

'Energy, good intentions and enthusiasm are sinking away in the quicksand of exile'

The German-speaking émigrés papers in ARAB's stores

The politics of persecution and the Holocaust the National Socialists launched against Jews, social democrats, communists and other groups in Germany from 1933-1945 led to extensive emigration. Sweden was amongst the countries to receive these political refugees.¹ The archives of German-speaking exiles over this period make up the predominant element in the foreign holdings of the Labour Movement Archives and Library (ARAB) and form an important and clearly defined section of the Archives.² They are also internationally recognised and are sought after by foreign researchers. They consist principally of personal archives of various sizes ranging from fragments in a document wallet to archives of as many as 60-odd volumes. Ten personal archives can be considered to belong to these large archives. The few organisations' archives are very small with one exception – that of the Treuegemeinschaft sudetendeutscher Sozialdemokraten [Sudeten German Social Democratic Trust Association], handed over in 1996. The status of the archives varies – the majority has been described, but some only as inventories.

The history of the German-speaking emigrants in Sweden has been examined in various studies from Helmut Müssener's *Exil in Schweden. Politische und kulturelle Emigration nach 1933* (Munich 1974) to the result of a project initiated by the Labour Movement Archives in Copenhagen, Oslo and Stockholm: the anthology *Ein sehr trübes Kapitel? Hitlerflüchtlinge im nordeuropäischen Exil 1933 bis 1950*, edited by Einhart Lorenz, Klaus Misgeld, Helmut Müssener, Hans Uwe Petersen (Hamburg 1998).³ Naturally ARAB's exile archives and material relating to the emigrants in its other archives were used for these studies. Nevertheless the Archives still contains a great deal of unused information. This also applies to the public archives – for instance, those of the Statens utlänningskommission [National Aliens Commission] and the Statens invandrarverk [Swedish Immigration Board] (in The National Archives), and of the security police and the regional and local police forces.⁴

Valuable sources for European history

After the Nazis seized power in Germany in 1933, and subsequently to an even greater extent after the outbreak of

war, the international collecting effort, which had been the hallmark of ARAB right from the start and had mainly been aimed at the German-speaking areas, became difficult if not impossible. Instead, from 1939, the material from political and union exile organisations in Sweden and other countries and from refugees resident in Sweden was systematically collected. There was a great awareness of its value as a source 'for the European history of our time and not least for that of the Labour Movement's history' (circular of September 1939). Interest was principally in newspapers and periodicals, books and pamphlets, leaflets and illegal propaganda, circulars and other unprinted documents. All contributors received an assurance that internal material would not be readily available to the general public and, moreover, would be subject to permission. This was a vital confidence-building measure considering the refugees' exposed situation and their understandable suspicions. Even in the 1960s and 70s when the risk had ceased, the exile archives were still surrounded by a host of 'conspiratorial' restrictions.

In a reply to the circular of autumn 1939 the Austrian Josef Pleyl stated that he owned 'probably' the most comprehensive collection of illegal Austrian labour movement writings. Furthermore, there were about 3,000 books that he had 'lugged around' during his six years in exile lying, he said, 'unused in my attic'. He was ready to make all available, one part as a loan, a second consisting of duplicates as a gift. Sadly it is impossible to trace what, if anything, was transferred to ARAB because of the accession and cataloguing systems of that time. However, the emigrant Kurt Stern, employed at ARAB, mentions in his golden jubilee contribution in *Hävd och handling* [Tradition and Documents], of 1952, 'an absolutely comprehensive collection of secret publications disseminated by the Austrian social democrats during the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg period'.

According to the annual reports, the first 'true' fonds (parts of fonds) were lodged at the end of the 1950s and the start of the 60s (Kurt Heinig 1957 and 1961-1964, Paul Olberg 1958-1961, Friedrich Rück and Henry Dittmer 1961). Indeed, the refugees who worked as archives workers at ARAB certainly played a part in this. Besides, ARAB acted as a refuge for the emigrants where they could make contacts, debate and study. According to the *Afton-Tidningen* of 28 July 1952:

The somewhat deathly, venerable atmosphere never ever shrouds this emphatically friendly and intimate institution. However, when Stechert, Neumann, Rück, Friedlaender, Szende or others started a heated and noisy debate, it didn't just break the silence, it shook the glass showcases in the corridor, so that Master Palm's spectacles danced with the excitement of the subtlety of the argument.

