



On the Waterfront

newsletter of the friends of the IISH 2014 no. 28



international institute
of social history

Restoration Project
Boek & Wurm

Winter Soldiers
Guerilla theatre

Secret Societies
In Five Anniversaries

Introduction

The previous issue appeared shortly after the sweeping reorganization of the IISH. Since January 2014 fewer staff were available to perform this nonetheless formidable task. Logically, therefore, internal organization has been discussed frequently and in depth over the past half year. New consultation formats have been devised, and our Institute appears to be facing the world with new zeal. What is clear, however, is that the world knows the way to the IISH. In December 2013 we received a visit from Bolivian Vice President Alvaro Garcia Linera, and on 25 March 2014 two ministers from South Africa came to the Institute. These two politicians were in The Hague for the Nuclear Security Summit. President Obama, who was in Netherlands for the same reason, was placed at the Rijksmuseum in front of the Night Watch of his own volition. The Bolivian vice president and the South African ministers opted to visit the IISH. Alvaro Garcia Linera wanted to see the Marx's manuscripts in real life. As a participant in a revolutionary process in Bolivia, they are an ongoing source of inspiration to him. The leftist sociologist gave us an impressive stack of his publications. Minister of Foreign Affairs Nkoana-Mashabane and Minister of the Environment Dikobe Ben Martins wanted to explore the magnificent anti-apartheid collections that the NIZA has entrusted to the IISH. Both visits attest to the major importance of our collections, an importance that extends well beyond Dutch national borders. The next time we receive a visit from a foreign dignitary, perhaps we should convince such a person to become a Friend.

This issue addresses a restoration project, the collections presented on 30 January 2014, and the lecture delivered by Jaap Kloosterman at the occasion.

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: <http://socialhistory.org/en/friends>.*

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From all Nooks and Crannies

Restoration subsidy from 'Boek & Wurm'

A contact between Wim Smit, the former restorer of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek national library, and an IISH staff member led a request for a grant to be submitted to the Stichting Boek & Wurm. This foundation is dedicated to '... enabling conservation and restoration of books and works on paper, parchment, and papyrus that are of interest as books or in scholarly, artistic, historical or other respects.' In 2013 the IISH and the NEHA presented three collections for restoration:

1. Publications from Israel's early years.

The IISH has several interesting publications from Israel from the years since the new state was founded in 1948. A lot of this material relates to the country's socioeconomic development. During these years the socialist movement was very involved in the idealism that prevailed in the development of the country. The kibbutz, for example, was regarded as an alternative society.

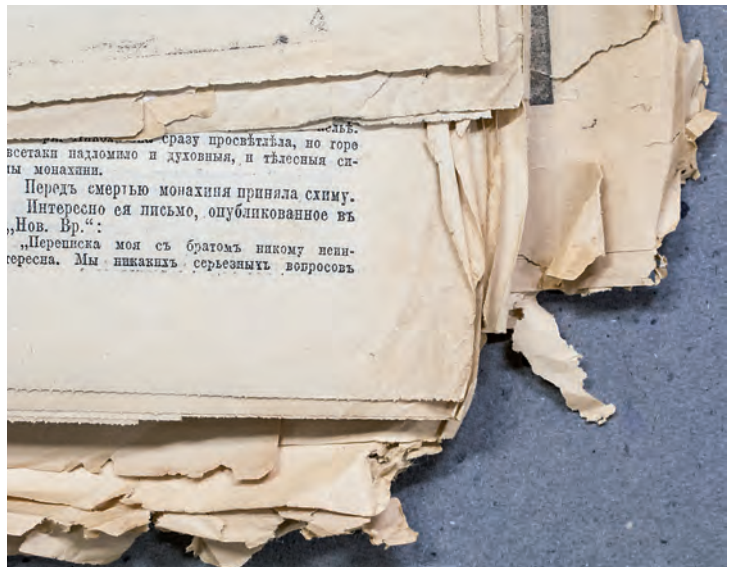
One circumscribed part of the collection was seriously damaged over the years. This collection comprises 46 titles. The paper of many of these titles reflects the scarcity in the early days of Israel: the quality is poor, and the printed matter often resembles stencil copy.

2. East-European large-size newspapers (large newspapers).

One of the problems with old East-European newspapers has been their extra large size. Opposition movements used this size as well. The IISH holds a rare collection of these newspapers. In many cases there are only a few issues of a title, often the only ones that remain. Thirty-seven titles were selected, highlighting Russian newspapers from Moscow and St. Petersburg during the revolutionary days of 1905 and the aftermath. The newspapers were in particularly poor condition.

3. Special collection of manuals and treatises for merchants issued in the 16th to the 18th centuries (books).

This special collection consists of treatises intended to teach merchants bookkeeping, commercial arithmetic, trade in money and currencies, trading practices elsewhere in the world, and the more theoretical treatises deriving from them. The NEHA started this collection in 1928 by purchasing the collection of the Antwerp collector Jos Velle. Thanks to the allocation of special funding, the collection continued to be expanded over the years that followed and is among the best on the history of early-modern trade and is widely known among historians. The transnational nature of the NEHA collection makes it special. Its size and importance are comparable



only to the Kress collection (Harvard University), the Goldsmith collection (London), and the collection of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of England and Wales.

Over the years, several works were damaged or became more tenuous due to material erosion. The damage mainly concerns the spine, dehydrated parchment, and broken strings used to bind the quires.

After these collections were assessed by IISH Collection Management Specialist Hans Drieman, and the terms for restoration and conservation were drafted, bids were requested in 2013. After reviewing the bids, the restorer's workshop *Restauratie Nijhoff Asser* was granted the commission (RNA).

The selection of the RNA workshop was approved by the Stichting Boek & Wurm, and the project was launched. Boek & Wurm generously allocated over € 17,000 toward this project. The result was featured at the Friends Day on 30 January. Finding separate funding for restoration is rare. This merits mention, as special thanks to Boek & Wurm. (HSa)

**Damaged
Russian news-
papers**

Twenty-eight Friends' Day

30 January 2014

Presentation of the Acquisitions

Francisca C. Fanggidaej. Activist for Indonesian independence and pivotal operator in a network of exiles.

In late 2013 the IISH was contacted to come select items from the home of Francisca C. Fanggidaej. The mission was urgent, as the residence needed to be vacated. Mrs Fanggidaej was hospitalized by then and would clearly not be returning there.

