Introduction

This eighth issue of On the Waterfront features many of the Institute’s new acquisitions. While in the previous issue the contributions about Annie Adama van Scheltema - Kleefstra and Giangiacomo Feltrinelli related the history of the Institute, a contribution about Boris Sapir serves the same purpose in this one. In addition to the summary of a lecture on the highly topical issue of modern Kurdish history, a presentation about the changes in membership is included for the first time. On the one hand, it reveals how much growth potential remains (and how much we need to grow). On the other hand, only now are we becoming aware how much has already been achieved by so few. Just before the end of the year, we received a commitment for a wonderful donation from the United States. This addition, which arrived too late to be included in the figures for 2003, will be covered in the next issue.

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, Mies Campfens reviews archives in De Nederlandse archieven van het Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis te Amsterdam (Amsterdam 1989), and Jaap Haag and Ate 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 (mij@iisg).
In the second half of 2003 the Institute acquired about 100 archival collections, of which slightly over half were accruals to collections received previously. The library, the image and sound department, and the NEHA were active as well. Below are a few highlights from this vast selection.

The Klein Pouderoyen slave plantation in Demerary (Guyana), 1824-1831

The NEHA obtained a very special document at a rather modest price: the register of a Dutch slave plantation. During these years of reflection about the historical role of the Dutch in slave ownership and the slave trade (slavery was abolished in the Dutch colonies in America and Asia 140 years ago), one acquisition merits mention in addition to all the other items the NEHA already has in this field.

Such books are rarely offered for sale. When they are, demand is high and the price commensurate. This case was different. Despite persistent searches, the antiquarian offering the book had been unable to situate the site of the Klein Pouderoyen plantation (even though the name is obviously Dutch, as it is named after a village in Gelderland) in Suriname. No wonder: the plantation was located in Guyana next-door! Dutch settlers arrived there in 1625, over four decades before they acquired Suriname. Until 1796, the coastal region of Essequibo, Demerary and Berbice was a Dutch colony. The occupation by the British that year (control changed hands a few times since, but the Dutch definitively acknowledged British sovereignty in 1814) ushered in the heyday of slave ownership and trade thanks to easy supply of slaves and British investments in the plantations.

Under those circumstances, many plantations were continued by their Dutch owners, and by 1818 Klein Pouderoyen was one of the 69 plantations in British Guyana still under Dutch ownership. In 1815 these Dutch citizens under British sovereignty were even authorized to ship their products to the Netherlands on Dutch vessels. This privilege granted in 1815 was an exception to the Act of Navigation still in effect at the time. Remarkably, the British continued to use the guilder (divided into stivers and doits) until 1839.

As was the case on most plantations in the area, the slaves on Klein Pouderoyen produced primarily coffee at first and later sugar as well. After 1815, sugar prices plummeted. The British prohibition of the slave trade in 1807 (this might explain the regular entries in the register of slaves leased to other plantations, yielding total revenues of fl. 16,000 for 1824-1831) was followed by the major slave uprising in Demerary in 1823 and is certain to have affected Klein Pouderoyen as well! This register covers the less prosperous years between the revolt and the abolition of slavery in 1834. The Klein Pouderoyen produced pri-

Anton Pannekoek (1873-1960)

In the previous issue of On the Waterfront (No. 7, 2003, pp. 9-10), we encountered the Amsterdam group of friends, which included Posthumus (who later founded the International Institute of Social History), as well as Anton Pannekoek (1873-1960). Until recently the papers at the IISH from this well-known theoretician at the far left of social democracy (until 1914) and from the council communist movement (after 1921) were incomplete. Much of his archive was burned during the Battle of Arnhem (1944). The recent accrual to the archive was obtained by the Institute through mediation on
the part of relatives and is therefore particularly impressive. Pannekoek loved taking walks despite a mild handicap that remained from his bout with polio as a child. He loved to walk in the mountains and knew trees, plants, and butterflies by their Latin and Dutch names.

**Gustav Landauer** (1870-1919)

This German writer, anarchist and editor of Der Sozialist played a key role in Berlin anarchist circles during the 1890s. He withdrew from politics temporarily but was murdered as a member (Volksestaat) during the 1890s. He also worked with members of Erich Mühsam's Munich group TAT on projects involving residential and living communes (a few members founded the Ascona Commune).

Despite serious difficulties, in part financial, she continued to work as a translator, struggled for residential and living communes, and later founded the Comitato Pestalozzi for children whose parents had fought in the Spanish Civil War.

**Alexander Salomon de Leeuw** (1899-1942)

These materials originate from the archive of the historian and philosopher Ger Harmsen, who wrote numerous smaller and larger biographical studies on, among others, Alexander de Leeuw. Alexander de Leeuw (known as Alex) was the theorist behind Dutch Marxism-Leninism and a CPN official between the two world wars. When the party split up in 1926, de Leeuw sided with the Komintern and against David Wijnkoop, accusing him of fighting with "the weapons that came naturally to him: making trouble, provoking, and scheming". In January 1929 the CPN launched its theoretical journal De Communist, with de Leeuw as the executive editor. After serious conflict within the party, the CPN consolidated in 1930 and adopted the Komintern
position. In addition to Paul de Groot as a novice, de Leeuw was back in the dramatically altered party leadership again, which included more workers than in the past. The mid 1930s were his most prolific time ever. He focused his efforts on investigating and fighting fascism. During these years his major publications appeared: Het Communisme (Amsterdam 1936), Nederland in de Weltpolitiek (Zeist 1936), and Het Socialisme en de Natie (Amsterdam 1939). Het Socialisme en de Natie was his masterpiece. His idea that the nation was also significant for the left led to his subsequent conflict with the party leadership. He defended this position from 1935 onward, when he stressed during a discussion with Togliatti at the seventh Komintern congress that the small countries needed to fight for national independence in their struggle against fascism.

