were plentiful. One of the women was stationed for the Red Cross in Sumatra (500), the other for KNIL in Batavia (504). The album from Batavia, totaling 299 photos, contained 81 portraits of women in groups or individually, opposed to 29 photographs that predominantly showed men. Out of its 141 photographs, the Sumatra album contained 21 photographs exclusively of women and only 13 photographs of groups with mostly men. None of the other personal albums contained photographs that portrayed women as the main focus of the photographer either; if women were included in the photographs they were part of a much larger group of men, or in the background.

Much like the other albums though, 37% of the photographs in the Sumatra album and 24% in the Batavia album, are posed photos of people, in this case mostly nurses, but also soldiers. Respectively, 13.7% and 15.6% were 'landscape' photographs, and another 10.3% and 12% were of 'architecture': buildings or streetscapes. Neither album contained any photographs of 'weapons' or 'destruction', whereas all the other albums I viewed contained at least one photograph in one of those categories. Similarly, none of the photographs in either album found their way into my 'action' category (which included basic activities like walking, digging, driving) with the exception of nine photographs in the Batavia album which showed women working in an apothecary or looking through a microscope, which I chose to label 'action' rather than create a separate category.

ENDLESS GREY AREAS: NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Although never published, photographs depicting the violent side of the actions were taken and do still exist. Unknown numbers of confrontational photographs taken during the actions were, for the most part, burned in 1949, just before the transfer of sovereignty (Kok, 2009: 7). However, a small selection of these photographs survived, and is now part of the National Archive in The Hague. These photographs have been adopted into the national remembrance in the form of archive material alongside their official published counterparts. Throughout the many archives that own photographic collections concerning the Dutch Indies in the second half of the 40's, newspaper publications, unpublished DLC photographs, and personal photo albums come together, carefully numbered and stored in boxes at all kinds of institutions. Most of the material is publicly available, but the process of accessing the photographs is not always so simple.

Larger institutions such as the NIOD, NIMH, National Archive, Royal Library and KITLV have partially digitalized their collections that can be accessed online. Unfortunately, smaller collections cannot be accessed in this way at all. Furthermore, the photographs often have written captions, official stamps or other significant markings on the back. In these digitalized versions of the photographs, their material characteristics are lost, as the size is not recorded, and the kind of paper and the backside are not visible in the online databases. According to Elwin Hendrikse, an Art-Historian working at the National Archive, the backsides of all the photographs in the DLC collection have also been digitalized, but not been uploaded to the online database and can therefore not be accessed this way. In order to see the physical photographs I needed to apply specifically and take special precautions that ensure the photographs are not damaged during handling.

Photographs stored in negative form are even harder to access than prints. Due to the nature of the material, access to negatives is rarely approved. It is possible that the negative counterparts of the photographs which were burned by the DLC remain embedded in the strips of film amongst the "safe for publication" photographs. Unfortunately, the preservation, reconstruction and digitalization of cellulose negatives is very expensive. As Elwin Hendrikse told me, the 70,000 acetate or nitrate negatives at the National Archive are very prone to decay and are therefore frozen. The National Archive will not defrost them until they are able to restore the images; a very delicate and expensive process where the image is separated from the carrier and transferred onto a new one. These negatives cannot be accessed by anyone until they can be restored. The negatives that are part of the Spaarnestad collection are still accessible, but only by date. It is therefore extremely hard to find relevant photographs, especially during a short research period; to tackle such a project one would need a lot of time.

Hendrikse also explained to me that any photographs at the National Archive that have been digitalized are still stored in their original form, although there are many debates going about this. Hendrikse argues that it is very important to keep the originals as not all aspects of the photograph can be digitalized. "You need to describe a photograph, place it within a context, store it … store it in a sustainable way so that it remains accessible. Digitalization is not easy and it is not cheap. The finish of the photograph and the kind of paper cannot be seen on a scan". He explains that, until recently, it was not common practice to scan the backs of photographs. In his own research, he has encountered many photographs with scribbles and drawings on the back, "all that unique information would be lost. The discussion is active, but we are very reticent" when it comes to destroying the originals after digitalization.

BUILDING AN ARCHIVE

In public archives, these unpublished photographs are combined with the material that was previously accessible, in overarching collections. Some archives are dedicated to specific genres and include whole collections. However, depending on the nature of the material, photographs from a single source can be split up among many archives covering different aspects of one topic. Furthermore, material from a single source can be split up within an archive, to become part of separate collections. In addition, archives are not stagnant objects in themselves. "Archives have public lives that extend well beyond their establishment"[15]. Carolyn Hamilton argues that archives have a biography of their own; interacting with things and interacted with by its surroundings. According to Hamilton, they are intact and steady and volatile at the same time: subject to reinterpretation, changing form, frame and context.

