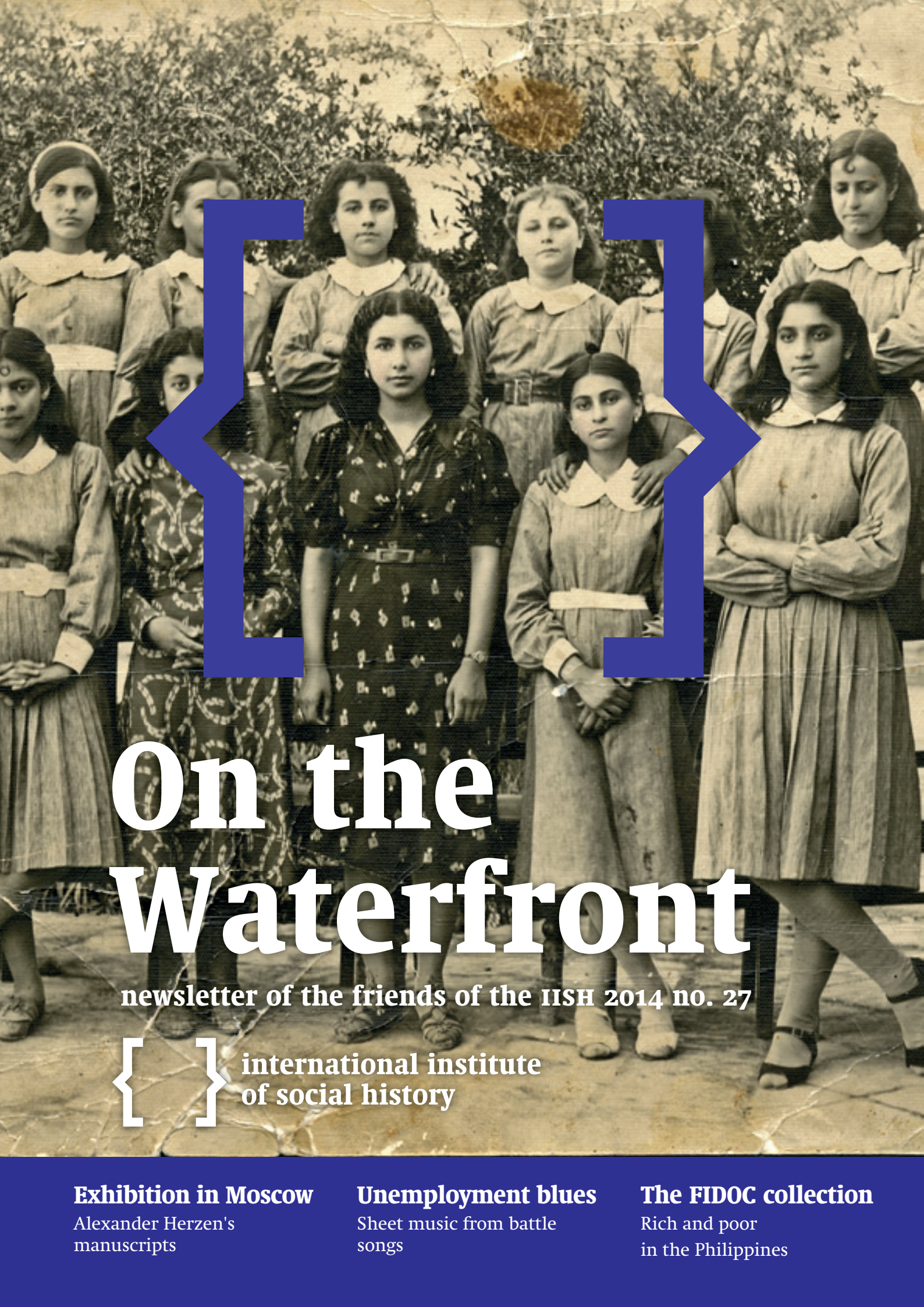




On the Waterfront

newsletter of the friends of the IISH 2014 no. 27



international institute
of social history

Exhibition in Moscow

Alexander Herzen's
manuscripts

Unemployment blues

Sheet music from battle
songs

The FIDOC collection

Rich and poor
in the Philippines

Introduction

The world we live in is experiencing major changes. We could repeat this sentence endlessly to refer to virtually everything at this point. Generations before us have repeated it endlessly as well. This makes 'Major Changes' seem like a permanent fixture throughout history. The IISH is no exception and has undergone its share of major changes in recent years. Following the previous painful reorganization, which unfortunately resulted in redundancies, new changes are in the pipeline, which will hopefully bring the IISH back up to the speed of nations.

Organizations also experience ordinary, more or less planned changes that are nonetheless enormously influential, including turnover in certain positions. The 'Friends' is in the midst of just such a change. Jan Lucassen was the chairman until mid 2012 and briefly transferred this task to Jaap Kloosterman in 2013. From 2009 Jaap Kloosterman was editor of *On the Waterfront*. Far more importantly, as director of the IISH he had always been closely involved in all things relating to the Friends, ever since this body was formed in 2000. As a team, Jan and Jaap have left an indelible imprint on the Friends. This is in part because of their vast knowledge of the collection but still more thanks to their great passion for it. In June 2013 Huub Sanders officially became the new chairman. While his passion for the collections certainly equals that of his illustrious predecessors, he wishes he could say the same about his knowledge of the collection. Jan and Jaap: thank you so much for making the 'Friends' such a wonderful creation.