He maintained his stand when the Komintern, after the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed in 1939, labelled World War II as an imperialist one and, abandoning the politics of the national-democratic popular front, appealed once again for proletarian revolution. Unlike others, he regarded the Hitler-Stalin pact as a strategic rather than a principle measure: a delaying tactic. During the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands, de Leeuw's difference of opinion with the trio running the underground CPN deepened, and he was expelled on technical grounds. After he stopped working for the party, de Leeuw took up literary studies like his esteemed predecessor Saks. Remarkably, de Leeuw also wrote an unpublished book about the young Dostoyevsky, a writer and thinker considered highly reprehensible by most Stalinists. His last published piece, "De laatste reis van Ulysses", was about Homer, Dante, and Tennyson.

Instead of remaining in hiding during the Nazi occupation, he continued to frequent cafes and visit friends. On 18 May 1941 he was arrested and sent to the camp at Schoorl. De Leeuw read and studied as much as he could while imprisoned. In September 1941 he reached the camp in Amersfoort and was assigned to interpret for a group of Kirghiz prisoners of war, who hardly spoke Russian and were in miserable shape. De Leeuw did his best to help them. When the small group of Russians, who had survived starvation and other hardships, was executed by a firing squad in April 1942, de Leeuw's duties as an interpreter ended.

The few letters de Leeuw is known to have written afterwards reveal that his spirits were low. In July 1942 he was deported to Auschwitz, where according to a report from the Red Cross he was killed almost immediately after his arrival on 4 August 1942.

Willem Drees, 1886-1988

In the Netherlands the social democrats were long excluded from the coalition governments (until 1939). Once they got in, however, they achieved a long-lasting and dramatic impact on Dutch politics. Dutch society may rightly be considered a post-war experiment in social democracy. Willem Drees (1886-1988) ran this experiment longer than anybody else. He was 59 when the war ended. Only then did he receive his first appointment as a minister: he served as deputy prime minister and minister of Social Affairs in the Schermerhorn (1945-1946) and Beel (1946-1948) administrations. On 7 August 1948 Drees became prime minister. He was in charge of four councils of ministers over the course of more than a decade.

The papers of this social democratic leader are now at the National Archives at The Hague. The recent gift from his granddaughter Marijke Drees in Groningen of three crates filled with thousands of photographs was particularly welcome. Most of the photographs were taken after World War II.

They include photographs of the Round Table Conference in The Hague on 2 November 1949, where Indonesia became independent, as well as a photo album presented by the KLM concerning his journey to South Africa in October 1953. During his stopover in Kano, Nigeria, de Leeuw met with the local authorities. The jewel in the crown is probably the elegant album "from his good friend Harry Truman," presented upon the "Visit of his excellency Willem Drees prime minister of the Netherlands to the United States of America January 12 to January 24 1953."

Piet Nak (1906-1996)

During World War II the communist Piet Nak organized the February strike with Willem Kraan in 1941. This marked the protest of the Dutch people against the deportation of 400 Jewish men by the Nazi occupation forces. After the war the niod investigated the organization of the strike. Contrary to the cpn, this research institute determined that Kraan and Nak were the true organizers of the protest and not the cpn itself.

During the turbulent 1960s Piet Nak spoke out again. As chairman
Bert Nelemans received this certificate for his active role in the Velmek strike in 1969. It reads “Eternal glory to all those who fight for justice. Indelible shame to those who betray the community; they shall plod through their lives with the mark of Cain on their forehead.” (IISH, Nelemans Archives)

Suriname
The accrual to the Anton Pannekoek archive has been mentioned above. Hanneke ten Houten, the granddaughter of the Pannekoek family who donated the items, also gave us the papers that belonged to her father Professor Anton ten Houten (a member of the Dutch youth league for nature study), as well as — more importantly — the papers of her husband Bert Nelemans, who lived in Suriname from the late 1960s until the late 1970s. Nelemans participated in the many demonstrations, protests, and strikes organized in the run-up to the independence in 1973. Nelemans may not have been inspired exclusively by his famous in-laws. The papers reveal that his father Lijnis Nelemans belonged to the Arbeiders Jeugd Centrale (Workers youth centre) (AJC) and was active in the Algemeene Nederlandse Metaalbewerkersbond (Dutch metalworkers union), and that his mother Bep Blom was a member of the AJC.

Since the IISH has remarkably little original archival material about the former Dutch colony of Suriname, Nelemans also gathered a large magazine collection in Suriname, including Son-e-opo (The Sun Has Risen), issued by the Algemeene Surinaamse Vrouwen Organisatie (General Surinamese Women’s Organization) (ASVO). The first — stencilled — issue of April 1969 appears remarkably different from the second one printed two months later. One is tempted to relate the change to the advertisement inside issue 2, where Ramakers Ladieshop urges readers to: “Surprise your husband with a lovely cup of coffee in bed ... dressed in a romantic nightgown or babydoll. He will enjoy both.” (IISH, Nelemans Archives)
Suriname, this unexpected acquisition is particularly important. Bert Nelemans was a geography and history teacher in Suriname and became a member of Velmer, the Vereniging van Leraren bij het Kweekschool-, Middelbaar en Voorbereidend Hoger Onderwijs [association of teachers for teacher training, secondary, and higher education preparatory schools] in Suriname. From 20 January to 8 February 1969, this professional organization staged a massive strike, which Nelemans joined, as his “diploma” proves.