IISH staff members Frank de Jong and Emile Schwidder arrived at the scene and filled four moving crates with about two metres of archives, not arranged and all jumbled together. While Mrs Fanggidaej probably had a full and colourful home, her correspondence and additional papers were far from orderly.

Who was this Francisca C. Fanggidaej? She was completely unknown, both to the general public and to the average IISH staff member. This was not the case at all within the Indonesian community in the Netherlands.

Francisca, known as Cisca or Cis, was born on 16 August 1925 in the Netherlands-Indies village of Nulmina near the City of Kupang on the island of Timor. Initially trained as a teacher, she later studied to be an interpreter and journalist.

During the battle for independence, she worked as a journalist for Radio Gelora Pemuda Indonesia. In 1945 she had joined the Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia (Pesindo), the Indonesian Socialist Youth Movement. In 1947 she travelled to Europe as an emissary for Pesindo. She married Sukatno, a member of the Pesindo executive, in 1948. This marriage was short-lived. Her second husband was Supriyo, and she had six children with him. The 1950 the Pesindo congress confirmed the close ties with the PKI, the Indonesian communist party. Pesindo was renamed Pemuda

Rakyat, and Fanggidaej became the new chair.

Her career then took off rapidly. From 1957 until 1959, she was managing editor at INPS (Indonesian National Press Services). Around 1960 she was elected to represent the occupational Group of journalists in the Indonesian People's Representative Council, one of the houses of Parliament in this guided democracy. As a member of parliament, she visited Cuba in 1960 and 1963. She accompanied President Sukarno as an advisor on his state visit to Algeria in 1964.

The next year her life course changed dramatically. In the late summer of 1965 she was with an Indonesian delegation in Chile at a congress of the International Organization of Journalists based in Prague.

Following the *coup d'état* on 30 September 1965, the situation in Indonesia became unclear, and Suharto seized power. After the congress in Chile, Fanggidaej flew back to Indonesia. The moment her airplane landed in Jakarta, she was urged to board the next flight out of the country. She thus ended up in Beijing without her small children and family, where she would remain for the next twenty years. Little is known about her years in China. She worked at radio stations there and as an interpreter.

In 1985 she left China and came to the Netherlands, where she spent the rest of her life. Although her status was hotly disputed, the state secretary of Justice ultimately granted her refugee status in 1989. In our country she served on the board of the Komitee Indonesië and co-founded the Asian Studies Foundation. The large quantities of post in her archive and especially the huge number of death announcements reveal that she was pivotal in the Indonesian com-

Francisca Fanggidaej, Beijing 1966. IISG BG A63/70 (left). Zeist 2005 (right) Collection IISH.



munity in the Netherlands.

After the political changes in her native country, Francisca was finally able to travel back there for the first time after all those years and reunite with her family in 2003. Remaining there permanently was out of the question. She returned to her home in Zeist. In 2013 she fell ill and passed away in Utrecht on 13 November 2013.

This marked the end of a tumultuous life in four episodes. Her youth in the Netherlands Indies, her social career in independent Indonesia, twenty years in exile in China, and nearly three decades in the Netherlands afterwards.

And what about her personal papers? They contain a wealth of correspondence, at first only with her family and especially with her children. In 1965, when she fled to China, she had to arrange childcare. Her children were entrusted to 'Doortje'. There is also correspondence with all kinds of comrades, such as the poet and journalist Agam Wispi (1930-2003), who had moved to the GDR and lived in Leipzig before moving to the Netherlands as well in 1988. Most of her correspondence was with fellow Indonesians in the Netherlands, such as Hersri Setiawan and Dick Soekardiman. W.F. Wertheim and his daughter Anne-Ruth wrote to her regularly as well.

Her papers also contain all kinds of files about political prisoners in Indonesia and the human rights situation. There is an interesting appeal from Hartono Dharsono, who stood trial in 1986. A much older file is about the Tricontinental Conference in Havana, Cuba, in January 1966, including the contribution from the Indonesian delegation. The documents reveal how confusing the situation was in Indonesia during the months following the coup, and how the new regime concealed its true face behind smoke-screens.

The archive will be made accessible in the future. This will need to be done by somebody with thorough knowledge of the Bahasa Indonesia.

Before the archive reached the IISH, Mrs Fang-gidaej had already entrusted material to the Institute. In 2005 the Institute received several photographs of her visits to and period of residence in China. She was among the speakers at the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in Beijing in 1966. See: <http://search.socialhistory.org/Record/1265433>.

She was also interviewed for the oral history project *In Search of Silenced Voices*. In this interview conducted by Hersri Setiawan, she talks about her years in the Pesindo and about her participation in the Third World Youth Festival in Berlin (GDR), in 1951. See: <http://socialhistory.org/en/collections/search-silenced-voices>. (BHi)

Rob Metz. Amsterdam citizen, communist and resistance fighter

In 2013 the IISH received some interesting files from Rob Metz, who passed away in 2013. Metz had previously provided items to the IISH, although there was no actual Rob Metz archive.

Rob Metz was, in a nutshell, an Amsterdam citizen, a CPN member deeply, and impacted by the Second World War, which defined his sub-



Dutch CPN members in Warsaw, 1955

sequent course of life. Born in 1930, he was the son of a furniture maker that set up operations at 89 Egelantiersgracht in 1941. Father Metz became involved with the resistance, and it was said that resistance fighters even learned to fire weapons at his workshop. After all, the shots were inaudible over the din of the machines. The resistance council held its meetings there as well. The underground communist paper *De Waarheid* was printed at various nearby locations. As a youth, Rob helped transport newspapers and paper at substantial personal risk. In one instance he was almost caught and barely had time to shove his cart loaded with paper into a doorway.

Metz made it through the war and pursued a career as a graphic designer. He became known primarily for the designs he produced for the CPN. He could almost be qualified as the party 'designer' and designed posters for election campaigns, anniversaries, the party newspaper *De Waarheid*, and the annual commemoration of the February strike.