This issue will address an exhibition in Moscow, the collection presentations on 13 June 2013, and the lectures delivered at that occasion by Duco Hellema and our board member Jacco Pekelder.

Huub Sanders

Members of the Friends of the IISH pay annual dues of 100 or 500 euros or join with a lifetime donation of 1,500 euros 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 need not be related to the IISH collection. The presentation and lecture are followed by a reception. 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 N.W. Posthumus (1880-1960) in the 1930s. For the past two decades, two of the institutions established by this 'history entrepreneur' have operated from the same premises: the Netherlands Economic History Archive founded in 1914 and the International Institute of Social History, which is now 79 years old. Both institutes continue to collect, although the 'subsidiary' IISH has grown considerably larger than its 'parent' NEHA. Additional information about the Institute may be found in Jaap Kloosterman and Jan Lucassen, *Rebels with a Cause: Five Centuries of Social History Collected by the IISH* (Amsterdam 2010). For all information concerning the Friends, see www.iisg.nl/friends.*

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From All Nooks and Crannies

Alexander Herzen's manuscripts premiere in Moscow

From 7 November until 12 December 2013 Moscow's brand-new Jewish Museum and Tolerance Centre (<http://www.jewish-museum.ru/en/timeline>) featured one of the crown jewels from the IISH collections. This was the fifth chapter of the manuscript by the Russian author, publisher, and propagandist of free speech Alexander Herzen (1812-1870) *Byloe i dumy* (published in the Netherlands as 'Feiten en Gedachten' in the series *Privé-domein*).

The author and journalist Herzen, who went into exile to Western Europe in 1847 and by refusing to comply when summoned to Moscow in 1852 made his exile permanent, was well known in European revolutionary circles. That year 1852 was also tragic, because in that year Herzen lost his mother, his son, and his wife. He settled in London, where he remained for thirteen years. There he met Polish exiles who had started a press for revolutionary publications to be smuggled into Poland. Herzen was inspired to do the same for Russia. In February 1853 came the worldwide announcement of the Free Russian Press ('Vol'naya Russkaya Typography').

In 1855 Herzen launched the journal *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (Polar Star; 8 issues). In 1856 the poet Nikolay Ogarev arrived in London and teamed up with Herzen to publish the journal *Kolokol* (The Bell; 245 issues). Thousands of copies were smuggled into Russia. The abolition of serfdom was one of the main topics addressed in this journal, which greatly promoted the 1861 act of emancipation. In 1865 the press moved to Geneva.

In his memoirs, Herzen covers almost his entire life, describing events from 1812 until 1868. Herzen died in 1870.

The fifth chapter of his memoirs is particularly important. In addition to extensively covering politics, ideas, and reflections on the European revolution and its aftermath, the chapter contains a wealth of portraits of Europe's intellectual circles and other aspects of life.



Alexander Herzen

The manuscript's showcase was the first event of the *Samizdat. Limits* conference (7 November 2013), which featured experts from both the Netherlands and Russia. This conference, held in recognition of the Netherlands-Russia year, covered many aspects of the independent publication of books prohibited by the authorities. The term *Samizdat* means 'self publishing' and denoted the unofficial, underground press during the Soviet era. A report of the conference has been posted on <http://www.nlrf2013.nl/2013/11/nederlandse-en-russische-specialisten-bespreken-samizdat-en-censuur/>.

The personal papers of Alexander Herzen have been at the IISH since 1938. This manuscript was lent to the event in recognition of the Netherlands-Russia Year.

The personal papers of Alexander Herzen have been digitized, and the manuscript of *Byloe i Dumy* may therefore be viewed online via our website. See: <http://search.socialhistory.org/Record/ARCH00517/ArchiveContentList>.

This is one of the first impressive achievements of the Centrale project, which discloses online virtually the entire pre-war archive holdings financed by the Centrale at the IISH.

For more on Herzen in *On the Waterfront*, see 'Romantic Exile', Issue 25, 2013, pp. 4-5. (HSA)

Manuscript
Byloe i dumy
by Alexander Herzen

Twenty-seventh Friends' Day

13 June 2013

Presentation of the Acquisitions

Distributing publicity leaflets for the Rote Armee Fraktion

At the end of 2012 Mirjam Glaser (Kaiserslautern, 1958) from Frankfurt am Main donated her archive on the Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF) to the IISH. She chose to entrust it to the IISH, because her collection complements other materials present at the IISH. In the heavily politicized city of Frankfurt around 1980, Glaser was active in an anti-imperialist combat group and was among those sympathizing with the Rote Armee Fraktion at the time. In 1981 Glaser was arrested for publicly recruiting sympathizers for the RAF. In 1983 Glaser was sentenced to a brief term in prison.

