

1. Project information

Title: *Four Centuries of Labour Camps. War, Rehabilitation, Ethnicity.*

This project aims to bring about the first integrated, worldwide history of labour camps. Diachronic and comparative research will be used to trace the socio-political, ideological and economic conditions that led to the emergence of labour camps and remain conducive to their existence. All too often, labour camps, both within scholarship and in public perceptions, are associated mainly with the Nazi *Lagers* and Soviet *gulags*. Overcoming the resulting narrowed vision is one of the objectives of this project. To this end, we place labour camps in the context of the global history of oppression and exploitation in the early modern and modern world.

We define labour camps in terms of the simultaneous combination of forced labour and internment. Hence, the overall question of this project is why and under which particular socio-political, ideological and economic conditions have forced labour and internment appeared together over the past four centuries?

We address three aspects in particular: the conditions that precede, accompany and follow military conflicts; the concept and practice of “rehabilitation”; the discourse and practices around ethnicity, in both colonial and non-colonial settings. These are investigated in the context of specific sites (individual camps, cities or regions) within four settings: penal transportation to and within the Netherlands Indies; early modern and modern prison workhouses in Hamburg; incarceration and internment in Italy and the Italian colonies; Tsarist *Katorga* and Soviet *Gulags* in Western Siberia.

Despite its obvious historical significance and social impact, this field has yet to be systematically explored. Most scholars studying crime and punishment have investigated specific institutions in isolation from one another and from a short-term perspective. Historians of labour or migration as well as practitioners of global history have addressed issues such as the relationship between free and unfree labour and the role of colonialism in world history, but in all these studies references to labour camps are scarce, if present at all. By contrast, this project situates the history of labour camps firmly within the global history of the past four hundred years.

2. Your details

Prof. Dr. Pieter Spierenburg, Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR)

3. Co-applicants

Prof. Dr. Marcel van der Linden, International Institute of Social History (IISH)

Prof. Dr. Peter Romijn, Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (NIOD)/Amsterdam University (UvA)

4a. Discipline code Humanities

27.40.00 (Modern and contemporary history)

27.50.00 (Social and economic history)

4b.

None

4c. Previous and Future Submissions

None.

5. Institutional Setting

International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam

Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (NIOD), Amsterdam

6. Period of Funding

1 September 2013 to 31 August 2018

Duration: 5 years

7. Composition of the Research Team

- a. Prof. Dr. Pieter Spierenburg, Main Applicant.
- b. The project as a whole will be managed and coordinated by the Main Applicant, Prof. Dr. Pieter Spierenburg (EUR), in close cooperation with Prof. Dr. Marcel van der Linden (IISH) and Prof. Dr. Peter Romijn (NIOD). Together, they will be the Project Steering Committee.
- c. In addition to the Main Applicant, the research team will consist of three post-doc researchers and one PhD student, to be recruited from an international pool of candidates.
- d. This project has been initiated by the IISH and the NIOD, as part of their cooperative effort. The research directors of these institutes, Marcel van der Linden and Peter Romijn, subsequently approached Pieter Spierenburg, whose expertise qualifies him to act as the project's Main Applicant and guarantor of its scholarly quality. The subject of the proposed project relates to the Main Applicant's research interests, as evidenced by both his earlier and his recent publications. The project's global orientation, moreover, matches the PI's recent exploratory research in global history, especially its NWO-funded internationalization project "The Global Trajectory of Murder and Genocide" (dossier nr. 236-50-004, running from Dec. 1, 2010 to Dec. 1, 2012). Although both projects share a global orientation, they are clearly distinct, and the one described in the present proposal is certainly not a continuation of the other.

e. In the interest of the research quality and the interdisciplinary approach, an Advisory Board will be formed. Members of the Advisory Board will be: Nancy Adler (NIOD, Amsterdam), Clare Anderson (University of Leicester), Mary Gibson (City University of New York); Alan Kramer (Centre for War Studies, Dublin), Roberta Pergher (Indiana University, Bloomington), Henk Schulte Nordholt (KITLV, Leiden) t.b.c., Lynne Viola (University of Toronto), Kerry Ward (Rice University, Houston) t.b.c.

f. In addition to receiving support from the Advisory Board, the research project will benefit from the extended networks of the IISH, the NIOD and the vast personal network of the Main Applicant. These include, on the one hand, universities and research centres and, on the other hand, educational and memorial institutions. They will be pivotal in preparing the sub-projects, organizing the related workshops and disseminating the outcomes.

The network of universities and research centres includes: *Work and Human Lifecycle in Global History* (IGK), Berlin; *Centre for Historical Research and Documentation on War and Contemporary Society* (CEGES-SOMA), Brussels; *Centre for War Studies*, Dublin; Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta; *Centre d'histoire du droit et de la justice* (CHDJ), Louvain-la-Neuve; *Centre for Social History*, Moscow.

The network of educational and memorial institutions includes: *Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, Braunschweig; *EuroClio*, *European Association of History Educators*, The Hague; *Istituto Nazionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione nazionale in Italia*, Milan; *Het Gevangenis­museum*, Veenhuizen; *Memorial*, Moscow.

Steering Committee	Prof. Dr. Pieter Spierenburg (Main Applicant)	EUR
	Prof. Dr. Marcel van der Linden	IISH
	Prof. Dr. Peter Romijn	NIOD
Post-doc researchers	p.m.	
	p.m.	
	p.m.	
PhD researcher	p.m.	

8. Proposed Research Structure

Sub-project 1:

“Colonial Enlightenment and Punishment in the Netherlands Indies: From chain gang to Upper Digul 1750-1942”

Researcher: p.m.

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ulbe Bosma (IISH)

Co-Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Peter Romijn (NIOD)

Type of recruitment: Post-doc 0.75 fte

Duration: 4 years

Sub-project 2:

“Internment, Work, Poverty and Crime, in Hamburg, 1618-1969”

Researcher: p.m.

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Pieter Spierenburg (EUR)

Co-Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Klaus Weinbauer (Bielefeld University)

Type of recruitment: Post-doc 1.0 fte

Duration: 3 years

Sub-project 3:

“Rehabilitation, War and Colonization in Italy and Its Colonies, 1861-1945”

Researcher: p.m.