Canvas, Moscow, 1957



'Vegetarisme doodt niet om te leven' [Vegetarianism does not kill to live], picture postcard

Especially after the war, he was a zealous young communist and attended several World Festivals of Youth with his wife (to be) Colette Metz-La Croix (1934-1994). The new acquisition relates to these festivals. Together with other delegation members, the young couple visited the World Festivals of Youth in Bucharest in 1953, in Warsaw in 1955, and in Moscow in 1957. They diligently collected festival newspapers in various languages, programmes, and other printed matter. They even saved the colourful paper bags containing the box lunches of the participants in Moscow. There are also photographs taken by Metz in 1955 in Warsaw. The striking Dutch delegation, including Colette Metz-La Croix, represented our country in traditional folkloric costumes and wore wooden clogs.

In addition to donating printed matter and photographs to the IISH, Metz previously provided three etchings depicting street scenes presented to him in Moscow as gifts, and the latest donation also comprises a textile cloth designed by Colette Metz-La Croix, featuring colourful, typically Dutch motifs and reading 'Holland Festival Moskou 1957.' Colette later became renowned for making dolls and working with textiles and published all kinds of booklets about this subject.

Another item of interest in the recent donation to the IISH is a poster for an exhibition to prepare the World Festival of Youth in Berlin (GDR) from 5 to 19 August 1951. This exhibition was featured at De Brakke Grond theatre on Nes in Amsterdam. Whether Metz and his wife also attended the World Festival of Youth in Berlin remains unknown.

Having lived a very full life, Metz passed away on 1 May 2013. In his obituary in *Het Parool*, he is described simply as: 'resistance fighter'. (BHi)

Not kill to live, the archive of the Nederlandse Vegetariërsbond

The library of the Nederlandse Vegetariërsbond [Dutch league of vegetarians] (NVB) has been among the holdings of the IISH since the 1960s. It comprises over 750 volumes about all kinds of topics relating to vegetarianism and a generally

'Op verzoek vegetarische spijzen' [Vegetarian dishes upon request], enamel sign 1915-1920



healthy lifestyle. The lending library was set up in 1896.

Over the past year, this library was reunited with the archive of the league, and a volunteer even came along and described the archive immediately.

The archive dates back to the establishment of the Vegetariërsbond in 1894. It consists of minutes and reports, such as the congress proceedings from 1923, including lists of attendance and motions. It also comprises a great many brochures and pamphlets, starting in 1894 with the brochure *Een bond voor vegetariërs! Oproep aan alle voorstanders tot vereeniging* [A league for vegetarians! Calling on all advocates to unite], in which A. Verschoor circulates an appeal to form a league. The source of inspiration came from England, where in 1891 Verschoor had met the physician T.L. Allinson, who invented the well-known health bread. The brochure was about vegetarianism for sanitary and ethical considerations and included a reply form. Enough people responded to get started.

Even the early brochures reflect the question as to whether more is at stake than not eating meat. Many members appear to take vegetarianism very seriously; some even see it as an ideology. Not wanting to kill animals closely approximates not wanting to kill humans. And if not eating meat is healthy, many feel the same way about refraining from tobacco and alcohol consumption. A propaganda leaflet from 1939 mentions: 'A vegetarian lush is unimaginable, vegetarianism is also a powerful incentive for the peace effort.' Several NVB members belonged to the social-democratic party as well.

The articles of association from 1934 show that



membership was taken very seriously: new members had to be over 18 and needed to have lived as vegetarians for at least a year. Names of prospective members were published in the journal for members, almost like a review system. Violations could easily result in expulsion.

Still, the purpose and mission in the articles of association have always been limited to refraining from consuming meat and do not describe a broader ideology.

The different aspects of vegetarianism, the reasons for being a member are interesting to examine in the different brochures in the archive:

1. ethical reasons, most vegetarians find eating meat and killing animals morally reprehensible.
2. health considerations, it promotes physical health. The brochure *Sleur of idealisme* [Humdrum or idealism] nicely illustrates this point with a list of vegetarian athletes in different branches of sports.
3. economic reasons, the brochure *Het vegetarisme van economisch standpunt bezien* [An economic perspective on vegetarianism] argues, for example, that agriculture makes more efficient use of land than animal husbandry does, and that agrarian production generates more employment than industry.
4. biological reasons, human beings are not naturally suited for meat consumption. In the brochure *Van nature vegetariër?* [Vegetarian by nature] a dentist shows how the physique, intestines and teeth of humans are designed for vegetarian meals.

Membership of the league has been fairly stable, rising to approximately 1,000-1,500 before the Second World War and then suddenly reaching nearly 6,000. This growth did not arise from a sudden increase in the number of vegetarians. Members of the League were entitled to exchange meat coupons for other coupons during wartime. Many vegetarians thus had an incentive to join.

By the 1960s, membership declined again, despite a substantial rise in the number of vegetarians. The archive also contains material from the later years. During this period the league viewed its main organizational mission as promoting vegetarian consumption and protecting the interests of vegetarians. It has returned to the basics. Now, the pamphlets and the website are light and green and promote the election of the sexiest vegetarian. (EdR)

'Van nature vegetariër' [Vegetarian by nature], brochure from the early 1970s

Ribbons for Joop den Uyl

Many collections are not transferred all at once but trickle in over time. Most of the archive of Dutch Prime Minister Joop den Uyl was entrusted to the IISH in 1989. In 2013 a small addition arrived: the certificates and medals he received. Though not spectacular, the awards nicely illustrate his life.

Part consists of several Dutch crosses.

Of course Den Uyl received awards for his merits as prime minister of the Netherlands. He was appointed *Grootofficier in de Orde van Oranje-Nassau* [Grand officer in the Order of Orange Nassau] (1982) and *Commander in de Orde van de Nederlandse Leeuw* [Commander in the Order of the Netherlands Lion].

As a tribute to his involvement with the Royal family, Den Uyl was awarded the *Eremedaille voor Voortvarendheid en Vernuft van de Huisorde van Oranje* [Medal of Honour for Enterprise and Resourcefulness] (1974). This medal predates the affairs concerning Prince Bernhard, which Den Uyl resolved successfully.

The collection comprises some nice foreign specimens as well. They attest to his good contacts with the Scandinavian countries. From Sweden he received the *Order of the Polar Star* and from Denmark the *Order of the Dannebrog*. Both were presented for merits and good foreign relations.

Two awards are from Suriname.

As prime minister, Den Uyl was closely involved in bringing about the independence of Suriname in 1975. The country introduced its own honorary order, the *Ere-Orde van de Palm*, straight away. Den Uyl was appointed Grand Officer of the Palm.