The archives that illustrated Hamilton's point best during my research are the National Archive and the Spaarnestad Photo archive. Both these archives are rooted in journalism, founded as databases for publishers, they have become more public and less commercial as their purposes have shifted. Because archives are bound to specific goals and themes depending on their ties and foundations, photos of the Police Actions have been scattered across different collections at several different archives. Themes such as Military, Colonial, War, Journalism or National History, can all be applied to photos of the Police Actions, photographs have ended up in military archives (NIMH), archives concerned with Indonesia (KITLV), archives dedicated to the documentation of war (NIOD), and archives with roots in publishing (Spaarnestad Photo) as well as governmental archives (Nationaal Archief). Each archive selects photographs differently, and has different motivations and means for the collection and preservation of the material.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE AND THE DLC COLLECTION

[15] Hamilton, Carolyn, Symposium: The Life of an Archive, October 18th, 2011.

The National Archive is part of the RVD (Rijks Voorlichtings Dienst) and is of a journalistic and historical documentary nature. According to Elwin Hendrikse the DLC collection fits within that genre perfectly. The archives' governmental ties have influenced the collection in the sense that there are mostly official documents included, and very few additions of a personal nature. Although individuals do donate personal collections to the archives, most of this material ends up in other collections.

The Nationaal Archive houses roughly 14 million photographs. Some are in standard archival boxes, a selection is in special photo boxes, including the DLC collection. Ideally, photographs are stored lying down and according to Hendrikse, "The regular brown archive boxes we use to store papers and parchments contain *ligine* which can influence the photographic prints inside". Therefore, the archives intend to slowly move all their photographs into special PAT tested boxes. PAT stands for Photographic Activity Test, which means that the material of the box cannot influence the photographs it stores. The DLC collection is stored in small boxes that contain 200 photos each, the boxes are exactly large enough to fit the 13x18 cm prints. The photographs are alternated with sheets of special paper that ensure the photographs cannot stick together or influence one another. They are stored this way because the entire collection has been digitalized and is available online, "under the assumption that they basically never need to be viewed again". Stored like this, there is very little that can happen to the photographs to damage them.

The National Archive has taken over management of the Spaarnestad Photo archive, which was moved from their previous location in Haarlem to the National Archive in The Hague in 2011. Since then, Spaarnestad Photo only manages the exploitation of the photographs and the National Archive is in charge of their storage, restoration and digitalization.

SPAARNESTAD PHOTO

Spaarnestad Photo is named after Spaarnestad publications, which was founded in 1906. Originally it was part of the publishing agency, a kind of "corporate capital" (Freek Baars, personal interview). As such large archives are expensive to keep, they are eventually downsized or donated to other collections. *Spaarnestad* publications had their own photographer, Hugo Wilmar, working on the frontlines during the Police actions. Many of his photographs were never published. According to Freek Baars who works at the archive today, "his oeuvre has been lost, but the few photographs of his that were published have been kept in the Spaarnestad Photo archive". Next to their *Spaarnestad* collection, the archive also houses photographs from all kinds of news agencies including photographs published by the Communist Party newspaper *De Waarheid*, which was first published in 1940 as a resistance newspaper. Unfortunately, their *De Waarheid* collection is very small, as most of it has been moved to other archives and no longer contains any material from the 1940's.

The photographs in the Spaarnestad archive, although now owned by the National Archive, are stored very differently to the photographs in the DLC collection. Freek Baars explained that this is because the natures of the collections are so vastly different. Unlike the DLC collection, because the Spaarnestad Photo archive contains Press photographs, it is still regularly accessed, and the photographs can still be purchased for publication purposes. To make the photographs as accessible as possible, the Spaarnestad Photo archive uses a very specific coding system to categorize the photographs. They are stored in hanging-folders in drawer cabinets in a regulated environment. Each category has its own dedicated grey hanging-folder. The folders contain varying numbers of photographs, depending on the number of photographs available in the corresponding category. Most photographs are kept within special plastic sheaths for protection. According to Freek Baars, "The general rule is that the sheathed photographs are the ones that have been digitalized, but there are some that were sheathed for protective purposes". He also explains that photographs have been removed from the collection over time due to lack of space, and that photographs that were too large to fit in the folders were cropped simply "because they had to fit in the folders". Although I did not encounter any photographs that appeared so large they had been cropped in the selection I was able to view at the archive, this is a testament to the lack of understanding of the value of photographs and their framing.

Many of the photographs in both the National Archive and Spaarnestad Photo have been digitalized and can be viewed online in low resolution in a database through the archive's website. Through these websites, these photo collections have become some of the most easily accessible to a wider audience. The physical photographs can be accessed upon request by contacting the archives.

