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La Liberté et la Mort/Socialism and Death

IALHI on the Web

Labour Archives and the Internet

Labour History and Documentation Worldwide
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Foreword

Wouter Steenhaut
Secretary General IALHI

In September 1999, the 30rd IALHI Conference was successfully organised by the eminent International Institute of Social History.

In the traditional administrative part of the conference, the projects, the lines of policy and the daily policy of the IALHI were discussed. The scientific part of this conference was dedicated to the IALHI initiatives and projects involving the new technology on the one hand and to the activities of the Labour Historians and Institutions in the different continents on the other side.

The session with regard to Socialism and Death was a special item. After the general but highly elaborated introduction of colleague Donald Weber (Amsab) about the Socialist Movement and the History of Western Death Culture, Urs Kaelin of the Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv and Denis Bos of the Amsterdam University discussed some funerals of socialist leaders and militants, amongst which the funeral of August Bebel in August 1913 in Zürich.
La Liberté et la Mort/Socialism and Death
The Socialist Movement and the History of Western Death Culture

Donald Weber
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The subject of ‘death and socialism’ has recently received attention from several sides. In September 1997 a congress took place in Linz, Austria, under the name of *Rituals, Myths and Symbols: The Labour Movement In Between Religion and Popular Culture*. One of the contributions there was presented by Paul Pasteur, a French historian, who introduced the subject *Le mouvement ouvrier et la mort*¹. Pasteur did not choose the most obvious subject, and the lack of studies on the topic forced him into pioneering efforts. The contribution was being noticed though. Less than a year later, in July 1998, a proposal could be read on the discussion lists H-Labor and Labnet, launched by an English researcher, Mike Haynes, who wondered ‘if anyone had ever tried to count and measure incidents of deaths, violence and imprisonment’ in Labour history². The idea would be to create a ‘repression index’ that would allow to compare numbers of deaths and imprisonments in the course of the labour movement history. Just a few months later the issue was raised again, this time at the IALHI-congress in Milan in September 1998. It was decided to look into the setting up of a project, that would deal with the creation of an inventory of socialist funeral and other monuments. It was this decision that led to the present meeting.

Massacre, Martyrs and the Afterlife: Views on Red & Dead

This short survey shows no less than three different visions on the topic of ‘death and socialism’. The first vision focuses on the violence that occurred in the course of the socialist struggle, the casualities and the bloodshed to come out of it, in other words the human price that has been paid to bring socialism into existence. As I consider this issue to be a spin-off of the general political history of the socialist movement, rather than an issue of its own, I will not deal with it in this contribution. A second vision deals with an analysis of death culture

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² How does one refer to an electronically published document? To consult the documents one might turn to the archives of the Labnet list, which is moderated by the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam. The original message was launched on the Labnet List on 8 Juli 1998.
and the socialist movement, and raises such questions as ‘is there such a thing as a socialist death culture’ or ‘what role has the socialist movement played in the transformations of Western death culture’. A third vision finally aims at creating an inventory of socialist monuments, including funeral monuments, in order to remind the socialist movement of some of its most tragic and/or glorious moments, and to bring the historical and artistic value of these monuments into the attention of the public in general. These last two visions seem to be intertwined. Surely one cannot study death culture without turning to funeral monuments, and vice versa funeral monuments can not be fully understood without knowledge of such a thing as death culture. And not just funeral monuments, commemoration monuments too have almost always some kind of relation to dead persons or deadly incidents. However, there appears to be a logical ranking order between the two. It would seem advisable to study death culture first, in order to deal with inventarisation in a well grounded way.

‘Death’ itself is a not an innocent word, and the expression ‘the dead’ is even less so. Death is a negative concept, referring to the absence of life, in other words to something which is no longer there. We use the word in our daily language, while from a strictly scientific point of view we should be speaking of ‘the finiteness of life’. Even worse is the expression ‘the dead’, as in ‘the living and the dead’. Is there something like ‘a dead person’? Can we still consider somebody whose life has ended to be a person? In order to do so, we must presume that there is ‘something’ afterwards, some kind of afterlife that will allow deceased people to maintain some kind of existence. In fact we do not know this, that is we have no scientifically reliable knowledge of the existence of an afterlife. Therefore we should not speak of ‘the dead’, but rather of ‘people’s bodily remains’.

Of all the great moments in a human being’s lifespan, death is the most profound, as it ends this lifespan, destroys life itself, and probably puts an end to the existence of the individual. As Norbert Elias has pointed out, the human being is the only creature alive that is conscious of the fact that its life will one day come to an ending. This cannot otherwise but provoke a chronic and deepseated state of fear, a kind of ‘existential fever’ that each person is confronted with. As this result of our state of consciousness—this trick that our conscience is playing us—is problematic to deal with, and as all individuals are sharing this same problem, societies throughout history have tried to provide collective answers to its members’ fear of

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1 Norbert Elias, *Über die Einsamkeit der Sterbenden in unseren Tagen*, 1980, chapter 1
death. In doing so, they have created ideas and practices concerning the ending of lives and the disposal of bodily remains. The whole of this we call ‘death culture’.

A death culture is always a combination of ideas and practices. On the idea-side the challenge is to provide an answer to the individual’s fear of the ending of life. Most common answers are those claiming that there is an ‘afterlife’, a state of being in which the existence of the individual is prolonged beyond the moment of death. On the practices-side the first problem is to dispose of the fastly decaying bodily remains. The most common answer to this is the organizing of a ‘funeral’. A funeral consists of a number of ceremonies surrounding the burial or cremation of a person’s bodily remains. Furthermore the feelings of those who stay behind are to be reckoned with, feelings like grief and often the need to commemorate the person gone by. The most common answer to this is the institution of a number of mourning rituals. Avner Ben-Amos has put it like this:

En général un enterrement est un rite de passage d'ordre privé au cours duquel la famille, les amis, les proches et parfois une autorité religieuse accompagnent le défunt dans sa dernière demeure et accomplissent un rituel destiné à assurer la paix à l'âme du mort dans l'au-delà et la tranquillité d'esprit aux survivants ici-bas.4

As societies have been evolving through time, so have death cultures. Since the Second World War a number of researchers have engaged in exploring Western death culture and its history.

The History of Western Death Culture

The first scientists after the Second World War to deal with death and death culture were not historians, but sociologists. A breakthrough was the publication in 1955 of an article by Geoffrey Gorer, an English sociologist, bearing the rather provocative title The Pornography of Death. Gorer looked upon the attitudes towards sexuality and death from a psychological point of view, comparing between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His conclusion was, briefly summarized, that in the nineteenth century people talked a lot about death while on

sexuality there was a taboo, while in the twentieth century the opposite is true: people talk a lot about sex, yet now there is a taboo on death. Just like the taboo on sexuality in the nineteenth century gave way to the coming into existence of a lewd literature—the so-called pornography—so the twentieth century saw the rise of a literature offering explicit violence and horror scenes—a so-called ‘pornography of death’. The theory is symptomatic of the pessimistic cultural view the majority of researchers appear to have been sharing from the 1950s until somewhere in the 1970s. It took until the 1980s to go beyond this rather simplistic view of twentieth century modernity. Sociological works by Norbert Elias and Ulrich Beck, amongst others, have since then provided us with more complex theoretical frames. In the meantime Gorer’s article, republished in 1965, influenced an amateur historian who was to become the pioneer of the so-called ‘death history’: Philippe Ariès. Ariès, familiar with the work of Gorer, published his first article on death history as early as 1966. After a series of lectures at the John Hopkins University, a first volume was published in 1974, *Western Attitudes Toward Death*, containing an outline of the theses that would result in his master piece *L’homme devant la mort* of 1977. Ariès was not just the first of a long series of historians to publish on the history of Western death culture, pioneering the subject. Most importantly he was a visionary researcher, collecting huge amounts of historical information, and adding an almost endless list of lesser and bigger theories. Until today his work stands out as a major source of inspiration for any researcher dealing with the theme of death in history. Unfortunately Ariès proved not to be as accurate in dealing with his sources as might be expected from a scientific point of view. Colleagues have since then refuted a considerable part of his historiography. A second important French researcher in this field was Michel Vovelle who published his own magnum opus on the subject in 1983, *La mort et l’Occident*. In between those years, roughly the period 1975-1985, a great number of studies on the history of Western death culture was being published. Several other French historians joined Ariès

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and Vovelle\textsuperscript{10}. In the meantime research on the field was being conducted in the English-speaking world as well, often very critical of the \textit{histoire des mentalités} as being practised by the leading French publishers\textsuperscript{11}. Joachim Whaley, editor of the British volume \textit{Mirrors of Mortality} of 1981, criticized Ariès for failing to relate changes in attitude to changes in material and political conditions. Since the second half of the eighties the frequency of publications on the history of Western death culture has somewhat diminished. Recent studies appear to have been attempting to redirect the research of death history, away from mentality history and closer to social history, introducing political and economic as well as cultural changes in society as major factors in the evolution of death culture.

Still, the heritage of the mentality historians is not to be overlooked completely. The perspective Ariès and Vovelle have been using was that of the \textit{longue durée}, allowing us to reconstruct a long-term survey. The greatest part of our history Western death culture appears to have been determined by Christian thought. Christian death culture might be characterized as the ‘taming’\textsuperscript{12} of death. In the eyes of a Christian of the Middle Ages death was not an ending point, but merely a point of transition of the eternal soul from a material into a spiritual state. As this spiritual state brought the soul (that is, the ‘good’ soul) closer to God, death was no reason for grief, quite the contrary. There was an absolute belief in an afterlife, hence no need to fear death. Neither was there need for funeral rituals: the body was merely a skin bag filled with bones, slime and shit, only the soul mattered. On the other hand the Christian doctrine predicted the so-called day of the last judgement, when God would wake all the dead. This resurrection would take place based upon the material remains of the body the soul once was in possession of. Therefore the bodily remains could not be destroyed—cremation was unacceptable—but had to be preserved, preferably as close as possible to God. The bodily remains were buried \textit{ad sanctos}, namely in the grounds surrounding the churches. The rich could afford to be buried in the church floor, the others were thrown in large pits in the churchyard. If the churchyard became full, the old pits were opened, the bones taken out and stored in a separate building, and the ground was reused for more burials. This funeral culture was characterized by non-individuality and anonymity. Both Ariès and Vovelle point

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{10} A full survey in: Vovelle, ‘Encore la mort...’
\textsuperscript{12} The expression is derived of Ariès. See: Ariès, \textit{Western Attitudes}...
\end{flushright}
to shifting habits from the fourteenth century onwards, yet hard to summarize. There seems to have been a slowly rising sense of individualization, gradually resisting the Christian taming of death, and culminating in the seventeenth century in a wave of critics of the lack of hygiene and dignity in the overcrowded churchyards.

The Enlightenment rejected the old Christian death culture, and tried to introduce a new, civilian form of death culture. Western civil society now went on to confront death, and even to resist it. Romanticism flirted with death and embraced the coming of the Great Darkness; nationalism introduced the notion of a ‘Nation’ that would comprise all those who belonged to it, the living as well as the dead or those yet to be born; and twentieth century social welfare society took a whole array of new medical techniques to the battle field. Funeral culture too went through a series of fundamental changes. New cemeteries were created in order to replace the old churchyards. The Napoleonic law of 1804 introduced a new way of burying: with separate, individual graves and the possibility to decorate the grave with signs of mourning. Although church authorities throughout the West were able to maintain a virtual monopoly on funeral rites, the old medieval Christian funeral culture had fully disappeared by the end of the nineteenth century.

It is interesting to confront this survey with a study that was published in the Netherlands in 1990. In analyzing emotional responses to deceases between 1750 and 1988, Dorothe Sturkenboom came to comparable conclusions. Before 1800 emphasis was put on comforting the mourning relatives: they should not suffer from grief, for their beloved was with God. They should trust in God and restrain from heavy emotions. After 1800 more attention was given to expressing empathy for the relatives: their emotions had become more important than their religious doctrine. In Protestant Holland too a religious, spiritual death culture was being exchanged for a civil, earthly one.

Towards a Social History of Death Culture

In order to study death culture and the socialist movement, we need to dispose of a general frame of the social history of Western death culture of the past two centuries. Several recent publications have looked into aspects of this complex history. The picture however remains

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14 See also: Den Boer, ‘Naar een geschiedenis...’
blurred and fragmented. What happened of the ideas and practices of Western death culture after the eighteenth century? On the idea-side two different trends seem to have been occurring.

