Introduction

In the previous issue (On the Waterfront 8, 2004, p. 2) we announced that we expected to receive a special donation from the United States. As you can read on p. 14 this donation has indeed become a fact. In addition, we have received interesting reactions from a few Friends. We would like to open this issue with two of these. Finally, we would like to call your attention to a few changes to the colophon, below. In order to prevent any misunderstandings, we and our colleagues who are responsible for the bookkeeping for the Institute have made some changes to the bank account numbers and now indicate them more clearly below.

We ask you to take note of this when you transfer money to the Friends. Further, this newsletter is now really a true publication, since beginning with this issue it has its very own ISSN number.

Members of the Friends of the IISH pay annual dues of one or five hundred euro or join with a lifetime donation of one thousand five hundred euro or more. In return, members are invited to semi-annual sessions featuring presentations of IISH acquisitions and guest speakers. These guest speakers deliver lectures on their field of research, which does not necessarily concern the IISH collection.

The presentation and lecture are followed by a reception. In addition to these semi-annual gatherings, all Friends receive a forty-percent discount on IISH publications. Friends paying dues of one thousand guilders or more are also entitled to choose Institute publications from a broad selection offered at no charge.

The board consults the Friends about allocation of the revenues from the dues and delivers an annual financial report in conjunction with the IISH administration.

The IISH was founded by master collector Nicolaas Posthumus (1880-1960) in the 1930s. For the past decade, two of the institutes established by this “history entrepreneur” have operated from the same premises: the NEHA (Netherlands Economic History Archive) since 1914 and the International Institute of Social History (IISH), which is now over sixty-five years old. Both institutes are still collecting, although the “subsidiary” IISH has grown far larger than the “parent” NEHA. (Detailed information about the IISH appears in: Maria Hunink De papieren van de revolutie. Het Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis 1935-1947 Amsterdam 1986) and in: Jan Lucassen Tracing the past. Collections and research in social and economic history. The International Institute of Social History. The Netherlands Economic History Archive and related institutions (Amsterdam 1989); in addition, Miep Campfens reviews archives in De Nederlandse archieven van het Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis te Amsterdam (Amsterdam 1989), and Jaap Haag and Aite van der Horst have compiled the Guide to the International Archives and Collections at the IISH, Amsterdam (Amsterdam 1999).

For all information concerning the Friends, contact Mieke IJzermans at the IISH (mj@iisg).

COLOPHON

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**Friends Reactions**

**Table d’hôte**
One of our friends, the journalist Piet Hagen, is a faithful visitor to our reading room. He thought it would be a good idea if the Friends would try to promote contact among the visitors to the reading room and create an Institute research community. Now, every Tuesday since 14 September, from 12:15 until 13:00, a Table d’hôte is reserved in the lunchroom where Jan Lucassen functions as host to anyone who would like to join him. The table seems to have filled a need: each week one, two, or three guests talk about their research at the Institute. The coffee, tea, soda, and fruit are free.

**Boris Sapir**
Dr Anna Sapir Abulafia, Vice President of the Lucy Cavendish College at Cambridge and daughter of Boris Sapir, informs us that she was delighted with the piece about her father in *On the Waterfront*, 2004, p. 9. Additionally, she wrote that she and her brother, Leo Sapir, had donated their father’s library to the IISH in memory of both their parents: Boris and Berti Sapir. Their mother had her own special link with the Institute. She was the niece of Annie Adama van Scheltema-Kleefstra (see *On the Waterfront*, 2003, pp. 9-11) and worked in the library of the Institute before the war. It was at the Institute that Boris and Berti Sapir met. Anna Abulafia also pointed out that, although the article was correct in emphasising her father’s great interest in Judaica and his significant contribution to the work of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee while he resided in New York, it was very important to remember that his heart always remained in Russia, that his language was Russian, and that his dream was to return to the IISH to continue his historical research on Russian social history. When that finally became possible in 1967, it was “a dream come true”.

**Leerdam Glass Factory**
For Dutch people the glass industry in Leerdam is very well known. It is not only that most ordinary glass comes from there, including beer bottles and drinking glasses, but it is also famous for glass by well-known designers such as the architects K.P.C. de Bazel and H.P. Berlage, and especially by Andries D. Copier. The well-known director P.M. Cochius promoted applied arts by founding the Dutch Union for Arts and Industry (Nederlandse Bond voor Kunsten en Industrie: BKI). The artistic designs that come from Leerdam have also achieved international fame.

But strangely enough our knowledge about the history of this industry is only very meagre. Some publications attribute this to the fact that only a few archival pieces have been preserved. But a recent discovery has introduced a new point of view. Someone called the Institute in March to say that he had about 1.5 metres of papers relating to the glass industry in Leerdam. A relative had been an important shareholder of the Vereenigde Glasfabrieken (United Glass Factories) via N.V. Pont’s Glasgroothandel (glass wholesaler) in Amsterdam, which also had a sales office in Leerdam. This was how the papers had ended up in his attic. The collection was not very substantial for a company archive, but it is a true guild), to restrict the free movement of workers, and in 1885 even tried to reach a national agreement on wage tariffs. Such an agreement actually happened in 1904, partly through fear of the emerging union movement and strikes. In 1907, under German leadership, even a European agreement on wage tariffs. Such an agreement actually happened in 1904, partly through fear of the emerging union movement and strikes. In 1907, under German leadership, even a European
cartel of bottle manufacturers emerged.

