The course of co-option: Co-option of local power-holders as a tool for obtaining control over the population in counterinsurgency campaigns in weblike societies. With case studies on Dutch experiences during the Aceh War (1873-c. 1912) and the Uruzgan campaign (2006-2010)

Kitzen, M.W.M.

Citation for published version (APA):
Kitzen, M. W. M. (2016). The course of co-option: Co-option of local power-holders as a tool for obtaining control over the population in counterinsurgency campaigns in weblike societies. With case studies on Dutch experiences during the Aceh War (1873-c. 1912) and the Uruzgan campaign (2006-2010).

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
The Course of Co-option

Co-option of local power-holders as a tool for obtaining control over the population in counterinsurgency campaigns in weblike societies

With case studies on Dutch experiences during the Aceh War (1873-c. 1912) and the Uruzgan campaign (2006-2010)
The Course of Co-option

Co-option of local power-holders as a tool for obtaining control over the population in counterinsurgency campaigns in weblike societies

With case studies on Dutch experiences during the Aceh War (1873-c. 1912) and the Uruzgan campaign (2006-2010)

Martijn Kitzen
Typography & Design: Marcel Groenhuis, Multimedia NLDA
Printed by: Xerox/OBT


© 2016 Martijn Kitzen

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of the author of the book.

This dissertation was financially and factually supported by the Netherlands Defence Academy. The views and opinions in this dissertation are and remain solely the responsibility of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Ministry of Defence.
The Course of Co-option

Co-option of local power-holders as a tool for obtaining control over the population in counterinsurgency campaigns in weblike societies

With case studies on Dutch experiences during the Aceh War (1873-c. 1912) and the Uruzgan campaign (2006-2010)
Promotiecommissie:

**Promotor:**
Prof. dr. H. Amersfoort  Universiteit van Amsterdam

**Copromotor:**
Dr. M.A. Fumerton  Universiteit Utrecht

**Overige leden:**
Prof. dr. P.A.L. Ducheine  Universiteit van Amsterdam
Prof. dr. I.G.B.M. Duyvesteyn  Universiteit Leiden
Prof. dr. B.G.J. de Graaff  Universiteit Utrecht
Prof. dr. R.V.A. Janssens  Universiteit van Amsterdam
Prof. dr. W. Klinkert  Universiteit van Amsterdam
Prof. dr. F.B.P. Osinga  Nederlandse Defensie Academie

**Faculteit:**
Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen
‘What he now wanted to achieve was an aim the idea of which sprang from his humanity, from the noblest part of himself. What he now wanted to achieve was an ideal, the ideal of the Westerner in the east and of the Westerner who sees the east as he wishes to see it and as he could but see it.’
Louis Couperus, *The Hidden Force*

‘In the end, we are just passing through.’
Dutch Special Forces captain, July 2007
Contents
Contents

Prologue .....................................................................................................................11

Introduction ................................................................................................................15

Part I: An analytical framework for understanding co-option of local power-holders as a tool for obtaining control over the population in counterinsurgency campaigns in weblike societies

Chapter 1: The logic underlying population-centric counterinsurgency: population control through collaboration ................................................................. 33

Chapter 2: Co-option of local power-holders in weblike societies .......................... 63

Chapter 3: Co-option in counterinsurgency: a conceptual exploration in historiographical perspective ................................................................. 107

Part II: The Aceh War

Chapter 4: Aceh and the first decades of the war, 1873-1893 .................................... 177

Chapter 5: The Teuku Uma policy ........................................................................... 217

Chapter 6: Pacification at last: the emergence of the Aceh strategy and the establishing of Dutch control ................................................................. 255

Chapter 7: The Aceh War as a case study of co-option of local power-holders in colonial warfare ................................................................. 305

Part III: The Uruzgan campaign

Chapter 8: Afghanistan, Uruzgan, and the War from 2001 until 2006....................... 329

Chapter 10: 2008-2010: Counterinsurgency as an underpinning for long-term stability ... 427

Chapter 11: The Uruzgan campaign as a case study of co-option of local power-holders in modern counterinsurgency warfare ................................................................. 495

Conclusion: The course of co-option in theory and reality ............................................. 525

Acronyms ..................................................................................................................551

Glossary ....................................................................................................................557

Bibliography ..............................................................................................................561

Maps ........................................................................................................................599

Annexes ................................................................................................................... 607

Summary .................................................................................................................. 611

Samenvatting ............................................................................................................619

Acknowledgments ................................................................................................... 627