Firstly, we may observe a process of secularisation. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there was a growing rejection of religious beliefs concerning afterlife. A shift took place from religion to ideology. In this trend a collective response to the problem of the finiteness of life was maintained, yet alternatives to the Christian beliefs concerning Heaven and Hell were sought for. It is here that we may situate some of the neo- or pseudo-religious social initiatives of the past two centuries, such as Victor Hugo’s séances of spiritism, that were attended to by several prominent French socialist leaders15, or the religious sects of the late twentieth century. Jennifer Hecht has published a study of the French Société d’autopsie mutuelle, founded in 1876 by a group of men who pledged to dissect one another’s brains in the hope of advancing science. She points out that this society was an effort by freethinking, strongly anticlerical republican scientists and citizens to create an alternative to Christian last rites16.

For people who rejected religion so strenuously that they saw burial as an unbearably cultish ritual, but who could not bear utterly disappearing, the society provided great comfort.17

Still most of these associations never reached a large public. Much more important were the great nineteenth-century ideologies. Large social movements as nationalism or socialism offered collective frames of reference to their followers that could provide them with supra-individual prolongations of their existence beyond the boundary of life and death. With the nationalist movements for instance the key concept was ‘the Nation’. The Nation not simply included people of the present, but also those of the past and the future. One of the strongest symbols of the young French republic was the Panthéon, where its heroes lay buried. Dead, but not gone18. Later in the nineteenth century the new civil cemetery in the French cities grew to become a reflection of the living city: the Necropolis, the city of the dead, as much a

17 Hecht, French Scientific Materialism..., p. 706.
part of the Nation as the city of the living. Similar notions, centred upon the concept of ‘the Revolution’, were developed in the socialist and communist movements.

Secondly, another trend to be noticed is the process of individualization. We may observe what I would like to refer to as a new sensitivity towards life: an ever growing investment in the self, attaching ever more value to self-fulfilment, including the emotional level. It is hard to observe what happened to individual ideas and attitudes concerning the finiteness of life, as these are deep seated in the minds and personality. Still, some traces are to be found. Dignity for the dead, was what citizens in the seventeenth century asked for when they criticized the overcrowded and neglected state of the old churchyards. In the Protestant world, the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century stated that Heaven would be open for all those who believed, whereas until then Calvinist predestination had bereft the individual of all initiative in this matter during lifetime. During the nineteenth century the increase of the standard of living and the decrease of mortality rates must have strengthened the sensitivity towards life and at the same time distanced the individual from his or her moment of death. These trends were only to be intensified in the twentieth century, while joined by the successes of the medical science. We may only guess at what effects such changing conditions of life may have had. Lindsay Prior points to some of those while analysing early nineteenth-century medical techniques. According to Prior, in the pre-industrial world it seemed that death could strike arbitrarily at any age. Thus the metaphor frequently used to symbolise human mortality was the rolling of dice. Growing statistical knowledge of birth and death ratios however seemed to make death predictable in some way. The medical reports on deaths on the other hand always mentioned the cause of death. Thus death was no longer something that happened by itself, but a phenomenon that had a cause, and therefore might be controlled and avoided. Such opinions leave not much room for an afterlife or even a death culture in general. The higher life was valued the more difficult it became to confront its finiteness. As the trend of attaching importance towards life continued, eventually it would have been not uncommon to push the idea of death aside, and to develop an imminent sense

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21 Vovelle, La mort et l’Occident... chapter 30.

of immortality. Elias claims that ‘fantasies of immortality’ have become a common aspect of a twentieth-century individual’s state of mind. These two trends potentially might contradict each other, as one is offering a collective alternative afterlife, while the other would drive an individual to ignore the end of life. Yet they are reconcilable, and have probably been so during most of the past two centuries. We may observe a rather complex chronology here. In the nineteenth century religion was losing ground, and ideologies were coming up; in the twentieth century—especially after the Second World War—religion was losing even more ground, and now so were ideologies, whereas the second trend got the upper hand. That would make ‘ideology’ a key word for the nineteenth-century history of Western death culture, and ‘medicalization’ for the twentieth century. The practices of death culture are bound to reflect the ideas. Yet the powers that be may have a much greater weight here. More specifically the conflict between Church and State has been of a determinant influence upon funeral and mourning rites. In the course of the nineteenth century political reforms have replaced much of the old churchyards by new cemeteries, controlled by public authorities, church authorities, private associations or a combination of those. This was joined by the institution of new funeral and mourning rites, gradually replacing old Christian habits, although religious authorities remained predominantly in control of funeral and mourning procedures. Thomas Kselman, an American historian, has provided us with an important and extensive survey of the evolutions in French nineteenth-century death culture in his volume *Death and the Afterlife in Modern France*. Two important historical facts appear to mark the creation of a new funeral culture, both to take place in 1804. First, there was the opening of Père Lachaise in Paris, the first of the new cemeteries. This was the outcome of a political struggle that had begun in the second half of the eighteenth century, in the heyday of French Enlightenment. The idea behind the new cemetery was to create a wide area away from the overcrowded city centres, where people could contemplate the death of their beloved in serenity, without interference of a religious doctrine.

By the end of the [eighteenth] century [...] cemetery design began to reflect a new understanding of nature as a regenerative force. Now the appropriate setting for tombs was seen to be an area of trees and serpentine walks, which would provoke recollection and

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contemplation that would be morally beneficial. These ideas were developed and combined in a number of ways, but they were linked in their rejection of the macabre imagery that had been central to the Christian presentation of death since the Middle Ages. The fascination of the baroque era with skeletons and skulls that would remind people of their mortality and of the need to prepare for the next world was no longer considered appropriate. Enlightenment reformers sought to remove cemeteries from urban areas and to design them according to fashions that emphasized the contemplation of heroic deeds and natural sublimity rather than the physical remains of the dead. These ideals were shared by leaders of the revolution, who acted to transfer control of cemeteries from churches to communes [and] to establish a national cult of the dead.24

The second fact to mark the arrival of a new funeral culture was the Imperial Decree of 23 prairal, year XII (1804). A number of important reforms were being proclaimed: burial in churches was being interdicted; new cemeteries had to be created outside the city; common graves were no longer allowed, the individual grave became obligatory; individuals could obtain a concession to rent the piece of territory taken in by the grave; and families were allowed to decorate the grave and erect a funeral monument. The execution of this decree in France and in a large part of the continent in the following years was to mark the beginning of a ‘New Cult of the Dead’. Part of this new funeral culture in France were the pompes funèbres, conspicuously decorated funeral-processions to show off the social status of the deceased. These were provided for by private undertakers, thus marking another line of evolution of nineteenth-century funeral culture: its commercialization.

The decree of 1804, although inspired by Enlightenment doctrine, gave way to a funeral culture which was not quite what Enlightenment thinkers had intended. The latter had propagated a cemetery that would look like a garden, where all would be equal in the world of darkness. Yet the concessions soon caused a lack of space, so that the garden concept was left behind to be replaced by a rectangular structure with one grave beside the other on both sides of long, straight ‘streets’. At the same time the possibility of erecting funeral monuments gave rise to the habit of expressing the social status of wealthy and/or important deceased through

24 Kselman, Death and the Afterlife.... p. 168.
conspicuously decorated monuments. Instead of being a garden of equality, the new cemetery became a mirror of the modern metropolis, reflecting and even emphasizing the social differences of the world of the living.

The evolution in funeral culture in Great-Britain appears to have been somewhat different, as there never was a conflict here between political and religious authorities comparable to France. Peter Jupp points out that conflicts between competing Protestant Churches over control of the churchyard have been a major factor to lead to the funeral laws of the 1850s, whereby part of the authority over the new cemeteries was taken from the hands of the Churches.25

Thus Western death culture went through a series of transformations during the nineteenth century, continued and even intensified in the twentieth century, reflecting some of the major patterns of the history of Western societies. Still, to speak of a social history of death culture, we need to take this further. It is not clear just how far the evolving ideas and practices as described above are to have affected the whole of the population. Can these have been otherwise than elitist in a more or lesser degree? Are the lower strata of society to have shared the same kind of death culture, a retarded version of the same, a death culture of their own, or—seemingly the most probable—a combination of this? A major field of research is for the most part still lying bare.

Sometimes an author will allow us a glimpse of what is going on in the back of Western death culture. Philippe Ariès made an intriguing observation when he looked into the first centuries of Western death culture. Out of several sources came the notion of an attitude of resignation towards death26. Ariès assigned a number of characteristics to this death culture of resigned acceptance. The central position is taken by the person who is dying: this person will feel death coming, and will perform a series of ritual actions. The dying person will take off clothes and arms, bid farewell to friends and family, lie down, and wait resignedly for death to come. Ariès is not very clear on where or when this death culture of resignation is to be situated. It seems to date from Antiquity or at least the pre-Christian era, yet in one way or another seems to stretch out over the centuries in areas distanced from the heartlands of Western civilization. We might assume that this death culture of resignation is some kind of

26 Ariès, Western Attitudes. chapter 1.
archetypal death culture, and that it is to be found in lower and distanced parts of society. Following such a hypothesis we would need to figure out how successful (or not) each of the different Western death cultures has been in dealing with this archetypal death culture of resignation. If there is to have been such an archetype, it might have survived until the recent era of medicalization.

There are more traces. Kselman reports on difficulties arising from the introduction of the new death culture on the French countryside. People in smaller cities seem to have had mixed reactions. Some agreed to exchange the old churchyards for new cemeteries, for reasons of hygiene and dignity, others refused to move the old ancestral graves to another spot, yet for reasons quite different from the old Christian beliefs:

[C]emeteries were emblems of family and local identity that allowed people to observe and recall their continuity through time. Cemeteries were a privileged “memory place” that embodied the deeply felt ties holding together families, neighborhoods, and villages.27

Catherine Merridale, in her study on death culture in Soviet Russia, points to a number of mourning rituals that are to be classified under the heading of superstitions. She too states that although these beliefs were not part of Christian religion, they definitely did belong to a kind of death culture, deeply rooted in Russian society:

Whether individuals fully believed in these superstitions is at one level unimportant; their persistency indicates that they were at least effective as strategies for allaying the collective anxiety about death in a high-mortality world.28

If there is to have been a social differentiation in death culture, it will have been of particular importance to the socialist movement. As a mass ideology, its associations often founded by progressive bourgeois, yet oriented towards the lower strata, socialism might have played a key role in the clash between ‘popular’ and ‘élitist’ kinds of death culture.

27 Kselman, Death and the Afterlife... p. 179.
28 Merridale, ‘Death and Memory...’; p. 7
Socialism and Death Culture: Immortality Through Revolution

In several ways the socialist movement has participated in the transformations of Western death culture during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Not quite friends to religious culture, socialists have been actively engaged in the search for alternatives for religious notions and practices of afterlife, funeral and mourning. French socialists like Fourier or Leroux are known to have been active participants of spiritist gatherings\(^29\). Yet spirituality was of a much too individualistic character, belonging to bourgeois culture, and no real answer to collective problems of fear of death or grief. Socialists have also engaged in free-thinking associations. Death culture was never far away here. Paule Verbruggen surprisingly observes in her study of religious notions with the socialist movement of Ghent, Belgium, that the local socialist free-thinking associations were almost solely occupied with funeral insurances and the organisation of civil burials for its members\(^30\). The socialist free-thinking movement was able to powerfully manifest itself as a non-religious, lower-stratum alternative to official and Christian funeral culture on several occasions, but never made it to a new standard, and faded away in the first half of the twentieth century\(^31\). Another alternative socialists were engaging in was cremation. The political struggle for legalisation of cremation was more or less successful in the last quarter of the nineteenth century\(^32\). Cremation was a powerful alternative to funeral culture, and could have triggered a fundamental renewal of death culture. But the militants did not follow, the great majority remained attached to the rite of burial. This became painfully clear during Soviet government in Russia. According to Merridale, from the 1920s onwards the Bolsheviks attacked traditional Church-led funeral culture, and attempted to introduce the practice of secular, scientific cremation as the socialist alternative to burial. But cremation was ‘entirely alien’ to Russian funeral culture, and in the 1990s burial again became the predominant funeral rite\(^33\). Each of these alternatives to aspects of death culture has a rich history of its own, and the story of the role the socialist movement has played in it is for the largest part yet to be written. However, focusing on phenomena as spiritism, free-thinkers, civil funerals or cremation would be like missing the point of it all. The real history of socialism and death culture is somewhere else.