One document from 1904 sheds light on the development of the workers' relationships in the Leerdam glass industry, where, in 1903, 600 workers were employed by the N.V. Glasfabriek 'Leerdam' (previously Jeekel) alone. The document was a request to the director of the factory, written by the doctor Cornelis Voogd, who had been a member of the one-year-old administration of the neighborhood healthcare organisation in Leerdam and had acquired support from this group, which also included the mayor, a councilman, the recipient, a pastor, and a factory supervisor. Voogd, who, since 1887, had been associated with the factory, pleaded in the letter that a hospital be established, for which the doctors that it was also in favour of attending to those who are ill; the fact that those who are ill share a bed with others does not improve the matter: 'in most families not every person has a separate bed: mostly 2 to 3 children share, or the parents share the same sleeping arrangement with 1 or more children [...] The person who is ill must continue to share his bed with the healthy ones, or the healthy are pushed in with other members of the household, or have to make do with a space on the floor.'

Add to this the fact that in some dwellings the toilet is also in the same room, and taking into account the terribly sad state of our sewers, unasked, and certainly undesirably, this spoils the little fresh air that gets into the dwellings, and it should be clear that Voogd thought he had advanced sufficient arguments to convince the directors that it was also in their well understood best interest to support establishment of a hospital in Leerdam.

Mrs Lettie van Meurs - Schijisma offered a substantial collection of letters, correspondence, and photos to the Institute, via Emile Schwider. The high point of this collection is the letters, which were addressed to Kaatje Schijisma (Lettie's mother, and Aletta's daughter) by the Javanese princess Kaida. When Kaatje went to secondary school in Amsterdam and later studied in Leiden, she corresponded with Kaida. The first letter that been preserved is from October 1912, the last of September 1916. That these letters comprise roughly 100 pages of unique documents testifies to their importance, certainly also because we have the original letters here, and not, as with the important Kartini example, a collection of another Javanese princess that had been subsequently edited by someone else.

Kaida was born on 11 December 1893 as the daughter of the ambitious prince Notodirodjo (1858-1917), who had been the second son of the Count Pakoe Alam V, whose court was in Jokjakarta, next to that of the local sultan. He was one of the four princes of Java. Notodirodjo never became a pakoe alam, but did enjoy the same respect because he acted as regent for at least two pakoe alams (his brother and his brother's son). Notodirodjo and his brother had a western education. His membership in the Freemasons is quite remarkable. He also founded the 'Vereeniging voor Hollandsch-Indisch Onderwijs op Neutrale Grondslag' (Association for Dutch-Indonesian Education based on a Neutral Foundation) and the Javanese Scholarship Foundation 'Darmo-Woro'; he was also chairman of the board of 'Boedi-Oetomo' (founded in 1908), and board member of the 'Djokjasche Kunstarbeid Association' (Jokyan Art Work Association).

Notodirodjo also allowed all his children - boys (including the well-known Noto Soeroto) and girls - to attend the European school. Kaida went there until she was sixteen. She believed that she wasn't clever enough to study
any further and become a teacher, as her sisters Karlina (‘Lien’, who was the first Indonesian teacher with a Dutch diploma) and Akadia. Together with their younger sister Rolia and their aunt Soeti, they became a close-knit group of young women in the kraton (the palace) who read Dutch, attended meetings (such as Aletta Jacobs’ on women’s suffrage), performances of plays, etc. Kaïda did teach for a number of years at a Javanese school, earned a teacher’s certificate in needle-work (in order to take the examination she had to go all the way to Batavia), and took lessons in theosophy. The two strokes her father had tied her hands and forced her to be at home. In her letters she describes her frustrations with this. Her main goal was to become independent, and for that purpose she kept embroidering on Kartini – the first Indonesian woman writer whom both she and Kaatje had read and who was a model for her.

How important this correspondence was for Kaïda appears from the following passage (25 December 1915), when she received a photo of Kaatje: ‘My sisters and nieces who live in the same house as I do must see that photo immediately. I didn’t want to give it to them at first, they had to guess. But before I said anything, they said: “Surely you got a letter from Holland, that’s why you’re so happy and excited. Come, admit it, isn’t it true, for you are always that way when there is something for you in the mail. That’s easy to see on your face.”’

Education is the key to a happy future. When her sisters and Kaatje have to take their examinations at the same time in March 1914, Kaïda writes: ‘Oh, that will really be wonderful when we come back home with a diploma in our pocket. That is especially true for us Javanese women; with such a diploma you are armed in the battle of life. Freed by this, you are also independent. It is not only about this that I have to think. It means that many people’s hopes will not be frustrated. They will be the first Javanese woman teachers, and that is a great deal. Teachers, the future of a child also in her hand […] I believe that to be dependent on others is indeed very unlucky. Although I don’t have any certification, I would still be against being dependent on someone, even if it was a brother. No, people have to stand on their own. With us, if you no longer have any parents, it is usual to live with a brother until he marries you off to someone about whose existence you don’t even know of beforehand […] But, thank God that my parents are still alive, and that they are even in favour of not only the boys but also the girls carving out their own places in society. Kaatje, I have to tell you that I truly get pleasure from my work. If you could only see how pleasant and uninhibited the children are outside the lessons, especially the girls, sitting around me, talking to each other about all kinds of things, and yet so meek and obedient in the classroom. I feel as if they love me. It’s nice, isn’t it, when you know that. And then even how they act with one another. No nobles with nobles, subordinates with subordinates; no, they all behave very sweetly to each other. But if this relationship will still continue, even when they later become important people, that is the big question.’

Henri van Kol (1852-1925)

One of the ‘discoverers’ of the above mentioned Kartini (1879-1904) were the socialist representative Hendrikus Hubertus Van Kol and his wife. He even successfully argued in Dutch Parliament for a scholarship for her to study in the Netherlands. It is not completely clear why she finally decided not to go – but perhaps Dutch people in Indonesia feared a socialist influence on Kartini. She married soon thereafter, only to die suddenly, following the birth of her first child, at the age of twenty-five.