The archive contains files about the criminal proceedings against Glaser. The main value of this archive, however, lies in Glaser's personal correspondence with RAF members in prison in the period 1982-1988. There are several letters sent from prison by Verena Becker and Günter Sonnenberg. Becker and Sonnenberg were incarcerated for participating in a shoot-out against the police in Singen in 1977. Both were suspected of having been involved in the assassination of German Prosecutor General Siegfried Buback in Karlsruhe in 1977. In 2013 Becker was once again

behind bars, following another conviction in 2012 for her involvement in the assault on Buback. In their letters, Becker and Sonnenberg describe requesting visits and having these requests rejected, strikes in prison, difficulties obtaining books, and communication within RAF circles.

Glaser also corresponded with Siegfried Haag, Inge Krobs, Brigitte Mohnhaupt, Gert Schneider, Volker Staub, and Johannes Thimme. Her close and personal correspondence with Gert Schneider will be of particular interest to Dutch readers. Schneider was arrested together with Christof Wackernagel after the two became involved in a shoot-out against the police in Amsterdam's Osdorp neighbourhood in November 1977. In the end, Schneider, whose lawyer was Willem van Bennekom, was extradited to the Federal Republic of Germany, where he was sentenced to serve 15 years in prison. Gert Schneider, who was released early from prison in 1989, broke with the RAF in the 1980s. Glaser and Schneider wrote each other dozens of letters in 1982 and 1983. Schneider provided detailed descriptions of daily life in prison. While in jail, he learned how to draw well, illustrating his letters with caricatures and designing personal postcards, which he sent to Glaser. Glaser also kept carbon copies of her

Caricature by
Gert Schneider,
October
1982





letters to Schneider. This lively correspondence addresses the struggle in Germany, Turkey, and the Middle East at great length, as well as everyday events in Frankfurt and in prison.

This modest archive nicely complements the collection on the Rote Armee Fraktion in the Netherlands (obtained thanks to historian Jacco Pekelder), the papers of the radical activist Jürgen Dietzsch from Frankfurt, and the papers of the two Dutch lawyers Pieter Herman Bakker Schut and Willem van Bennekom. (BHi)

An Iranian educational reformer

In 2012 the IISH acquired the archive of the Iranian educational reformer Mirza Hassan Roshdiah.

This acquisition is thanks to IISH staff member Touraj Atabaki, head of the Middle East & Central Asia Desk at the IISH. The material was described by Najmuddin Kawyani.

Roshdiah was born in Tabriz, in western Iran, in 1851. He died after spending his golden years in Qom.

Mirza Hassan Roshdiah was both an educational reformer and a clergyman, teacher, politician, and journalist in Iran. He was one of the initiators of modern education in Iran and pioneered new methods of language teaching for Persian and Azerbaijani Turkish.

In 1880 Roshdiah left for Beirut, where he studied for two years at the Daar ul-Mu'allimeen (teacher's training school). He subsequently journeyed on to Istanbul and Cairo. In 1883 he departed for Yerevan, now the capital of Armenia, then part of Russia. He opened the first modern school for Muslims there, which he ran for four years. During that period he also wrote *Vatan Dill* (*The Language of the Homeland*) in Azerbaijani. This textbook remained in use at primary schools, until the Russian Revolution put an end to it.

He later returned to the city of his birth Tabriz, where he opened the first primary schools. The conservative clergy was not pleased with these initiatives and criticized Roshdiah's innovations, accusing him of inciting schoolchildren and students to turn their backs on Islam. Likening the school bell to church bells was a fairly minor gripe. On several occasions, riots caused schoolhouses to be destroyed, and people were reported killed and injured in the violence. A fatwah was even proclaimed against these modern schools. As a member of the Ma'aref Association, Roshdiah supported a new constitution and greater freedom and had to flee Tabriz, as well as Iran, more than once.

Change was eventually forthcoming under the regime of Mozzafar al-Din Shah (1896-1907) and his prime minister Amin od-Dowle, when he founded the Roshdiah School with government support. In 1904 Roshdiah also started a school

**Iranian
school-
children.
Roshdiah
Collection**

Batik banner,
Darsono col-
lection. ± 1925



and launched the journal *Maktab*. In 1927 he ceased to be socially active and settled in Qom, where he died in 1944.

This small archive comprises correspondence, manuscripts, and photographs from the years 1888-1931.
(BHi)

Founding father of the Partis Komunis Indonesia (PKI)

In 2013 the IISH received a modest accrual to the papers of Raden Darsono Notosurdirdjo. Darsono co-founded the Partis Komunis Indonesia (PKI) and was the party chair from 1920 until 1925. As such, he attended a CPN congress in Groningen in 1921 and the third Komintern congress in Moscow in that same year. Following his arrest in the Netherlands Indies in 1925, he was forced into exile in 1926. At first he stayed with his wife in Moscow, among other places at the famous Hotel Lux. Their son Alam was born there. When Darsono sensed he was about to fall out of grace with Stalin, the couple escaped in time to Berlin. After several years in Berlin, where his wife died, Darsono left for the Netherlands. In 1950 Darsono returned to Indonesia, by then independent,

where he worked at the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, until he retired in 1960.