\(^{29}\) Krkelman, Death and the Afterlife..., chapter 4.


\(^{32}\) For instance, cremation was legalized in some way or another in Italy (1874), Germany (Gotha, 1878), Switzerland (1884), France (1887), Sweden (1888), Denmark (1892), Norway (1898), Spain (1901) and Great-Britain (1902) See Karel Veile, *Begraven of cremen*. *De crematiekwetse in Belgie*, Gent, Stichting Mens en Kultuur, 1992, 127 p.
What was then specific about the contribution the socialist movement has made to Western death culture? Eventually the socialist movement itself, its goals and its struggles, were the alternative socialism has offered to Western death culture. The socialist movement provided existential immortality and a secular identity to its perished followers. Socialist funerals were unique, mass-scale and spectacular manifestations, engaging both the living and the dead, and joining grief and combat beyond the boundary of life and death. Michael Rohrwasser, in a fascinating study of attitudes towards death in socialist literature, has concluded that fear of death was being overcome by admitting the dying to the ranks of the ‘eternal party’, thus providing him or her with a status of immortality:

Das auffälligste und zugleich häufigste Todesbild in der sozialistischen Literatur ist die Verheißung einer Unsterblichkeit im Kollektiv, das Aufgehen im siegreichen Geschichtsplan [...]. Die Helden werden weiterleben, »eingeschreint im großen Herzen der Arbeiterklasse«, heißt es bei Karl Marx. Die Identität des »WIR« hebt die Sterblichkeit des Einzelnen auf. In der Partei, im Kampfverband, in der Geschichte lebt der Tote weiter.34

Rohrwasser also notices a striking characteristic. Once the dying is being assimilated by the eternal socialist struggle, he or she looses any distinguishing mark of individuality. The socialist death not only brings comfort and meaning, it is also the fulfilment of the wish to leave behind ‘the petty bourgeois identity’, an initiation ceremony into the perfect proletarian identity.

This is the answer of the socialist movement to the existential fever the finiteness of life is causing: the very attention the movement is giving to the deceased and his or her relatives, lifting traditional mourning rites to a public level and turning them into a collective process. The meaninglessness of death is being overcome by the presence of numerous comrades by the death-bed, lining the streets where the funeral procession is passing, by the prominents sending their regards, by the party office sending funeral wreaths, by the party paper publishing on the deceased, and by the ideology that says: ‘a dead comrade is still a comrade’. Thus the Revolution is to the socialist movement what the Nation is to the nationalist

34 Merridale, ‘Death and Memory...’. 
movement. This may also explain the ambiguous attitude of the socialist movement towards suicide: a sympathetic understanding in the case of oppressed intellectuals, fellow-workers losing their jobs and haunted by poverty, or female servants made pregnant by bourgeois sons. But never for party-members: their suicide would merely weaken the movement.

The most visible manifestation of this socialist death culture has always been its funerals, especially—but not exclusively—those of the promineats of the movement. Contrary to Christian or liberal, but not unlike nationalist funerals, the socialist movement has turned its funerals into huge spectacles with all the pomp and splendour they could get. One of the first tasks the new communist government of Russia was facing in 1917 was the burial of the 238 ‘heroes’ who had died in the struggle for Moscow. A ‘communist’, atheist funeral ceremony had to be improvised. Merridale reports:

Every factory, office, and theatre in the city was closed for the occasion. Open coffins were carried through the city to their burial place in the Kremlin wall. The cortege was followed by a battalion of the Red Guard, in its slow progress accompanied by the ritual (and traditional) wailing of women. Red banners fluttered from the Kremlin’s battlements, their message confirming that the deaths marked the birth of a new life, that of the workers’ and peasants’ republic.

Seven years later, another hero funeral with Lenin’s death in 1924. A mausoleum is being constructed to hold Lenin’s embalmed corpse. Again Merridale:

The leader’s body, like that of a pre-revolutionary saint, would not corrupt. [...] His death, like those of other heroes, glorified the collective enterprise of building socialism. Such a sense of purpose assuaged the grief which, bereft of any sense of a compensatory afterlife, could otherwise only mourn, and even seek to avenge, the senseless obliteration of life.

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15 Pasteur, ‘Le mouvement ouvrier...’, p. 15
16 Verbruggen, Deelalternatieven voor traditionele... , p. 143
17 Merridale, ‘Death and Memory... ’, p. 7
18 Merridale, ‘Death and Memory... ’, p. 8
Whether the socialist movement has succeeded in creating its own socialist death culture as a lasting alternative remains an open question. As stated above, the powerful process of medicalization of Western death culture in the second half of the twentieth century has probably surpassed all other historical variations of death culture. Apart from this, it is not yet clear how far-reaching the influence of the socialist alternative has been with the whole of society, or even with its own members. Still, enough observations can be gathered to conclude that the socialist movement did participate in the transformation of Western death culture in the past two centuries. Let us hope the issue will not rest in peace.
The Funeral of the Red Emperor: August Bebel, 1913*

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August Bebel, the „Shadow Emperor of the German Workers“ (W.H. Maehl) was in his time the most famous and the most popular representative of the international labour movement, co-founder of the German Social Democratic Party, together with Hugo Haase its president in 1913, author of bestsellers, multi-millionaire, prophet of the fall of the capitalistic society and at the same time strictly opposed to extraparliamentary actions. Bebel was an ambivalent person, a grand seigneur in behaviour and appearance who, when in Zurich, used to receive his guests at the luxury hotel Baur-au-Lac. On the other hand, he was attached to grass roots like hardly anybody at that time. Based on his origin, his personal development, fate and work, he possessed the „hearts of the masses“.

* This article is based on a rich collection of archival documents, photographs and newspaper clippings held by the Swiss Social Archives, primarily Archiv der Sozialdemokratischen Partei der Schweiz (Ar 1001), Archiv der Sozialdemokratischen Partei des Kantons Zürich (Ar 27), Archiv der Sozialdemokratischen Partei der Stadt Zürich (Ar 82), Archiv der Arbeitermusik Zürich (Ar 2). More details and all the footnotes are presented in the original text in German which is accessible online: http://www.sozialarchiv.ch/Aktuell/News.html
The funeral ceremonies for August Bebel were a tremendous mass demonstration - the largest ceremony of this kind Zurich has ever seen. The national and international press coverage was immense. His grave became a place of pilgrimage for social democratic and communist party representatives and supporters. In many aspects, Bebel's funeral shows paradigmatic features regarding labour movement culture in the pre-war period. Initially, a short overview on the course of events can be given:

On August the 13th 1913 around 8 a.m. August Bebel was found dead by his daughter Frieda Simon-Bebel in his room at the health resort Passugg in the Grisons. For some time August Bebel had been suffering from heart trouble. On the first of August he had travelled from Zurich to Passugg to be treated. The attending doctor, Mr. Scarpetetti, had diagnosed a disturbance of the heart (cardiac rhythm). Bebel had seemed rather exhausted and weary of living. However, after the first week his general state of health had already improved. He had been able to get out of bed and to make regular strolls. His sudden death had not been entirely unexpected, yet it had set in without concrete premonitions.

Passugg: location of Bebel's death

Before his death August Bebel had made some dispositions in form of a last will. He had wished a cremation. Further the urn was to be buried in Zurich. He left ist to his closest relatives and to the executive board of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) to determine where the ceremonies were to be held.
August Bebel had been closely connected to Switzerland since the eighties of the 19th century. His daughter Frieda and his son-in-law, medical doctor Ferdinand Simon had been living here, and Bebel used to spent his holidays in Switzerland. From 1897 to 1905 Bebel had owned a large house in Küsnacht by the lake of Zurich. Later he had rented appartements in Zurich. When his wife died in 1910, she was buried in Zurich. Bebel's son-in-law was laid to rest in the same grave when he died two years later. To several Swiss party members such as Herman Greulich, Otto Lang and Karl Manz Bebel was strongly connected. Bebel's family only had few hours of private mourning. By noon, the most important figures were informed, first of all the German Social Democratic Party, i.e. its executives, and party members in Zurich. The SPD immediately sent a high ranking delegation to ...Zurich. Among it were Gustav Bauer, Richard Fischer and Friedrich Ebert. They were instructed to support their Swiss comrades. Only a few hours after Bebel's death, further arrangements were made. The handling of Bebel's mortal remains can be classified in various sequences with different scenes, actors and contents.

The first sequence lay in the responsability of the clinic managers and the labour organisations of the Grisons. The corpse was coffined by the son of the clinic director. This occurred in the first night after all guests of the health resort had gone to bed. Afterwards, the coffin was transferred by a horse-drawn cart to the cemetery chapel in Chur, where the local workers' association had laid the first wreaths. An imposing number of participants escorted the body to the railway station. By noon of that day, the coffin was loaded onto a luggage van and passed on by railway to Zurich.
At the Zurich main station a large crowd awaited the arrival of the coffin. It reached its destination slightly delayed and was moved onto the hearse by four railway workers. Delegations of the Swiss and German Social Democratic Parties and approximately 2000 labour unionists escorted the hearse on its way to the Volkshaus. There, the large hall had been darkened and richly decorated, „a solemn Mausoleum“ according to the Volksrecht newspaper. Four comrades held wake over the body around the clock.

By Friday morning, the public was allowed access to the Volkshaus. Within the following two days around 50'000 persons are said to have bade Bebel farewell at his coffin. The original intention to only admit members of the party was not enforceable. At the Volkshaus many moving and a few rather grotesque scenes took place. Hundreds of wreaths and bouquets transformed the Volkshaus hall into a magnificent display of flowers and red ribbons. The gardeners from Zurich worked day and night, flowers were in short supply and had to be imported from abroad. With approval of the family the photographer Otto Uhlig took pictures of Bebel's corpse laying on the catafalque. The sculptor Julius Obst from Berlin was called to Zurich in order to take the death mask. In those days it was hot in Zurich and despite the massive use of ice, the decomposition process of the corpse could not be stopped. Therefore the coffin had to be closed definitively on Saturday evening.

Arrival of the coffin at Zurich main station, August 14, 3 p.m.
Focus of attention and climax of the memorial ceremony were the obsequies on Sunday and the spectacular funeral procession. The basic decisions regarding the programme for these arrangements had already been made on Thursday, primarily by Karl Manz who presented the programme to the delegates of the SPD. It was also approved by the executive board of the Swiss Social Democratic Party. The organizational effort needed was considerable. In the conference room of the workers union a day-to-day office was installed, which was run by Fritz Platten. Hundreds of union and party members were needed to carry out different services. The order of the procession, that is the succession of the various delegations and groups who formed it, had to be changed and recruited several times. The final order was published in a special edition of the Volksrecht on Sunday morning. Around 1 p.m. the coffin, escorted by more than 800 wreath bearers, was taken back to the home of Frieda Simon-Bebel. The participants of the funeral procession had lined up in the surrounding streets. The procedure was initiated by a performance of social democratic singers. Thereupon the cortege was formed as follows: the music band Konkordia as head of the procession, then the wreath bearers with several flower wagons followed by the hearse and, in a line of ten coaches, the family of August Bebel and his closest friends, among them Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin. The official delegates, the labour party members and the trade unionists followed in four groups, each accompanied by a marching music band.
Group I: Delegation of the International Socialist Bureau, official delegation of the German Reichstag, board members of the German Social Democratic Party and members of the SPD parliamentary group, foreign delegates.

Group II: Swiss party executives, social democratic members of the National Council, members of the cantonal council of Zurich, Swiss delegations from abroad.

Group III: Political organizations (social democratic memberships, women and youth organizations).

Group IV: Trade unions.

 Funeral procession, Badenerstrasse, Zurich

The funeral procession was composed of 15 000 to 20 000 participants, the number of spectators was estimated to be three times as high. Political parties, societies and trade unions were equipped with more than 200 red banners, the waving of which gave a powerful effect. As the procession reached the district Aussersihl, a working-class quarter in Zurich, the church bells of St. Jacob began to ring, an event which lead the German press to rather critical comments, since August Bebel was known as a confessional free thinker.