Since 1974 the Institute has had an extensive archive, concentrated on colonialism, of this internationally oriented socialist politician. At the close of 2003, we received a small addition,
presented by the poet and writer, ‘Drs P.’ (Heinz Polzer), who is known especially for his nonsense texts. He is married to a grand-daughter of this star of Dutch, Dutch-Indonesian, and international social-democratic descent. That is indeed special: a donation of papers almost eighty years after he had been killed by a simple fall from the running board of a car in 1925. He was then travelling from Nîmes to Brussels, where the Belgian Workers’ Party was meeting to commemorate its forty-year existence. In Brussels he was to be honoured as one of the founders. A couple of years earlier he had been honoured in a major way because, fifty years previously, he had become a member of the International Workers Association, the First International. Besides books and a letter by Willem Vliegen, this addition contains mostly photographs, including a special series.

Allert de Lange Publishers

Recently, the IISH received a small (yet no less important for that) addition to the archive of the Allert de Lange Publishers. This addition is not about the authors but about Walter Landauer, the head of the German department of Allert de Lange Publishers. Landauer, who had run Gustav Kiepenheuer Publishers in Potsdam/Berlin, together with Fritz Landshoff and Hermann Kersten, was summarily forced to leave Germany in 1933, together with his colleagues.

In 1934 Landauer then definitively settled in Amsterdam, and together with Hermann Kersten, was in charge of De Lange’s German department. Their friend Fritz Landshoff became head of the German exile literature publisher, Querido, which, with the publication of the famous periodical, Die Sammlung (The Collection), also became a platform for de Lange’s authors. It was not happenstance that a major portion of the books put out by both these publishers in the period of 1933-1940 had previously been published by the Gustav Kiepenheuer Company. Amsterdam was the home of two of the most successful and largest exile publishers: Querido and Allert de Lange - managed by three friends that worked well and harmoniously together.

POSTCARD, SENT ON 2 AUGUST 1944 BY WALTER LANDAUER FROM ‘TEMPORARY CAMP BERGEN Belsen’ TO HIS SISTER ERNA KRANZ, WHO THEN RESIDED IN ISTANBUL, TOGETHER WITH HER HUSBAND, DR WALTHE KRANZ. HE WRITES TO HER IN PENCIL: ‘LIEBE ERNA! DANK FÜR DAS SCHÖNE PAKET. WARE GLÜCKLICH VON DIR ZU HöREN. ES IST ERLAUBT PAKETE ZU EMPFANGEN, KÖNNEN DIREKT VON ISTANBUL GESANDT WERDEN (NICHTEINGESCHRIEBEN ODER EXPRESS). KOMMT ALLES GUT AN, HERZLICHST WALTER.’ [‘DEAR ERNA! THANK YOU FOR THE BEAUTIFUL PACKAGE. WAS HAPPY TO HEAR FROM YOU. IT IS PERMITTED FOR US TO RECEIVE PACKAGES, THEY CAN BE SENT DIRECTLY FROM ISTANBUL (NOT REGISTERED OR EXPRESS). EVERYTHING ARRIVES FINE. BEST WISHES, WALTER.’]

IF ONE REALLY WISHES TO RESPOND, THE STAMP STATES: ‘RÜCKANTWORT NUR AUF POSTKARTEN IN DEUTSCHER SPRACHE ÜBER DIE REICHSVEREINIGUNG DER JUden IN DEUTSCHLAND’ [‘RETURN ANSWERS ONLY IN GERMAN THROUGH THE REICH UNION OF JEWS IN GERMANY’]. (IISH, UITGEVERIJ ALLERT DE Lange)
Walter Landauer was the only one of the three who did not survive the war. In 1941, when the Gestapo tried to fetch him from his home, he managed to escape by jumping from the window. Having been seriously injured, he then spent many months in hospital. Finally, in 1943, he was caught and ended up in Westerbork. In the end, weakened and starving, he died in December 1944 in Bergen Belsen.

The Alexander Herzen Stichting (Foundation) (c. 1969 - c. 2000)

It is a tempting thought to draw a connection between the help that was offered by a number of people in the Netherlands in the 1930s to political and other types of refugees and that offered a generation later by other Dutch people to Russian dissidents during the Brezhnev phase of the Cold War. The more so when, in both instances, communists or ex-communists played a prominent role.

There is a tendency to think of this in connection with what is perhaps the most important of the Institute’s recent acquisitions - certainly when cultural interests are weighed alongside the social-historical. In this context, we point to the archive of the Alexander Herzen Stichting (Foundation), established in 1969, and presented by Jozien Driessen-Van het Reve, the daughter of its important founder, Karel van het Reve (1921-1999) and his wife Jozina, who was similarly active on behalf of the AHS. Therefore, it is a happy coincidence that at about the same time we received the papers of Jan Willem Bezemer (1921-2000), chairman of the AHS.

It is not by chance that an initiative like the AHS could have been undertaken in Amsterdam, nor that the IISH should now have acquired its archive. In Jozien Driessen’s words: ‘That the AHS was precisely founded in Amsterdam was historically determined. It was in Amsterdam that Jan Willem Bezemer and Karel van het Reve, who as twenty-year-olds had lived under the German occupation, could imagine what it would be like to live under an objectionable regime and to have to accommodate to it. English people who have never been occupied do not understand what the German occupation in the Second World War was like: just look at their comical series about it on TV. Americans can imagine it even less.’ And as for the IISH: it already had the Alexander Herzen (1812-1870) archive even before the war. Herzen was the first Russian writer to publish books and periodicals in the West without any censorship. In closing, we add yet another interesting detail: Van het Reve, Bezemer, and (who we will hereafter refer to as) Beppie Spanjer had all once worked in the IISH building. Karel van het Reve himself wrote a novel about this (Twee minuten stilte: Two Minutes of Silence, 1939).

Herzen’s ideal of a hundred years earlier fulfilled precisely what Van het Reve (professor of Russian literature at the University of Leiden), Bezemer (Professor of Russian history at the University of Amsterdam), and Peter Brian Reddaway (born 1939, lecturer in Russian history at the London School of Economics), together with Jozina van het Reve and Beppie Spanjer (also called “Elisabeth Fisher”) desired: ‘to publish manuscripts written in the USSR which cannot be published there because of censorship’.