Order of the Polar Star, Sweden; Honorary Order of the Palm, Suriname; Award from carnival association De Deurdouwers, Most Perseverant 1974



There are also some interesting minor awards: a badge from his – Protestant – student association SSRA and a small commemorative plaque for the best politician of 1975, presented by the radio programme *In de Rooie Haan*. In 1974 Den Uyl received a special award from the carnival association De Deurdouwers in Millingen aan de Rijn, for the Grootste Deurdouwer [Most Perseverant]. This aptly summarizes his life, as is reflected as well in the title of his biography: *Joop Den Uyl 1919-1987. Dromer En Doordouwer*. (EdR)

Karen National Union, opposition in Burma

The arrival of additional material from Burma in 2013 appears to reverse the trend a bit. IISH representative in Bangkok Eef Vermeij has noticed that the opposition movements in Burma have gained self-confidence. No longer living in such fear, they are confident that the changes for the better are there to stay. Still, the IISH received another large, important collection last year from the Karen National Union, an acquisition that had been in the pipeline for a while.

Burma's approximately seven million Karen inhabitants have always set themselves apart from the Burmese. Their oppression dates back to the days of the Burmese kingdom. As a result, they have consistently sided with the Burmese adversary in times of war. In addition, most Karen have always been Christians, as opposed to the Buddhist heritage of the Burmese.

In the Second World War, the Karen supported the Allied forces. When the British granted

Burma independence in 1948, the Karen hoped to found their own, independent state. This was not granted, and the Karen remained subjects of Burma. Soon afterwards the Karen National Union was founded to defend the rights of the Karen. The KNU is one of the largest and strongest opposition movements in Burma.

Over the many years that struggled against the government, many Karen fled to camps along the Thai border. Even there, they were regularly attacked by the Burmese military. Although a truce has presently been declared between the KNU and the government, no official peace treaty exists yet.

Eef Vermeij had been in touch with KNU representatives for a while but had not yet made arrangements for the archive. In 2008 Naw Zipporah Sein was elected secretary to the KNU. Eef had once let her stay in his apartment while she was visiting the Netherlands and the IISH. Talks quickly resumed, culminating in the transfer of the archive.

The archive dates back to the period from 1967 to 2001, highlighting the 1980s. It results from papers that were kept in different camps and at the headquarters, although what comes from where is not entirely clear. Because of the regular attacks by the Burmese military, much has been lost. In 1995 in a major attack on the headquarters in Manerplaw, much went up in flames.

From the 1970s onward, the archive contains general information, congresses, meetings, and reports from chapters and districts. Besides, there is a folder of many remarkable small notes featuring stamps from the national army and addressed to the Karen village chiefs. They concern orders from local military units to supply them with labour, money, and food. This could mean that the villagers were to be put to work in the army camps, or that they had to lead expeditions to absorb the initial blows as scouts. Of course the villagers received no compensation and were threatened with violence, if they refused to comply.

The present contacts with Burma no longer mainly concern acquiring and securing the archive. The IISH now also advises about setting up a documentation centre and conserving materials on site. (EdR)

Peter Bronkhorst. Provo and chronicler of a movement in 1960s Amsterdam.

The IISH has long owned a vast collection about the rebellious 1960s and 70s in Amsterdam: the Provo movement, Roel van Duijn, Robert Jasper Grootveld, clashes with the police, the wedding between Beatrix and Claus in 1966, the Nieuwmarkt riots in 1975, and Coronation Day 1980 as the apotheosis.

Much relevant information appears in the Provo archives and the personal papers of Roel van Duijn and especially in the Collectie Sociale Documentatie (CSD).

The recent addition to all of this is a fine, substantial accrual to the personal papers of former Provo Peter Bronkhorst, who died in November 2007. Born in Amsterdam on 15 January 1946,

Letters conveying commands from government troops to Karen villagers, 2000-2001



he was a typographer active in the Amsterdam chapter of the psjw, the Youth working group of the Pacifistisch Socialistische Partij (psp). Bronkhorst became a true activist with the rise of the Provo movement.

The personal papers of Bronkhorst consist mainly of photograph albums and scrapbooks he and his father assembled. Peter Bronkhorst is believed to have taken his own photographs and operated mainly within Amsterdam's city centre. The albums comprise a great many small snapshots measuring 9 by 9 cm. Several feature the well-known happenings at the Lieverdje on Spui Square and the sieges outside the u.s. consulate on Museumplein. The banners on the photographs reveal demonstrations against the 'H bom', for 'Peace in Vietnam', as well as for 'mayoral elections'. The photographs offer glimpses behind the scenes as well. There is a photograph series of a preparatory gathering on the barge Roma, a river vessel that was moored at Jacob Catskade in the Staatslieden neighbourhood and served as the Provo movement 'headquarters'. The subsequent campaign to paint some nearby benches white has been documented extensively.

Another remarkable series of five photographs from 1967 reveals the amazing window display of an AKO newsagent's. The AKO resembles a Provo billboard. The items on display include a Provo edition that parodies the conservative daily *De Telegraaf* and a poster highlighting the release of the 'Mac Bird! satirical parody of Johnson Murderer(s) among us'. This formulation was devised to circumvent the prohibited slogan 'Johnson Murderer'.

After all, the AKO that opened at 66 Overtoom on 7 July 1966 was run by, Peter's father Huibert Bronkhorst. This branch was the first of what came to be known as façade kiosks. The kiosk with its large glass wall extending across the entire façade was unique in those days and was designed by the Amsterdam architect Edo Spier. Bronkhorst Sr. made extensive use of the display options that the modern glass façade provided. After a while, though, the AKO management had Bronkhorst Sr., who had caught the Provo bug from his son, take down the poster.

Most photographs are black-and-white. Still, a small series of colour photographs of a façade with a flag, reveals how Provo Bronkhorst, who lived with his parents on Derde Kostverlorenkade in the Overtoomse Sluis neighbourhood, competed in the run-up to the municipal elections on 1 June 1966 with his upstairs neighbour, who advertised the list of the Communistische Partij Nederland (cpn), headed by Harry Verhey. In Amsterdam Provo had its own list and obtained one seat on the city council. The different red, green, and black flags and banner showed the universe of very diverse currents within the protest movement.