KMAN

In our previous issues, we discussed the history of guest workers in the Netherlands (see On the Waterfront 1-2, p. 5; 3, pp. 10-12). The Institute has by far the most documents about Turks, although in recent years more material keeps arriving from Moroccan sources. The archive and documentation donated by Ineke van der Valk covering the period since 1973 is a wonderful addition. Ineke was very active on the Komitee Marokkaanse Arbeiders in Nederland (KMAN), a leftist oppositional Moroccan movement active mainly in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht. This committee fought on several fronts: it resisted the sweeping influence of the reactionary monarchist regime over its subjects working abroad and opposed reactionary religious movements – in some cases related to this regime – and exploitation of guest workers in the Netherlands. The Committee also had a pronounced international orientation. Accordingly, the collection comprises a wealth of material about Moroccan organizations in France and Belgium. All items in the 10 crates of archive materials donated by Van der Valk (aside from a few boxes of magazines) are extensively documented. They include special documentation about the Amicales, the loyalist Moroccan organizations abroad that appear to have received their orders directly from their embassy in The Hague.

Solidarność

The IISH has been collecting material about the Solidarność (Solidarity) trade union in Poland and its actions ever since this organization became active. The IISH is not alone in this effort. At first the historical significance of this movement was not fully recognized, and nobody expected it to instigate the course that led the Berlin Wall to come down ten years later. Still, everybody acknowledged its importance, including the authorities, who responded accordingly. The trade union’s archive is now in Poland (mostly in Gdansk, but also in Warsaw). Large collections of documentation, in addition to the ones in Amsterdam, are present at the Hoover Institute Archives and the Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelle (which both published their catalogues), as well as at the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the Polish Library in London and the Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv.

The Solidarność material at the IISH is available at three sites: the library, where it is registered under both its own class mark (the collection of 1,776 books and pamphlets of Mariusz Szyszko from 1970-1990) and a general one, as well as at the archive, where two metres of original documents, including printed matter, are stored.

The most important acquisition we are featuring here is from Jan Minkiewicz, who opened the Solidarność information desk in the Netherlands in early 1982, soon after the organization was banned on 13 December 1981. (The situation continued until the Round Table Conference with the government on 17 April 1989.) This acquisition consists of periodicals and archive materials, including computer print-outs listing the names of activists imprisoned by the Polish authorities.

Miners in Pakistan

The IISH maintains a few offices
abroad and has regular correspondents as well. Shariar Kabir from Bangla Desh has figured in a few of our previous issues (see *On the Waterfront* 3, p. 10, and 4, p. 14). In this issue we are pleased to introduce Ahmad Salim (b. 1945) our correspondent in Pakistan. This poet, publicist, scholar (he taught at the university of Karachi), and journalist started working with the tissi in the past year to gather documentation on progressive movements in highly repressive Pakistan. His Dutch contact for these operations is Emile Schidder. Salim is now employed at the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (Sdwi) in Islamabad. In addition to collecting journals, pamphlets and other documentation materials like his colleagues, he is involved in another very special activity.

In 2001 and 2002, following consultation with Willem van Schendel and with support from the tissi, Salim visited mines in the provinces of Sindh and Balochistan, mainly coal mines and a few rock salt mines, to record the working conditions that prevailed there through interviews and photographs. He is particularly interested in the continually rising indebtedness of the miners, which renders them totally dependent on the owners of the mines. The process starts with a peshgi or advance, issued by the recruiter on behalf of the mine owner. This lures the migrant labourers at first. As the debt to the employer rises, the arrangement turns into bonded labour and gradually transforms poor but initially free workers into unfree workers. Salim also established a detailed record of the hazardous working conditions.

In addition to being a valuable resource for research (as the first study that categorically examines the incidence of bonded labour in the mining industry in Pakistan), the material that Salim has provided will benefit researchers in the future. A great many of the photographs and audio tapes that the Institute has already received from Salim are available for research.

**Anarchism in Turkey**

The tissi recently received material from the Anarchist Platform in Istanbul and from the first and best-known Turkish anarchist publisher kaos via Zülfikar Özdoğan at the tissi Turkish Department. The tissi is the only institute in the world that regularly gathers material about Turkish anarchism.

The following are a few impressions from Zülfikar’s travel report from 2003: “...I have never seen anything like this before. I know Istanbul fairly well, since I lived there for 14 years. I searched for the anarchists for days without finding them. They had simply disappeared. The new residents at their most recent address had no idea where they had moved. The phone was always busy, and unfortunately I had no mobile phone. The phone booths were perpetually mobbed, as if a small demonstration had just taken place. I was about to give up, when I suddenly got through. I arranged to meet them immediately at the doorstep of their new premises on the Asian side of Istanbul. They had recently moved to less expensive accommodations because of the economic downturn. The building was very old and dark. I found 16 people and 2 dogs in surroundings reminiscent of the 1960s.

I told them about the tissi and our collections. They told me about the background of the anarchist movement in Turkey and their activities. Eventually, they helped me gather useful material, such as pamphlets, leaflets, stickers, reports, and bulletins. My first encounter with the anarchists was very fruitful. The next day I visited their ‘office’ on the European side of Istanbul. There I found about 20 people, who told me about the visit from tissi staff member Heiner Becker.

The publisher Kaos was my last port of call. I received a very warm welcome and was offered lunch at the office: a traditional Turkish lunch of bread, feta, olives, and tomatoes. The meal reminded me of my employment at leftist papers in Istanbul – an inexpensive, joint meal – and tied in nicely with our leftist ethics. In the course of our conversations, I explicitly requested audiovisual material from the Anarchist Platform. They have promised us photographs of all demonstrations on CD, as well as material about their activities on 20 VHS tapes.”