This idea came to Van het Reve in 1967, when he received permission from Leiden University to be a correspondent in Moscow for the Amsterdam daily. ‘Het Parool’. Although he had already left his communist youth behind him at least twenty years previously, he was no less well informed about the ideology and history of the Soviet Union. Maybe the best way to put it is that his idealism was now directed elsewhere. The position as a correspondent would allow him to observe the Soviet Union
people may think of my opinions, for sovietologists they will be as interesting as it would be for an ichthyologist if a fish began to talk.'

Solidarity Committee Mexico (1994-1998)
The Solidarity Committee Mexico was founded at the end of 1994 in Amsterdam. Initially it was a platform for people from diverse organisations as well as individuals who wanted to express their solidarity with the uprising of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation (EZLN) that had broken out on 1 January 1994 in the Chiapas province of Mexico. In the beginning the main purpose was to distribute information about the uprising, and at a later stage, also to publicise about radical left social movements in Mexico.

The group’s activities consisted of organising diverse informational events throughout the Netherlands, demonstrations, and other protest actions, and publication of the periodical Zapata Mexico Nieuwsbrief (Newsletter), and various individual brochures. The periodical rapidly developed from a traditional organ of solidarity to a periodical in which a great deal of criticism was formulated about how EZLN functioned and about its ideas.

In the international arena this group worked together with ideologically similar groups from other European countries, and the Committee participated on several occasions in meetings of the European solidarity network. To-

in reality. For him that principally meant contact with the dissidents, and, through the New York Times, Moscow correspondent, in June 1968 he was able to see that Andrej Sacharov’s (1919-1989) Progress, Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom was published. That may well have suggested to him the idea of publishing the samizdat manuscripts himself. In the next ten years, the AHS published eighteen original works (not counting the many translations) by and about the dissidents, including work by Andrej Amalrik (1938-1980), especially his prophetic Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?, and by his wife Gjuzel, Juri Daniel, Peter Grigorenko, Roy Medvedev, and Jevgeni Gnedin. It goes without saying that the AHS literary archive is a rich source for further research by both historians and lovers of literature.

In the first days of 1994 this Zapatista fell in Ocósingo, which is situated in the Meseta Central in Chiapas (Mexico), photo Fernando García (IIISH, BG 825/779)
gether with groups from France, Belgium, and Spain, the ‘boat project’ was set in motion. This project included piloting a ship with diverse Europeans towards various parts of Mexico in order to provide a more direct exchange of ideas and experiences.

In 1998 the Committee decided to cease its activities because of its dissatisfaction with the political direction of the EZLN. Its archive was received by the IISH from one of the staff of the squatters’ organisation ‘Het Fort van Sjakoo’ (Sjakoo’s Fort) at the end of 2003. Most of the material relates to European solidarity groups, but it also contains original materials from the Zapatista movement.

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This rapid electronic way of communicating enables the researchers to create a very detailed picture about the activities of this group in Croatia and about the situation in Croatia itself at the end of the war and afterwards. In this way the short reports and communications that would otherwise have taken place over the telephone were able to be preserved.

Lopend Vuur Kosovo also included modern peace activists who used e-mail and fax communications. Lopend Vuur was an independent movement in the Netherlands that had begun at the end of 1992, working together with anti-war groups in the former Yugoslavia in order to encourage the desire for peace, to go through the entire area like a running fire. The Nijmegen department, where the archive came from, concentrates especially on Kosovo. It maintained close contact with the Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHFR) and the Women’s Forum of the Democratic League of Kosovo (LJK), among others. Both organisations advocated a peaceful end to the conflict. Lopend Vuur Nijmegen supported the groups in Kosovo by reporting from the area and sending the reports to the Dutch media; it also wrote informational articles and attempted to awake interest in Dutch political life for the problems in Kosovo. It also sent communications equipment and other items to the area. Since one of the tasks of Lopend Vuur consisted of collecting material about the situation in Kosovo, a substantial portion of the archive consists of printed pieces and newspaper articles. These are often arranged about a particular theme and contain notes by people from the organisation.


For many years now the IISH has been in contact with the Communist Party of Sudan (CPS), particularly with the Cairo Department (Egypt). We recently received this new Sudan collection, which consists of two parts: papers from the Communist Party of Sudan CPS, Cairo Department, 1970-2003, and those of The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) Sudan, 1990-2003.
in Egypt, especially during the 1970s, when more Sudanese students studied in Egypt than in Sudan itself. Another important part of the collection consists of documents related to activities of the CPS within the National Democratic Alliance, the overarching organisation of the Sudanese opposition against the present regime in Sudan. These documents throw a new light on the contacts among the CPS and the other Sudanese parties, as well as revealing the CPS standpoints on various matters that arose within the NDA, particularly the way it offered opposition to the Sudanese dictatorship.

The NDA was founded as an underground organisation in Khartoum in September 1989, only three months after the military coup by General Omar al-Bashir, who, in June 1989, was responsible for putting the present regime of the National Islamic Front in power. The NDA was formed from all the Sudanese opposition parties. Their leaders operated from Cairo, since it was impossible for them to develop political activities in Sudan itself.

The collection is comprised of several important parts, including various underground CPS publications, as well as those from trade unions, student and youth movements, women’s organisations, and various professional organisations. For example, there is an interesting letter by Jan Pronk (the former Dutch Minister for Development) to Dr John Garang, the leader of the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA). In this letter of December 1995 Pronk regrets that John Garang refuses to meet the Sudanese vice president Ali Taha in the Hague, despite the fact that he had accepted the invitation to visit the Netherlands. According to Garang, that was really inappropriate. Besides, he believed that such a meeting would be unlikely to result in anything substantial. In the end, John Garang and Ali Taha - following years in which there had been regular attempts to get the two to sit down at the negotiating table – signed a peace agreement in the first week of June 2004.