The most striking item in this accrual is a virtually square batik cloth (66 x 64 cm). This cloth (featuring the text 'Proletarians from all countries, unite!') is undoubtedly from the Netherlands Indies. The batik is obviously associated with the PKI. The date (ca. 1925) and the story behind this cloth, however, are anybody's guess.

The accrual to the archive has been combined with material already present there, and an inventory was made at the occasion that these documents were brought together. The archive comprises a great many letters that Darsono sent from Indonesia to his son Alam Darsono and his wife 'Pop' Darsono-Stam in the Netherlands in the period 1955-1975. One letter, dated 23 October 1965, is especially interesting. Darsono writes about the 'PKI putsch' which he labels as 'a failure, like the one in 1948.' Frequently recurring topics in the letters include rising prices, diminishing purchasing power, and especially the omnipresent corruption. There are also copies of the letters from Darsono to Mohammad Hatta and Mohamad Rasjidi from 1974. Raden Darsono died in Semarang on Java in 1976.

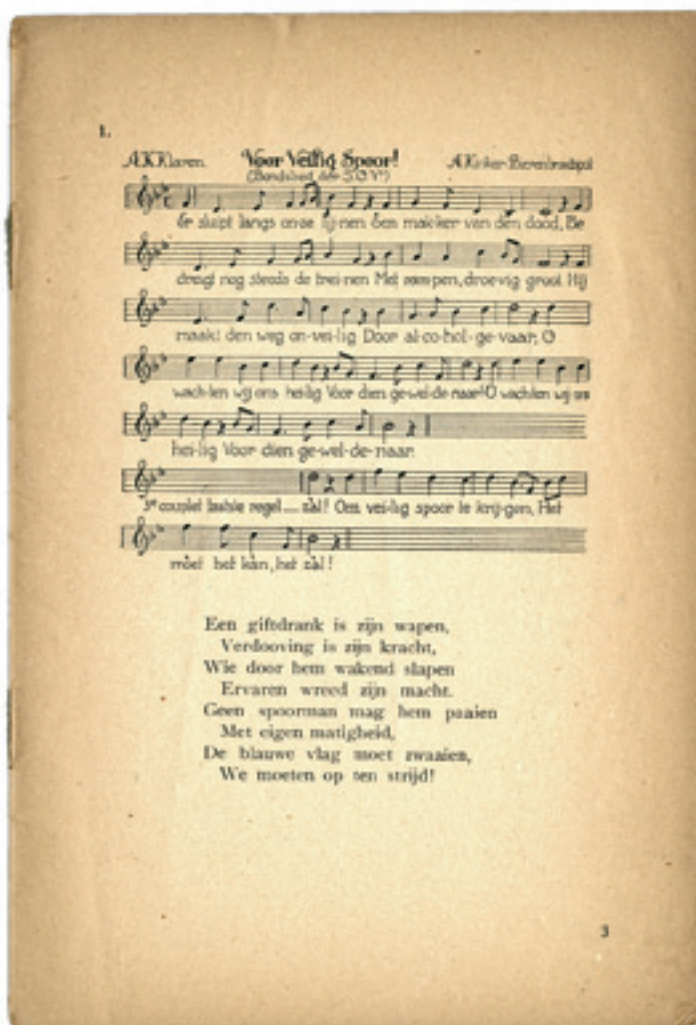
This little archive also contains a typescript, in which Raden Darsono describes his youth, his years with the Movement, his years in exile and his return to Indonesia. In 2008 a posthumous booklet appeared by Alam Darsono (Moscow, 1928 – Nieuwegein, 2004) entitled *Het zwijgen van de vader*. (BHi)

Unemployment blues

The best way to enjoy battle songs is by listening to them. The IISH collection contains a lot of such music. But few know that the collection also comprises large quantities of sheet music. In recent months an accrual was received to the archive of the Landelijke Stichting Strijdmuziek (ISSM, National battle songs foundation).