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Pieter Spierenburg (EUR)

Co-Supervisor: Dr. Christian G. De Vito (IISH)

Type of recruitment: Post-doc 1.0 fte

Duration: 3 years

Sub-project 4:

“Tsarist *Katorga* and Soviet *Gulag* in Western Siberia. War, Colonization and the Making of the ‘Socialist Man’, 19th-20th Centuries”

Researcher: p.m.

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Marcel van der Linden (IISH)

Co-supervisor: Dr. Nancy Adler (NIOD)

Type of recruitment: PhD 0.8 fte

Duration: 4 years

9a. Description of the Proposed Research

Title: *Four Centuries of Labour Camps: War, Rehabilitation, Ethnicity.*

This project aims to bring about the first integrated, worldwide history of labour camps. Diachronic and comparative research will be used to trace the socio-political, ideological and economic conditions that led to the emergence of labour camps and remain conducive to their existence..

The experience of 20th-century labour camps has overshadowed earlier manifestations and has in turn led to distorted general and scholarly perceptions of their historical significance. Not only has the 20th century been labelled as “the century of the camps” (Kotek and Rigoulot 2004), but an abstract notion of *Lagers* and *gulags* has come to symbolize *all* experiences with forced labour and internment.

In our alternative approach, we place labour camps in the context of the history of oppression and exploitation in the early modern and modern world. This project will reintroduce labour camps in recent scholarly debates that have so far ignored their historical importance, such as those on the relationship between free and unfree labour and between different forms of unfree labour (Brass and Van der Linden 1997; Amin and Van der Linden 1997; Gabaccia and Hoerder 2011), on the classification of labour relations (Van der Linden, 2008; Hofmeester and Moll-Murata 2011) and on the impact of colonialism and empire on world history (Bush 2000) and in individual biographies (Maxwell-Stewart and Frost 2001; Anderson 2012). These debates will in turn ensure that the emergence of labour camps is not treated as an isolated occurrence in the project but is associated with different types of labour relations, mentalities, networks of coercion and networks of empires.

We define labour camps in terms of the coincidence of forced labour and internment. This has two major advantages. Emphasizing the functions of labour camps over their institutional configurations enables us to review their history across various periods, all sorts of political regimes and all regimes of punishment. And by linking of forced labour with internment in our definition, labour camps may be clearly distinguished from other historical experiences, comprising either forced labour or internment separately, such as most 18th-century slave plantations (technically not a form of internment) and present-day detention camps for undocumented migrants (where work is prohibited).

We focus on labour camp formation. Our defining question is why and under which particular social conditions have forced labour and internment converged over the past four centuries?

In addressing this issue, we explicitly avoid teleological explanations and deny that labour camps have emerged from a linear, mono-causal process of “modernization”. Our hypothesis is that the emergence of labour camps can be understood only by identifying “recurrent causal mechanisms” (Tilly, 2004: 39). As Charles Tilly has argued, the latter are not “immutable general laws producing the same whole structures and sequences everywhere” but operate by “concatenating [various elements] differently, with different outcomes, depending on local circumstances”. In our own terms, we are not seeking deterministic factors of labour camps but rather elements that facilitate the emergence of social conditions that, in turn and within specific contexts, promote the formation of various types of labour camps.

In particular, we hypothesize that the following three elements play an especially important role in activating recurrent causal mechanisms. Therefore, they are systematically addressed and related to one another in the sub-projects.

1. War

Following the suggestions of transitional justice studies, the concept of “war” is expanded to comprise mobilization and demobilization of peoples and societies that precede, accompany and follow military conflicts. The sub-projects explore how war has favoured the emergence of conditions for the formation and transformation of labour camps. They address early modern and modern conflicts, both in metropolitan and in colonial contexts, including the Seven Years’ War, the Napoleonic Wars, colonial wars in Libya, Eritrea and the Netherlands Indies and the two World Wars.

2. Rehabilitation

How have discourses and practices of rehabilitation influenced the formation of institutions simultaneously connecting internment and forced labour? This issue is examined through three historical processes in the various sub-projects: a) the emergence of institutions for internment and work dedicated to addressing poverty through the principle of “rehabilitation”; b) the emergence of labour camps connected with concepts and practices developed in positivist criminology from the late 19th century onwards (Becker and Wetzell 2006; Gibson 2012); c) historical experiences of the Soviet *gulags*, where “rehabilitation” of political dissidents, *gulags* and common-law criminals ostensibly designed to create the “Socialist Man” cloaked intentions to intimidate, punish and destroy these inmates.

3. Ethnicity

The study of the connection between the emergence of labour camps and the definition of “otherness” through ethnic and racial stereotypes is a fundamental feature in all sub-projects. To what extent has it shaped the selection, treatment and exploitation of the convict population of the Hamburg prison workhouses, the Dutch penal settlements, the Italian internment camps, the Tsarist *katorga* and the Soviet *gulags*? Moreover, the specificities of colonial settings are directly observed in the sub-projects on the Dutch and Italian empires.

In our hypothesis, local settings and local agency are decisive in the formation of labour camps. We therefore observe the three elements mentioned above at specific sites (labour camps, cities or regions) in four sub-projects that deal with the following contexts: penal transportation and forced labour in the Dutch empire from the mid-18th to the mid-19th centuries; prison workhouses in Hamburg from the 17th to the 20th century; internment and convict labour in Italy and its colonies from 1861 to 1945; penal transportation and the *gulags* in Tsarist Russia/Soviet Union in the 19th and 20th centuries. The selection of the respective contexts is explained in detail in the description of each sub-project.

All sub-projects aim to determine the specific conditions that have come about through war, ethnicity and rehabilitation, and which, in turn, facilitate the emergence of labour camps in each context. We seek to understand why and how specific groups of convicts (defined by gender, ethnicity, legal status, etc.) in those settings have been singled out for a punitive regime, simultaneously comprising forced labour and internment. We address the relationship between work in labour camps and other forms of forced labour occurring in the same location or region. Looking at global issues and exchanges from the perspective of specific sites and vice versa, the project features a fundamental methodological originality, building on recent scholarly debates regarding the interaction between local and global scales. In particular, we draw inspiration from the perspectives of *histoire croisée* (Werner and Zimmermann 2006) and “translocality” (Freitag and von Oppen 2010).