**Boris Moisejevitsj Sapir (1902-1989)**

Boris Sapir, the son of a Jewish merchant in Lodz, arrived in Moscow at the start of World War I. In 1917, he became entangled in the commotion of the revolution. He joined the Mensheviks, who condemned Lenin’s seizure of power but supported the Bolsheviks in the civil war against the White generals. He served in the Red Army and dedicated his energies to trade unions in Moscow after the demobilization. He remained a Menshevik, however, whose activities displeased the Bolsheviks. In 1921 he was arrested and sent
to Solovki (an archipelago in the White Sea north of Archangelsk), which was where the Soviets opened their first concentration camp. After Solovki he was exiled to the Urals, from where he escaped abroad in 1925. In 1931 he fled again, this time from Hitler in Germany.

He reached the Netherlands via Paris and found employment at the newly established IISH. There he indulged in his second passion: the history of the Russian socialist movement. He gathered archives and edited a series of source publications. During the Nazi occupation he fled for the third time, across France via Casablanca to a refugee camp near Havana. Two years later he joined his fellow party members, who had found refuge in New York. He got a job there and became an American citizen. Sapir attended the Menshevik party meetings, where heated debates took place about the position adopted toward the Bolshevik regime. He was unable, however, to influence the actual course of events. In 1967, nearing retirement age, he returned definitively to the Netherlands and took up the subject again at the IISH. Boris continued working at the IISH, until he turned 80. On the rare occasions that he spoke about himself, he described himself as a professional refugee.

The IISH has only a very tiny archive from Boris Sapir. Most of his papers are at the Bakhmeteff Archive (Columbia University, New York). Recently, however, the Institute received 800 books from his estate. Rena Fuks-Mansfeld’s cataloguing of his library (see On the Waterfront 1-2, pp. 13-14 about her work; this contribution we also thank to her) yielded a wonderful surprise. The excellent condition of the books, which were cherished and nicely bound in many cases, attests to the care that the indefatigable researcher took to preserve his spiritual legacy. Anybody familiar with his life history will not be surprised that he owned many works by and about the Russian writer Fyodor Dostoyevsky, who was the subject of his German PhD thesis. Russian literature always fascinated him.

Sapir also remained interested in the Mensheviks, their sad fate under the Soviet regime, and in the Russian periodical Vpered (Forward) (1873-1877). While most of the over 800 volumes in his collection are in Russian, several are in Yiddish, German, French, and English.

Biographical sketches of Sapir briefly mention his heritage. He was born in Lodz in 1902, part of tsarist Poland at the time, to an affluent merchant family. No research is available thus far on how growing up in the burgeoning industrial, where Jews were by far the majority, affected him. Some of the books in his collection, however, suggest that he had attended a Jewish school, was well versed in Yiddish (the lingua franca of the Polish Jews) and had a reading knowledge of Hebrew.

Scholars have written extensively about Sapir’s studies and revolutionary activities in Russia, his meanderings as a Russian political refugee after the Revolution and his work for the IISH before and after World War II. What has been overlooked entirely, however, is his change of life ambition during his flight from the Nazis, his two years in Cuba from 1942 to 1944, and his residence in the United States from 1944 to 1967. In Cuba, he lived among the East European Jewish immigrants in Havana, where he learned about the slaughter of European Jewry organized by the Nazis. He invested all his energies in organizing help for the refugees. While in Cuba, Sapir discovered his Jewish roots, rediscovered his mother tongue (Yiddish), and started to publish and lecture in that language. He wrote two studies in Yiddish about Jewish history. Around this time, he also started to add Yiddish historical works to his library, of which he had owned none prior to 1940.

In the United States, Sapir met up again with his old Menshevik comrades, with whom he continued to publish Sotsialisticheskii Vestnik (until 1965) and wrote and lectured about the future of Russia in his lectures and writings. His chief responsibility, however, was to aid the decimated Jewish communities. As head of the research division of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC), he was painfully aware of the consequences of the extermination of most of the Jews in Europe.

Many extremely rare works in his library reflect his work for the AJJDC, such as reports about the situation of the Jews in occupied and liberated parts of Europe. A small selection from the “Jewish” part of the Boris Sapir Collection illustrates the importance of the period during and after World War II in his life.
Lecture by
Martin van Bruinessen
The Kurdish movement: issues, organization, mobilization

Some observations about the Kurdish people appeared in a previous issue (see On the Waterfront 6, pp. 12-15). We are therefore pleased to have found a specialist to enlighten us about modern Kurdish history.

Martin van Bruinessen (1946) took a degree in theoretical physics and mathematics at Utrecht University in 1971. He later studied social anthropology, which had previously been his minor subject. In 1974-76 he spent two years conducting field research on social organization and social change among the Kurds in the Kurdish areas of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria. This field research, supplemented by archival investigation, resulted in a PhD thesis (Agha, Shaikh and State: On the Social and Political Organization of Kurdistan), which he defended at Utrecht University (1978).

Between 1978 and 1981, he travelled extensively in Turkey, Iran (on which he published several articles), and Afghanistan (where he worked on a village development project). During this period (especially in 1979 and 1980), he did research on Ottoman history and published a single major source on Kurdish society in the 17th century: Evliya Çelebi’s Seyahatname (1988).

Since 1982 Bruinessen has concentrated on Indonesia as a second area of research. Altogether, he has spent nine years conducting research and teaching there about various aspects of Indonesian Islam. Between his periods of residence in Indonesia, he returned several times to the Middle East on short research visits, focusing on Kurdish and Turkish politics and religious movements. In his most recent research, he deals with shifting ethnic and religious identities in Turkey and developments in the Kurdish movement.