In addition, there are eight notebooks containing the handwritten outlines of two books by Mohamed Ibrahim Nuqqud, the secretary general of the CPS. These books were written when he was
in hiding in the 1990s. The first book is called Footnotes on Landownership: Documents in Darfur, Sudan. It describes the issue of property ownership and provides a social-economic analysis of property ownership in the Darfur region (West Sudan) in the 17th and 19th centuries. There is currently a civil war being waged in this area, and the fighting is very closely tied to the issues of property ownership. During his house arrest in 1989-1990, Nuqud was allowed to consult documents for this book in the National Archives three times a week, accompanied by armed guards. The book was a reaction to a previous book written by the then director of the National Archives, Professor Abu Salim.

The second book is called A Dialogue with Morowa, and is a commentary on the well-known four-part The Materialistic Tendencies in Islamic Philosophy by the Lebanese Marxist philosopher Hussein Morowa. Morowa’s book is very popular and is regarded in intellectual circles in the Middle East as an intellectual accomplishment.

Photo Collection by Wim Dussel (1920-2004)
The Image and Sound department was particularly pleased to receive an exceptionally large collection of photographs (thousands, if not more) by the photographic journalist Wim Dussel. In 1945 he volunteered to serve with the marines in the Netherlands-Indies (Indonesia), originally to fight against the Japanese, but he quickly landed in the middle of the chaos during the declaration of independence. He had a press card from the daily, ‘Het Vrije Volk’, which was stamped: Groeningen, 7 July 1945, and he took countless photographs in Indonesia from 1945 to 1948. Luckily for us, he maintained an extensive indexing system in which he indicated not only the subject, date, and place, but also included a contact print and negative.

In 1950 he joined the Dutch UN detachment in Korea, which not only yielded many photographs of that country, but also of Japan and Hong Kong. In fact, he continued to go on major travels his entire life (as a true Dutchman, sometimes even on a bicycle; for example, he crossed the US that way on the occasion of its bicentennial celebration). The material from his travels greatly increased the research value of the collection. It is especially the large series about Russia and India that are remarkable, but many other countries are also well represented. In his work Dussel had a special eye for everyday life, for extraordinary people, landscapes, and individual human suffering.

This last aspect is very apparent in his photo series on the great flood that occurred in the southwestern part of the Netherlands in February 1953. The spring floods caused many dikes to break in the provinces of Zeeland, North Brabant, and South Holland, causing almost 2,000 people to drown in the waves.

Acquisitions for the button collection
The same Image and Sound department systematically began to collect buttons and pins scores of years ago, and as a result of this the partial collections already contain about 4,000 items. The notion of showing social commitment by wearing a button or pin is more than one hundred years old. For the labour movement it is related to 1 May. In 1890 demonstrators for the eight-hour day in Paris wore a small red leather triangle on their lapels. The three sides of the triangle symbolised eight hours of work, eight hours of leisure, and eight hours of sleep. After some discussion the French eventually replaced the triangle by a red rose.

A major addition was recently donated by Mr Martyn Lowe, archivist and librarian of the ‘War Resisters’ International in London (their archives are also in the Institute). Lowe was himself an activist, and over the years collected over 500 different pins and buttons, mainly from the peace and environmental movement from the 1970s to the 1990s.
Lecture by Bart Tromp: Globalisation and Hegemony

B art Tromp is Professor in the theory and history of international relations at the University of Amsterdam and also Senior Research Fellow of the Dutch Institute of International relations ‘Clingendael’. He was trained as a sociologist at the State University of Groningen, where he graduated cum laude in 1971. He then taught at the Eindhoven University of Technology and at the University of Leiden. Since 1979 he has been a political columnist of the Amsterdam daily Het Parool, and later also of the daily De Gelderlander. Beginning with September 2001, he has also been a political commentator for international affairs for the weekly Elsevier.

At the end of the fifteenth century a world economy emerged that included Western Europe at its core and parts of the Americas on the periphery. This period saw also the outbreak of a long series of wars in Europe that were instrumental in forging the modern state. In 1648, with the Peace of Westphalia, these processes of state formation had produced a new international structure and an inter-state system. The new world system, according to the theory introduced by Immanuel Wallerstein,7 had two faces. It was a world economy, and yet its core was based on an inter-state system, with territorial states as sovereign entities.

In this world system there has been (and still is) an ongoing struggle among the great powers for the most advantageous position. Over the last five hundred years this struggle has been cyclical in nature. Competition among the great powers led to protracted world wars, and at the close of each of these conflicts one of the states gained hegemony within the inter-state system. The emergence of the ‘winner’ came about through its own strategy and capabilities, as well as through the default of the other contenders.

Thus, the Peace of Westphalia ended the first of these inter-state world wars, the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), which also resulted in the hegemony of the Dutch Republic. Dutch hegemony began in the 1720s and was overshadowed when England and France overcame their internal troubles to once again play a part in the struggle.

The wars of the French Revolution (1792-1815) ended on the battlefield of Waterloo, which resulted in France losing the battle for supremacy in the world system. During most of the nineteenth century Great Britain maintained its hegemony, only beginning its decline around 1870 - a decline that had its nadir with the outbreak of World War I.

The period between the two World Wars should be viewed as a temporary armistice between conflicts; together the period from 1914-1945 forms the third great world war in the inter-state system. At its end the United States of America unmistakably emerged as the new hegemonic power.

The concept of hegemony refers not just to the fact that one state is more powerful than others in the inter-state system. It has a more precise meaning in the analysis of world systems: it connotes the simultaneous supremacy of one state in the domains of production, trade and transport, and financial dealings, as a result of which such a state has comparative advantages in all these domains. Of course, such comparative advantages would be lost over time, but the period in which they were held is considered the hegemonic era of a particular state.8 For the Dutch Republic this corresponded approximately to 1620-1670; for Great Britain 1815-1870.