The available literature on penal transportation (Pike 1983; Sen 2000; Bullard 2000; Maxwell-Stewart 2000; Anderson 2000, 2012; Coates 2001; Maxwell-Stewart and Frost 2001; Ward

2008), prison workhouses (Spierenburg 1991; Rousseaux 2006; Bretschneider 2008), prisons (Arnold 1994; Salvatore and Aguirre 1996; Lichtenstein 1996; Bernault 1999; Zinoman 2001; Sherman 2009; Dikötter and Brown 2007; Gibson 2011) and 20th-century labour camps (Orth 1999, 2000; Spoerer 2001; Gregory and Lazarev 2003; Wachsmann 2004; Viola, 2007; Buggeln 2009; Caplan and Wachsmann 2010) has revived historical debate. From the perspective of this project, this literature, however, has serious limitations.

- With the exception of recent studies on penal transportation and a few other contributions (Kramer 2008, Mühlhahn 2010), most research remains Eurocentric and is framed nationally.

By pursuing a translocal approach, this project seeks to situate labour camp formation processes in both local and global contexts alike and to reveal the multiple enabling connections, exchanges and fluxes at different scales.

- The various strands in the literature have not been woven together. Each one has developed as an isolated sub-discipline, emphasizing the institutional status of each punitive regime, rather than their overall functions and how they are interrelated.

Each sub-project here addresses one strand of literature and analyses it according to the overarching questions of the project regarding the influence of war, rehabilitation and ethnicity in the emergence of labour camps.

- Although some scholars have traced the origins of Nazi *Lagers* back to practices of internment and forced labour in German colonies (Bley 1968; Conrad 2011), the decline of the colonial experience remains a key feature in totalizing the experience of the *Lagers*. Agamben's theory of the state of exception and of the camps, for example, makes no reference to colonial policy and practices (Agamben 1998, 2005). Conversely, a recent article by Klaus Mühlhahn (2010) shows that concentration camps first "moved" from European colonial spheres to the European continent and later spread to other parts of the world.

The sub-projects on the Netherlands Indies and on Italy and their colonies focus specifically on the transnational entanglements that have led labour camps to emerge in colonial contexts.

- Research on penal transportation, prison workhouses and prisons has rarely addressed the 20th century and has not explicitly been framed within the history of labour camps. This has led to excessive emphasis of the *Lager* and *gulag* experiences as *the* 20th-century labour camps. In this project, 20th-century experiences in these fields are dealt with extensively.

By aiming to achieve a global and long-term history of labour camps, this project is fully embedded in the research experiences of its host organizations and its Main Applicant (see 14).

In the past twenty years, the Research Department of the IISH has prioritized global and long-term studies of labour, migration and economic history. As a consequence, the IISH has become the main hub of the international network of Global labour history, which originated at this institute. For information, see: <http://socialhistory.org>

The project also reflects the NIOD's interest in questioning the traditional Eurocentric and 20th century-centred framework of war and mass violence, as shown by the ongoing research programmes on the internment of collaborators in the Netherlands and Indonesia after World War II and on detention and internment in the Netherlands under Nazi occupation. For information, see: <http://www.niod.knaw.nl/>

The research experiences and networks of the project's host organizations and Main Applicant are similarly compatible with the interdisciplinary approach.

The research group will maintain systematic contacts with research centres with different disciplinary backgrounds. In addition, the project advisory board comprises a significant share of scholars with a non-historical background, and the members will discuss the research proposal and the project findings during the preliminary and final workshops, respectively. Sociological, criminological and ethnographic perspectives (e.g. Goffman 1961; Combessie 2001; Carrington and Hogg 2001) are stressed in the research addressing individual sites, and economic perspectives are introduced when examining the role of convict labour in labour relations.

The translocal and interdisciplinary approach of the project will be conducive to expanding the possible sources and the questions to be asked. In addition to the available literature (in English as well as in other relevant languages, in which selected researchers will be required to demonstrate the required proficiency), archival documents represent the main source (see the sub-projects). These documents will further the investigation of the specific local settings and of the flows of ideas, people and techniques between various locations.

On the most recent period, oral sources will be used as well, especially as far as former labour camp inmates and personnel are concerned.

Emergence of labour camps has recurred throughout human history, and the present is no exception. Ours is a time of authoritarian regimes exploiting the labour of hundreds of thousands of inmates, as in the Chinese *laogai* (Wu 1992, Dikötter 2002, Mühlhahn 2009). It is also a time of mass incarceration, which in some contexts involves exploitation of convict labour, such as in the United States and the United Kingdom (Wacquant 1999, Garland 2001). Moreover, as a global network of detention centres for allegedly “illegal” immigrants extends from the US-Mexican border to Australia across Eastern and Western Europe, the question arises as to whether these camps will in the future become a reserve for unfree labour as well (Dow 2005, Kaur and Metcalfe 2006, Sciurba 2009).

This project provides a privileged perspective for understanding these key issues of our own world. It also examines how the memory of past experiences with forced labour and internment is built in our own time, especially regarding World War II and colonialism.

The project promises no simple, mono-causal explanation for the emergence of labour camps in the past. Similarly, it suggests that the formation of present-day labour camps is the product of a complex concatenation of ideological, economic and socio-political elements, and that war, rehabilitation and ethnicity are crucial in initiating these recurrent causal mechanisms in a time of economic crisis, growing social exclusion and global migrations.

No shortcut “solutions” for global and local problems will be forthcoming. We believe, however, that this project may contribute fundamentally toward raising public awareness about these issues. Such diffuse awareness and active participation will in our view form the basis of real democracy.