Besides the photographs, Bronkhorst's personal papers include correspondence. Some of this correspondence appears to be from H. Bronkhorst, Provo Peter's dad. In one case, for example, Bronkhorst Sr. complained to the mayor of Amsterdam about the police intervention in the Vondel Park on Sunday 15 October 1967. Accord-



ing to Bronkhorst, at that occasion chief police inspector Koppejan had said 'Beat them out'. In a lengthy personal reply to Bronkhorst, Mayor Ivo Samkalden attempted to refute each of his arguments.

Father Huibert Bronkhorst later managed his son's archives. Most documents feature the nice pinkish-red 'Bronkhorst Kollektie – Provo Archief' stamp. System cards were attached to the archival documents with typed descriptions of title and content. The photographs and archival documents from the period 1966-1968 that the IISH just acquired were probably long in the possession of Bronkhorst Sr. Somehow they then ended up in the collection of the Amsterdam typographer, printer, activist, and collector Steef Davidson (1943-2010), who ultimately entrusted them to the IISH.

The photograph albums and scrapbooks filled by Bronkhorst Sr. and Jr. have been kept intact. While not ideal for conservation purposes, this is acceptable. Keeping the photograph albums and scrapbooks as they are preserves the authentic ambience they exude.

Peter Bronkhorst fell upon hard times after the Provo years. He started a family and set up a window-washing business but also suffered from ad-

**Peter
Bronkhorst in
action**



dictions. On 27 October 2007, the Saturday before he died, Bronkhorst was one of the speakers at a 'Red de Paddo' [Save psychedelic mushrooms] demonstration on Dam Square in Amsterdam. Edith Ringnalda photographed Peter Bronkhorst in the company of 'her' Simon Vinkenoog at this occasion. Bronkhorst died on 2 November 2007. (BHi)

Winter soldiers

Residents of rural Pennsylvania and New York will have been taken by surprise in September 1970, when columns of GIs marched toward their villages and cities, exactly as they watched their uniformed fellow citizens entering Vietnamese villages on television every evening. Except for the weapons, which were fake, everything was 'real': their uniforms, their style of action, and especially the youths themselves. They were Vietnam veterans. Perhaps we associate the term 'veteran' with older men, but most of these U.S. veterans were young in 1970. Draftees would serve a twelve-month tour of duty. This meant that from when the large U.S. army started to be deployed to Vietnam in 1966, until around 1970, when about 500,000 Americans were fighting there, there were already a great many young veterans. The years around 1970 were also the years when the anti-war movement was at its peak. Such resistance extended beyond small marginal groups of radicals. Jane Fonda, for example, was a well known anti-war activist in those days. She was also active in the Vietnam Veterans Against the War movement, from which the IISH holds original materials. The veterans' march across the Eastern states was part of Operation RAW (Rapid American Withdrawal) a supporter of the Vietnam Veterans Against



the War. The soldiers carried out (or, more accurately, performed) 'search and destroy' missions in the American villages, taking out enemy combatants they captured after sweeping the surroundings.

Both photographs:
Operation
RAW, USA,
September
1970. Photo-
graph Carolyn
Mugar, IISH
Collection



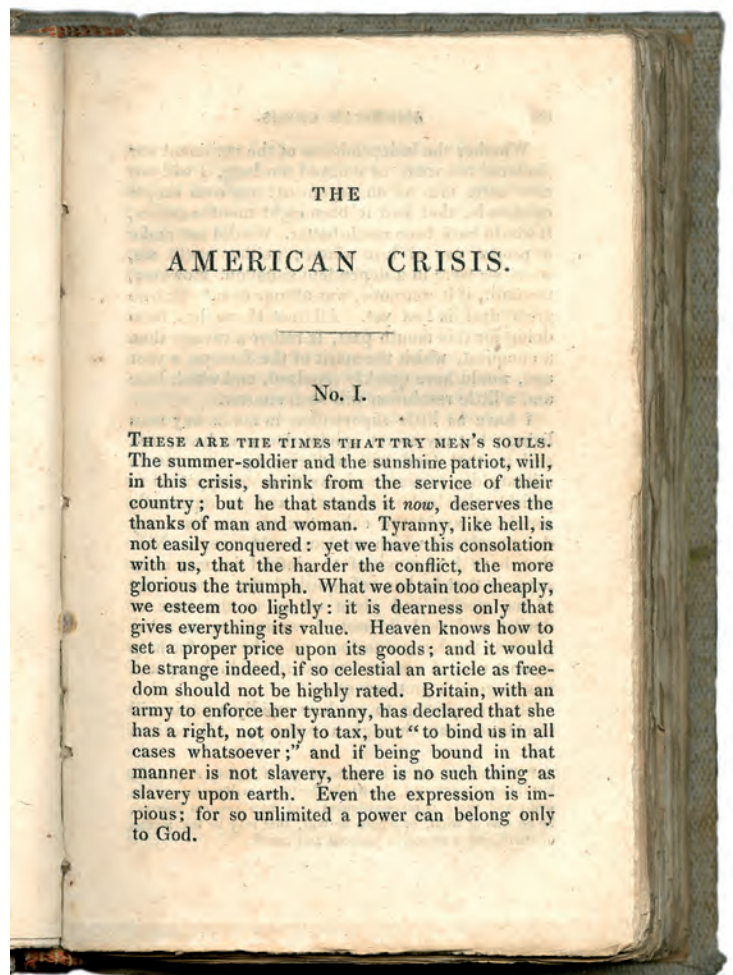
All was carefully staged with volunteers trained in the 'guerrilla theatre' action style. Fortunately, there was a lighter side to it as well: after a successful action, there was time left to go skinny dipping, as a report in *WIN* (15 October 1970 20-21) describes. The march went from Morristown (NJ) to Valley Forge State Park. The demonstration ended there in a public gathering, addressed by Vietnam veteran and present U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry. The campaign set the stage for the Winter Soldier Investigation of January 1971. These hearings were intended to disclose war crimes committed by Americans in Vietnam. Veterans were interrogated about wrongdoings they had witnessed.

The route of the march and the name 'Winter Soldier' were no coincidence. Americans closely associated them with the difficult but heroic early period of the American War of Independence from 1775 to 1783, when they had discarded the British yoke and formed a new nation. Without elaborating on the military vicissitudes of the early years of the War of Independence, the army led by George Washington made the same journey with the inexperienced, disorganized troops between 1776 and 1777 that the veterans travelled in the opposite direction in 1970. On this experience and on the imminent disintegration of this army, Thomas Paine wrote (using the pseudonym 'Common Sense') 16 pamphlets entitled *The American Crisis*. The first pamphlet mentions the 'summer-soldier' and 'sunshine patriot', who were half-hearted participants in the revolt against the British, now abandoning the good cause at the first setbacks. The opening sentence in the pamphlet is well-known to Americans: 'These are the times that try men's souls.'