As the procession reached the cemetery, the bearers of the wreaths formed a guard of honour which the first two groups were to pass. 1200 persons assisted the last act in front of the crematorium.
Admission ticket to the cemetery

Common party and trade union members moved on to the Rotwand-meadow where a separate memorial service was held. There, as a finale, the music band played the workers-Marseillaise with all the participants enthusiastically joining in. In front of the crematorium 15 representatives of the social democratic and international labour movement held their speeches. The only woman among them, Clara Zetkin, spoke on behalf of the social democratic women. The speeches went on for almost two and a half hours, obviously too long for many of the participants. The Grütli male voice chorus presented a final song based on a text written by Gottfried Keller, the so-called „Huttenlied“, which apparently had been a wish expressed in Bebel's last will.

Sihlfeld cemetery, address by H. Molkenbuhr (SPD)
To the tunes of the funeral march by Chopin the coffin was carried to the crematorium. A huge number of men and women weeped and were deeply moved. While a cloud of smoke rose from the crematorium, the mourners dispersed. The burial of the urn took place the next day and was attended only by close relatives and friends, among them Karl Kautsky, Karl Liebknecht, Dietz, Heilmann, Ullmann and Karl Manz. Most of the expenses for the public memorial ceremonies were settled by the German Social Democratic Party. The costs alone for the lay out of the body in the Volkshaus amounted up to more than 4000 Swiss Francs.

Synthesis

In conclusion I will very briefly try to classify some aspects of Bebel's funeral into a social and contemporary context. Various levels of interpretation can be distinguished. At first, there is a generally applicable anthropological-historical point of view, concerning the individual perception and handling of death. The main issues in this context are the process of identification with the deceased up to his glorification and personality cult, the feeling of obligation to continue and pursue the ideas and ideals of the deceased, complementary between public and privacy and so on. Such elements could be traced during the funeral of August Bebel. There were undoubtedly a lot of very personal and scarcely comprehensive expressions and reflections of grief and sorrow. Besides that, memorial ceremonies were (and still are up to now, as seen with the funeral of Lady Diana three years ago) eminent public events, a spectacle for the masses, a staging of grief as well as social solidarity. Considering this point of view, it seems appropiate to place the death of Bebel and in particular the funeral ceremonies within the concept of labour movement culture, regarding basic questions about content, form, possibilities and limits of workers' culture. It has to be noted that various elements of the ceremony had been set up according to bourgeois patterns or at least seemed rather similar. This applies for the lay out of the body, the wake, the fureral procession with its strict regulations and hierarchies as well as for some presentations during the procession. Similarities in form and content should not, however, be misinterpreted since there are important differences. Bebel's funeral was a demonstration of labour movement culture and counter-culture with effects in- and outwards. The latter is primarily manifested through the efforts of gaining respectability. This is clearly expressed in the appearance of the participants, mainly the prominent party leaders, and above all in the labour press where order, discipline, unity and punctuality were highly emphasized as genuin proletarian ideals. However, the mythification of order and discipline should not only be considered as
identification with existing norms. In the workers' leaders point of view, order and discipline also represented the counterpart to decadence and anarchy of the bourgeois society. Like other labour movement manifestations as May Day processions it embodied political significance. The monumental ceremony was meant to regenerate common feelings and to strengthen the identity of the labour movement by means of remembered impressions. Promoting identification with collective experiences was all the more important, the more proletarian identity and the social democratic milieu as a whole began to break up. In this setting, religious signs were renounced to a large extent and replaced by symbols of the labour movement like mourning banded banners, flags, red ribbons, red flowers and by the ideology of Marxism with its own salvation promises. Doubtlessly, demonstrative funerals of great workers' leaders such as August Geib (1842-1879), Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826-1900) or August Bebel must be rated as impressing manifestations of solidarity. They are also a striking testimony of what labour movement was able to achieve, independently and with a genuine demonstrative purpose. As far as August Bebel is concerned, some important preconditions where met: a charismatic leader, an ideological model owing its attraction to the divergence of an idealised future and the actual situation, power resources and crowds of people to invent, arrange and carry out the ceremony.

Funeral ceremony, centre: Victor Adler and Karl Kautsky

In the pre-war period social democratic parties were defined as proletarian class parties and not as people parties. This is true not only in the ideological-theoretical sphere but also in the mind of a majority of members who had made various experiences of discrimination and
exclusion. Thus Bebel's funeral represents a manifestation of counter-culture, offering the faithful members of youth organisations, gymnastic clubs, party and union meetings, peace movements and even cremation societies a world of its own. From this point of view, the death of August Bebel ended an aera which he personified like no one else.

Bebel's family grave, Sihlfeld cemetery, Zurich
Living with the dead. Death and burial in the formative years of Amsterdam’s socialist movement, 1870-1900.

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A memorable event led the Amsterdam carpenters to establish their trade union in September 1866. According to a much-told story, a small group of carpenters at work saw a solemn procession of bargemen passing by. They were carrying a deceased colleague to his grave in a splendid ceremony. Those attending were decorated with their association’s smart insignia. The carpenters wondered jealously why similar arrangements did not exist in their occupation. Two weeks later they founded the Amsterdam carpenters’ union.¹

The period 1866-1872 marked the dynamic emergence of the Dutch labour movement, of which Amsterdam was to remain the undisputed centre. Trade unions arose in a great many occupations. Despite their myriad differences, they had one remarkable similarity: in all of them, each member was entitled to a decent burial and could be sure that his surviving widow and children would receive support. The same held true for the socialist minority in the incipient labour movement. In the early socialist press articles about strikes often received less coverage than the obituaries of local heroes within the movement.

Why did Amsterdam’s early socialists go to such efforts to arrange dignified burials for deceased members? As freethinkers, they viewed death as a definitive end rather than as a transition to another world. Rites of passage might therefore seem superfluous. Nonetheless, in the early years of the socialist movement between 1870 and 1900, an extensive socialist repertoire emerged concerning death, burial and remembrance. The following two accounts of ‘socialist’ deaths in 1871 and 1899, respectively, reveal the role of death and its ritual incantations in the formative years of Amsterdam’s socialist movement.

*A death in 1871: P.J. Luitink*

The first citizen of Amsterdam to receive his final honours as a socialist was P.J. Luitink, a
labourer and songwriter who died of tuberculosis in November 1871 shortly before he would have turned thirty. Kindred spirits learned the sad news from the black-framed obituary on the front page of their weekly De Werkman.² Luitink’s funeral drew a massive turnout of the Amsterdam supporters of the INTERNATIONAL. According to reports in the press, 200 members of the Amsterdam chapter solemnly accompanied the coffin from the house of mourning to the cemetery.³ There, four officials delivered speeches at the grave to an audience that had swelled to about a thousand souls. After the speeches they all bared their heads and sang a stanza from the Vrijheidslied, which Luitink had written just a few months earlier. Like the Marseillaise, a very fitting verse, in which the brothers pledge allegiance to freedom, resounded ‘across the cold gravestones’ of their forebears and ‘the pale bones of their fathers.’ The solemn occasion was followed by a session at the regular meeting place of the INTERNATIONAL. There the widow received the donations collected, along with a special leaden box containing a list of names of the Amsterdam socialists who had sworn eternal loyalty to the ideals of their deceased comrade.⁴

P.J. Luitink’s funeral was the first occasion where Amsterdam’s socialists arranged the final honours their way. Their success in organising a full day of events in the few days between the death and the burial is even more remarkable. A few aspects of this first socialist funeral even became classical practices.

The obituary praised Luitink’s zealous dedication to the movement and the good fortune of working class. Its main emphasis, however, was on the deceased’s unwavering loyalty to the principle, even as he approached his end. He had died ‘calmly and peacefully’, not because he looked forward to entering paradise, but because he was convinced ‘that he had done his duty on Earth and, even if he would never reap the benefits, had contributed to the happiness of mankind and the elevation of the working man.’⁵ Being a socialist and a freethinker need not prevented the dying from ending their lives in peace and dignity, the sympathizers were told.

The rigid separation between the worlds of men and women persisted in death rituals. At Luitink’s grave, the men spoke, the men bared their heads, and the men sang. The newspaper reports contained nothing about his widow except that she received the donations collected for her. Only a week after the funeral did the movement involve the wives of the Amsterdam socialists by instructing them to shop at Luitink’s widow’s grocery shop.⁶

The Amsterdam socialists proved that their deceased comrade’s spirit was eternal -
even without a hereafter - by publishing a pamphlet of Luitink's working men's songs. The announcement for the collection highlighted the *Jubelzang*, which Luitink was believed to have written on his deathbed.\(^7\) The song was not Luitink's masterpiece, but the image of the dying singer was too captivating to abandon. The *Jubelzang* lapsed into oblivion, and the next generation of socialists learned only Luitink's *Vrijheidslied*. The story about this song was that Luitink had called his comrades to him on his deathbed and, too weak to hold a pen, had sung the *Vrijheidslied* to them so that they might record it on paper.\(^8\) The account, though inaccurate, added a special emotional touch to the popular song and kept alive the deceased young man's memory. Socialists, though they did not believe in an afterlife, could nevertheless live on after death.

The Amsterdam members of the *INTERNATIONAL* were unsuccessful in many of their efforts. Their cooperative enterprises failed, their influence in the union movement was minimal, and they lacked political clout. Despite all setbacks, a close-knit core of socialists persisted. They maintained their tenacity amid virtual isolation thanks to a few aspects of everyday life: the proximity in which the Amsterdam socialists lived and worked, their links through family ties and their regular meeting places in pubs. Funerals were the perfect opportunity for occasional solemn and ritual affirmations of these ties.

*A death in 1899: K.A. Bos*

By the turn of the century many members of the generation of men that had planted the seeds of socialism in Amsterdam around 1870 began to pass on. The socialist labour movement had expanded into a substantial mass movement, of which the revolutionary and parliamentary factions had gone their separate ways in 1894. One of the most loyal activists from the old guard was Karel Antonie Bos, who died on 31 October 1899.

Funeral rites for deceased socialist activists followed a set procedure by then and were especially glorious at Bos's funeral. K.A. Bos had been a martyr *par excellence*, who died at 53 after thirty years of loyal service to the movement. He had spent virtually every day of the previous fifteen years distributing socialist leaflets and had received countless sneers and threats from the public and had been chased away, arrested and abused by the police, in addition to being thrown in jail for months for the tiniest offence. Now he had finally met his end, which the socialists attributed to the harsh prison conditions he had suffered during his
last term. Bos, like Luitink, had died with a clear conscience. He had done his best and had every right to feel confident that he would receive a dignified burial.

Bos was not a great socialist thinker, writer or orator. Nor had he been a prominent official. His efforts for the socialist cause consisted merely of making the movement’s printed matter available to the public as a street vendor, bookseller and distributor of leaflets. His obituaries glorified the modesty of his role. Bos had been ‘a humble man, a vendor, who is often belittled by the bourgeoisie.’ Nevertheless, by doing his duty ‘with zeal, out of devotion to socialism and without a hidden agenda,’ the memory ‘of this humble vendor would live on for many years after this noteworthy day.’ To this end socialist bookshops even sold portraits of the deceased in an attractive frame.

Though K.A. Bos had lived humbly and modestly, his funeral was a paragon of devotion. The crowd packed in front of the deceased’s home followed the coffin in solemn silence throughout the hour and a half journey to the cemetery, where another large group awaited. Unlike in the reports from 1871, the ones from 1899 explicitly mentioned the large turnout of women. Along its path the procession drew many onlookers: ‘there was not an empty window in sight.’ The socialist movement had entered the public limelight.

The coffin was draped with a red flag and seven wreaths and transported by coach. The hearse was followed by ten socialist associations (party chapters, youths, teetotallers and trade unions), each bearing their own banner. At the cemetery two socialist men’s choirs sang a mournful song.

Four of Amsterdam’s prominent socialist leaders delivered speeches at the grave. They all emphasised Bos’s modest and calm but determined efforts for the socialist cause. They also spoke extensively of the disgraceful treatment he had received for years from capitalist circles and from law and order forces. Bos was proclaimed the movement’s martyr. During the ceremony his life and death were presented as an example of the way socialists should live. The women present were urged to stand behind their men in the sacred struggle, just as Bos’s widow had prevailed throughout adversity. Young people were encouraged to take over Bos’s duties as a vendor. Bos’s motto ‘Onward, and do not falter, be courageous until death’ was impressed upon them.