In addition to involving scholars, we intend for the findings of this project to reach a wider public and want this dissemination to be feasible and effective. Two specific groups of public are prioritized, since they are more likely to become active in propagating the new perspective emanating from this project. We will address cultural institutions specialized in preserving the memory of labour camps (because of their specific objective) and educational institutions (because of their focus on younger generations).

In the final months of his or her work, each researcher will team up with at least one specialized cultural institution (e.g. memorial associations and concentration camp foundations) to present the findings of his or her sub-projects. These activities will take place in all countries directly

involved in the related sub-projects. The Main Applicant will support these activities, especially those regarding Dutch cultural institutions.

Dissemination in educational institutions will concern the synthesis of the project and sub-project “Colonial Enlightenment and Punishment in the Netherlands Indies: From chain gang to Upper Digul 1750-1942”. Responsibility will be shared by the researcher involved and the Main Applicant during the fourth and fifth years, and these efforts will concentrate in particular on teachers and cultural organizers, with the expectation of initiating a process of self-learning that will make for longer-term project outcomes.

This task comprises two activities.

- a. Creating an educational website in English and Dutch. Instructional modules will be elaborated, and different formats will be devised to address the needs of different students and public.
- b. Activities aimed specifically at Dutch educational institutions (especially schools): organization of teachers’ workshops; incentives for educational institutions to launch didactical programmes on the history and memory of labour camps in former Dutch colonies.

Sub-project 1 Colonial Enlightenment and Punishment in the Netherlands Indies: From chain gang to Upper Digul 1750-1942

Researcher [to be recruited]

Supervisor Prof. Dr. Ulbe Bosma

Co-supervisor Prof. Dr. Peter Romijn

Length 4 years

This sub-project will investigate the historical trajectory of convict labour in the Netherlands Indies resulting in the establishment of the convict labour camp in Upper Digul (New Guinea). About 800 of the 13,000 arrested after the Communist Revolt of 1926 were deported to this location. The assertion to be explored in this project is that Upper Digul combined the elements of war, rehabilitation and ethnicity, and that it was the culmination of three different trajectories: 1. exile that had existed since the days of the VOC to eliminate the threat of dissident Europeans and rebellious indigenous aristocrats, 2. Enlightenment concepts of labour as an instrument of rehabilitation for the common indigenous population, 3. 19th-century ethnically defined legal boundaries to reconcile the contradictory needs of a unified penal code as an inseparable part of the rule of law and hence colonial prestige and an ethnically diversified administration of justice to underpin colonial domination.

This sub-project will focus at first on how the colonial administration replaced indigenous customary practices of reconciliation and community justice with punishment as the state's prerogative and as an instrument of rehabilitation for all ethnic groups throughout the archipelago. The second area to be examined is how the idea of equality before the law emerged as the dominant discourse, a development that figures within what Stoler and Cooper have coined the "*em bourgeoisement* of empire" (Cooper Stoler 1997). Third, this research will address how, despite the extension of the Dutch Penal Code to all colonial subjects in 1873, the administration of justice and punishment continued to differentiate according to colonial perceptions of civilization, gender and economic utility. The final question to be considered is whether the long history of colonial wars and rebellion shaped practices of exile (Ward) as an administrative and extra-judicial measure that lingered on in the 19th century and would allow the colonial government as late as the 20th century to circumvent the Penal Code by exiling political dissidents.

The time frame of the research will be divided in three sections, in chronological sequence, to mark the defining moments in the relationship between forced labour and punishment in the Indonesian archipelago. First, the impact of Enlightenment ideas, which coincided with the Dutch assuming full political control of Java by about 1800, featuring the introduction of the principle of rehabilitation connected to the state prosecution. The second section begins with the abolition of slavery in 1860, which coincided with several government measures to abolish different types of forced and tributary labour and with the gradual disappearance of corporal punishment from the administration of justice among the indigenous population. Convict labour became more important as a substitute for disappearing forms of forced labour and corporal punishment. The most notable example to be studied in this respect is the nutmeg groves of Banda, which for centuries had been worked by slaves, as well as the extensive deployment of convict labourers as porters on military expeditions. The third section starts around 1900, when the ethnic distinction was progressively omitted from the administration of justice as part of the unification policies of the so-called ethical polity, even though this process conflicted with the

very basis of colonial rule. It is in this context that the establishment of Upper Digul will be studied.

This sub-project will also investigate how and for what reasons convict labour was deployed over time, how transport of such labour started to cover ever-greater distances, and how convict labour came to be spatially separated from other types of labour. After all, throughout most of the 19th century, convict labour (often in the form of chain gangs), *corvées* and slave labour might work alongside each other at bridges, roads and other construction sites. The research will explore when and how in the course of the 19th century convict labour was recruited from prisons in Java and sent to the Ombilin mines (Sumatra) or included in military expeditions like the Aceh War as porters carrying food, tents and ammunition. These conditions came under increased scrutiny by experts on penitentiary systems, who advocated strictly regimented coerced labour in the context of penal institutions to further rehabilitation. Some proposed establishing a penal colony on the island of Buru, which did indeed become a convict camp, albeit under the Suharto regime almost a century later.

This sub-project will be based mainly on archival sources from the *Nationaal Archief*. The most important files in this National Archive are those of the “Raad van Justitie in Batavia” and the Ministerie van Koloniën (Verbalen, Gouvernementsbesluiten, Mailrapporten and Memories van Overdracht). The results of these examinations will serve as the basis for deciding whether archives in the Arsip Nasional in Jakarta need to be consulted (Algemeene Secretarie en Departement van Justitie). Published sources to be used include *Koloniale Verslagen* and journals, such as *Recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*.

Sub-project 2 Internment, Work, Poverty and Crime in Hamburg, 1618-1969

Researcher [to be recruited]
Supervisor Prof. Dr. Pieter Spierenburg
Co-supervisor Prof. Dr. Klaus Weinbauer
Length 3 years

How did war, ethnicity and rehabilitation influence the transformation of methods for dealing with poverty and crime, and how did this transformation influence the emergence of labour camps?