The message of the veterans in 1970 is clear: they are the true patriots fighting against the tyranny in the spirit of the 18th-century freedom fighters. They are the Winter Soldiers, who do not abandon the good cause upon encountering adversity.

The photographs printed here are from the gigantic collection known at the IISH as Brunn-Harris-Watts and featured in Issue 22 of *On The Waterfront* 2011 (p.9). The collection size also reflects the size of the soldier movement at the time. Perhaps we need to realize, so many years later, that these were not marginal groups. In Heidelberg Max Watts worked with AWOLS. Taking into consideration that they numbered 65,000 in 1970 helps us understand more about the influence of the soldiers and veterans movement. It is thanks to James Lewes, who works on this collection as a volunteer, that these types of stories are now being told.

The photographs were found in an envelope bearing the handwriting of Jane Fonda and addressed to Max Watts. They were taken by Carolyn Mugar, one of Fonda's friends and an interesting activist in her own right. As providing access to the Brunn-Harris-Watts collection progresses, we look forward to more nice surprises. (HSA)



ENKA Breda industrial sit-in

The occupation of the Enka factory in Breda in 1972 figures among the famous post-war cases involving the Dutch labour movement. This was the first union-organized industrial sit-in in the Netherlands. In 2013 the IISH received the vast, detailed archive from Koos Dreef, a member of the ENKA central works council. The run-up, the occupation, and the aftermath are clearly reflected in this archive.

In 1972 the Breda factory was only four years old and was operating at a profit, when the parent group AKZO announced in a master plan that it intended to close the company. The economic justification provided was that the synthetic fibres market was becoming saturated, that surplus capacity was imminent, and that, anticipating the 1973 enlargement of the EEC with Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom, greater corporate concentration was essential. It was one of the first signs that the undisturbed growth from the post-war boom was starting to wane. The announcement came in the spring of 1972, and the trade union was not very belligerent at first. No strategy against mass redundancies existed yet. But these were also the years of radicalization. At a demonstration not supported by the trade unions and at a meeting on the *Turfschip* in May, the notorious CPN activist Fré Meis was spotted. The CPN was also the initiator of the *Comité Breda Solidair*,

First page of Paine's *The American Crisis*. IISH copy (E 1070/21) published by John Brooks. He was the radical printer and stationer John Brooks of 421 Oxford Street. He has also published works by the Owenites.

which opposed closing the plant. In the following sequence of events in the spring and summer, the company agreed to have experts investigate the need for a shut-down. When the findings indicated that reorganization was needed but not a shut-down, the management refused to deviate from the original plan and intended to close the plant anyway. This became clear in late August. In the period from May through August, the local shop stewards had indeed worked hard on a more radical response. Occupying the premises seemed like a viable option. They derived inspiration from the successful occupation of the Clyde wharves in Scotland in 1971. When the management still refused to budge, ENKA Breda was occupied on 18 September, to everybody's amazement. The organizing committee of 10 to 12 had arranged it all within a week, without any of the plan being disclosed. This is all the more remarkable, given that journalist Kees Slager of *het Vrije Volk* was aware of the plan. Fortunately, his sense of solidarity kept him from leaking any information. In return, he was allowed to do a report from inside during the occupation. The action exuded massive appeal. Especially the orderly procedure and flawless organization drew widespread praise. Controlling an industrial site of 32 hectares was an impressive achievement. Cowboys were kept at a distance: the Red Youth had already been spotted! Five hundred men remained inside the gates at all times. In addition to food and beverages, medical supplies were necessary for emergencies. Outside the gates, many family members and friends of those occupying the premises gathered in anticipation.

The sense of solidarity prevailed. Unprepared for this radical tactic, the management gave in after 5 days. On 23 September the occupation was lifted. Singing and welcomed with flowers, the occupiers exited the factory.

As mentioned above, the occupation exuded an enormous appeal. Various publications soon appeared about it. ENKA dossier: *handboek voor bezetters* (Utrecht [etc.]: Bruna 1972) by Aad van Cortenberghe, Jeroen Terlingen, and Willem Diepraam was one of the most popular, and over 10,000 copies were issued. The term 'manual' reveals the sympathies of the authors. In union circles and leftist political parties, the occupation was examined as a possible radical new style of social reform. During the turbulent 1970s the occupation was studied from that perspective by a great many university departments: sociology, adult educational theory, and many others.

Still, the company folded 10 years later. After the economic downturn of the 1980s, it went under. By then, the political balance of power no longer made mobilizing radical resistance possible. The archive reflects this period as well. This is of interest, since precisely those last ten years of ENKA Breda have not been examined. Unfortunately, after 1980 workers in the Netherlands saw more reorganizations and company shut-downs than they did successful company sit-ins. This archive is also useful for writing that hardly spectacular but nonetheless compelling social history. (HSa)

Public in front of the occupied factory. Photograph by Henk Nieuwenhuijs IISG BG B13/859





Committed scholars

Bertus Mulder

In 2013 the Institute received a small but valuable addition to the papers of Andries Sternheim (1890-1944). It figures within the archive of Bertus Mulder, who donated material on Sternheim to the Institute at a previous occasion as well. Mulder wrote a PhD thesis about Sternheim, which he defended in 1991 and published in Dutch as *Andries Sternheim. Een Nederlands vakbondsman in de Frankfurter Schule* (Zeist, 1991). Mulder's original supervisor in writing this book was former IISH director Frits de Jong Edz, who died in 1989 and thus did not live to see the finished text. The Mulder archive, which is his research archive on Andries Sternheim, contains a lot of copies from different other archives as well. The addition consisted of several photos of the Sternheim family.

Before describing this pre-Second World War social scientist, a few remarks are in order about Bertus Mulder. He is the kind of dedicated scholar we encounter quite often in building the collection of the IISH. His parents were workers in the east of Friesland. He studied sociology of labour at Groningen University around 1970. In these turbulent times he was a member of the Student Trade Union Movement (Studenten Vakbeweging). He became an active member of the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) and taught sociology, in addition to serving as a trainer in community work. He also held several regional political posts for the PvdA.