The survivors had a very modest role in the ceremony. The bereavement of the wife and five children left behind by K.A. Bos was not mentioned in the eulogies. Only Bos’s widow received praise for her loyalty to the socialist cause. The last speaker was J.J. Bos, the
deceased’s eldest son. His words were less about his father than about the memory of a fighter for the socialist cause and conveyed the hope that everybody present would follow in K.A. Bos’s footsteps. Afterwards, the family placed an advertisement thanking all those present for what they described meaningfully as a ‘highly successful demonstration.’

K.A. Bos had not taken a clear stand in the struggle over courses of action in recent years. The question as to the side the deceased had taken thus became a subject of controversy between the three factions constituting the spectrum from anarchism to social democracy. The anarchists had an edge on the rest: their leader Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis had held Bos’s hand at his deathbed. The social democrats (not represented by any of the speakers at the funeral) won the sympathies of the eldest son J.J. Bos. In 1901 he objected when the anarchist street vendor P.C. Bos (not a relative) claimed to be one of Karel Antonie’s sons. P.C. Bos retaliated by asserting that by joining the social democrats J.J. Bos had proven himself unworthy of his courageous father and disgraced his memory. Was the true scion the son or the kindred spirit? Just as the funeral had been more of a political event than a family affair, even the deceased’s memory became a political issue.

Conclusion

The deaths of P.J. Luitink and K.A. Bos occurred respectively at the beginning and the end of the Amsterdam socialist movement’s formative years. Both funerals demonstrated the socialist movement’s contemporary strength: the turnout attainable, the organisation’s rituals, and the value attributed to the lives, pursuits and deaths of comrades. Death, burial and commemoration thus became political moments that strengthened the Amsterdam’s socialist community internally while erecting the external barriers. The barriers initially contained the integral socialist movement. Once divisions arose, however, internal conflicts were confirmed and reinforced at the grave.

The socialists had to provide their supporters with respectable and if possible glorious and dignified funerals. Becoming a socialist meant breaking with the church and established systems. Between 1870 and 1900 an increasing number of Amsterdam’s workers took this step. Socialism had to offer alternatives to replace what they were leaving behind. Such alternatives comprised both care for widows and orphans and rituals surrounding death and the attribution of new meanings to life and death.
The funeral ceremonies always included praise for the deceased’s socialist attributes: his calm determination and loyalty to the cause, his fiery zeal and solid confidence in the liberation of the proletariat. In the process, the deceased warrior’s human qualities were overlooked, as well as the loved ones and family he had left behind. The socialists used every possible opportunity to impress the crowd that had gathered of the need to continue the struggle where the deceased had left off. The respect that death evokes in even the staunchest of freethinkers thus became a vehicle of socialism. During a solemn funeral, an appeal for loyalty to the sacred ideal simply carried more resonance than at regular gatherings in smoky pubs.
Notes

2 *De Werkman*, 18-11-1871, 1.
3 One month before the Amsterdam chapter of the INTERNATIONAL had 170 official members. IISG, Arch. IWA, 193/8: H. Gerhard, letter to Karl Marx, Amsterdam 3-10-1871.
4 *De Werkman*, 25-11-1871, 3.
5 *De Werkman*, 18-11-1871, 1.
6 *De Werkman*, 2-12-1871, 4.
8 *Biografisch Woordenboek van het socialisme en de arbeidersbeweging in Nederland*. Volume II. Amsterdam 1987. 87-88.
9 'De begrafenis van Bos', *De Vrije Socialist*, 8-11-1899, 2.
10 The collection at the IISH contains two different copies.
13 *De Vrije Socialist*, 11-11-1899, 4.
14 'Karel Anthonie Bos', *De Vrije Socialist*, 4-11-1899, 1.
15 *De Vrije Socialist*, 22 and 29-5-1901, 4. In 1918 J.J. Bos K.A.zn. became the first Dutch publisher of Lenin’s works.
Ialhi on the Web
IALHI on the Web: IALHInet Serials Service

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According to the minutes of the 28th Conference, which took place in Silver Spring in 1997, one of the IALHI projects has been initiated by, so far, seven IALHI institutions. They have committed themselves to enter ten periodicals in a shared database, which means to record the table of content and making the articles available to any users. Each of the participating libraries will also be responsible for these particular periodicals to be collected complete, now and in the future. Which may be a reason for the other IALHI institutes to decide to stop collecting those particular periodicals, which is probably a nice opportunity in these days of ever increasing subscription rates and budgetary shortages. For so far the historical background.

At this moment, about two years later, eight members participate at what has become known as IALHInet Serials Service, which is a part of the IALHInet formed by ABA (Copenhagen), AMSAB (Gent), FES (Bonn), BDIC (Nanterre), Feltrinelli (Milan), Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv (Zurich), Tamiment (New York) and IISH (Amsterdam). The IISH maintains the serials service, which means: bringing together all digital tables of content, updating the index, and placing it on the server.

So far, 357 issues of 55 periodicals are available in the serials service, which means, and this is a rough estimate, more than 5000 articles and book reviews (actually I never counted them, I simply assume an average of 15 articles in one issue).

The service can be reached from the IALHI home page, by clicking on the IALHInet button, where you can find information on the aim of IALHInet, the participating institutes, and the special IALHInet projects such as the Serials Service. When you click on Serials Service, you reach the index of the tables of contents of the alphabetically arranged serials, starting from January 1st, 1997. Here you can select a particular issue of any title, look at the table of contents, and find the serial title, issue number, the name of the institute where the journal is held, all the articles and book reviews, and the date the table was placed on the web. With the
"next" and "previous issue" links it is possible to browse through all issues of a title. If a journal has its own place on the Internet, a link is made to its address.

The bit of news at this conference is that you can now search the serials service using a search engine, Webglimpse, which indexes the serials service directory. The power of the software may make our original idea of constructing a database of all individual articles not necessary.

For more information please contact Frank de Jong, email fdj@iisg.nl.
In 1998 at the Annual Conference of the International Association of Labour History Institutions a new project for the IALHInet was initiated and the realisation was hand over to the library of the Friedrich-Ebert Fondation.

This Internet project is an edition of programmatic documents published by all socialist or social democratic parties in Europe and the programmes of all European trade union umbrella organisations.

These documents are now made searchable and available in fulltext via the IALHInet home page. This source edition shall support those who have a critical look at the
programmes of the parties of the Democratic Socialism and the free trade union movement.

The Edition takes into account the programmes of all member parties of the Socialist International as well as all members of the European Trade Union Confederation. From both groups members with observative and consultative status have been included. There are for instance a number of states in Central Eastern and Eastern Europe. We are particularly interested in having them represented in this project, since their unique democratic transformation processes at the close of this century are so remarkable.

The start page of the Online Edition contains a short project summary in the introduction as well as a search form. This search form enables users to search for individual documents.

On the search form a list of the European countries will be displayed. An individual country may be chosen by highlighting and clicking again. It is also possible to conduct searches by entering specific keywords in the search form. This will call up a list of short titles, which lists all documents published by the trade union umbrella organisations and the SI parties in this specific country. To be more precise, the list contains all the documents which we have found so far for this project. Behind the link of the short title, the complete text of the relevant document will be displayed in full text.

If possible the documents are in English, whenever these were available. If this was not the case, we have included documents in the original language. Unfortunatley English translations of a large number of documents were not available, therefore you will find that this Online Edition contains documents in all European languages. The texts have either been loaded down from the Internet or scanned and converted with OCR software or have been newly recorded. They are presented in different data forms which are obvious from the respective document. Our experience with a Russian text recognition software (Finereader Professional 4) was an extremely positive one. We have already digitalised Greek and Turkish documents. Nevertheless, it would be preferable if for such an international project, the majority of documents were in English. The Friedrich Ebert Foundation with its world wide offices is at present considering plans to have documents translated into English.
In connection with this online edition there were the unsolved problems with the intellectual property rights. While for graphics and digital images, intellectual property rights have more or less been clarified and are safeguarded by strict controls, the digitalisation of texts for online publication is still a grey area. The European Union draft directive, called: "Draft Directive on the Harmonisation of Certain Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights in the Information Society", has only had its first reading. It will be considerable time until it is approved by the European Parliament. In view of these unsolved property right issues, we have agreed on the following procedure: as a matter of principle, we have not included images in the digital edition. Only the actual texts have been scanned in. At the same time we wrote to all organisations concerned, asking them to fill in the attached acceptance form to confirm that they approved the online publication of their documents via the Internet Site of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. As is often the case with such mailing exercises, the feedback was slightly disappointing with rates of around 50%. We have taken outstanding responses as agreements. In only two cases, we were explicitly asked not to publicise texts, in the case of the Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens, a French trade union, and the Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori, an Italian trade union.

Now some remarks about the nature of this project. Which texts have been chosen for this Online Edition? And what types of text are available online? The attempt to give a detailed definitions and classifications of party and trade union manifestos must fail. It is indeed not possible. Instead, I would like to give a brief account of my personal learning process with the selection of programmatic documents from relevant organisations. Being a German librarian, I had initially expected to find well-structured programmes with numbered sections from chapter one to chapter ten. Reality however soon forced me to reconsider my unrealistic expectations.

Generally we have always opted for the latest edition of a party manifesto, no matter whether it comprised a hundred or only five pages. In the case of trade union organisations it was even more difficult to identify proper manifestos. We have normally used the latest trade union congress report as a programmatic document, since these usually contain general political resolutions. Luckily enough, at the end of the 20th Century, many organisations - including trade unions - take the opportunity to review their programmes.
There was and is such a large number of trade union conferences dedicated to the strategies for the new Millennium.

To summarise, this unique Online Edition of key source documents represents for the first time the complete - at least nearly complete - programmes of democratic socialism and the free trade union movement in Europe. Users worldwide are given direct access to these documents. The project is scheduled to be updated every six months.
Labour Archives and the Internet
Archival Finding Aids: the Experience of the IISH

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1. Introduction

As some of you may know, we are working on a project to publish the inventories of the IISH on the Internet. I will try to inform you briefly about our plans and will give special attention to our ideas and intentions, the tools we are using and the problems we met on the way.

The project started about two years ago. Its purpose is to make available all the lists and inventories of our archival collections. At the moment they can only be consulted on paper in our reading room. So researchers who come to Amsterdam cannot properly prepare their visit at home. Our first aim was to improve our services in this respect.

In addition, this would give everybody with Internet access the possibility to find our archival collections through the standard search-engines, and even more to search for names or topics in the vast amount of descriptions within all the inventories of the IISH.

It is good to know that we are talking about 2,300 collections, of which some 800 are listed. Part of the lists exist only in hand-writing, but the majority are typed copies (especially in the case of the most important older archives like the papers of Marx and Engels, Kautsky etc.), with or without handwritten corrections. Together, these lists contain about 7,500 pages of text. Furthermore, there is our production of the last ten years done on a wordprocessor (WP 5.1). These c. 550 files measure around 25 Mb, the equivalent of c. 10,000 pages on paper. The lists are mainly in Dutch and English, but also in French, German, and some in Spanish and Russian.

2. How to start? Which standards to use?
From the start, it was clear that we had to do more than just typing or re-typing our paper-based inventories, and then converting them into HTML, the language of the Internet.

1. In spite of past efforts to harmonize our work, there are large differences between the lists, partly because of changing practice in the description and presentation over the decades. Should we correct all this and, if so, how? According to which principles?

2. If we would start the job, it would be nice to know that it would still be useful in, say, five years time. Customs and 'hypes' on the Internet change fast, and HTML could be old-fashioned by the time we finished our project.

3. And thirdly another point: We foresee the following problem: If you would search for Kautsky, for instance, through all our brand-new HTML-inventories you will get many hits. The descriptions you will find, might not give you much information about the context of these items. For instance, you might not know to which archive or inventory the description refers. In an inventory on paper this is self-evident. So in all these data we needed a structure that could be easily understood by our users.

So what we needed was a model, a standard. Then we discovered a project of the Research Libraries Group (RLG) which aimed to develop just this standard for publishing inventories on the Internet. RLG is a group of (mostly American) research libraries and institutions of which the IISH became a member in 1996. This group has co-developed the so-called Encoded Archival Description (EAD), a very elaborate model, which allows for the inclusion of all elements one could possibly want to add to an archival description. It is related to, though not identical with, the ISAD-rules of the International Council on Archives (ICA). ISAD stands for International Standard for Archival Description, a set of general rules developed by the ICA and adopted in 1994.