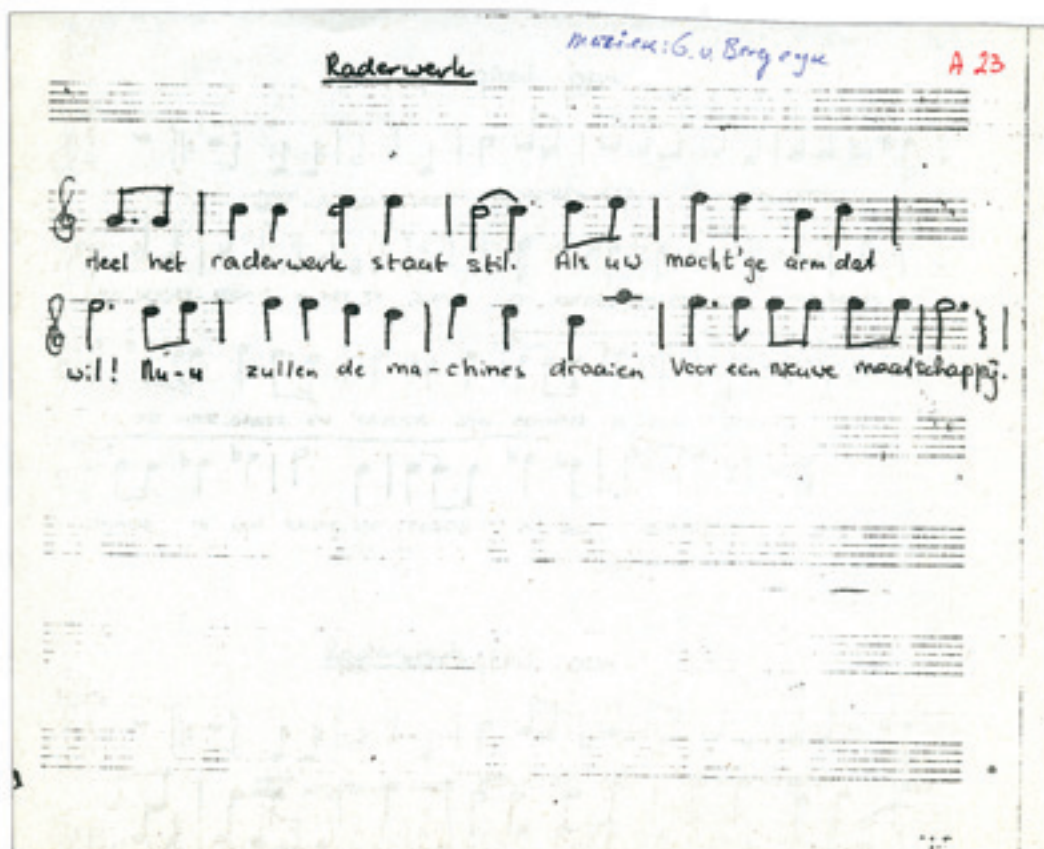
The ISSM archive is not the only collection of sheet music. The archives of choirs such as Stem des Volks and the umbrella organization Bond van Arbeiderszangverenigingen (BAZ), both established around 1900, comprise a wealth of sheet music from battle songs. The BAZ convened the workers' choirs in the Netherlands, supported them, and published music. The wonderful songs include *Kom socialisme*, *Het daagt*, and *Jubelzang*, often composed to lyrics by Dutch poets, such as Adama van Scheltema.

Other more specific organizations incorporated the general battle songs in their own repertoire. The Bond van Geheel Onthouderszangverenigingen [league of teetotallers' singing associations] published songs such as the *Onthouderszang* and



Battle song for railway teetotallers, Interbellum

Manuscript featuring battle song. ± 1977



De blauwe strijders. The songs of the Spoorweg Onthouders Vereeniging [Railway teetotallers' association] were about the alcohol-free future specifically for railway workers. The final name on this list is the AJC. Music education was always important in raising working-class children. Most songs, however, were published in collections.

In the 1970s and 80s battle songs acquired a broader scope (as did the collections of the IISH). They started to cover the environment, emancipation, nuclear energy, anti-apartheid, and the recession. As in the early part of the century, an umbrella organization was needed to promote support and exchange of sheet music. In the 1970s the Kultureel Front arranged and organized national battle song days. From 1985 the LSSM organized these days and circulated sheet music among the large group of Dutch choral societies and orchestras dedicated to singing and playing music about social commitment. Many of the scores are handwritten and bear titles meaning 'Youth unemployment', 'dole blues', and 'spiral of events'.

After the foundation was disbanded, the sheet music and a great many cassettes were entrusted to the IISH. About 1,600 battle songs may be retrieved from a database on the website by searching by title, makers, subject (<http://www.iisg.nl/LSSM/>). The music cannot be played, but the sheet music is available in the LSSM archive. (EdR)

**Two worlds
on the beach,
Philippines,
1984**

Rich and poor in the Philippines

Photographs are often part of larger collections, and the IISH collects them mainly for their documentary value. The Philippine information and documentation centre (FIDOC) also included a small photograph collection from the early 1980s. Their fine quality is striking; they are excellent images and reflect a keen sense of detail.

The FIDOC provides information about different aspects of the Philippines, such as agriculture, labour, urban poor, women, development, and indigenous peoples. Both the photographer and the context in which the photographs were taken are unknown. The only information we have is the image on the photograph.

In the mid 1980s President Marcos had been in power for nearly twenty years. He continually extended his term by proclaiming martial law. The economy suffered. After killing his political adversary Aquino, he lost all trust people had ever had in him. The 80s were a period of high unemployment, steep inflation, and a huge gap between rich and poor.

The economic misery is clearly visible on the photographs. They depict strikes and repression of the trade unions, unemployment and labour exchanges offering jobs in the Middle East, and poverty and the fight for survival. The unknown photographer aptly conveys how poor homeless and wealthy tourists live side by side without being aware of each other's existence. (EdR)



Watched by the FBI

Before the U.S. government monitored e-mail and Facebook, the FBI kept potential 'terrorists' under close surveillance as well. This is clear from the Collazo collection, which comprises several documents on the Puerto Rican nationalist Oscar Collazo and his family.

The collection was donated by the New York psychiatrist Ira Goldwasser and his wife, also known as Dr Salsa in the Netherlands. From an early age he became acquainted with many Cubans and Puerto Ricans, via Latin American music. One of them was Carmen Collazo, Oscar Collazo's daughter.