Given these criteria, there is no doubt that in 1945 the USA had become the hegemonic power in the modern world system. It also follows from this concept of hegemony that a hegemonic power prospers most in the world order that existed when it gained hegemony. The hegemon has thus a vested interest in peace and order, and will exert its power to secure these. World order is not a zero-sum game: all peaceful states will profit from it, even if not all will do so to the same degree. And the most powerful state will try to consolidate this order by structuring the international order. Johan de Witt’s principles of statecraft underlined the Dutch endeavours in this regard in the seventeenth century; the Concert of Europe was the most important instrument in the British strategy for attaining international order. They were the predecessors of the post-World War II international Pax Americana.

A world order in which the USA would bear responsibility for the smooth running of the international order, however, required a distinct rupture with the traditional American view of international politics. This tradition was characterised by a policy of maintaining distance from the inter-state system (identified with Europe) while at the same time it claimed a special place in the world and a concomitant sphere of influence: the American continent. Known as the Monroe doctrine, this position was also based on the idea of American exceptionalism. In the last resort, this meant that ‘God’s Own Country’ should not and could not be subjected to international laws and international regimes.9

This tradition was of crucial importance in the rejection by the t/s Senate of President Woodrow Wilson’s proposals for a new international order based on the Covenant of the League of Nations. The architects of the post-war America world order did their utmost to avoid Wilson’s mistakes and to build a bipartisan consensus for the new institutions and
international structures.

Once this had been accomplished, the new order could take form and structure in a range of multilateral organisations, agreements, and regimes under the aegis of the USA. These included the United Nations and its many agencies and organisations on special subjects, from UNESCO to FAO, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT, evolving in the sixties, as originally intended, into the World Trade Organisation, WTO), the international monetary regime agreed upon in Bretton Woods, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, NATO, SEATO, and others.

As history has demonstrated, hegemony is always temporary. In the beginning an important goal of the new world order for the USA was the creation of a world economy that could consume American production. Success in this respect, however, could only lead to a relative decline of the USA’s global economic position. One example is the demise of the Bretton Woods agreements. The international monetary regime after the Second World War was based on these agreements. While it was decided to keep in place national control of international capital flows, it was also decided to accept as general monetary unit the US dollar, with its value linked directly to the value of gold. This provided a stable system of exchange rates.

But this international monetary regime had a built-in contradiction: the ‘Triffin-dilemma’. The regime relied upon American balance-of-payments deficits to provide enough liquidity for the world economy. But in the long run these deficits tended to undermine confidence in the dollar.

Several decades later trust in the American economy replaced confidence in the dollar. But the USA did not exercise the monetary discipline the regime demanded of other states. The end came in August 1971, when President Nixon decided to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold – and introduced at the same time a general import tariff of 10%. This was the beginning of the decline of American hegemony in the world system. On 1 January 1974 the American government lifted all restrictions on the import and export of capital, essentially choosing an international monetary regime built solely around American interests.

This decision demonstrated the unequalled power of the USA in the world economy. As a result, within a few years the international flow of capital was completely unfettered, since other states were not able to withstand the pressure of the American example. The liberalisation of international capital explains the instability of the monetary system in the past twenty years, but the unilateral financial strategy chosen in the early seventies by President Nixon is really the result of the USA’s inability to maintain the international monetary system it had constructed itself in 1944. In other words, the seventies saw the emergence of a pattern (not only in the domain of international financial and monetary matters) in which the USA substituted a unilateral policy based on weakness for an earlier multilateral policy based on strength. Almost thirty years later we can observe the recurrence of this pattern in politico-military relations.

George Bush, Jr became president of the USA on a platform that promised the USA would limit its international policies solely to furthering its national interest, and to diminish accordingly (and by implication) its international actions in multilateral connections - a distinct, if narrow-minded view of the national interest. Following the bombing attacks of 11 September 2001, this programme became even more outspoken. Unmistakably, the current US government has broken completely with the grand design of Democratic as well as Republican administrations in the almost half a century of American hegemony.

George W. Bush, Jr’s break with traditional post-war American multilateralism, however, must also be seen as more than chance. There are several structural factors that point to the likely emergence of a more unilateralist American foreign policy. The demise of the Soviet Union has ended the threat common to Western Europe and the USA, which had been the foremost motive of transatlantic cooperation. The generation of American decision-makers whose formative experience had been the Second World War has been passing away. The former dominance of the East Coast political elites has yielded to the elites of the South and the Sunbelt, which tend to have a more parochial, inward-looking focus.

The official position of the current American government now is that to strive for reinforcement of international law through treaties on arms control and war crimes is not only futile, but would also result in an unacceptable infringement on America’s sovereignty and its freedom of action.

The new course of American foreign policy is seen by many (not only its adherents and practitioners) as a demonstration of strength, an almost inevitable result of the unrivalled international position of the USA as sole super power. But I take an opposite view: we are witnesses of America’s fundamental weakness - and this policy is a very important symptom of such weakness.

There is a second reason to see this political stance as weak. The American economy is now structurally weak, especially as a result of the tax cuts President Bush, Jr drove through Congress. Briefly, every year the rest of the world has to pump $500 billion into the American economy to make up for the deficit. When it becomes apparent that this capital is not being used for productive investment, but rather to compensate lost tax revenues and pay for military adventures (since the USA claims the prerogatives of waging war against any state it regards as a possible threat), there may be less willingness to invest or buy government bonds to keep the American economy healthy.

All hegemonies have a beginning and an end. There is no reason to suppose the USA will escape this historical fate. This does not mean that the inevitable process of relative decline can only take one particular form, the form the current administration has chosen. The course
Report of the General Members Meeting

About 20 members attended the meeting, where, after the distribution of the new On the Waterfront (no. 8), the development of the number of Friends and the finances were discussed. Particular attention was given to a special gift that was received in the beginning of 2004 by the Friends, as well as to the research project ‘Women’s work in the Netherlands in early modern times (circa 1500-1815)’, about which Danielle van den Heuvel, one of the researchers, gave a talk (for an earlier report, see On the Waterfront 7, 2003, pp. 13-14).