The approach of RLG - the EAD-code - has some considerable advantages:

1. It offers a standard that is widely accepted in an important part of the archival community.
2. It is based on SGML, or Standard Generalized Markup Language, a very stable language already in use for many years by now and defined in an ISO-standard ISO 8879]. SGML provides a syntax and a framework for defining and expressing the logical structure of documents, and conventions for naming the components or elements of documents. HTML is
a sub-set of SGML, just as the latest development, XML. Without becoming too technical, it is perhaps useful to indicate that the EAD-code is a so-called DTD (Document Type Definition) within SGML.

3. RLG has built a very large database, the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN). It is currently linking all EAD-based inventories produced by its members to this database. In this way, our collections would become much better known to the research community that we are trying to serve.

So our mind was quickly made up. We were a member of RLIN, they offered support, and a useful framework. Furthermore, a training was held in London in March 1997. So we got started.

3. Were there no disadvantages?

Of course there were disadvantages, as we found out soon enough. The software proved to be pretty complicated, at least to us. Your SGML editor should work, your EAD data type definition should be in place, your viewer should show something, and so on. And of course everything worked only under Windows 95, which we did not use at the time.

The EAD itself code is comprehensive and rather complicated. There are lots of elements that are all related one way or another. A new version was being introduced while we started, and was, unsurprisingly, late in arriving. Moreover, the model is based on American practice, which has a number of peculiarities to European archivists. Its multi-level approach in handling series, subseries and items is better suited for large government archives than for the type of records that we are used to deal with.

Brief, for a considerable time, we just sweated and moaned without making much progress. In the end, we decided to stick with EAD, but we are going to use a limited set of elements - only those that are required or useful to our own practice.

4. How to continue?

We have hired a subcontractor specialized in SGML (Alfbase) to support and advise us. Of course, this involves expenses, but we had happened to find funding.
Meanwhile, we published collection-level descriptions of our archival collections on the Web in HTML format. Essentially, these descriptions had already been made available through two printed guides and our online catalogue. These Web pages have fast become popular. They are heavily used and clearly respond to the needs of researchers. To us, this is an excellent incentive to proceed with the original project.

5. Where are we now?

The Archival Collections at the International Institute of Social History: this is an index to the archival collections held by the International Institute of Social History. Every entry in the index is linked to a description of the collection in question. Over time, most descriptions will in turn be linked to a more detailed finding aid. In a few cases, we may make the contents of the archive itself available as well (for a small example, see the William Morris Digital Archive). Descriptions of Dutch archives are in Dutch, the other ones in English.

Currently all documents are in HTML format. The Institute is in the process of encoding its archival finding aids in SGML using Encoded Archival Description (EAD) Document Type Definition (DTD). In the near future we hope gradually to add all finding aids in this way. For your convenience, however, they will be available for viewing in both HTML and SGML versions. In order to view SGML documents you will need a special viewer. The free Panorama viewer is not currently available for download (see Interleaf for future availability). Access to the SGML version is therefore temporarily limited to those with SGML viewers already installed on their computers.

More information on the history and development of the EAD DTD is available from the EAD Standards Home Page maintained by the Library of Congress, and the Society of American Archivists' EAD Resources Site.

[Here Mr Hofman showed a number of files in both HTML and SGML format, on the IISH server and elsewhere.]

6. What's next?
1. Conversion of the WP-files.

At present, Alfabase is working on the conversion of our word-processor files. We hope to be able to release some 500 lists on the Web by the beginning of 2000.

2. After this has been done, we have to make the old lists machine-readable. They will be directly converted to an SGML format. This will be a hell of a job, which we will likely subcontract to another specialized company. It is too early to say when this work will be finished.

3. Last but not least, we will have to reorganize our indexing procedures. It would be silly to go on producing word-processor files that would constitute as many conversion problems. As a result, our archives staff, some 10 people on average, will have to be retrained using EAD and SGML. One possibility is using a word-processor with SGML capabilities, such as WordPerfect 8.0. This would seem to be a relatively user-friendly approach, as it closely resembles current practice. Sometime next year we will make a decision on this.

7. Are there conclusions, lessons?

It is too early for us to give you a final conclusion, let alone guidelines about what to do and what to avoid when considering publication of your inventories on the Web. No doubt, in a few years, we can tell you more. But a few observations are still worth making:

Try to keep in touch with international developments, and with what's already on the Internet, both in terms of standards and actual examples. Consider subscribing to an EAD discussion list.

Keep as many options open for the future as you possibly can.

Follow international standards or best practice. Whatever you are going to do, you will find ISAD and EAD extremely useful.

Yet don't bother too much about the complexity of software packages, models and codes. Choose the way that suits you best. Publishing your inventories on the Internet just in HTML for instance would already be a big step forward. Our users are asking for it - and will, we hope, be grateful.

Wer die Themenstellung der letztjährigen Tagung liest könnte den Eindruck gewinnen, die Archive der Arbeiterbewegung seien die Speerspitze der modernen Archivlandschaft. Diejenigen Archive die vortragen konnten, welche Projekte in den einzelnen Ländern durchgeführt werden, haben diesen Eindruck verstärkt. Das AdsD fühlt sich, sicherlich zu recht, als Teil dieser fortschrittlichen Bewegung, die Licht in die dunklen Keller der Magazine bringen möchte.

Was bedeutet es, ein Archiv „ins Internet“ zu bringen?

Dazu folgende 3 Thesen

These 1:
Die Veränderung archivarischer Arbeit durch das Entstehen neuer Methoden und Möglichkeiten, wie das Internet sie bietet, bedingen ein Umdenken in der Arbeit von Archiven.

Wie sieht dieser Prozeß im Einzelnen aus?

Umfangreiche Diskussionen unter den Kollegen beeinflussen das Tempo der Umstellung von alt auf neu. „Archive und Öffentlichkeit – dieses Thema beschäftigt die Archivarinnen und Archivare seit Jahrzehnten. ... Die Archive sind für alle Bürger im weitesten Sinne tätig. Bundespräsident Roman Herzog hat ... festgestellt: ‘Archivieren bedeutet nicht Pflege toter Materie, sondern lebendigen Geistes’“


„Archivare, die mit dem Wort ‘Öffentlichkeit’ zunächst die Öffentlichkeitsarbeit des Archivs verbinden, werden sich daran reiben oder wärmen; sie denken an Nachholbedarf, an Vermarktung oder Sponsorenwerbung, an Kern- und Randaufgaben des Archivs und finden sich unversehens in Angriff und Verteidigung wieder, mitten im Kampfgetümmel der archivischen Berufsbilddiskussion.“

Dieser Umwälzungsprozeß ist für alle Beteiligten eine Gradwanderung zwischen Hinwendung zu neuen Methoden und Bewahren von richtigen Traditionen. „Die neuen Kommunikationstechniken, die sich Forscher und Nutzer sehr schnell zunutze gemacht haben, fordern ständige Anpassungen. Die Archive müssen ihre...
Leistungen für die Behörden und Nutzer kontinuierlich überdenken und modernisieren. Dies steht manchmal in Spannung zu einer anderen großen Herausforderung, nämlich das Archivgut physisch zu sichern und zu erhalten, damit es den kommenden Generationen noch zur Auswertung zur Verfügung steht. Kundenorientierung kann daher auch heißen, bestimmte Leistungen zu verweigern, soweit rechtliche oder konservatorische Hindernisse entgegenstehen.1

Öffentlichkeit herzustellen bedeutet also für Archive, daß sie über den „geborenen“ Benutzerkreis, den der wissenschaftlichen, familiengeschichtlichen oder auch heimatkundlichen Forschenden hinaus, bei denen sowohl die Existenz des Archivs, als auch die Kenntnis über die Bestände schon vorhanden ist, auf sich aufmerksam machen wollen. Dies geschieht vor allem, um im Wettbewerb der globalen Informationsangebote nicht als überflüssig abgehängt werden zu können. Im gleichen Maß, in dem sich die Forschung immer mehr des Internets als Informationsquelle bedient, müssen Archive diesem wissenschaftlichen Anspruch ein adäquates Angebot unterbreiten.

Was bedeutet all dies für die kommende Nutzung des Internets für das AdsD?

Die Diskussionen im Kollegenkreis müssen zu einem für alle akzeptierbaren Ergebnis führen. Genannt wurden schon die Aspekte der Veränderung des Berufsbilds und damit einhergehend auch die Veränderung der Erschließungs- und Arbeitsmethoden in den Archiven.

Seit nunmehr fast 5 Jahren gibt es im AdsD eine Archivdatenbank, die nicht nur den Ausdruck von Findmitteln mit Registern, oder auch hierarchischem und polyhierarchischem Thesauri ermöglicht, sondern auch eine völlig neue Möglichkeiten für Archivare bei der Erschließung von Beständen und für Benutzer bei der Recherche.

Wurden in früheren Zeiten bedenkenlos Abkürzungen eingeführt und benutzt, so muß heute ein recherchefähiger Text produziert werden, bei dem Abkürzungen aufzulösen sind. Nun ist es durch die neue Technik nicht mehr nötig, sich auf wenige Schlagworte zu begrenzen, sondern die Datenbank bietet viele Möglichkeiten ohne zusätzlichen Mehraufwand z.B. Indizes generieren zu lassen. Dies bedeutet allerdings auf der anderen Seite auch, daß der Wunsch nach Perfektion, den die Datenbank mit ihren Möglichkeiten bietet, inzwischen zur vermehrten Einführung von Feldern in den Verzeichnungsmasken führt, die dann tatsächlich

1 Wilfried Schönstag, Archiv und Öffentlichkeit a.a.O. S. 89
zu einer intensiveren Erschließung und damit in gewissem Sinne auch Mehrarbeit bedeuten kann.


Allerdings überwiegen sicherlich die positiven Aspekte, von denen einige hier genannt werden:

- Benutzer und Archivare können als gemeinsames Instrument die Recherchefähigkeit der Datenbank nutzen:

Es kann nicht nur nach Volltext recherchiert werden, sondern auch nach Indizes oder Wortelisten (für Enthält- und Darin-Vermerke), über numerische Recherchen ist die Auswahl von Zeiträumen möglich geworden etc.. Und dies ist nicht das vorstellbare Ende der Möglichkeiten.

- Anfragen sind, bei den in der Datenbank befindlichen Beständen, rascher zu beantworten.

   In den Bereichen Fotosammlung, Flugblattsammlung und Plakatsammlung sind Ausdrucke möglich, die neben der Verzeichnung und Verschlagwortung auch ein Bild enthalten. Bei der Flugblattsammlung sogar noch den Text der Flugblätter im Volltext.

- Kollegen und Benutzer erhalten einen größeren Überblick über die gesamten Bestände im AdsD.

Konnten früher fachgebietsübergreifende Anfragen häufig nur mit großem Aufwand beantwortet werden, so können heute zumindest Hinweise auf verschiedene Fundstellen gegeben werden. Eine fachliche Beratung der Zuständigen für die Bestände bleibt selbstverständlich weiterhin notwendig.

Fest steht: die Entwicklung läßt sich von uns Archivarinnen und Archivaren nicht aufhalten – der Versuch diesen Prozeß zu verlangsamen würde lediglich einen Schritt in die Bedeutungslosigkeit bei der öffentlichen Wahrnehmung bedeuten. Bei


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* Da imwischen die Verzeichnungsarbeiten neben der archivwissenschaftlichen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Bestand auch das Eingeben in die Datenbank, Korrekturlesen und letztendlich auch das Ausdrucken der Verzeichnung als Findbuch gehören, hat sich die alltägliche Arbeit tatsächlich verändert.
personalkostenintensiven Institutionen - die Archiv häufig sind - könnte sich dies als verhängnisvoll erweisen.

Sicher ist aber auch:

These 2:

Nur gemeinsam, nicht gegeneinander werden Archivarinnen und Archivare die notwendigen Veränderungen in ihren Archiven schaffen – das Internet kann dabei nützlich werden.

Es wäre falsch, ein Gegeneinander zwischen Skeptikern und Befürwortern der neuen Technologien zu konstruieren. Schließlich handelt es sich inzwischen nicht mehr um eine generelle Skepsis, sondern um Feststellungen, die oftmals aus der Angst heraus formuliert werden, daß immer mehr Aufgaben bewältigt werden müssen, obwohl den Archiven in den letzten Jahren immer mehr Mittel gestrichen werden.