BREAKING THROUGH CENSORSHIP

Being able to place the original prints alongside their published versions, it becomes very easy to discern the extent of censorship that took place during the 1940's. The prints in the Spaarnestad archive have extensive notes on the back. In the top left corners, there are stamps that either indicate the issue and page number the photograph was published in, or a stamp that prohibits any form of publication. These stamps were perhaps the most important physical attribute of the photographs, as they enabled me to refer to the archived publications, and find the photographs in the magazines. Many of the photographs had rectangular markings on the back indicating how they should be cropped for publication. In most, this meant that half the image was discarded. In many cases, Indonesian prisoners were cut out of the photograph, leaving only the Dutch soldiers posing proudly. Here, it becomes clear that the exclusion of the enemy as I discussed in chapter 1, was not an accidental exclusion, nor a reflection of the lack of opportunity for photographers to photograph them, but in fact a conscious and intentional choice made during the publication process.

Photographs deemed inappropriate for the public were stamped in red by the DLC with the words "Niet Voor Publicatie", and some photographs also have the same words handwritten on the back. Many of the photographs that make up the DLC collection at the National Archive in The Hague have been stamped in this way. In his publications "Strijd om Deli" and "Agressi II: Vergeten Beelden", Louis Zweers has selected some of these photographs deemed inappropriate for the public to support his argument that the Police Actions were more than they were made out to be; war by any definition and excessively violent.

In these two books, Zweers presents a very small selection of photographs from the DLC collection. All of these photographs depict violence on the Dutch part and extreme measures of censorship by the DLC. Strijd om Deli shows a selection of photographs that lay bare how the Dutch treated their opponents. A stark contrast with the photographs of the prisoners being fed that were not stamped "Not For Publication", these photographs show prisoners forced to undress, "pointless" destructions by the Dutch, and fallen soldiers on both sides; their bodies torn apart by grenades laid by the side of the street. Not only do these photographs shed light on a previously disregarded aspect of the war, they also reflect the plasticity of a photograph as a material, multi-dimensional object as I outlined in the introduction. The photographs in Agressi II show heavy weaponry in the streets, wounded Dutch soldiers and arson committed by the Dutch. Amongst the selection in is a photograph that shows scratch marks, remnants of scratches etched into the negative so that the photo would be unusable for publication of any kind. The archivist at the National Archive explained to me, that such scratches are made on the negatives of the photographs, on the original. By doing this, any copy made in the future will share the damage. It is here that the material aspects of the photograph, and their role in framing become most apparent. In line with Edward's argument that photographs are objects that circulate and embedded with meanings through circulation, the scratch marks are not only a reflection of the censorship processes that took place during publication screening by the DLC, but they have now entered into a new genre, adding to Zweers' argument, and serving a new purpose. It is not only the image that confirms these violent acts took place, but the physical attributes that mark that image that confirm them as socially unacceptable.

However, there were many more photographs ruled unfit for publication, and the examples pointed out by Zweers are by no means the majority. Specifically photographs by Hugo Wilmar, a war photographer educated in America, were not released by the DLC for publication. Wilmar worked for Spaarnestad publishing agency, and unlike most photographers working directly for the DLC, joined and photographed the frontlines of the conflict. His close-up photography gives insight into a situation of chaos. Some of his photographs, now part of the collection at the NIMH, were published in the 2009 book Koloniale Oorlog that aims to shed a light on the forgotten aspects of what the book refers to as the "colonial war". In Hugo Wilmar's photographs we see wounded soldiers much like in the selection made by Zweers in his books, but here we also see a Dutch medic treating an Indonesian

pemuda's wounds[16]. As DLC censorship also involved keeping the enemy as invisible as possible, these kinds of photographs were also excluded from the public eye. Although violence was most certainly present, violence was not exclusively "excessive" or "unnecessary", and the Dutch (as a generalized category) were by no means heartless killers to be compared to the German occupants during WWII. Several of the photographs show Dutch soldiers in threatening poses surrounding Indonesian pemudas, the captions explain that they are often questioned instantly upon discovery.

[16] Wilmar, H.A. (1946), Marine Collectie, NIMH, photo: 055572

A BLACK CHAPTER IN HISTORY: NATIONAL REVISITATIONS

According to Karen Strassler, it is in the "everyday encounters with photographs" (Strassler, 2009: 23) that national and personal narratives become entangled and that people come to attribute personal narratives and memories to these photographs. As these photographs sit in a national archive, they lose their connection to the individual, becoming a predominantly a reflection of national narratives rather than the personal narratives that were once attributed to them by the audiences of propaganda films and magazines, as well as the individuals that once belonged to the familial atmosphere in which personal photo albums circulate. By taking away this interaction, the personal narratives become disengaged from the images, which in turn no longer communicate these narratives as a result. In order to reconnect the individual to the national, photographs need to recirculate, their stories reinvented for a new audience, within a new genre.