Hamburg from 1618 to 1969 provides a vantage point for studying this topic. Some of the first early-modern prison workhouses in Europe were established in this Hanseatic city (Jahn 1967, Mahrzahn 1981, Spierenburg 1991); the authorities introduced two major reforms of poor relief between the late 18th and early 20th centuries – the *Algemeine Armenanstalt* in 1788 and a modified version of the Elberfeld system in the late 19th century – that attracted considerable international attention (Streng 1890, Henderson 1903, Kraus 1967, Lindemann 1990, Sachsse and Tennstedt 1980, Eltzschig 1995, Freund-Widder 2003); prison workhouses operated there until they were abolished in 1969 (e.g. Willing 2003); during World War II, *Asozialen* (“antisocial people”) were interned in the city prison of Fuhlsbüttel and in the nearby concentration camp of Neuengamme, where their labour was forcibly extracted (Ayass 1988, Buggeln 2009).

The key questions for this sub-project are the following: how did the Seven Years’ War, the Napoleonic Wars and the World Wars, the rehabilitation ideals and practices of reformers and the social definition of “otherness” influence the formation of labour camps? How did practices in handling poverty and crime in Hamburg facilitate the establishment of labour camps? Which groups were specifically subjected to internment and forced labour, and which were not? Which ideas, practices and institutions were instrumental in bringing about this differentiation?

Extensive literature is available on the connection between the shift in attitudes toward poverty and the emergence of institutions of confinement in Western Europe since the late Middle Ages (e.g. Foucault 1961, Spierenburg 1984, Gestrich and Raphael 2004, Althammer 2007, Geltner 2008, Breitschneider 2008, Ammerer 2010). The history of prison workhouses has been explored from the early modern period to the 19th century and their connection with the origins of prisons has been emphasized (Spierenburg 1991). A limited but significant number of studies has also explored the 20th-century history of the workhouses (Marzahn 1984, Ayass 1992, 1993, Zadach-Buchmeier 2003, Elling-Ruhwinkel 2005, Ammer and Ayass 2006, Edman, Stenius 2007, Irmer, Reischl and Nürnberg 2008, Lerche 2009).

Research remains fragmented, though, and no attempt has been made to address the long-term dimension of this history. The influence of war, rehabilitation and ethnicity in the making and transformation of prison workhouses has not been addressed systematically.

This sub-project consists of three sections.

The first section will address the early modern prison workhouses of the city: the *Zuchthaus* founded in 1618 and the *Spinnhaus*, which opened in 1669. The work done by Spierenburg will be especially helpful in elaborating the following themes: changing attitudes towards poverty that led to the institution of the prison workhouses and their relationship with war, rehabilitation and ethnicity; the process of differentiation between almshouses and penal institutions; work

performed within the institutions and its intertwinement with economic and technological transformations on the outside.

The second section deals with the period from the second half of the 18th century to World War I, when Hamburg became one of the international “models” for poor relief reforms. These transformations mirrored broader socio-political processes: economic crisis, wars, the changing social composition of the city’s population, the industrial revolution, the process of national unification and the origins of the Welfare State in Bismarck’s Germany (Lindemann 1990). How did these events and processes more specifically shape the formation and transformation of the workhouses?

The third section focuses on the relation between the shifting definition of the concept of *Asozialen* and the establishment of labour camps. We examine on National Socialist policy (see also Ayass 1988, 1995, Lohalm 2010, Hörath 2012) and pay special attention to Hamburg’s Fuhlsbüttel penal facilities, which were used in part by the SS from October 1944 to February 1945 as a satellite camp of Neuengamme concentration camp (Littmann 2005, Buggeln 2009) and held over one hundred inmates in “preventive detention”. These inmates were later transferred to concentration camps for “extermination through labour” (Wachsmann 2004). We also address the ideas and practices that surrounded the concept of *Asozialen* since the late 19th century and remained relevant in the Federal Republic of Germany until 1969 (Ayass 1993, Kersting 2004, Irmer, Reischl, Nürnberg 2008). The situation of inmates condemned to *korrektionale Nachhaft* and accommodated in special wings of the Hamburg prison after 1945 will receive special consideration.

The main archival sources are held at the *Staatsarchiv Hamburg* (SAH), collections: “Senat”, “Gefängnisverwaltung”, “Allgemeine Armenanstalt I (AAI)” and “Sozialbehörde”; *Archiv der KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme* (AGN, esp. Ng 2.8, Ng. 6.4) and in the *Akten der Hamburger Staatsanwaltschaft*). Oral sources and autobiographical writings held at the latter archive will also be used.

The sources have already been used by other scholars, albeit for different purposes. No access problems are anticipated.

Sub-project 3 **War, Colonization and Rehabilitation in Italy and the Italian Colonies, 1861-1945**
Researcher [to be recruited]
Supervisor **Prof. Dr. Pieter Spierenburg**
Co-supervisor **Dr. Christian G. De Vito**
Length **3 years**

This project seeks to integrate the history of imprisonment and internment in the 19th and 20th centuries in the history of the emergence of labour camps, from the perspective of Italy and its colonies from 1861 to 1945, where “internal” and “external” colonization, war and the rise of a discourse of “otherness” were interrelated. These links enable us to study how these processes influenced and were in turn influenced by policies on internment and forced labour.

The process of Italian unification was carried out through a series of military annexations in the context of a highly fragmented national identity (Lupo 2011). In the South of Italy, resistance to this process manifested as banditry (*brigantaggio*). The newly established Italian state undertook military campaigns against the *briganti*, implementing repressive measures, imprisonment, internment and forced labour (Davis 1988, Molfese 1966). The emergence of a discourse of “otherness” with respect to the Southern populations both legitimized and was legitimized by these practices (Dickie 1999, Moe 1992, Schneider 1998). Moreover, such experiences were significant in the establishment of the Criminal Anthropology of Cesare Lombroso (Wetzell 2000; Gibson 2002; Becker and Wetzell 2006).

These processes occurred in conjunction with the first Italian colonial ventures. Italian colonialism in Eritrea (1890-1941), Somalia (1892-1941), Libya (1911-1943) and Ethiopia (1936-1941) led to new forms of segregation, internment and forced labour. The construction of an “imperial” space was broadly based: shaped by context-related factors, racist ideology and military events, it manifested on multiple fronts, from urban engineering to enlargement of detention facilities (Ben-Ghiat and Fuller 2005, Andall and Duncan 2010).