Es sollten bewußt nur „Appetithäppchen“ sein, die den vorbeisurfenden potentiellen Benutzer des Archivs neugierig machen sollte. Dies war eine vollständige Veränderung der bisher praktizierten Ausstellungstätigkeit im AdsD. Aus Budgetgründen wird es sicherlich die einzige Möglichkeit bleiben.

Bei der Einrichtung der Internetseite - vor allem der Galerie - wurde deutlich, daß das Internet im AdsD noch nicht als zusätzliche Informationsquelle für wissenschaftliche Arbeit angesehen wurde. Wir hatten alle auch noch keine Erfahrungen mit den Auswirkungen der weltweiten Präsentation. Die Interpretationen waren vielfältig, die Erfahrungen mit den Veränderungen im Wissenschaftsbetrieb mußten erst gemacht werden.

9 http://www.fcs.de/archive/index_gr.html
Inzwischen wird das Internet wesentlich selbstverständlicher für die eigenen Recherchen genutzt.


Kurze Beschreibungen der im AdsD in sechs Abteilungen aufgeteilten Bestände mit Erläuterungen über Unterteilungen innerhalb dieser Abteilungen wurden neu aufgenommen. Hinzugekommen sind die Vorworte bereits verzeichneten Bestände, die sowohl einen Zugang zur Bestandsgeschichte, der Biographie der Nachlassenden, oder auch Inhaltsverzeichnisse der erstellten Findbüchern bieten.

Zusätzlich zur verbesserten Informationen wurden umfangreiche Bebilderungen der Seiten vorgenommen.


Schon vor der Einführung der neuen Technik galt es die teilweise vorhandene Diskrepanz zwischen korrekter Bearbeitung der Bestände, und dazu gehören auch das Einhalten von

10 Abteilung I: Nachlässe und Deposita; Abteilung II: Bestände der SPD-Parteiführung und des Parteivorstandes sowie zentraler sozialdemokratischer Parlamentsfraktionen; Abteilung III: Bestände von sozialdemokratischen Parteigremien und Parlamentsfraktionen; Abteilung IV: Andere Organisationen und Institutionen (außer Gewerkschaftsbewegung), Abteilung V: Nationale und internationale Gewerkschaftsbewegung; Abteilung VI: Sammlungen
11 Diese Arbeit ist noch nicht abgeschlossen
12 Z.T. können die Bestände erst nach Genehmigungsverfahren eingesehen werden, in die die Hinterleger einbezogen sind. Manchmal werden auch in Bearbeitung befindliche Bestände nachgefragt, die für die Benutzung bis zur endgültigen Fertigstellung der Findmittel
Sperrfristen oder auch Hinterlegerwünschen, und der Bedürfnislage der Benutzer, die am liebsten keinerlei Beschränkungen vorfinden würden zu überwinden. Durch die geänderte Art der Präsentation, die in manchen Archiven schon bis zur Präsentation von Findbüchern im Internet geht, stellen sich neue Herausforderungen. Es müssen heute schon Kriterien mitbedacht werden, die erst später eine eventuelle Umsetzung erfahren werden. Es ist also so, daß „der veränderte Zugriff und auch die zu erwartenden veränderten Recherchestrategien" bei der Gestaltung von Online-Findbüchern berücksichtigt werden (sollten). ... Sperrfristen stellen im Zusammenhang mit einem explizit grenzenlosen Medium ein besonders sensibles Aufgabenfeld dar. So bewegen wir uns in einem Spannungsfeld von öffentlicher Aufmerksamkeit – hervorgerufen durch die Präsentation im Internet – und dem berechtigten Interesse der Archive mit immer geringer werdenden Budgets, die immer umfangreicher werdenden Beständen zu erschließen.

These 3:
Selbst wenn das Internet scheinbar unbegrenzte Möglichkeiten bieten, werden Archive immer an Grenzen stoßen.

Sind es zum einen die geschilderten Umstände bei der Umstellung von Online-Findmitteln und einer verstärkten Präsentation im Internet, so gibt es noch weitere hemmende Hindernisse, die es zu überwinden gilt.


gesperrt bleiben müssen. Noch komplizierter wird es bei nicht erschlossenen Beständen, bei denen es gilt den Aufwand für das Archiv abzuwägen.
13 Karsten Uhde in: Der Archivar Jg. 49, 1996, H. 2, Sp. 213
des Bestandes Leonard Nelson publiziert. Allerdings wird die Diskussion um eine Publikation solcher Findmittel im Internet noch eine gewisse Zeit in Anspruch zu nehmen, da auch hier die konkreten Erfahrungswerte noch fehlen.
Da das AdsD sich allerdings verpflichtet hat die Arbeitsergebnisse der beiden Projekte Flugblattsammlung und Plakatsammlung im Internet zu präsentieren. Die Erfahrungen die dadurch gesammelt werden können, werden die weitere Diskussion sicherlich beeinflussen.


4. Dem Informationsbedürfnis gerecht werden und gleichzeitig die berechtigten Interessen des Archivs auf Kenntnis der bei ihm arbeitenden Forscher gerecht zu werden ist ein weiteres zu beseitigendes Hindernis.

Fazit:

16 Vgl. Weiterführend Harry Scholz/Jutta Spoden, Erschließung und Digitalisierung der Flugblatt- und Flugschriftensammlung im Archiv der sozialen Demokratie. Bericht über ein von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) unterstütztes Pilotprojekt, in Der Archivar, Jg. 52, 1999
17 Im Sommer 2000 lauf das Plakatprojekt, das von der Volkswagenstiftung finanziert wurde aus, nach Klärung der notwendigen Copyright-Fragen werden die Arbeitsergebnisse dann ins Internet gestellt
18 Angelika Menne-Haritz in Der Archivar Jg. 49, 1996, H 4, Sp 606
19 Angelika Menne-Haritz a.a.O, Sp 610
Das Internet ist für das AdsD eine nicht mehr wegzudenkende Bereicherung. Im Hinblick auf die Informationen für die Benutzer ebenso wie nach innen.

Die Diskussionen über Verzeichnungskriterien, das Erarbeiten von Verzeichnungsrichtlinien, die Diskussionen über Verzeichnungstiefe, Recherchekriterien und vieles mehr war positiv für die Archivarbeit insgesamt. Über das Internet kommunizieren wir wesentlich intensiver mit der Umwelt. Zudem entdeckt das AdsD derzeit auch das Internet als neue Quelle, deren Archivierung diskutiert und getestet wird.

Die Entwicklung geht hin zu digitalen Dienstleistungszentren, in der Bibliotheken und Archive, in manchen Institutionen sicherlich auch noch die Dokumentationen, in dem Bemühen um eine gemeinsame Präsentation der Bestände, immer weiter zusammenwachsen werden. Diese Entwicklung wird die Diskussionen über Archive im Internet beeinflussen.

Unsere Aufgabe wird es sein darzustellen, daß bei immer größer werdender Informationsflut im Internet eine gezielte Aufbereitung und Präsentation dringend notwendig ist. Genreübergreifende Recherchemöglichkeiten sind zwar noch Zukunftsmusik, werden aber immer notwendiger, um nicht in der Fülle der Informationen zu ertrinken. Das Internet wird die Arbeitsweise von Archivarinnen und Archivaren weiter verändern, wir werden uns diesen Herausforderungen stellen und vielleicht in ein paar Jahren sogar über die Erfahrungen mit Online-Findbüchern berichten können.
Following an idea of Michael Polman, director of the Antenna Foundation, and Tjebbe van Tijen, the International Institute of Social History and Antenna are jointly undertaking a project aimed at archiving important digital documents concerning social, political and environmental issues. They have named it Occasio.

Today the archive contains nearly 900,000 messages from 974 newsgroups. It is available online and can be searched full text.

Background
Since its foundation in 1935 the International Institute of Social History has collected documents of any material type in the field of social history. Today many documents within the range of the Institute's acquisition profile appear no longer in print but just in digital form. Increasingly, social movements use the Internet to report on violations of human rights, to denounce authoritarian regimes and to campaign for social justice, especially in areas which are suffering from war and political violence, and where independent news service by traditional media is made difficult or impossible.

Archiving Internet documents, until recently, received relatively little attention from the authors. For them, priority number one is their political purpose, not the question whether their documents can be read after 50 years. The material, however, is vulnerable, and unknown numbers of valuable documents may have disappeared for ever because of crashing computers, deleted files and the absence of backups; what has been saved may become unreadable in a few years because of hardware and software obsolescence.

To safeguard important documents for the future, and to avoid the risk of a gap in its collections, the Institute, at the suggestion of Tjebbe van Tijen and Michael Polman, director of the Antenna Foundation, decided to archive documents produced on the Internet in the newsgroups, or conferences, of the
Association of Progressive Communications (APC). APC, of which Antenna is the Dutch member, was selected for the high quality and relevance of its newsgroups as compared with other (Usenet) newsgroups on social, political and environmental issues. The project was discussed on the APC Europe meeting, August 1998, Nijmegen, Netherlands. Here, its necessity and usefulness was recognized by the host organizations and news providers, and several members of the APC community have promised their support.

In 1994, at the request of the Institute, Antenna started to gather material concerning the wars in the former Yugoslavia. After the Institute received a grant from the Netherlands Organization for Advanced Research, newsgroup messages from all over the world have continuously been stored on a special server. The earliest messages go back to 1992, the most recent were posted today. The archive contains almost 900,000 messages from 974 groups.

The newsgroup messages are stored in the original format. A database interface is used to facilitate searching the material: one for the newsgroups and one for the messages. A third database gives access to the newsgroups on the former Yugoslavia. This archive had been made available on the WWW before as a pilot project. The software Antenna needed to and the web-access to the newsgroup-messages is offered at no cost on the Internet. In return, the adaptive scripts written by Antenna are shared for free with the Internet community.

Future developments
At present only newsgroups and their messages are archived. Although the World Wide Web is expanding rapidly in many parts of the world, its use is relatively expensive for activists who cannot afford state-of-the-art computers and high telephone costs. For them, the network news will continue to play an important role. Nevertheless, developments on the WWW are monitored and Antenna and the Institute are investigating if and how relevant parts of the Web can be archived.
Labour History and Documentation Worldwide
After more than a year of discussion and planning, 1999 saw the creation of the Labor and Working Class History Association (LAWCHA). The first step in the process occurred on the H-Labor internet discussion site where the labor history community of the US, Canada, and other locations debated the type of organization needed. Then, the 1998 North America Labor History Conference (at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan) elected a number of participants to several committees with the mandate to create the organization. After much work (the most difficult being incorporation as a non-profit organization under the laws of the state of Michigan) LAWCHA became a reality with membership dues of $20 per year for individuals; $10 for students and unemployed; and $100 per year for institutions and organizations.

Among the goals of the organization are 1) to promote public and scholarly awareness of labor and working-class history through research, writing, and organizing; 2) to develop mutually supportive relationships with existing regional state and local labor studies and labor history societies in the US and other countries; 3) to make labor history more accessible to union members and working class communities; 4) to promote labor and working-class history within the history and social studies curricula in public schools; 5) to advocate for including workers' and unions' perspectives in government and private historical preservation initiatives.

For more information, visit the web page at http://www.history.wayne.edu/lawcha or contact LAWCHA, Department of History, 3094 Faculty/Administration Building, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202.
The Australian Society for the Study of Labour History held its inaugural meeting in 1962. At that time, the Australian labour movement was not in any danger from direct attack, although the Federal Government had in the preceding ten years attempted to ban the Communist Party and provided heavy penalties for unions taking direct strike action. 1962, despite a temporary downturn, was a year in the midst of more than two decades of full or near-full employment. Even though the anti-Labor parties had controlled the Federal Government for more than ten years, the trade unions had all the advantages of labour scarcity in bargaining industrially.

How could the labour movement best use its advantage? What should be its goals, and how was it to achieve them? After 1955, the Catholic Rural Social Movement and the Industrial Groups through which it worked were in steady decline as influences in both the Australian Labor Party and the trade unions. But after the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, the Australian Communist Party began to fragment, and was progressively less able to offer the leadership that the Cold War and the Industrial Groups had denied it.