More significantly, Strassler identifies that photographs can personalize the national archive, imaginatively projecting the subject into historical narratives. In the case of the photographs of the Police Actions, taking the photographs from the archives, personal or national, and involving them in an altogether new frame of reference, new audiences are able to connect to the national narrative, as they are provided with an experiential connection to that narrative, creating a personal, tangible connection. Through the exploration of existing and the creation of new visual sources of the Police Actions, filmmakers and publishers are able to establish a personal connection to the national colonial history of the Netherlands in the current, temporally removed population, thereby reinforcing their connection to the national community and national history, and sparking another alternative narrative fit for the present.

FICTION FILM: ROMANTICIZED FOR THE PUBLIC

Oeroeg is one of the most well known films about the Dutch East Indies, and tells the story of a Dutch boy and his Indonesian friend Oeroeg. As they grow older, and conflict arises, the two friends grow apart and end up fighting for opposing sides. They eventually meet again, and despite the conflict and the complexity of the situation, their friendship remains pure. Both men are portrayed as honorable, likeable characters that the audience can relate to. Such romanticized stories of war time, in which the main characters are heroic men fighting for a good cause, are by no means an accurate reflection of real war-time relations. Many men did un-heroic, cowardly things. Some joined the opposition, some stood by idly as they watched others suffer. In times of extreme violence and extreme living conditions, people are rarely heroic. People tend to act in a way that ensures their survival before helping any other. These romanticized stories reflect a national need to portray people as inherently good, to argue that terrible acts are only done by terrible people, and that we are, in the end, inherently good. On a national level, we suppress the complexities of war-time relationships because

we need to feel like we are good people, like we did the right thing, and like we were all the same victims together. This need to reflect upon our National history in a positive light, although present in other kinds of photography and film projects, is most strongly represented in the fiction film genre.

1980'S TELEVISION: REJECTED AND CONDEMNED

Sometimes stories come out that break with the consensus that we, on a national level, are exclusively good. The discussion surrounding the excess use of violence during the Police Actions has become extensively unavoidable as political discussions in Indonesia have pushed the Dutch government and media to address the issue. In the earlier cases, the people involved were be rejected by the community in the public atmosphere, thereby reconfirming the status quo. Perhaps the best known, and most extreme case of such rejection is the story of Poncke Princen, a Dutchman who fought for the Indonesian Nationalists.

In 1948, Poncke Princen joined the pro-independence resistance after coming to the conclusion that the Dutch were not there for honorable reasons. He lived out the rest of his life in Indonesia. Although in Indonesia he is admired as a prominent human rights activist, many Dutch veterans still consider him a traitor. In the late eighties, they even fought his visa request to return to the Netherlands in order to visit his grandchildren. In 1989, his story was revisited in the Television Documentary Feature *De Kampong Staat In Brand* (The village is on fire). Through a remote connection with Princen in Germany, the presenter attempted to start a conversation between a veteran who considered him a National traitor. The man refused to speak with Princen, explaining that he refused to hear a man make excuses for murdering his own people. Princen came across as a most reasonable man, who had made his decisions after careful consideration, and with full understanding of the consequences. He still stood by his decision, whereas many of the veterans criticizing him eventually admitted that the cause they had fought for was not as honorable as it was made out to be. Showing no remorse for his actions, Poncke Princen remained a traitor to his Nation, and his former comrades who had followed orders without question as was expected of them, remained either heroes or victims of circumstance. The television feature included a large group of veterans, stationed all over the Indies at the time. Sat together on a grandstand in the studio, the veterans were presented as a unified group of representatives, speaking for the Nation. Those who spoke out about identifying with Princen's arguments nuanced their story so that it would not offend any others. Opposite this unified group of veterans, Princen, visible only through the television screen opposite the Host, was presented in such a way that he remained spatially removed from the audience, and disconnected from the Nation they represented.

1990'S DOCUMENTARIES: 'MEMAAFKAN DAN MELUPAKAN' (FORGIVE AND FORGET)

In 1995, the violence of the Police actions regained a place on the national agenda as a documentary piece produced by national television network RTL revisited the subject. The film was produced in anticipation of the Queen paying a state-visit to Indonesian in the hope of sparking the subject, and possibly closing the chapter with an official apology from the Queen. I personally remember the visit, as I was living in Jakarta at the time, but as an eight year old I was unaware of all the politics surrounding the visit. Although an official apology was deemed unnecessary, the Queen did address the issue in her speech.