Before 1950 Collazo was of little importance in the Puerto Rican independence movement. Only after learning that an uprising had been repressed and his brother arrested, did he decide that the time for strong action had come. He travelled with a friend to Washington D.C., where on 1 November 1950 the two armed men forced their way into the Blair House, the temporary residence of President Truman at the time. In the exchange of gunfire that ensued, his friend and a guard were killed, and he was injured.

Collazo was incarcerated until 1979 and was then welcomed as a hero in Cuba and Puerto Rico. The collection comprises documents that Goldwasser used to produce a motion picture about Collazo and his daughter. They include an interview with Carmen Collazo and leaflets from the Puerto Rican struggle for liberation. The FBI files requested by Carmen are especially interesting. They reveal that she was watched carefully after 1950: her travels, meetings, and who was there for how long, what she did, and exactly where she was. All based on anonymous reports and often on hearsay from those around her. Even without Facebook, all this was easy to track. (EdR)

Edo

Luis Andrés Edo (1925-2009) experienced the Spanish Civil War as a child in Barcelona. In 1947 he was arrested for the first time, as a conscientious objector. He escaped to France and joined the anarcho-syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) in exile. During the decades that followed he was active in the underground in Spain. In addition to being arrested many times (and escaping several times), he served extended terms in prison in 1966-1972 and in 1974-1976. He was internationally known. The Institute holds several posters of solidarity campaigns organized abroad on his behalf.

Edo's legacy is now at the IISH and nicely complements the vast collection of papers from CNT militants. The CNT Congress ticket from December 1979 depicted here, however, comes with a very exceptional memory. During the meeting Edo and two of his friends went to Amsterdam's Herengracht, where they occupied the Institute.



The cause of this act was a very longstanding issue. In 1939 some leaders of the CNT and the Federación Anarquista Ibérica managed at the eleventh hour to bring the archives of both organizations to the Pyrenees. Throughout the Second World War, the documents remained in closed crates at the IISH branch in Oxford. Afterwards they were transported to Amsterdam, where they stayed untouched for many years. After Franco died in 1975, the time seemed right to open the crates. Talks with the CNT leadership, which had operated from Toulouse for a long time, seemed to bring that moment closer.

At the Madrid congress, however – the first since 1936 – serious disagreement arose, which soon brought about a rift in the organization. Edo's action was intended to stake his claim to the organization's archive and thus to resolve the legitimacy issue. Heated debates at the In-

Admission ticket to the 5th CNT-FAI Congress, December 1979

stitute followed, as well as an extended legal battle between the two parts into which the CNT had separated. Only after the Spanish Supreme Court had ruled did this dispute end, after which the victors, including Edo, decided to leave the archive in Amsterdam. They now include his personal papers as well.

Weijel

The Amsterdam psychiatrist Jacques Albert Weijel (1920-1975) figured prominently in the rise of post-war social medicine in the Netherlands. In addition to practising psychotherapy, he specialized in social insurance and ultimately became a professor in this field. A quintessential embodiment of a social democrat, he contributed to the Restoration and the welfare state based on his views.

The Institute received an accrual to an archive previously entrusted to it. The new documents mainly concern the Second World War years and the immediate aftermath. In 1941 Weijel, who was a medical student, and his future wife Mirjam Cohen were deported to Westerbork, where Weijel worked as a nurse. They married on 31 March 1944. 'I never saw a certificate of the wedding in Westerbork,' mentioned their daughter,

people, such as David Cohen, the chairman of the Jewish Council, who was taken to Theresienstadt in September 1943.

Moneta

The Institute acquired the vast personal papers of Jakob Moneta (1914-2012), a leading representative of the Trotskyist movement. He was born in Blossow, in western Galicia, which belonged to Austro-Hungary at the time. His father, a textile manufacturer, moved the family to Cologne after the First World War.

Jakob joined the youth organization of the Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands as a teenager. Another member almost the same age was Herbert Frahm, later known as Willy Brandt. Moneta became interested in Trotsky's ideas. Just as Frahm fled to Norway in 1933, he left for Palestine, while his parents went to Cuba and later emigrated to the United States. He worked on a kibbutz and joined the Histadrut trade union movement but broke with Zionism in the late 1930s. In 1939-1941 he was interned by the British.

In 1948 Moneta returned to Germany, where he worked first in Cologne and later in Frankfurt as a journalist and translator. He then became

Arm band worn by Weijel at Westerbork, 1941-1944



'but my mother told me they received a tin of sardines as a wedding gift.'

In September the Weijels were deported to Theresienstadt. They were very fortunate. 'It was a coincidence,' explains their daughter, 'that both my father and my mother were in the only train that went from Theresienstadt to the Swiss border. The Nazis had to move people, because the Russians were advancing. My grandparents stayed behind and were liberated by the Russians.' In February 1945 the train brought about 1,200 camp inmates to Switzerland.