Bruinessen has taught Kurdish and Turkish studies at the Department of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Languages and Cultures at Utrecht University since 1994.

In the early 1970s, when I became interested in the Kurds, the Kurdish movement for autonomy or independence was not regarded as one of the progressive liberation movements worthy of solidarity and support from the European left. Hardly known at all, it was perceived as a form of tribal resistance against modernizing regimes, led by feudal or tribal elites exploiting poor peasants and unwilling to surrender privileges and therefore not really a social movement. In the late 1970s, under the populist regime of Abdulkarim Qassem that supported such actions, landless Kurdish peasants in Iran had briefly occupied the land of big Kurdish landlords. Once fighting broke out between the Iraqi military and Kurdish partisans (1961), however, little was heard of intra-Kurdish class conflict anymore, and some of the landlords became prominent Kurdish nationalists. The official Iraqi view of the emergence of Kurdish nationalism as a counter-revolutionary reaction appeared convincing. Remarkably, however, another well-known Kurdish landlord whose land was invaded in a region controlled by the government and not by the Kurdish movement held onto his land by joining the Iraqi Communist Party.

The US military, which has been acquired by the US military, primarily documents the developments prior to 1975, and remains an important source for that period, despite giving the initial impression that very little was published
found that nationalist propaganda was not intrinsically sufficient to mobilize people. They therefore sought the co-operation of the charismatic religious leader Shaykh Sa’id, who in turn won over many tribal chieftains. By the time the uprising broke out (1925), several of the planners had been arrested, and the shaykh and the chieftains were in control. The uprising resembled a traditional tribal rebellion (though much broader in scope) and was easily suppressed by the Turkish army.

In the Iraqi Kurdish uprising of 1961-1975, nationalist and leftist intellectuals faced the same dilemma. Both the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) and the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) had a considerable following among urban intellectuals, and the latter party elaborated its ideology in the course of debates with the ICP on issues such as self-determination of the nation and class analysis. By the early 1960s, the KDP was of a distinctly leftist persuasion and intent on breaking the hold of the tribal and feudal chieftains over much of Kurdistan. To win the support of the predominantly tribal and peasant population, however, the KDP leaders made the charismatic Mulla Mustafa Barzani the party’s president, intending for this position to be purely symbolic. Barzani himself had a different conception of his position. Once the actual fighting was in progress, he and his tribal allies gradually marginalized the urban intellectuals. More surprising than the victory of tribal elements over the educated urban stratum in the course of armed confrontation with the central government, perhaps, is the fact that the Kurdish wing of the ICP, which did not take part in the Kurdish rebellion, consistently maintained more cordial relations with Barzani than with the ideologically closer KDP intellectuals.

In Turkey, where approximately half of all Kurds lived, a modern Kurdish movement emerged in the mid 1960s under the dual influence of the Iraqi Kurdish movement and, significantly, the emerging Turkish left. The Labour Party of Turkey (TIP), the country’s first Marxist party to contest the elections, discovered almost to its surprise that it received many votes in some of the Kurdish provinces, apparently due to some Alevi Kurdish members with strong tribal and sectarian backing. The TIP became the first party to openly discuss the problem of what was euphemistically called “the East” (i.e. the Kurdish provinces). These were defined as problems of regional underdevelopment, caused in part by the inequalities inherent in capitalist development and, as the party recognized, compounded by decades of deliberate neglect and withholding of investment.

Kurdish students, intellectuals, and workers living in Istanbul and Ankara held a series of cultural soirées, where the first Kurdish demands were publicly voiced. Speakers called for economic development and protested the oppressive and violent control of the Kurdish countryside by the Turkish military. The other demand, which rapidly became louder, was for recognition that the Kurds (who were even prohibited from taking names from their culture) constituted a distinct people, with their own language. At the party congress in 1970, the TIP adopted a resolution asserting the existence of the Kurdish people in eastern Turkey and calling for an end to economic discrimination and national oppression. The next year a military coup followed. The TIP was banned because of this resolution; numerous Kurdish activists of various political persuasions received lengthy prison sentences. Once civilian rule was restored, and new parties were established, the legal Turkish left remained cautious and refrained from adopting outspoken positions on the Kurdish issue. Kurdish nationalists organized in separate unions and associations. By the end of the 1970s, almost a dozen different Kurdish political associations and parties existed, most combining nationalism with some form of Marxism. All derived their major support among the educated urban stratum (which was rapidly
expanding in those years), and several were gaining adherents among the rural population of the Kurdish provinces as well.

During the 1970s, the major demand shifted from recognition to national self-determination, and much of the debate between the various Kurdish formations (and with the Turkish left) concerned how to analyze Kurdistan in Marxist terms. Was the dominant mode of production feudal or capitalist? Which was the revolutionary class in Kurdistan? Did a proletariat exist in Kurdistan, and who made up this class? How should the relationship between the Kurdish people and the Turkish state be defined?

Most of the Kurdish groups came to describe Kurdistan as an internal colony of the Turkish, Arab, and Persian bourgeois states. The national struggle was at the same time declared a class struggle, as it juxtaposed the Kurdish radicals against the Kurdish “collaborators”, who were associated with the feudal or bourgeois stratum. A major dividing line separated pro-Soviet from Maoist groups, and additional rifts emerged within the Maoist groups over China’s shifting policies and the ideas of Enver Hoxha. Several groups began to arm themselves and became involved in the increasing political violence of those days.