> "The Netherlands was not at first prepared to accept the Indonesian pursuit of complete and immediate independence. The separation of our two countries thus became a lengthy process costing much pain and bitter conflict. When we look back on that time, which now lies almost 50 years behind us, it deeply saddens us that so many died in that struggle, or have had to bear its scars for the rest of their lives".

The visit and the speech were covered extensively in the Dutch media. That same month, another documentary touching on the violence of the Police Actions appeared, produced by the NCRV and Directed by Thom Verheul. 'Tabee Toean' (Goodbye Sir), as the film was called, followed five veterans on their journey of revisiting the past. Many hoped to find closure, as they returned to the exact physical spaces that occupy their stories, reviving the memories of violence and pain. By reconnecting the veterans' stories to their locations, and combining these visits with archive footage, the audience is invited to relive the events as honestly as possible. By connecting the veterans, end thereby the audience, visually to their memories the documentary creates a new frame for remembrance to those previously available. Moreover, one of the veteran's accounts is juxtaposed with the stories of an Indonesian man, who fought for the opposition in pursuit of Indonesian independence. Hereby, the film gives the opposition, not only a face, but a humanity that was previously absent from the visualization of the conflict. Unlike the photographs from the 40's, publically published or privately kept, in this new frame for remembrance, the opposition is presented as an equal party; they too felt pain, suffered losses and fought for a cause. This effect is reinforced by the juxtaposition of archive footage with the footage of the veterans in present day. The film includes a segment, similar to the NIWIN productions I watched at the KITLV (described in chapter 1), that identifies soldiers as "young, fresh faces, full of energy" out to fulfill a "wonderful task". Following this footage, is a scene in which one of the veterans explains how he came face to face with an Indonesian soldier he is unable to shoot. "Once you look someone in the eyes, it's all over", he explains.

The film makes the subject even more tangible by using photo elicitation interviews to tell the veterans stories. One veteran in particular, Gerrit Kersten, is very animated in his interaction with his photographs as he describes them. He frames the images through his bodily interactions with them, gesturing, staging and reenacting; his body acts as "a mediator between the image and the social community" (Bijl, 2011). Through his physical interactions with the photographs, Kersten frames his

photographs and stories within a larger social narrative. For example, one of the photographs, he explains, shows violent acts. Although he admits there was violence, he refuses to show the photograph to the audience, flashing it briefly, covering it, pressing it closely to his body to hide its image. Although he has spoken about the violence, admitted it, saying it was common practice to kill prisoners, the physical interaction with the photograph, reflects an alternative narrative, a socially acceptable one that involves a silence that is somehow more easily broken in words, than in the sharing of the photograph. Through his behavior, Kersten is reinforcing the convention that applies to personal photo albums, hiding his photograph from the wider audience, even though their story is already known. The interview with Kersten in the film frames the photographs within the personal; Kersten is interviewed in his home, surrounded by personal items, and the camera cuts away on several occasions to inside and outside the house, characterizing Kersten by showing his personal space, making him relatable to the audience. Juxtaposing this with his secrecy concerning the photographs, the film brings together the personal and the national by combining the visibility of Kersten's story, with the secrecy that has dominated the public debate surrounding violence and the Police Actions. The way in which Kersten interacts so intimately with his personal photographs cannot be separated from the national narrative that has been dominated by secrecy. Through this photo-elicitation interview, the film brings both narratives together, introducing them in a new genre, inviting the audience to construct a new, nuanced narrative that combines the two.

2010'S SCIENTIFIC INTEREST: RECOGNITION LONG OVERDUE

On the 10th of July, 2012, the Police Actions resurfaced in the Dutch news. The Volkskrant, nu.nl and the Evening NOS news report all reported a rare find: photographs of executions by the Dutch during the Police Actions. Headlines appointed the photographs in the personal albums of veteran Jacobus R "unseen evidence" of executions by the Dutch forces. In the news reports, experts from the NIOD and NIMH" confirmed that such photographs had never been seen before. In accordance with Bourdieu's theory on photographic convention and my own findings, the quoted, anonymous experts, confirm "these are not everyday photograph, and it is absolutely not the case that every East-Indies veteran brought these kinds of photographs home".[17] Following the discovery of these rare and out of place photographs, the NIOD, KITLV and NIMH quickly responded with the proposal to start a new widely oriented research project on the violence of the "Police Actions". With an expected budget of two the three million euro's, the presidents of the three institutes proposed that the involvement of Indonesian historians and sources was essential to the project. The goal of the project is to finally "close the books", to answer all unanswered questions, so that the ongoing debate can finally be

[17] Original Quote: "Het zijn geen alledaagse foto's en het is beslist niet zo dat iedere Indiëmilitair dit soort foto's mee naar huis bracht", Nicolsen, L 'Eerste foto's ooit van excecuties Nederlands leger in Indië' in Volkskrant.nl, 10/07/2012

concluded.[18] Within months, a research proposal was on the table, and the institutes applied for financial cooperation with the Dutch Government. In December of that year, their request was denied.