So at the first meeting of the ASSLH, a good many of those who were to become the Society’s founding Executive thought of the Society as helping the Australian labour movement set its goals and methods through a better understanding of its own history. The first President of the Society was Dr (later Professor) Robin Gollan, a former member of the Australian Communist Party who had recently been appointed a Senior Fellow in the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University. In that role, Gollan set about recruiting scholars and encouraging them to write labour history – specifically, histories of the Australian trade unions.
Gollan had himself in 1961 published *The Miners of New South Wales*, a history of the Miners’ Federation from its beginnings until contemporary times. *The Miners of New South Wales* was something of a paradigm for the scholars that followed. Many of them were doctoral candidates funded by grant. A candidate would offer to write the history of a union as a thesis, without fee, provided the union met certain conditions. These included the scholarly freedoms, but in addition they would require the union to lodge its records with an archival authority, where other scholars might consult them.

For the scholars at the Australian National University – and that was most of them, to begin with – that archival authority was the Noel Butlin Archives. The NBA provided invaluable support both in collecting and cataloguing the unions’ records. Both these tasks were well beyond the capacities of the individual. In some cases, fragments of a complete record series were thousands of miles apart. Some unions had been careful with at least some of their records, but the bulk of them had ended up in forgotten storerooms, under stairways, in back sheds, or in one case in a paint locker under a leaking can of turpentine. Making a coherent archive out of such pieces sometimes took more than hundreds of hours.

Besides offering the scholars invaluable archival services, the NBA had another advantage: it was a repository of business as well as labour archives. Scholars had the benefit of complementary records, where they existed. Thus it was that some of the first histories of Australian employers’ organisations began to appear, synoptically, in the histories of trade unions.

Scholars who wrote these early histories of trade unions relied heavily on the primary record of the archives they had helped created, but not exclusively so. All the Australian colonies, and the States that have followed them, have created a rich statistical record. They all liked counting, they did it very well, and they counted many things of interest to labour historians: numbers of firms, the number of their employees, the value of their production, the horsepower of their machinery – anything labour historians might need to
know for setting the economic context of the industries in which their trade unions operated. When the unions came, the various government counted them, too: their numbers, their members, their fees, their revenue. Obligingly they collected and published this information in forms that were accessible to contemporaries, and are to historians still. Archivists have had little to do with records of this kind; generally they are collected in the Government Publications sections of the larger libraries.

The statistical information that Australian governments have collected over the years is invaluable, but it has nothing to say, except by vague implication, about what actually has happened to processes of work. Fortunately for Australian labour historians (as well as others) all the Australian colonies and States established tribunals for the compulsory settlement of industrial disputes. These have spent much of their time in setting awards or determinations which have established the minimum wages payable to the various occupations in a particular industry, as well as regulating the conditions of work in them. To do this, they have called on evidence supplied by witnesses called by unions of both employees and employers. The witnesses offer evidence of custom and practice in the industry, often in minute detail. The tribunal keeps a transcript of evidence offered to which all parties have access. Transcripts often turn up in the records of the unions of employers and employees; if labour historians cannot find them there, the tribunal can often fill the gap for them.

Until the late seventies, most books published on labour history were union histories, and these were their principal sources. By then, published histories covered a large span of the industrial wing of the labour movement: blue collar, white collar, primary manufacturing, and service industries, unions whose membership was exclusively male, unions in which women heavily outnumbered men. By that time, too, there existed in archives a large amount of material of which labour historians might begin to ask other questions.

The histories written to that time had answered broad questions about why unions behaved the way they did over time, with particular attention to the unions relationship
with other parts of the labour movement, including its political parties. They concentrated on the work and the workplace itself. Generally, they did not ask questions about segmentation of the workforce: about why men and not women did certain work, and vice versa, or what 'skill' was and who acquired it, or why some work was rewarded far more generously than other, or how privileged groups within the workforce organised to maintain their privilege. What gave these questions particular importance at the time was the rapidly increasing proportion of women, and especially of married women, in the Australian workforce. By 1980, women were close to forming a majority of staff in some university departments, although most of them were in less senior posts.

It was possible to answer some of these questions at least in part by re-working the trade union histories recently written, or better still, their sources and the other material that their writing had brought to the archives. But more fundamental answers required in turn the asking of questions about influences outside of the workforce. How did family, church, the community shape expectations about work, and rationalise existing work relationships? Only rarely would the primary records of labour organisations help in finding answers.

So some labour historians who wanted answers began to turn to literature which might through narrative reveal some insight into attitudes, and to gauge the strength of those attitudes by the popularity of library borrowings. Films and school texts offered them the same kind of opportunity. The techniques and sources of sociologists were also useful: the questionnaire, the survey, and the interview.

What made the interview particularly attractive was the invention of the transistor. Authors of trade union histories in the sixties had sometimes interviewed widely, but they had either to use expensive and cumbersome equipment, or rely on notes and memory. Tape recorders powered by transistors were cheap and unobtrusive, and allowed the researcher the luxury of unlimited replaying. Even more importantly, they could be stored, catalogued, copied, sent from one place to another, and use by any number of people if normal conditions of access applied. By the eighties, Australian libraries and
archives had begun to implement extensive taping programs which interviewed not only the famous, but men and women whose working lives typified those of many others.

What all this did was to make possible a labour historiography that was more broadly based and less obviously political than its predecessor. The borderline between ‘social’ and ‘labour’ history was difficult to define, and both impossible and undesirable to police. In recognition, *Labour History* – the journal of the ASSLH – added the sub-title, ‘a journal of labour and social history’ in 1981.

This development coincided with the beginning of another which was concerned to answer questions about the distinctiveness of Australia’s labour history. Canada and New Zealand were also once colonies which had inherited a body of British law, custom and practice before their independence allowed them to establish industrial systems of their own. How closely did the experience of their labour movements parallel that of Australia’s? If there were differences, what were they, were they significant, and how were they to be explained? Would those explanations lead to a more fundamental understanding of cause and effect in Australia’s own labour history?

So for those interested in answering such questions, sources for the writing of Australian labour history were to be founded in the writing of colleagues outside Australia, and in turn in the sources that they used. Co-operation between Australian and Canadian historians drew heavily on the work of authors who contributed to *Labour/Le Travailleur*, and led on to conferences in Sydney and Amsterdam which compared not only formal regulatory processes, but also the generating of attitudes towards trade unions and labour political activity.

Writing from archival sources is always laborious, but in the writing of comparative history it is at least doubly so. The demands of mastering masses of detail means that the productivity of the historian depends largely on the extent to which his sources have been carefully archived, so that tests of relevance can be quickly and accurately applied. Electronic engineering also helped here. From the 1980s, Australian Archives have
progressively upgraded their catalogues, gone on-line, and developed their finding aids. Australian Archives is the official Archives Authority of the Federal Government, and its holdings far outnumber those of any other Australian authority. They span the entire ambit of the Federal Government's activities, including the Departments directly concerned with the regulation of labour and enquiry into working conditions. There are literally miles of these, but finding aids like ANGAM and RINSE allow the historian to track down detail in an ever-increasing number of documents. Aids like these make it possible to scan material whose sheer mass would have previously defeated any such attempt.

Advances in computer technology have made documents more accessible in other ways. The cost of digitizing documents for transfer from one archive to another has fallen dramatically in the last few years. Combined with more sophisticated searching techniques which can be operated from a distance, this makes it possible for researchers to use archives thousands of miles away without leaving home or office. It also opens up the possibility of a vastly expanded comparative labour history which uses the archives of co-operating authorities anywhere in the world.

In 1996, friends, colleagues and former students of Robin Gollan decided to hold a conference to mark his service to Australian labour history as first President of the ASSLH and as a continuous contributor throughout a long working lifetime. The Conference was to look back at what had been achieved, and to look forward to the role of Australian labour historians in the future.

The Conference began by recalling the politics of the labour movement in the early sixties when Gollan wrote The Miners of New South Wales and when he and his colleagues established the ASSLH. Then the Australian labour movement acted with the protection of a high tariff wall. Since then, governments increasingly committed to free trade and 'level playing fields' had not only progressively removed tariff protection, but had changed the legal basis of trade unionism to free up the internal labour market. By 1996, the Australian trade union movement was under serious and sustained attack. How
then was it to help the infant labour movements of the industrializing Southeast Asian economies, as well as help itself? And what should historians of the Australian labour movement be doing?

It seemed that one thing they could do would be to help in the writing of the labour histories of the Southeast Asian countries for the same reason as they had made their first concerted effort in Australia in the early 1960s: to understand movements, analyze trends, and gauge possibilities. By 1996, they were part of a movement of scholars that had over thirty years’ experience, and a large body of knowledge to draw on. The 1996 Conference published its proceedings in (ed) J.Hagan and A.Wells: Changing Labour Relations in Asia, University of Wollongong and Halstead Press, 1998.

There has been some response. The ASSLH set up a committee to foster developments, and set aside sections of its journal for articles on Southeast Asian labour history. Some Southeast Asian historians have begun to concentrate more on labour questions, and their universities have set up exchange arrangements for scholars and for the training of staff. Australian scholars have become involved in the CLARA (Changing Labour Relations in Asia) Program funded by the Scandinavian and Dutch governments, which is interested in the same kind of questions as the 1996 Conference.

The extent to which it is possible to find answers to those questions depends to a large extent on the archives authorities of the Southeast Asian countries. In 1999, the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam hosted a workshop to assess the state of historical archives in Southeast Asian countries, and identify what might be done to improve them. It established in detail what was generally known: that access was difficult and sometimes impossible; that finding aids did not exist, or were primitive; that the need for preservation was urgent; and that active programs of collection and even creation of record was necessary. The Workshop set up international committees to co-operate to help solve these problems.
Not all Southeast Asian archives are impenetrable, and some are prepared to co-operate with foreign scholars working on labour questions affecting their country. The Vietnamese Archives Number Two in Ho Chi Minh City has opened its archives in the extensive GOUCHOC series to scholars researching labour relations on the rubber plantations of French Indochina. This is part of a project assisted by CLARA on ‘unfree’ and ‘free’ labour, and ultimately will involve comparisons between the employment of indigenous labour on the plantations of India, the East Indies, and Indochina, and the cattle stations of Northern Australia. The Australian historians involved have found their sources not only in their own country, but in five others as well. Their work has been fruitful, but slow and (by the standards of funding in the Humanities) very expensive.

Extended comparative research in labour history provides valuable new insight, and can establish theory at a higher level of validity. But for it to flourish, costs will have to come down, especially for historians in relatively remote countries like Australia. Fortunately for them, electronic communication can defeat the tyranny of distance, and if the costs of transferring archival documents electronically continue to fall, it should be possible to make arrangements that will bring documents on Southeast Asian Labour history directly to the desks of Australian labour historians. The technology is already established; time, money and will should solve the other problems.

And then what? Unprecedented access to sources will make a new kind of labour history possible, but writing it will not be any easier. Aggregation of sources will not substitute for thought, and the thinking part will be harder. Historians will have to get better at framing their questions, and clearer about why they ask them. Only then will they be able to tame the flood of what, until it is tamed, will remain only information.
About 3 years ago, in 1996, the library department of the International Institute of Social History (IISH) started a project of exchanging jobs. Employees "swapped" jobs for a limited period of time with colleagues from other organizations but with similar specializations.

The exchange was mainly intended for persons who had been working in the same organization for some time, whose jobs had lost their initial excitement and become a routine, and who were looking for a change. The participating organizations felt that a change of environment, working with other people might be refreshing. Learning how other organizations deal with familiar problems might help employees to discover all kinds of new possibilities and thereby broaden their view of their own work. Back home, their new experiences and ideas could result in a fresh approach of their work, to the benefit of themselves and their organizations.

The first exchange was organized in co-operation with a Dutch institution, the University Library of the Free University, Amsterdam. In 1996-1997 two assistant librarians from the Institute and the Free University respectively swapped jobs for 3 months. The participants wrote an enthuosiasic report of their experiences.

This year a series of very successful international exchanges was organized between IISH and two other IALHI institutions, the Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Bonn, and the Archief en Museum van de Socialistische Arbeidersbeweging (AMSAB), Ghent. Norbert Wefers (FES) swapped jobs with Arnout Kors (IISH), Luc Lievijns (AMSAB) with Joke Zwaan (IISH), and Wis Geysen (AMSAB) with Frank de Jong (IISH).

So far, the project has proved to be a great success. Of course several practical problems had to be dealt with, such as finding accommodation for the migrating employees and settling differences in working-hours. But solutions were found to the satisfaction of both the participating organizations and employees.
The participants will be happy to share their experiences with others. For more information please contact Coen Marinus, email: cma@iisg.nl, Rüdiger Zimmermann, email: zimmermr@fes.de, or Wouter Steenhaut, email: info@skynet.be