The most radical of these various Kurdish movements was the PKK, which emerged in 1974 from a major Turkish leftist student movement (whose founders included several non-Kurds). The PKK proclaimed as its aim the liberation of all parts of Kurdistan from colonial oppression and the establishment of an independent, united, socialist Kurdish state. The movement initially sought to recruit a following mainly among the poorer (and relatively uneducated) sections of society and in fact became the only Kurdish party not dominated by members of leading tribal families. (Abdullah Öcalan, the party chairman, prided himself on his humble origins, being born into a non-tribal humble peasant family.) Calling for an anti-colonial struggle, the PKK directed its violence against “collaborators” – notables and chief-tains with a stake in the existing political system – and against rival organizations. Later, in the 1980s, it also briefly targeted school-teachers and told young people to drop out of school to escape ideological indoctrination.

In 1980, another military coup ushered in an era of severe repression, leading to the virtual elimination of most Kurdish and leftist organizations, with their leaders being killed, jailed, or forced into exile. The PKK was the only organization that managed to survive and even grow in these circumstances. Establishing an extensive cross-border network – with guerrilla training by Palestinian and Syrian instructors and base camps in the mountains of northern Iraq and western Iran – it initiated a guerrilla offensive in 1984 with a series of attacks on military and police installations. Continuing its excessive violence toward Kurdish “collaborators”, the PKK gradually earned grudging admiration from growing sections of the general Kurdish population by boldly challenging the feared Turkish army. By the early 1990s, the movement had set up its own parallel administration in certain rural regions and urban neighbourhoods and endorsed a range of civil society initiatives by persons previously affiliated with other political currents. The PKK meanwhile abandoned its pursuit of full independence and advocated a negotiated settlement of the conflict. After some promising indirect contacts under President Özal, the Turkish military adopted a radically different approach following Özal’s sudden death. A “dirty war”, with death squads killing several thousand community leaders and human rights activists and with massive village evacuations upsetting the lives of hundreds of thousands, isolated the PKK from the civilian population and reduced it to guerrilla bands moving from one hideout in the mountains to another. By the end of the decade, increased international pressure on Syria resulted in Öcalan’s expulsion from Syria and his ultimate capture and surrender to Turkey.

The events of the 1980s – the war between Iraq and Iran and the coup and guerrilla war in Turkey – resulted in a flood of Kurdish refugees to Europe and the rising political awareness among the second-generation labour migrants already there. By the mid-1980s, the Kurdish Diaspora was fully mobilized and became increasingly involved and influential in the politics of the homeland. The Kurds also became an indelible presence in the European political landscape – as is documented in the IISH collection of Kurdish books, periodicals, and memorabilia.
Report of the General
Meeting of members

The following matters were presented and discussed: changes in the number of friends during the first four years, the Russian Research project, the contribution from the Friends of the IISH and annual figures.

Changes in the number of Friends 2000-2003
After four years of the Friends, the time has come to review membership fluctuations (see table). While their number continues to rise, the pace of growth has slowed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dues-paying friends on 01-01</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8**</td>
<td>7**</td>
<td>11**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dues-paying friends on 31-12</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other friends***</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total friends</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>61 (70)#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Five new friends registered this year, including one who has not paid yet.
** 2001: 8 left, of whom one made a one-time payment of NLG 1,000 in 2000 and is therefore attributed to “other friends” for the next three years, 2 others have officially withdrawn, and 1 has passed away. Thus 4 remained “in arrears”, with three later resuming their dues payments.
2002: 7 left, of whom none officially withdrew, and 2 passed away. This leaves 5 “in arrears”, of whom one later resumed dues payments.
2003: a maximum of 11 left, of whom none has officially withdrawn, and 2 have passed away. Altogether, 9 friends** will be sent reminders that they paid their dues in 2002 but not in 2003. Adding the new member who has not paid yet and the friends who neglected to pay both in 2003 and in previous years (but did make at least one payment) yields 13 reminders altogether.

*** Other Friends have made their contribution in kind, which generally means contributing or promising to contribute to the collections. Assuming that 10 of the 13 “reminded” Friends pay their dues in the course of this month, 70 Friends is a more realistic figure than 61. Next year, we will learn whether this assumption is justified. The board is considering producing and distributing a leaflet and intends to consult professionals.

W O R K ,  I N C O M E  A N D  T H E  S T A T E  I N  R U S S I A  A N D  T H E  S O V I E T  U N I O N , 1 9 0 0 - 2 0 0 0

The four-year research project Work, Income and the State conducted by a group of Dutch and Russian researchers based in Moscow has entered its third year. In this project income-earning strategies of the non-agrarian population in twentieth century Russia and the Soviet Union are examined based on the household as the central unit of analysis. How have households used human capital, labour and other available resources to generate income, and how have households adapted to social, economic and political changes. Such research requires a perspective that transcends the micro-level of the household for Russia during this period even more with similar studies about other times and places. The population of twentieth-century Russia and the Soviet Union has probably suffered more severely and more frequently at the hands of the state than the population in any other country in Europe. On at least two occasions, sharp reversals of state economic policy have sent standards of living plummeting, first during the nationalization and forced industrialization of the 1930s and second when the economic system established during those years was dismantled again in the course of the liberalization and privatization of the 1990s. State intervention thus figures as a major factor in determining the range of options within which households shape their economic behaviour and is consequently a central focus in the project.