Special gift
We received the princely sum of about US$ 28,000 (Euro 23,612.82) from Lily Schorr’s estate: she was the daughter of the well-known Austrian anarchist Pierre Ramus (1882-1942). The bequest was given to the IISH via Summer Sneidlinger of the California Community Foundation, who was the executor of her will. The Friends’ Board asked the IISH directors to suggest a special purpose for this money. As the gift was done without any conditions, it enabled the directors to spend the money on cataloguing and inventorying – the terribly necessary but, at the same time, less spectacular tasks of the Institute. The publication of the archive inventories on the Website, which had been requested a few years ago, have now led to a definitive inventorying of the Institute’s oldest and best known collections – which had often been delayed because of relatively small scholarly problems of interpretation – and could no longer be omitted. That is why, for example, the Marx-Engels, Alexander Herzen, and Von Vollmar collections have in the meanwhile become available to consult worldwide on-line. The special American gift also now enables the Institute to complete the more than necessary inventorying of the Nettlau archive. The Nettlau collection was acquired in 1935, and, without exaggeration, is the most important collection worldwide in the area of the history of anarchism. Parts of it, such as, for example, the Socialist League and Michael Bakunin, had been previously arranged and described. Our own archive of the born collector Max Nettlau (1865-1944) – about 30 meters in length – was partially processed by Rudolf de Jong and Heiner Becker in 1970 and 1980. In 1989 Tiny de Boer completed the provisional list on the occasion of the first edition of the ‘Guide to the International Archives and Collections at the IISH, Amsterdam’, which came out that year. Unfortunately, this list could only be provisional and is yet still too global in scope. The names of many of the correspondents are not indicated, and some of the files only contain the notation ‘Diverse’. The concrete occasion for resuming the inventorying was the subsidy that the IISH could receive for conservation and filming of important collections in the framework of the Metamorphosis project, which was paid by the Dutch government. This was co-ordinated by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) in the Hague. Thanks to the special gift by the Friends, three archivists (Tiny de Boer, Atie van der Horst, and Ursula Balzer) are now able to develop a professional inventory, which should be ready sometime in 2005. This project is by no means easy, because Nettlau’s handwriting is difficult to read. Sometimes he even writes in a kind of idiosyncratic, self-developed shorthand. He interspersed his own notes or other annexes everywhere among the original documents that he acquired from others. Especially his ‘dossiers’ vary greatly in their contents. After the filming has been completed, the result will be a well-preserved archive from which the fragile originals will no longer have to be lent out. Because of the new extensive and complete inventory, which will also be published on the Internet, researchers will finally be able to use the wealth of this collection to its fullest.

Women’s Work in the Netherlands in the Early Modern Period (circa 1500-1815)
In the spring of 2003 two new graduate students began their researches, financed by the NWO subsidy. Hilde Timmerman was appointed to do research on women’s work in social services,

now taken, under the influence of neo-conservative and neo-nationalist ideologues and politicians, a course dependent on rather brutal power politics, is certainly not the only one possible. There are better ways to ‘manage the decline of hegemonic power’ that would benefit the USA as well as its most important partners.

and Daniëlle van den Heuvel began her research into women in commerce. With the arrival of these two graduate students, the research project was substantially complemented. As a result, research on women in the textile industry and on production and commerce in alcoholic beverages partially covered the areas of industry and commerce. In addition, this led to the study of women in commerce at all levels and women in social services. Together, the researches cover the entire labour market (with the exception of agriculture) in the early modern period. The first year was primarily devoted to setting up the research project and in putting together the research team, while in the second year there was more time for doing research in the archives. Unfortunately, there was an early and unexpected change in the composition of the research group. In the beginning of this year Hilde Timmerman, who was from Belgium, decided to stop her work at the IISH. The importance of this research within the project as a whole led to the decision to continue it. In the meantime, in consultation with IISH (one of the co-financers), it was decided that Ariadne Schmidt would carry out this research as an extension of her appointment as postdoc/project leader.

**Women and Work Conference, November 2003**

To expand the project and to create an inventory of the Dutch research, a conference was organised on women's work in the Netherlands in the early modern period. The purpose was to bring experts together to exchange their research experiences. This conference took place on 28 November 2003. The IISH research project was presented. In addition, papers were given by Myriam Everard, Laura van Aert, Piet van Cruyningen, Annette de Vries, Marco van Leeuwen, Annette de Wit, and Lotte van de Pol, and the conference day was closed by Jan Lucassen. It was well attended: including about fifty participants. Even while organising it, we investigated the possibilities of publishing the papers. The (new) *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geschiedenis* (Journal for Economic and Social History) informed us that they were interested in publishing the contributions in an issue devoted to the topic. At this time this issue is being prepared.

**ESSHC Berlin, March 2004**

At the European Social Science History Conference in Berlin the IISH project was presented at a session on 'Early modern working women: the Dutch case in international perspectives'. Current research results were presented in papers. Maria Ågren from the University of Uppsala was invited to comment on the papers. Amy Erickson acted as chair. The session was well attended, and at the close the participants were able to establish what promised to be fruitful contacts.

**Course on Gender, Work, and Culture**

In the framework of the Posthumus and Huizinga Institutes, Myriam Everard, Els Kloeck, and Ariadne Schmidt organised a course that would enable the PhD students to become acquainted with the debates within women's history. In January they began a course on 'Sex, work, and culture in the early modern period, debates in women's historical research'. Various debates were offered in the course of six (monthly) meetings. Mieke Aerts, Oscar Gelderblom, Maarten Prak, and Joep Leerssen were invited to attend a number of these meetings as guest lecturers/discussants.