Thus far, scholars have addressed the implementation of internment and forced labour in Italy and in its colonies as two isolated issues. Scholarship has moreover focused on fascist concentration drives (Capogreco 2004, Di Sante 2001) and has understood colonial internment merely as repression of anti-colonial movements (Ahmida 1994, Del Boca 1982-1984, 1986-1988; Labanca 2002). The interaction between repressive practices, “other-ization” and broader socio-political contexts has received virtually no consideration (see Locatelli 2007).

With the typical circularity noted in the recent literature (Mühlhahn 2010), however, judicial practices and treatment of “rebels” and “criminals” in Eritrea were based on the previous repression of the *brigantaggio* (Labanca 1993). Punitive practices in Italy and in its colonies formed a “coercive network” (Shermann 2009): the shift towards internment and forced labour was not merely connected to “political” repression as such but also derived from the process of “other-ization” and criminalization of unemployed, “incorrigibles” and “idle people” and related to the creation of a “national” space and identity.

This sub-project seeks to produce an overall comparative analysis of the way Italy “created” and treated its “others” on both fronts. Moreover, it addresses the role of individual and collective agency in shaping and resisting the practices and ideologies of internment and forced labour.

The sub-project is articulated into three sections.

The first part investigates punishment, rehabilitative practices and forced labour in the nation-building process and examines how “other-ization” and criminalization influenced penal regulations in Italy. The “repression camps,” where the Italian authorities incarcerated the most

“incorrigible” *briganti*, are the case studies for this section: the prison of San Maurizio Canavese (Milan) and the fortress of Fenestrelle (Turin).

The second part focuses on the penal island of Nocera (Eritrea), where forced labour was implemented throughout the colonial occupation. This section seeks to investigate how that labour camp was related to the broader social and labour dynamics in the colonial setting. Moreover, this part analyses the social, political and economic background to the Italian authorities’ decision to implement forced labour in the colonies.

Finally, the third part focuses on Fascism and aims to address the influence of war in colonial settings and in Italy on the formation of new labour camps. The case studies for this section are the concentration camps in Cyrenaica and the agricultural labour colony of Pisticci (Matera).

Archival sources for this sub-project, held at the following institutions, are fully accessible, as contacts with experts in this field (Francesca Di Pasquale and Christian G. De Vito) have confirmed.

In Italy: Prefecture, Police Headquarter (*questure*) and Court archives held at State Archives in the provinces where the repression campaigns took place; Court Martial archives held at the State Central Archive, Rome; personal files of political detainees and General Directorate of the Public Security fond at the State Central Archive (Rome); Prefecture and Police Headquarter Archives at the State Archive of Matera; former Ministry of Italian Africa Archive held at the State Central Archive and Foreign Affairs Ministry Archive (Rome). Furthermore, diaries held at the “Archivio diaristico nazionale”, Pieve Santo Stefano (Arezzo).

In former Italian colonies: Colonial Courts Archives in Asmara (Eritrea); oral memories of the Libyan anti-colonial fighters held at the “Libyan Centre for Archives and Historical Studies” (Tripoli, Libya).

Sub-project 4 Tsarist *Katorga* and Soviet *Gulag* in Western Siberia. War, Colonization and the Making of the “Socialist Man”, 19th-20th Centuries.

Researcher [to be recruited]

Supervisor Prof. Dr. Marcel van der Linden

Co-Supervisor Dr. Nancy Adler

Length 4 years

This sub-project addresses long-term continuities in practices of internment and work between early modern and modern penal transportation and the 20th-century labour camps. The Russian Empire/Soviet Union from the 17th to the 20th century has been chosen as its setting, primarily because war, ethnicity and rehabilitation have clearly influenced discourses and actions conducive to simultaneous practices of internment and work within both Tsarist and Soviet contexts. Internal colonization and the related drive to populate and attract (free and unfree) labour to new territories also appears to have been central in the formation of labour camps.

Soviet *gulags* figure prominently in labour camp historiography. This makes tracing long-term continuities and discontinuities between them and earlier forms of labour camps highly significant. Our aim here is to deeply innovate the existing debate in this field.

Scholars have traditionally envisaged penal transportation and labour camps as two distinct phenomena. Although some studies addressing socialization in penal colonies also refer to internment practices, their focus has been on the process of deportation rather than on the destination points of convicts. The opposite perspective characterizes the literature on 20th-century labour and concentration camps. In such literature, scholars focus on the places of confinement, rather than on the deportation process (with the exception of Toth, 2006).

The same distinction has traditionally existed in the historiography of imperial and Soviet Russia. As a matter of fact, most scholars have either confined their research to specific periods or have stressed the absolute discontinuities allegedly instigated by the Russian Revolution or the rise of Stalinism. Especially in the past two decades, Gulag studies have expanded knowledge in this field, for example by showing the variety of camps, labour colonies and special settlements that made up the Gulag and by addressing changes in convict populations over time (Getty, Rittersporn and Zemkov 1993; Bacon 1994; Applebaum 2004; Viola 2007; Bell 2011; Barnes, 2011; Barenberg 2012). Scholars have embedded the experience of Gulag prisoners in the fabric of Soviet history in two ways: a) they have highlighted the centrality of resources and the need for colonies in the emergence and growth of the *gulag* (Ivanovna 2000; Pallot 2002; Gregory and Lazarev 2003; Sutherland 2004; Barenberg 2007); b) they have stressed the importance of both urban social policing and repression of the peasantry in the formation and growth of the *gulag* (Viola 2007; Shearer 2009; Hagenloh 2009). Both aspects have also been central in the new historiography on Tsarist exile and penal transportation (*katorga*), especially in the works of Andrew Gentes (2005, 2006, 2008, 2010).

The sub-project investigates, for the first time, Tsarist and Soviet labour camps together. It will specifically address the impact of war, rehabilitation and ethnicity on the formation of labour camps in Western Siberia from the mid-18th century to the 1960s.