Research started at the central unit of analysis: the household. As little has been written about the history of the urban family in the Soviet Union, published and unpublished census data on family size and composition have been compared over time to gain a general impression of the main trends. We were especially interested in variations in household structure, distinguishing between nuclear families consisting of one or two generations from three-generational extended or multiple households. Three-generational households turned out to account for a remarkably stable share of 15-20 per cent, suggesting that three-generational households were the preferred living arrangement, whether because of cultural customs or out of practical considerations (i.e. housing shortages). All the same, households were not very large. Average family size gradually decreased from 4.2 persons in 1897 to 3.3 in 1989. Even many extended households were rather small, despite consisting of three generations. The high excess mortality among men during the many wars waged during the twentieth century led to a surplus of women on the marriage market. As a result, substantial numbers of single women and widows, particularly among the older generations, had little hope of remarrying following the divorce or the death of a spouse. These single grannies, or babushkas, were pivotal in the formation of extended families in twentieth-century urban society in Russia. Because they were single, they hoped to spend their twilight years with their children, and, also because they were single, their children managed to accommodate them in the generally rather cramped living conditions in the towns.
The second stage of the research has addressed work, employment, and division of labour within the household. The areas investigated include the income-generating activities pursued (whether in cash or in kind) and the measure of participation by different members of the household in these activities, distinguishing mainly between paid work and household chores and between men and women. Contrary to the widely held belief that all men and women worked in the Soviet Union, universal employment came into being only in the 1960s. Many women never took up paid employment before that point. Apart from performing household chores, their contribution to the family budget consisted primarily of small-scale vegetable gardening and animal husbandry, known as subsidiary agriculture. Men worked primarily in paid employment, achieving full employment rates by the mid-1930s. Until the mid-1960s the female contribution to the family economy was therefore more diversified than that of the men, with a larger share in kind rather than in cash. Household duties were performed overwhelmingly by women, even when they took up paid employment.

The major turnaround in employment patterns of the mid-1960s is attributable to a subtle balance of factors. First, it coincided with an increase in the number of extended households, as the generation of war widows aged and moved in with their children. Young women were free to take up paid employment and leave their children with their mothers or mothers-in-law during the day.

At the same time, the state started to make childcare facilities more widely available, which yielded a similar effect. From the early 1970s, labour participation rates were fairly similar among men and women.

This trend did not, however, lead to a redistribution of household duties between men and women. Household work remained a solidly female responsibility. As a consequence, working women faced a double workload. No women's emancipation movement ever materialized in the Soviet Union. Although its absence was primarily due to political factors, our research suggests that certain social factors might have come into play as well. The presence of the babushka in extended families, who took over some of the household duties of working women, for example, enabled the men to avoid doing any housework at all and to live and eat well all the same. Nor is the presence of two generations of women in the household likely to have been conducive to male involvement in household duties, other than traditionally male pursuits, such as fishing, cutting firewood, and repairing the car.

The current research is focused on household income. From the early 1930s until the demise of the Soviet Union, systematic data on income and expenditure have been gathered for a sample of urban and rural households. With few exceptions, the data gathered through this effort were never publicly disclosed and remained inaccessible to most historians until a decade ago. Despite the daunting nature of the task, utilizing this unique source for study of the family economy in the twentieth century figures among the express aims of our project. As has been the case with the data on household composition and structure, the scope of this investigation is expected to extend beyond that of the household to cover key developments in twentieth-century social history Russia and the Soviet Union.

Gijs Kessler
### Financial Results for 2003 and Budget for 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Financial Results AS of 18-12-2002</th>
<th>Budget for 2003</th>
<th>Financial Results AS of 18-12-2003</th>
<th>Budget for 2004</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opening Balance</strong></td>
<td>€259.15</td>
<td>€515.54</td>
<td>€515.54</td>
<td>€2,966.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Revenues</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dues</td>
<td>7,479.07</td>
<td>7,500.00</td>
<td>7,157.67</td>
<td>7,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations earmarked for &quot;women&quot;</td>
<td>90,716.04</td>
<td>90,761.04</td>
<td>90,716.00</td>
<td>90,716.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations earmarked for &quot;Russia&quot;</td>
<td>63,529.23</td>
<td>63,529.23</td>
<td>63,530.00</td>
<td>63,530.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant from AD-Druk</td>
<td>2,722.68</td>
<td>3,000.00</td>
<td>3,000.00</td>
<td>4,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising revenues</td>
<td>226.89</td>
<td>240.00</td>
<td>240.00</td>
<td>240.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Revenues</strong></td>
<td>164,713.91</td>
<td>165,034.27</td>
<td>164,686.05</td>
<td>166,026.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Expenses</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publishing costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Waterfront</td>
<td>3,271.07</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1,184.22</td>
<td>3,100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Waterfront</td>
<td>3,271.07</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1,184.22</td>
<td>3,100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Expenses</strong></td>
<td>6,542.14</td>
<td>6,100.00</td>
<td>3,168.45</td>
<td>6,600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grants issued</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IISH, research on women</td>
<td>90,716.04</td>
<td>90,761.04</td>
<td>90,716.00</td>
<td>90,716.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IISH, research on Russia</td>
<td>63,529.23</td>
<td>63,529.23</td>
<td>63,530.00</td>
<td>63,530.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IISH, Kurdish material</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IISH, Korean material</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IISH, to be determined for 2003</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,640.00</td>
<td>3,100.00</td>
<td>4,100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General administrative expenses</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public relations</td>
<td>519.08</td>
<td>200.00</td>
<td>200.00</td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank fees and currency exchange differences</td>
<td>123.81</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>50.49</td>
<td>50.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Expenses</strong></td>
<td>164,970.30</td>
<td>164,534.27</td>
<td>161,204.94</td>
<td>166,636.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Closing Balance</strong></td>
<td>€515.54</td>
<td>€15.54</td>
<td>€2,966.16</td>
<td>€3,316.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes regarding the annual figures:

#### On "Contributions from Friends":
The section "Change in the number of Friends" indicates that contributions from Friends are somewhat lower than expected, as the budget reflects. The reason is clearly that contributions from several Friends are still outstanding. If all deposit the same amount before the end of the year as on previous occasions, then we will have received an additional 2,000 euros at that point. Accordingly, the "breakdown of the available balance" for 2003 indicates at least an additional 1,000 euros. This estimate appears rather conservative. We therefore feel justified in setting this item in the same budget at the same amount as the one for 2003.