In 1952 the couple was divorced. Weijel remarried in 1963. He may have gathered the documents for his book *De vernietiging van de Joden in Polen* (1946) immediately after the war, because the accrual also includes materials from other

active in the Trotskyist movement and wrote under a pseudonym in the press of the Fourth International. The movement followed the 'entrism' strategy – wherever the movement was not strong enough to operate in public, the members joined leftist parties to propagate their ideas from within. This meant that Moneta belonged to the Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands, until he was expelled in 1990. He then became a member and even joined the board of the Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus.

Moneta was also active in the trade union movement, especially in IG Metall, for which he long edited its journal. He was a close friend of Ernest Mandel. His extensive correspondence reflects his vast network.

Biehl / Bookchin

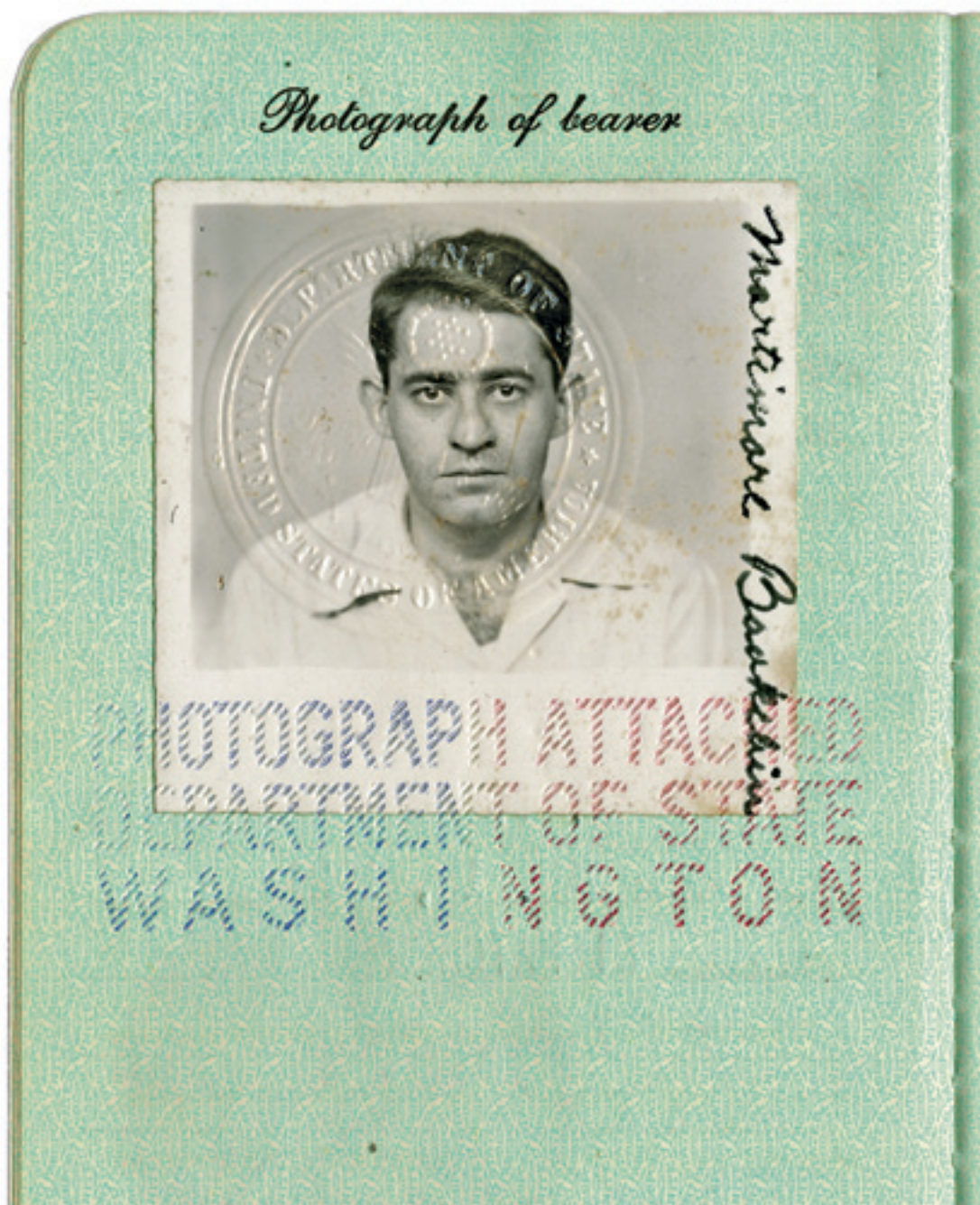
Janet Biehl gave the Institute her materials about an important movement in modern anarchism known as 'social ecology'. She worked for twenty years with Murray Bookchin (1921-2006), who became her partner and of whom several documents – including many passports – are in the collection (most of the rest of Bookchin's papers are at the Tamiment Institute in New York).

Biehl was born in Cincinnati in 1953 and ended up in the leftist movement via the circuitous route of the theatre. She became interested in radical groups, such as the Living Theatre, and moved to New York to study acting. She soon discovered Bookchin's work and started going to the Institute of Social Ecology in 1986. Bookchin, who was from a Russian-Jewish family in New York, became interested in Trotskyism after dab-

bling with communism in the 1930s. He became a trade union activist in the automotive industry. In the late 1940s he grew increasingly impressed with the opportunities of modern technology and devised ideas that became known through his book *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (1971). Ultimately, he emphasized the contrast between social anarchism, which he supported, and anarchism as a lifestyle.