Just a week before the Dutch minister of Foreign Affairs announced that the government would not be funding the proposed research project concerning excessive violence during the "Police Actions", he NCRV and KRO produced a debate show on the subject. In the debate, veterans argued that the book o the subject needs to be closed. One man, Willy van Nierop, admitted his annoyance with the fact that people continually under appreciate their service. Another veteran, Maarten Schaafsma, disagreed entirely, arguing that we need to uncover the truth and need to provide clarity so that we can act accordingly if necessary. A third veteran, Herman van Goethem, felt it was unfair to suddenly show such interest now when there was no interest or appreciation at all upon their return, adding to van Nierop's statement that revisiting the subject forces veterans and their relatives to face unnecessary pain and hardship as we already know what needs to be known. Many of the veterans are afraid, and feel it is unfair, that such extensive research would only lead to their conviction as war criminals. Max van der Werff, whose grandfather was a Dutch-East-Indies veteran, points out that it is not the veterans' actions that are on debate, but the greater national political organizations wrongdoings, not only towards the Indonesian peoples, but also toward the veterans, who, according to van der Werff, are just as much victims of politics.

At the same debate, Gert Oost-Indie pointed out that we do not, in fact, know everything that we need to know. According to the director of the KITLV in Leiden, those research projects that have taken place have not been related to one another, and there are still many questions left unanswered. He added that much research never took place earlier, although it was suggested by institutes as early as the 1960's, because the government felt it was inappropriate to look into something they carried political responsibility for. Turning around the veterans' argument, he pointed out that now is the perfect time for research as the political tensions have subsided. Oost-Indie points out that although it is not yet "too late", as many veterans point out, but that it is unfortunate that it was not already done earlier. At the debate, Eimert van Middelkoop, ex-minister of Defence points out that the government cannot stop historians from studying the subject, and that this is simply a question of governmental involvement on a financial level. According to him, it is unthinkable that the lack of governmental support would stop the research all together, as was the case in the 60's. The Dutch government refused to aid the proposed research project financially, as they felt it would not be supported by the Indonesian government, and therefore their political responsibility remained. Although the KITLV, NIOD and NIMH are still planning to pursue the project, the scope is unlikely to be as they had initially imagined with the financial aid of the government.

[18] 'Mogelijk Nieuw Onderzoek Geweld Nederlands-Indië', nu.nl/ANP, 19 July 2012

Striking to me was the fact that, here too, veteran accounts are expressed by means of photo-elicitation interviews. Looking at a photo album, Willy van Noort reminisces about the shooting of a twelve year old boy. None of the photographs show deceased children. Nevertheless, they are used to illustrate and support man's story. Much like Tabee Toean, this television debate utilizes existing images, photographs as an objective form of evidence, to support their discussion. Not favoring a single side of the debate, the recent reflections on the conclusion of the Dutch Colonial history, the so called "Police Actions", provide an alternative narrative to those of the personal photo albums or the DLC-controlled publications, rooted in the same photographic material. Not only did photography lead to the current debate, it has also quickly become a significant part of it. As the social and political circumstances in which these photographs circulate change, audiences and frames shift, re-defining the narratives in which the photographs come to play a role.

Unlike the times in which these photographs first appeared in publications, politics have very little control over current debates, and can no longer limit the appearance of photographs in the public eye, nor can they restrict the narratives they are used to illustrate. Thus, the same photographs that were once so carefully selected, or excluded, from the public eye, are now framing the public debate, which in turn is framing them in a way they were never framed before. As the execution photographs are extracted from their family album atmosphere, and moved into the national historical narrative that can be found in the public archives, the photographs have become disembedded in such a way that they can now be re-embedded into a new frame of reference vastly different from the initial frame. In order to enter this new frame, the photographs' reach must first extend beyond the limits of the original frame, the personal photo album, in order to become eligible for use in a new narrative. It is this ability to move through time and space that allows the photograph, the physical and social object, to break conventions and frames and enter a new phase of its social life, and become part of a new narrative, or alternative history.

CONCLUSION

TO WHAT EXTENT CAN PHOTOGRAPHS SERVE AS A METHODOLOGICAL TOOL IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH?