Some fundamental questions emerge from this perspective. What were the consequences of the Seven Years' War, the Napoleonic invasion of Russia, World Wars I and II and of course the Russian Revolution? Who were the prisoners in the Western Siberian labour camps, and to what extent did war, rehabilitation and ethnicity influence the composition of this population? Has the tension – observed in the literature – between the goal of colonization and the goal of labour led to different geographies and different regimes of penal transportation? And in what measure

did the ideological emphasis by the Soviet regime on rehabilitation of offenders influence the geography of the labour camps in that region? On the latter aspect, comparative research will also address findings from studies on Chinese (Domenach 1992, Seymour and Anderson 1997, Dikötter 2002, 2003, Mühlhahn 2009, Deckwitz 2012, Stepanic 2012) and Romanian (Balan 2000, Petrescu 2009) labour camps.

Western Siberia has been selected for the case study, because penal transportation in this region occurred throughout both the Tsarist and the Soviet eras. This regional focus, on the one hand, enables investigation of the reasons for and interests in sending convicts to this specific territory (rather than, for example, the Baltic region or Eastern Siberia) during both the imperial and Soviet eras; on the other hand, this focus allows for more specific study of the geography of labour camps in this region under both regimes.

The main archival sources are held at: Russian Federation State Archive (GARF), Moscow: Fond 1183 (Tobol'sk Exile Office); Fond 123 (Prison Aid Society of the Ministry of Justice); R-1151, R-1152, R-9401, R-9414, R-9479 (*gulags*); Tomsk District State Archive (GATO); Novosibirsk District State Archive (GANO), esp. R-260 and R-20; Kemerovo District State Archive (GAKO).

Contacts with experts (Viola, Barenberg, Bell) have addressed the accessibility of provincial archives and GARF (the latter has become subject to restrictions since the late 1990s). The IISH regional desk in Moscow will help deal with administrative issues.

10. Summary in Key Words

Internment; Forced Labour; War; Rehabilitation; Ethnicity.

11. Work Programme

Researcher	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5
Main Applicant	x	x	x	x	x
PhD researcher	x	x	x	x	
Post-doc researcher no. 1	x	x	x	x	
Post-doc researcher no. 2	x	x	x		
Post-doc researcher no. 3	x	x	x		

Work Plan, Main Applicant

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5
Sept.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Selection of post-doc and PhD researchers completed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preliminary workshop Proposal: edited book (preliminary workshop proceedings) to publisher 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Elaboration didactical material from the sub-project (together with one external expert and with post-doc researcher no.1) 	
Oct.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff meeting 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Write monograph (final synthesis)
Nov.					
Dec.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff meeting 		
Jan.					
Feb.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organization preliminary workshop Staff meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mid-term workshop 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Workshops and presentations of the didactical material (together with post-doc researcher no.1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presentations to general public
Mar.			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Book proposal (final synthesis) to publisher 		
Apr.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Write synthesizing article 	
May					

Jun.	• Staff meeting	• Staff meeting	• Staff meeting		
Jul.		• Organization mid-term workshop			• Monograph (final synthesis) completed
Aug.	• Holidays	• Holidays	• Holidays	Holidays	• Holidays

Work Plan, Sub-project 1 (post-doc “Colonial Enlightenment and Punishment in the Netherlands Indies: From chain gang to Upper Digul 1750-1942”)

Sept.	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Oct.	• Read literature	• Participate in preliminary workshop	• Write article	
Nov.		• Archival research in Indonesia		
Dec.				• Complete monograph
Jan.				
Feb.			• Participate in mid-term workshop	• Elaborate didactical material from the sub-project (together with one external expert and the Main Applicant)
Mar.	• Archival research in the NL			
Apr.			• Write monograph	
May				Organize presentation of the findings in conjunction with a specialized cultural institution
Jun.				
Jul.		• Plan monograph		
Aug.	• Holidays	• Holidays	• Holidays	• Holidays

Work Plan, Sub-project 2 (post-doc “Internment, Work, Poverty and Crime in Hamburg, 1618-1969”)

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Sept.	• Read literature	• Participate in preliminary	

		workshop	
Oct.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Archival research in Hamburg (second period) 	
Nov.			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Write monograph
Dec.			
Jan.			
Feb.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bibliographical research in Hamburg 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participate in mid-term workshop
Mar.			
Apr.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Archival research in Hamburg (first period) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organize presentation of the findings in conjunction with a specialized cultural institution
May		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Write article 	
Jun.			
Jul.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plan monograph 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Complete monograph
Aug.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Holidays 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Holidays 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Holidays

Work Plan, Sub-project 3 (post-doc, “War, Colonization and Rehabilitation in Italy and the Italian Colonies, 1861-1945”)

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Sept.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Read literature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participate in preliminary workshop Bibliographic and archival research in Libya 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Write article
Oct.			
Nov.			
Dec.			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Write monograph
Jan.			
Feb.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Archival research in Italy 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participate in mid-term workshop
Mar.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bibliographic and archival research in Eritrea 	
Apr.			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organize presentation of the findings in conjunction with a

			specialized cultural institution
May			
Jun.			
Jul.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plan monograph 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complete monograph
Aug.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holidays 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holidays 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holidays

Work Plan, Sub-project 4 (PhD “Tsarist *Katorga* and Soviet *Gulag* in Western Siberia. War, Colonization and the Making of the “Socialist Man”, 19th-20th Centuries”)

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Sept.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read literature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in preliminary workshop 		
Oct.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bibliographic and archival research in Tomsk 		
Nov.				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plan monograph
Dec.				
Jan.				
Feb.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bibliographic and archival research in Moscow 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bibliographic and archival research in Novosibirsk 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in mid-term workshop 	
Mar.				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize presentation of the findings in conjunction with a specialized cultural institution
Apr.			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Write article 	
May				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Edit PhD thesis into monograph
Jun.			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Write PhD thesis 	
Jul.				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defend PhD thesis • Complete monograph
Aug.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holidays 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holidays 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holidays 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holidays

Note: The PhD research will be planned to allow time for taking courses and participating in conferences and symposiums.