Andries Sternheim

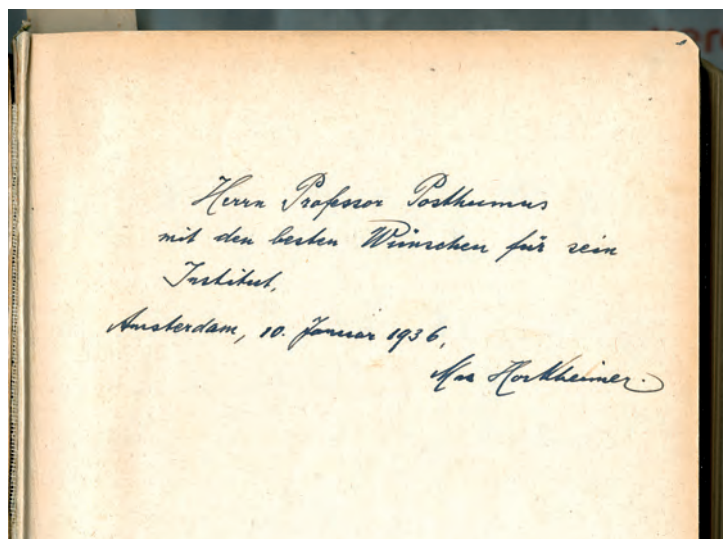
Mulder became fascinated by Andries Sternheim, who was a dedicated scholar from earlier in the twentieth century and exemplified the emancipatory power of pre-World War social democracy. His father and mother divorced early, and he remained with his mother, who subsequently went to earn a living in the Amsterdam diamond trade.

Andries entered the diamond trade as well. Here he encountered politics and culture. He became inspired by Frank van der Goes and his cultural work. In 1909 he became a member of the renowned ANDB. Under the aegis of Henri Polak, this trade union dominated by the Jewish Amsterdam diamond workers had become an institution of learning and culture for the workers. Also in 1909 Andries registered with the SDAP, the Dutch social democratic party. He attended classes in economics and statistics (MO) in the evening hours and was soon among the first social-democratic civil servants who entered this career between 1914 and 1920 under the famous social democratic alderman Wibaut. In 1920 he became the head of the library and documentation service of the Amsterdam-based International Federation of Trade Unions. In the nineteen twenties he held several positions within the SDAP and the NVV. The highlights of his later career included editing the periodical *Die Internationale Gewerkschaftsbewegung* for the IFTU and organizing research for this International. In 1931 he left the Netherlands for Switzerland to head the Geneva branch of the famous Frankfurt *Institut für Sozialforschung*. In Geneva he was in contact with specialists from the League of Nations and the ILO. During his Geneva years he worked on the project 'balance of power within families'

Andries Sternheim, his mother Sara Keetje Sternheim-Biallosterski, and his younger sister Elisabeth Sternheim, ± 1897

Andries Sternheim ± 1910. IISG BG A65/469





Assignment to Posthumus by Max Horkheimer in *Studien über Autorität und Familie*. IISG XV A/130

and wrote several contributions published in *Autorität und Familie*. The value of Sternheim's work lies in his modern conceptions of labour with regard to family interactions and leisure pursuits. After the Nazi seized power, the *Institut* moved to Geneva briefly, before relocating to Columbia University in 1934.

Sternheim remained in Geneva until 1938, when he had to return to Amsterdam and had difficulty finding a new position. Relations with

the *Institut für Sozialforschung* became more distant. His working class origins and his training through the trade union movement set him apart from the 'conventional' academic German members. For example, no serious effort was made to get Sternheim and his family to the United States, where several others affiliated with the *Institut* had moved following the relocation to Columbia University. Andries eventually found a job as director of a distribution office but was dismissed by the Nazis after the Nazis occupied the Netherlands in May 1940. In 1943 the family went into hiding, the two children to a different location from the parents. Unfortunately in 1944 they were all caught, deported, and murdered in a concentration camp.

For a short biography see: <http://socialhistory.org/bwsa/biografie/sternheim>.

Soon after it was established, in January 1936, the IISH received a visit from the director of the *Institut für Sozialforschung* Max Horkheimer. At this occasion he donated a copy of *Autorität und Familie* (see illustration).

Annie Adama van Scheltema corresponded with Sternheim in Geneva, hoping to obtain publications for the IISH library, while Sternheim wanted the publications of the IfS to be discussed in the IISH *Bulletin* (see IISH Archive nr. 198). (HSa)

Secret Societies: An Outline in Five Anniversaries

Presented by Jaap Kloosterman at the Friends meeting on 30 January 2014

Though popular in modern conspiracy legends, secret societies are essentially a phenomenon from the long nineteenth century. This may be demonstrated by the historical word frequencies that can be calculated from Google's Ngram Corpus, a vast body of digitized books. The graph reproduced here shows how the French *société secrète* (singular and plural) surfaced in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century and peaked in the middle of the nineteenth. Generating similar graphs for the German, Spanish and Italian equivalents produces comparable results. The outcome is slightly different for the English, where the frequency of the term declined only after the 1960s, probably because in the United States it was used to denote certain student societies, as well as men's associations that long

served as insurance companies as well. The data are approximate, but the outcome is clear: the alliterative secret society – or *geheime Gesellschaft* in German – can be traced back to the early 1770s with a reasonable measure of accuracy.

Its birthplace is equally well-known. The term first came into use in the German lands, in discussions about the threats that Jesuits and their kindred spirits presented to Protestantism and the Enlightenment. Things were then complicated by the discovery and repression of an 'enlightened' secret society in Bavaria, the order of the Illuminati, of which the founder Adam Weishaupt considered it to be 'the greatest thing ever invented by human reason'. From here on, secret societies (the plural won out)

conquered Europe. Before the century ended, the associations were identified as pulling the strings behind the French Revolution. This label greatly enhanced their prestige and turned them into one of the most popular forms of organization for liberals fighting the Restoration. It also encouraged research: the past was scrutinized for pioneers, and colonial officers encountered all kinds of groups that they related to familiar manifestations back home, such as the Indian Thugs and the Chinese Triads. Ethnographers even discovered 'primitive' counterparts; since these were predominantly male, they were perceived as stepping stones along mankind's long journey to modern civilization. Within about a century after they first appeared in Europe, secret societies had been classified and accepted as a natural ingredient of all ages and countries, for better or for worse.