**Collaboration**

On 19 en 20 November Ariadne Schmidt attended the meeting of a new collaborative group 'Gender and economic development', along with Maria Ågren (Uppsala University), Amy Erickson, (University College, London), Jane Whittle, (University of Exeter), Hilde Sandvik (University of Oslo), and Maria Sjöberg (University of Gothenburg) in Göteborg. Its goal was to initiate collaboration in the area of research and education. Subsidy requests have been submitted to organise seminars in the coming years to promote collaboration in research, emphasising such themes as 'work and property'.

**Presentation**

At the meeting of the Friends of the IISH Daniëlle van den Heuvel gave a brief introduction to her research on businesswomen in the Republic. She stated that she was engaged in an investigation of the legal position of women, especially female merchants. They are of particular interest because they fell under a special regulation for women engaged in commerce: the regulation of the public merchant. Ordinarily, married women were considered ineligible for business. Such women did not have the same rights as unmarried women of age and widows: they were not permitted to sign contracts, they were unable to represent themselves in a court of law, and they were considered to be under the guardianship of their husbands. They were permitted to engage in these activities as public merchants, however.

The problem was the lack of clarity in their status: precisely when was a woman a public merchant and when was that not the case? Often it was said that a silent understanding existed enabling women to be public merchants, but that a woman's husband could make this impossible if he chose to voice his disapproval explicitly. How this regulation was practised is currently being investigated by comparing statutes, trials, and legal processes.

So far several remarkable conclusions have emerged: the legal statute was much less rigid than is often presented. Since the Middle Ages, there was an extension in the possibilities for women, but the regulations were also not entirely clear to the women themselves: one mariner's wife from Enkhui zen, in the absence of her husband, wanted to purchase a house, and thought that as a public merchant, she was entitled to do this. To her great surprise she could not, and had to submit a request to the court for permission to do so.
Brigitte Slot

**Iedereen kapitalist**

De ontwikkeling van het beleggingsfonds in Nederland gedurende de 20ste eeuw

ISBN 90 5260 151 8, 544 PAGINAS, GEBONDEN, € 37,50

Beleggingsfondsen waren in Nederland al vanaf de tweede helft van de 18e eeuw in de kiem aanwezig. De doorbraak van het beleggingsfonds kwam aan het einde van de jaren twintig van de 20ste eeuw, toen in de Nederlandse pers artikelen verschenen over het succes van ‘investment trusts’ in het Verenigd Koninkrijk en de Verenigde Staten. Na een halve eeuw van langzame ontwikkeling, kwam de groei van de markt voor beleggingsfondsen in de jaren tachtig en negentig in een stroomversnelling terecht. Eén op de vier particuliere huishoudens in Nederland heeft aandelen of participaties in enig beleggingsfonds in bezit.

Over de ontwikkeling van het ‘product’ beleggingsfondsen en de toenemende populariteit van deze manier van beleggen, is in de Nederlandse economisch-historische literatuur vrijwel niets onderzocht of vastgelegd. En dat terwijl beleggingsfondsen – zoals al in de jaren twintig werd beoordeeld – ‘den klein-kapitalist’ in de gelegenheid stellen om op een veilige manier, goedkoop, gespreid in effecten te kunnen beleggen. Beleggingsfondsen bevinden zich op het snijvlak tussen sparen en investeren en vormden een nieuwe bron van risicodragend kapitaal. Ze hebben voor meer dan een miljoen huishoudens de mogelijkheid geschapen om op indirecte wijze mede-eigendom over de productiemiddelen te verdelen en hebben op deze wijze bijgedragen tot de democarisering van het kapitalistische systeem zelf.

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Sjaak van der Velden

**Werknemers in actie**

Twee eeuwen stakingen, demonstraties en andere acties in Nederland

ISBN 90 5260 144 5, CA. 160 PAGINAS, POCKET, GEÎLLUSTREERD, € 15,00

De geschiedenis van stakingen in Nederland is er een van hartverscheurende nederlagen naast machtige overwinningen. Tijdens stakingen hebben mensen zich van hun beste kant laten zien en gestreden voor rechtvaardigheid in een wereld die steeds meer lijkt te worden geregeerd door economische wetten. De menselijke maat en solidariteit komen tijdens het verzet van mensen tegen onrechtvaardigheid duidelijk naar voren. Een van die vormen van verzet is de werkstaking. Aan het einde van de vorige eeuw behoorden stakingen volgens velen tot het verleden. We leefden midden in de euforie over de Nieuwe Economie die voor eens en voor altijd een einde zou maken aan de oude economie, met zijn conjunctuurbewegingen en tegenstellingen tussen maatschappelijke groepen. Het werd voorgesteld alsof het kapitalisme definitief was veranderd. De val van de Berlijnse Muur gaf ook voedsel aan deze opvattingen. Er werd zelfs gesproken over het Einde van de Geschiedenis. Vanaf toen zou alles beter worden en ouderwetse dingen als stakingen of klassenstrijd hoorden niet meer bij de nieuwe maatschappij. Het liep allemaal heel anders.

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Sakari Heikkinen en Jan Luiten van Zanden (eds.)

**Explorations in Economic Growth**

Essays in measurement and analysis

ISBN 90 5260 165 8 384 PAGES, € 29,90

Economic growth has been one of the great themes of the social sciences, analyzed by economic theorists on the one hand and measured by quantitative economic-historical research on the other. This volume looks back on fifty years on research on the topic, building on the legacies of Clark, Kuznets, Solow and Swan. Leading scholars in the field, such as Angus Maddison, Nicholas Crafts, Albert Carreras, Luis Bertola and Olle Krantz address the big questions: why are some countries rich and others poor; what were the causes of productivity growth in the past two hundred years; how did major technological transformations – such as the steam engine, electricity, and the ICT-revolution – affect productivity growth; how much growth did take place in different parts of the world before and after the Industrial Revolution? And what should the new agenda for research in a globalizing economy?