12. Word Count

General description:	2,384 words	(max. 2,500)
Sub-project 1:	799 words	(max. 800)
Sub-project 2:	799 words	(max. 800)
Sub-project 3:	792 words	(max. 800)
Sub-project 4:	786 words	(max. 800)

13. Planned Deliverables

Dissemination will take place in various forms, starting with the final phase of the project:

- Preliminary workshop, to be held at the end of the first year of the project and of which the proceedings will be published in an edited volume in English. Members of the Advisory Board of the will take part in the workshop.
The volume is likely to be published in one of the following series (of which the editor is Marcel van der Linden, research director at the IISH): *Studies in Global Social History*, Brill; *International Studies in Social History*, Berghahn; *International and Comparative Social History*, Peter Lang.
- A synthesizing monograph in English will be written by the coordinator.
The monograph is likely to be published in one of the following series (of which the editor is Marcel van der Linden, research director at the IISH): *Studies in Global Social History*, Brill; *International Studies in Social History*, Berghahn; *International and Comparative Social History*, Peter Lang.
- 1 PhD thesis.
- 4 monographs, one for each sub-project, will be written by the researchers concerned.
Proposals will be made for publication in the following series: *Studies in Labour History*, Ashgate; *Modern Economic and Social History*, Ashgate; *Storia e società*, Editori Laterza; *Studies in Modern European History*, Peter Lang; *New Studies in European History*, Cambridge University Press – *Routledge Studies in Modern History*, Routledge.
- 5 articles, one for each sub-project and one presenting a synthesis of the entire research project, will be written by the researchers concerned.
Proposals will be made for publication in the following high-impact peer-reviewed journals: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*; *Crime, Histoire, Sociétés/Crime*, *History and Societies*; *International Review of Social History*; *Journal of Social History*; *Passato e Presente*; *The Journal of African History*; *Slavic Review*; *Russian History*; *The Russian Review*.
- A website for educational purpose, where didactical material in English and Dutch will be published at the end of the project. In particular, didactical modules will be elaborated from the outcomes of the sub-project 1 (“Colonial Enlightenment and Punishment in the Netherlands Indies: From chain gang to Upper Digul 1750-1942”), to be used in schools,

cultural and research institutions in the Netherlands. Various formats will be elaborated to address the needs of different students and public.

Planned deliverables per sub-project can therefore be summarized as follows:

Title of the sub-project	Deliverables	Potential publishers and journals for publications
Colonial Enlightenment and Punishment in the Netherlands Indies: From chain gang to Upper Digul 1750-1942	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monograph • Article • Instructional modules on an educational website 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Critical Perspectives on Empire</i>, Cambridge University Press • International Review of Social History
Internment, Work, Poverty and Crime in Hamburg (1618-1969)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monograph • Article 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Studies in Modern European History</i>, Peter Lang – <i>Studies in Labour History</i>, Ashgate • Comparative Studies in Society and History – Crime, Histoire, Sociétés/Crime, History and Societies
Rehabilitation, War and Colonization in Italy and Its Colonies, 1861-1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monograph • Article 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Modern Economic and Social History</i>, Ashgate – <i>Storia e società</i>, Editori Laterza • International Review of Social History – The Journal of African History – Passato e Presente
Tsarist <i>Katorga</i> and Soviet <i>Gulag</i> in Western Siberia. War, Colonization and the Making of the “Socialist Man”, 19th-20th Centuries.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PhD thesis and related monograph • Article 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>New Studies in European History</i>, Cambridge University Press – <i>Routledge Studies in Modern History</i>, Routledge • Slavic Review – Russian History – The Russian Review

14. Short Curriculum Vitae

Prof. Dr. Pieter Spierenburg (Main Applicant)

Professor of Historical Criminology, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, the Netherlands

Selected Publications

- *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression: From a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience*, Cambridge (Cambridge UP) 1984 (reprinted as paperback 2008).
- *The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and their Inmates in Early Modern Europe*, New Brunswick, London (Rutgers UP) 1991 (reprinted by Amsterdam University Press 2007).
- (with Eric A. Johnson and Ricardo D. Salvatore) "Murder and Mass Murder in Pre-Modern Latin America: From Pre-Colonial Aztec Sacrifices to the End of Colonial Rule, an Introductory Comparison with European Societies" in: *Historical Social Research/ Historische Sozialforschung* 37, 3 (2012): 233-53.

For further information, please see the personal homepage:<http://www.eshcc.eur.nl/spierenburg/>

Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Marcel van der Linden (Co-applicant)

Research Director, International Institute of Social History (IISH-KNAW)

Professor of Social Movement History, University of Amsterdam

Selected Publications

- *Workers of the World. Essays toward a Global Labor History*, Brill, (Leiden and Boston), 2008; Paperback edition Haymarket (Chicago), 2010.
- *Transnational Labour History: Explorations*, Ashgate (Aldershot [etc.]), 2003).
- *Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations. The Long-term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*. Edited volume (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
- *Coolies, Capital and Colonialism: Studies in Indian Labour History*. Edited with Rana P. Behal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- *Free and Unfree Labour: The Debate Continues*. Edited with Tom Brass (Bern: Peter Lang Academic Publishers, 1997).

For further information, please see the personal homepage:

<http://socialhistory.org/en/staff/marcel-van-der-linden>

Prof. Dr. Peter Romijn (Co-applicant)

Research Director and Deputy Director, Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (NIOD), Amsterdam

Professor of 20th-Century History, University of Amsterdam

Selected Publications

- *Snel, streng en rechtvaardig. De afrekening met de 'foute' Nederlanders* (Houten 1989).
- *Burgemeesters in oorlogstijd. Besturen tijdens de Duitse bezetting* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2006).
- Remco Raben and Peter Romijn 'States of Transition: Modernisation, Performance, and Meaning of State and Authority in the Era of Decolonization' in: *Itinerario. International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction* Vol. XXXIII (2009) 2, pp. 83-92.

For further information, please see the personal homepage:

http://www.niod.nl/medewerkers/medewerker_detail.asp?MDW_ID=5