#### On "Publishing costs":
These are lower primarily because we have omitted old reservations (from 2000-2002) for invoices we still expected from the desk-top publishers, the translator, and others. Inquiries have revealed that no more invoices are outstanding. The actual costs have remained roughly the same or have increased slightly. On the other hand, we have received an equal amount in kind from the printer (AD-Druk has decided to continue subsidizing us in 2004).

#### On "Kurdish and Korean material":
The collection we donated to the Institute last year proved more expensive (200 euros) than anticipated. We have yet to receive confirmation regarding the Korean collection and have therefore continued to reserve 1,000 euros. The board proposes donating 3,500 euros to the IISH in connection with the restoration of endangered sections of the Van Meerendonk collection. Sinds 1990 is het IISH in bezit van het omvangrijke fotoarchief van het Algemeen Fotopersbureau (AFPH), 1945-1969 van Ben van Meerendonk (Amsterdam, 1913). Al bij de ordening bleek dat een aanzienlijk deel van het archief, namelijk de 4 "x5" vlaakfilm acetaat negaties, snel in kwaliteit achteruitging. Dit proces wordt aangeduid als het acetaatsyndroom. Veel materiaal is sindsdien afgedrukt, waarna het negatief soms al na enkele maanden verder onbruikbaar werd. Lang niet alles is echter afgedrukt aangezien de kosten daarvan bijzonder hoog oplopen. Besloten werd om deze negaties te duplceren op polyester kleinbeeldfilm. Volgens de huidige inzichten blijft dit soort film onder normale klimatologische omstandigheden een paar eeuwen goed. In de maanden april-juni 2003 werd de aanwezige 11730 negaties geselecteerd op schade: 8202 negaties waren schadevrij, 3528 stuks vertoonden diversen vormen van schade, waaronder de meeste leidden aan "tunneling" (zie afbeelding i). Om de urgentie van deze duplicatie aan te geven: tussen juni 2003 en de uiteindelijke duplicatie eind december 2003 waren inmiddels 55 negaties, die eind juni 2003 dus nog schadevrij waren, aangetast door het acetaatsyndroom. Uiteindelijk konden 8147 "x5" acetaat negaties dankzij een bijdrage van de vrienden worden gedupliceerd op de nieuwe stabiele drager.
An important role in this transformation. DSM’s research laboratory was one of the largest in the Netherlands. However, there were also other means to appropriate the technology that became available during the period of German occupation. The most important of these was the systematic exploitation of the Netherlands’ chemical industry by the occupying forces. The German authorities took control of the chemical industry and nationalized it, and they ensured that the available technology was put to use in support of the war effort. DSM, along with other Dutch chemical companies, was forced to produce for the German army and to supply the German military with chemical products. This resulted in a significant increase in the company’s output, which contributed to the German war effort.

The Dutch firm DSM is now more than one hundred years old. Over its long history, DSM has diversified from a small agricultural company into a major chemical manufacturer, with operations in many countries. DSM’s research laboratory played a crucial role in this transformation. It was one of the largest in the Netherlands, and it was able to exploit the available technology to develop new products and processes. This allowed DSM to remain competitive in the global chemical industry and to continue to grow and expand its operations.

Building plants
Markets for technology and internal capabilities in DSM’s fertiliser business, 1925-1970
(ISBN 90 5260 138 0, 282 PAGINA’S, € 25,00)
The Dutch firm DSM is now more than one hundred years old. Over its long history, DSM has diversified from a small agricultural company into a major chemical manufacturer, with operations in many countries. DSM’s research laboratory played a crucial role in this transformation. It was one of the largest in the Netherlands, and it was able to exploit the available technology to develop new products and processes. This allowed DSM to remain competitive in the global chemical industry and to continue to grow and expand its operations.

Jaap Barendregt
Oorlogseffecten
Roof en rechtsherstel van joods effectenbezit
(ISBN 90 5260 135 6, 128 PAGINA’S, GEILLLUSTREERD, € 6,95)
Eind jaren negentig van de vorige eeuw kwamen de door de Duitse bezetter tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog geroofde joodse effecten, de rol van de beurshandel daarin, en het rechtsherstel dat daar in Nederland na de bevrijding op was gevolgd, weer volop in de belangstelling te staan. Uit onderzoek bleek dat het naoorlogse rechtsherstel in Nederland niet volledig was geweest en dat er kwalijke gebreken bij waren opgetreden, met name in het effectenrechtsherstel. Uit het eindrapport van de Commissie Scholten dat in december 1999 uitkwam, bleek dat de belangrijkste toenmalige vertegenwoordiger van het beurswezen, de Vereniging voor de Effectenhandel (VvDE), tijdens de Duitse bezetting en in de eerste jaren daarna in strijd had gehandeld met het rechtsgewijs. Naar aanleiding van het rapport van de Commissie Scholten zijn de VvDE (inmiddels in liquidatie) en haar opvolger, Amsterdam Exchanges, samen met de Nederlandse Vereniging van Banken in 2000 tot overeenstemming gekomen met vertegenwoordigers van joodse instellingen over een compensatie ter afronding van het effectenrechtsherstel. Onderdeel van die overeenkomst was onder meer de uitgave van dit boek, over de gebeurtenissen tijdens en na de bezetting inzake joodse effecten en de rol die de toenmalige VvDE daarbij heeft gespeeld. Het is een toegankelijk boek geworden voor niet-ingewijden.