Biehl published much of Bookchin's work and actively contributed to his movements. The current political changes in the United States have made her see the role of the government in a different light – if only because of those who resist it at this time in America – and she now embraces views that she describes as 'social democratic'. Her papers are an impressive account of an original radical movement.

Murray
Bookchin



Lecture

The lecture on the Friends' Day on 13 June 2013 was delivered by Professor Duco Hellema and Dr Jacco Pekelder, both employed at Utrecht University's Department of International Relations. Jacco Pekelder also serves on the board of the Foundation Friends of the IISH.

Hellema and Pekelder are both fascinated by the 1970s. They have teamed up with colleagues in Boston, Munster, and Leiden to form an NWO-sponsored international network dedicated to charting the *Global Seventies*. In late 2007, Pekelder also published his book *Sympathie voor de RAF. De Rote Armee Fraktion in Nederland, 1970-1980* (Amsterdam: Mets & Schilt), which in late 2012 appeared in German as well (*Ich liebe Ulrike. Die R.A.F. und die Niederlande 1970-1980* (Munster: Agenda); Hellema published *Nederland en de jaren zeventig* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2012).

Hellema opened the Friends' lecture, noting first of all that throughout much of the seventies historical scholarship was overshadowed by the Sixties. This was not really fair, if only because many of the changes believed to have defined the Sixties in fact got under way from 1970. These include pop festivals such as Kralingen, major strikes, Den Uyl's council of ministers... Even leftist activism peaked only in the 1970s, which still more than the 1960s, were the era of 'Solidarity, emancipation, and self-development,' according to Hellema.

But there was a different side to the 1970s as well. The tide turned during the course of the decade. Amid the deepening economic recession, radical and left-wing reformers progressively lost the initiative. Like elsewhere in the West, political sentiment changed in the late 1970s. Leftist governments in several countries successively lost control. Neo-liberalism was on the rise. While cruise missiles made for years of unrest, the era of major reform plans was over by the early 80s.

Pekelder then went on to discuss a theme that exemplified the political ambience in the 70s, including in the Netherlands: perception of the struggle in West Germany between the established order and the radical left, especially leftist terrorism. Some believed that the harsh measures against leftist activism showed that Germany had not yet entirely abandoned the Nazi past. Many Dutch people therefore regarded with some suspicion the introduction of the *Radi-kalenerlass*, the decision to exclude radicals from government offices.

In addition, many worried about the treatment of the RAF and especially imprisoned RAF members, first in Germany, and then after the three arrests of RAF members in Utrecht and Amsterdam in the Netherlands as well. Pekelder reviewed the activities of Dutch RAF sympathizers, describing in particular detail the motives underlying these sympathies. He considered

these motives to be indicative of an essential element of the political mindset of the 70s: growing scepticism about the role of the state. Whereas during the 60s even many activists continued to view the state as a vehicle to improve the world, civic criticism of the state mounted during the decade that followed.

Overall, only a few dozen Dutch people regarded violence as an appropriate strategy for achieving political change. Especially in Germany, with its Nazi past, this small group of Dutch people regarded it as a legitimate form of protest. Quite a few Dutch people, however, felt some sympathy toward the RAF, out of concern for the development of the rule of law in West Germany. Media reports gave some the impression that members of the RAF were being mistreated in German prisons and were not receiving fair trials. Many Dutch people therefore regarded the RAF as a kind of underdog that out of desperation had resorted to violence against the German state, where fascism seemed to be rearing its ugly head once again. From the autumn of 1977, when three German RAF members were imprisoned in the Netherlands as well, some Dutch RAF sympathizers began to see their own country in the same light: the Dutch state as the oppressor and the RAF as the underdog that deserved the sympathy of discerning citizens. A final motive, however, truly revealed the political culture of the 70s. Many Dutch leftists seem to have seen this repression of the radical left in West Germany as a premonition of what might happen to them in the Netherlands. This is disclosed in RAF documents. In early 1973, for example, the so-called Rode Hulp expressed the fear that circumstances abroad would soon carry over to the Netherlands. In 1972 other leftist activists wrote that they opposed *Folter* [torture] in West-German prisons, hoping to stop these practices from spreading throughout Europe. Now was the time to act, insisted these Dutch people, 'before they became prisoners themselves'.

This one short phrase, according to Pekelder, epitomizes many Dutch expressions of sympathy for the RAF and renders this sympathy characteristic of the 70s. In his view, this phrase clearly drives home the fear of totalitarian rule, based on science and technology. At the time, this same fear permeated the struggle by leftist action committees against psychiatric institutions and the penitentiary system, for example against the new 'Bijlmerbajes', which was compared to Stammheim. One of this prison walls still features the text painted there long ago: 'New Stammheim. Long live the RAF. Solidarity.' West Germany, with its harsh anti-terrorism policy, and the Stuttgart-Stammheim prison symbolizing it, seem to have come across to some Dutch RAF sympathizers as a terrifying vision of the future.