As I discovered throughout my fieldwork, without the voice of the audience, it is impossible to substantiate enough evidence to support conclusions about the re-construction of narratives. Although photographs published and presented to an audience are framed according to the appropriate conventions, the reception of the audience is not necessarily bound by the same constraints. For this reason, although I strongly believe that photographs remain an underappreciated source of data in the epistemological tradition of anthropology, they cannot replace the written and spoken word as a primary source. Using (audio-) visual sources in addition to interviews and observation can lead to different insights however, that can in turn positively influence the effectiveness of the other methods. Allowing photographs to lead the conversation in a photo-elicitation interview, for example, ensures that the themes brought up by respondents arise naturally from an interactive process between the respondent and the photograph, rather than being artificially introduced, or unintentionally suggested by the researcher. Although I was able to answer many questions using photographic source material, I also found that it was impossible to clarify and confirm findings without personal accounts, interviews and personal background information. Although I was able to find some general similarities between the personal albums I viewed at the NIMH, it would have been very beneficial to me to have spoken to their owners to find out what the album had meant to them, whether this meaning had changed over time and why they had donated to the archive.

TO WHAT EXTENT DO PHOTOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS CONTRIBUTE TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FRAMES IN WHICH THESE PHOTOGRAPHS ARE PRESENTED?

The photographs from the 'Police Actions' are embedded with socio-political narratives on both a personal and a national level. These narratives, however, are a product of photographic conventions and processes of framing. In order for these photographs to convey the meanings that people embed them with, they need to be viewed in their spatial and temporal social and physical contexts. Taking the photographs from their context means removing the photographs from the social narrative they have become a part of, and moving them into a new narrative. Therefore, in the study of the attribution of meaning to photographs, the photographs cannot stand alone disembedded from their context but must be viewed as only one of many components that contribute to the frame in which a photograph is experienced. Furthermore, without textual counterparts, in the form of captions and stories, these photographs cannot function as an adequate source in anthropological research. To fully understand the processes that go into the construction of national narratives and alternative histories, it is imperative that the researcher has access to the reception of photographs in each specific genre.

Although recently photographs showing executions were found in a personal photo album in an archive in Enschede, it is very unlikely that such photographs appear in personal albums. Conventions of remembrance and commemoration so strongly shape these albums, that the appearance of such violent photographs in these kinds of albums was unheard of until this specific instance. For this reason, the albums have become national news, and have sparked a renewed interest in the subject among veterans and researchers alike. Perhaps most important about this case, in the context of my questions regarding framing, is the fact that such photographs exist in great numbers within archives. These kinds of photographs are not an exception in general. They are simply an exception within the personal genre, and have become so famous for that reason, because they break the conventions associated with that genre. Thus it becomes apparent, that these conventions play such a big role, that the exception becomes a national news item.

ARE THESE PHOTOGRAPHS ABLE TO TRANSCEND THEIR ORIGINAL GENRES, AND AS THEY RESURFACE WITHIN A NEW FRAME, DO THEIR NARRATIVES SHIFT ACCORDINGLY?

Yes, not only are photographs are able to move between genres and become part of new, alternative narratives as they are moved and removed from their contexts, they can spark, illustrate, and substantiate different narratives accordingly. As the only constant property of a photograph is its visual content, the image captured by the lens and transferred to paper, by supplying these images with new frames and conventions, they are able to transcend their original narrative and become part of another one all together, without disappearing from the original narrative. As these images are subjected to alternative political and personal narratives, they are able to transcend their original purpose, and gain new, alternative meanings not only as the political and social debates surrounding their content changes of time, but also as the images are adopted into smaller collections, that may not represent the same national paradigm. Narratives are subject to a variety of social and political conventions, none of which remain stagnant over time. This is most apparent in the case of Louis Zweers' books, which present the most contradictory story to that originally presented by the DLC controlled Newspapers and magazines. In line with Karen Strassler's findings, I have come to the conclusion that, "as people participate in each genre's distinctive visuality, they place themselves – and are placed – within the nation in different ways" (Strassler, 2009: 22). Within each genre these photographs are adopted, people interact with them differently, and thereby attribute new narratives to their imagery accordingly.

TO WHAT EXTENT DO CHANGES IN FRAMING INFLUENCE THE REEVALUATION, TRANSFORMATION OR REPLACEMENT OF NARRATIVES, AS THE SAME KIND OF PHOTOGRAPH IS INCLUDED IN A CERTAIN GENRE, THEREBY PRESENTED IN A CERTAIN FRAME?