The conceptual expansion of the field revealed many interesting aspects of the societies. It also multiplied the number of centenaries and other anniversaries to be celebrated every year. Some of these dates may illustrate these traits.

1614 (1)

That the Jesuits were among the first to have this label assigned to them was perhaps to be expected. Since it was formed in 1540, the Society of Jesus had been suspected of concealing underground operations beneath a mixture of cunning and hypocrisy. Amid generalized distrust resulting from the religious and political rifts in Europe, the success with which the Jesuits were credited gave them a long-lasting reputation for efficiency. They would become the envy of subversive organizers, from Weishaupt and Filippo Buonarroti to Mikhail Bakunin.

In 1614, the order's image was memorably depicted by a former member in an anonymous pamphlet published in Kraków as *Monita privata Societatis Jesu*. Purporting to express the real and truly disgraceful rules of the Society as disclosed exclusively to the top of its hierarchy, the text was a cleverly constructed satire that was hard to refute. It stipulated, for example, that in the unfortunate event that the rules were discovered, they should be publicly denounced by spokesmen who were in effect unaware of them and would express appropriate indignation. The

pamphlet was immediately seized by the many adversaries of the Jesuits, mostly in a new version – somewhat less amusing and more political – prepared by Jansenists in 1676. Translated and reprinted at each outbreak of anti-Jesuit sentiment anywhere, it has been in print for four hundred years. In fact, its long history has by now given it a self-perpetuating quality that has rendered the obsolete nature of its arguments all but irrelevant.

1614 (2)

In the same year 1614, some 750 kilometres to the west, another anonymous pamphlet was published in the city of Kassel. It contained another satire, written by Traiano Boccalini and translated as *Allgemeine und General Reformation der ganzen weiten Welt*; a manifesto entitled *Fama Fraternitatis des Löblichen Ordens des Rosenkreutzes*; and a reply to this manifesto by Adam Haslmayer, an adherent of Paracelsus from the Tyrol, who was said to have been chained to a galley bench by the Jesuits. The manifesto was one of several texts written by Johann Valentin Andreae (a scion of an illustrious Lutheran family), when he was a theology student at Tübingen a decade earlier.

The *Fama* appealed for written responses to the program of a long-secret brotherhood that was now coming into the open to pave the way for a second Reformation, after the first one had run its course. In fact, no such organization existed: his 'game' – as Andreae called it – had merely given him an opportunity to formulate his ideas, as he would do again, less radically, in his utopian *Christianopolis*. Yet, the many enthusiastic reactions to his proposals from all corners of Europe suggested that someone willing to contemplate founding a reforming brotherhood might draw serious interest. Andreae's creation in fact provided a template for organizing a self-defined elite around esoteric knowledge.

1714

Contrary to the Jesuits, who were not secret, and the Rosicrucians, who were not a society, the Freemasons constituted an actual brotherhood that, to many, has become the secret society *par excellence*. Conventionally, the history of Freemasonry begins in 1717, with the foundation of the Grand Lodge of London, although lodges existed

Frequencies of the term 'société secrète', singular and plural (Google Books Ngram Corpus)





Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) at Geneva, in his early fifties (USH)

long before this date, especially in Scotland. The one at St Ninians, registered in 1714, is in fact relatively recent.

Freemasonry was typically regarded as one of the more respectable forces within the broad range of voluntary organizations that emerged in Britain in ever greater numbers from the sixteenth century on; its nature was sociable and philanthropic. On the Continent, the lodges more often became vehicles for a wide assortment of ideas, some disreputable. The Masonic organization derived from the medieval guilds and was based on the three grades of apprentice, fellow, and master (to which many more were added in some later systems); it proved adaptable to all sorts of causes. This rendered the lodges – whether properly Masonic or para-Masonic – subject to suspicion by the authorities. The Roman Catholic Church in particular campaigned against them well into the twentieth century and greatly promoted the conflation of the terms ‘Freemasonry’ and ‘secret societies’.

1814

Freemasonry’s efforts to discard this label were hindered by the fact that some lodges were at

times effectively (and in some cases unwittingly) used by political operators. More generally, in an undemocratic environment, Freemasonry offered conditions that naturally attracted those with oppositional designs. Many nineteenth-century organizers of secret societies were Masons or had a disproportionate number of Masons among their acquaintances.

Mikhail Bakunin, for example, the Russian anarchist born two centuries ago this year, had already joined a lodge before he participated in the revolutions of 1848-1849 and revived his Masonic ties, when he resumed his subversive activities after his flight from Siberian exile in the 1860s. By then – like Weishaupt, the older Buonarroti, and Karl Marx’s Communist League – he had developed a model for a small elite organization intended to provide ideological guidance to a long and international process of social transformation. It in fact resembled some of the artistic *avant gardes* that started to appear around the same time.

1914

Most European secret societies were of a different type. The nineteenth-century liberals, radicals, and nationalists – the *Americanos* in Spain’s colonies, the Italian Carbonari, Giuseppe Mazzini, Auguste Blanqui, and many others – established organizations for the immediate purpose of seizing power from authoritarian opponents. They worked underground not so much by choice as by necessity, tried to recruit as many adherents as possible, and were often regarded as harbingers of political parties.

This was the milieu of Gavrilo Princip and Death or Life, a Bosnian-Serb secret society with an anarcho-nationalist program. It was no accident that its model, the Black Hand, published the journal *Pijemont*, the title linking it openly to the struggle for Italian unification. And yet, when Princip fired the bullet that brought down four empires, no one proclaimed Sarajevo as the victory of the secret societies. Even the *coup d’état* that in 1917 delivered Russia into the hands of what was for all practical purposes a secret society did not improve their fortune. It is true that similar organizations continued to be founded, but they took on new labels such as ‘revolutionary party’ or ‘liberation front’. The context was irreversibly changing.

Immanuel Kant had already explained that the societies were simply the product of a lack of liberty, shifting the burden of responsibility to the government. As a result of the rise of parliamentary democracies in Western Europe, the secret societies lost much of their appeal to the rebels who had been their most devoted practitioners; other types of organization seemed better suited to the new reality. Henceforth, the term was increasingly reserved for esoteric associations that did not keep secrets so much as giving access to them – creating a different sort of *avant garde* that remained familiar all the same.