Framing has an astounding effect on the narrative a photograph is part of, however, the static visual content of photograph will always remain the basis on which a narrative is constructed. Although

convention and framing influence the life of a photograph significantly, it is ultimately the visual content of the photograph that sparks interest, or initiates conversation. This was the case when the violent photographs surfaced in the personal photo albums in Enschede, and has also been what has sparked academic interest in the subject. The photographs found in archives that had previously be out of the public eye, are the ones that sparked interest from not only Louis Zweers, but many other researchers, to challenge the 1940's public media image that had been drawn. Similarly, the photographs that broke the mold that were found in Enschede have reignited the conversation surrounding the subject of excessive violence during the Police Actions, and have lead to a new collective proposal by the NIOD, NIMH and KITLV to do more research. Although it is in large part the continuation of convention that sets the tone of the conversation, when it comes to reevaluating the narratives attributed to these photographs, it is the shift into new frames, and the breaking of conventions, which initiates the process of creating alternative narratives. As photographs continue to cause dissonance between the national and the alternative narratives, moving through space and time, surfacing in different genres, sparking new conventions, the narratives they become associated with and come to represent will remain volatile and subject to new insights, interpretations, and stories. People are not yet finished being inspired by these photographs, not yet finished reframing and reinterpreting them, and certainly the story is not yet done being rewritten.

EPILOGUE

At the Leiden University Library I discovered a gem. A collection of photographs by photographer Cas Oorthuys. Being the last images I looked at during this project, his photographs brought me full circle in a way that I could not have imagined, providing me with a series of photographs that came from a different photographic convention and a different frame than all the others entirely.

After WWII, in which he photographed as part of the clandestine group *De Ondergedoken Camera* (The Camera in Hiding), Oorthuys published a book of photographs titled *Een Staat in Wording* (1947, A state in the making). At this point, Oorthuys still hoped to apply the photographic medium as a political weapon; his book advocated a peaceful solution to the Indonesian struggle for Independence. Soon after this publication ideology faded into the background though people remained prominent in his work. This ideological approach to photography is clearly visible in his photographs, which form a stark contrast to the kind of documentation that took place under the supervision of the DLC. Not limited by the photographic conventions of journalism or documentation, Oorthuys produced photographs filled with artistic merit, raw emotion and "beautiful suffering" (Reinherdt, 2007), finding beauty in the most unexpected places, as well as places ignored in the public eye. Oorthuys' photographs do not only show the beautiful side of Indonesian everyday life and culture, but the smiling faces of the "Republican army", a woman graduating from University and a generally progressive people on the verge of a new era. The positive light in which Oorthuys' photographs represent the late 1940's paints a completely different picture of the birth of Indonesia and the people involved.

I originally pursued this project after finding out my grandfather was a photographer, and seeing some of his photographs from WWII. As time progressed, and fieldwork complications forced me in another direction, I was slowly pulled further and further away from my initial inspiration, and thrust into a different decade, a different continent, and a different war entirely. Gladly enough, I began to study colonial photography from the Dutch East Indies. Going back to my ties with Indonesia was actually rather heartwarming, and my worries about researching war despite my lack of interest in the subject faded. But the photographic genre I had access to shifted from snapshots and people to politics and frames, and slowly but surely, my research lost its ties to my grandfathers photographs, and my personal interest in the alternative, poetic side of war.

Cas Oorthuys' photographs have thrust me right back into that genre I began to let go. His photographs of people sleeping in the streets are pure poetry to the eyes and have reminded me why I so badly wanted to pursue this time consuming project composed almost entirely of sifting through endless piles of uninteresting photographs in the hope of discovering something special within them. As I gaze upon the photographs in the quiet surroundings of the library, I am reminded instantly of

the importance of materiality when it comes to photographs. Carefully centered on a 50x70 cm sheet of white cardboard, the 25x30 cm prints speak volumes as they fill my entirely field of vision. Printed this large, I can see every wrinkle in a widow's face, every fly on a sleeping boy's legs, and every reflection in their eyes as they tell their story. The digital versions available in the database of the National Photography Museum in Rotterdam that owns the rights to Oorthuys' photographs just don't make the same kind of impact.

A young Indonesian boy sits naked in the dirt, his knees pulled to his chest, his arms folded over them in a nonchalant manner. You can count the ribs in his arched little back. His arm, rather than flowing seamlessly from his torso, is strongly defined by the shoulder-blade protruding from his skinny body. The look in his eyes is a mixture of anger, confusion and sadness, as he stares straight into the lens, through the viewer's eyes and straight into their soul. Oorthuys' portraits of the people affected by the war are infinitely more intimate than any photograph I have seen in the other archives. Even the personal photo albums filled with portraits of smiling comrades by waterfalls can't compare to the raw, honest emotion that Oorthuys captures here. *This* is why I photograph, this is why I study photography, and this is where it becomes clearer than ever just how extensively convention and frame can influence what a photograph comes to represent. Oorthuys' representation of the Indies in the late 1940's is the most alternative of narratives I have seen, and to me, it is the most beautiful.

The photos by Cas Oorthuys can be found in the Leiden University Library, Special Collections, reference numbers: (70.1739) (70.1707a) (70.1744) (70.1711) (70.1681)

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