Then deliveries followed from the mid-1960s up to the start of the 70s; these must certainly have been connected to the emigrants who were working in the Archives, but were principally a result of the attention the emigrants received owing to Helmut Müssener's work on his dissertation. One section of the emigrant papers and the exile material that Müssener traced was, however, deposited not at ARAB but at the Diocesan and Provincial Library in Västerås where there were plans to set up a section of immigrant archives. Because this idea could not be realised, all the material was transferred to ARAB in 1993. The documentation of Müssener's dissertation was also included, principally his questionnaires to former refugees. This material was added to the collection on the exiles

from 1933-1945 already at ARAB. Supplementary material has also been lodged in subsequent years, for instance, to Kurt Heinig's papers in 1986 and 1987, and in 1979 and 1991 to the doctor and sexual researcher Max Hodann's papers, which were delivered in 1970.⁵

An unexpected extra contribution arrived in 1996: the oldest part of the Treuegemeinschaft sudetendeutscher Sozialdemokraten archive (Sudeten Germans = German-speaking people in Czechoslovakia who live mainly in the Sudeten area). Previously ARAB had only received periodicals and isolated documents from this organisation. Two sugar-chests full of material from 1939-1940 had been found while clearing an attic at the SSU's union school in Bommersvik. The party secretary Siegfried Taub had left behind the records when he moved again – from Sweden, his first refuge, to the USA in 1941.⁶ The Treuegemeinschaft archives and the Sudeten German exiles in Sweden – a specific, homogenous refugee group that grew after the war partly because of an enforced exile from Czechoslovakia and partly because of the recruitment of manpower (immigrant workers) – need no further intro-

One of the two sugar-chests full of material of the Sudet German Social Democrats in exile, found 1996 at the SSU's school in Bommersvik. Photo: Bo Elfving/A-bild

duction as they have been studied in many works by Rudolf Tempsch. Incidentally, the Treuegemeinschaft still exists but now as a sort of non-party organisation for customs and traditions ('Volkstumsorganisation', Tempsch) and it still publishes the periodical *Blätter der sudetendeutschen Sozialdemokraten* [Sudeten German Social Democrat News].⁷



Towards the end of the war a lively cultural activity developed among the German émigrés. One example is the founding of Freie Bühne [Free Stage] in Stockholm. In September 1945 parts of the troupe performed an anti-fascist cultural programme before German military refugees detained in Linghed, Dalecarlia. Top row, left: the theatres director Curt Trepte. The young former soldiers surrounding the actors were shortly thereafter sent back to Germany. Photo from Treptes archives.

Manuscripts are predominant

It is a pervasive feature of the personal archives that they do not contain particularly many personal documents but given the situation of flight and exile, this is perhaps not astonishing. They consist predominantly of manuscripts (including notes) and the compiler's own printed works, which is not surprising as the preserved papers originate mainly from people involved in various forms of

journalism. Next, of course, correspondence makes up a significant element. One example are the papers of the German syndicalist, Helmut Rüdigers⁸ in 20 volumes, two thirds of which are correspondence, Kurt Heinig's papers in 58 volumes of which 23 volumes are correspondence and Paul Olberg's papers in 38 volumes with 13 volumes of correspondence besides 18 volumes of manuscripts. Journalism

was usually linked to political activities or was itself one when direct political involvement was not allowed. The personal archives convey important information about political work in exile and supplement the exile organisations' archives: indeed, more than that, they in general offer a much greater scope and depth of information.

All in all, there is not particularly much material about the activities of the people represented in their own countries before 1933 - which is to be expected bearing in mind that their flight to Sweden very often involved two stages (via Czechoslovakia and Denmark or Norway). Walter Pöppel's memoirs, for instance, contain descriptions of the frantic burning of

compromising material.⁹ Kurt Heinig's papers has most to offer. Heinig was a member of the German parliament from 1927-1933 and one of the leading social democrats even when in exile in Sweden. From 1943 he was the German Social Democratic Exile Committee's representative in Sweden. There is material from 1919-1924 in connection with Heinig's work at the Prussian Finance Department including an extensive correspondence (about 350 letters) relating mainly to the Fürstenteignung, the abolition of aristocratic privileges in property law. Heinig's politico-journalistic activity appears from three volumes that consist partly of manuscripts of speeches and essays. The subjects include workers' education, the health and safety at work question, agrarian reform, Marx's theory of value, Nietzsche's philosophy, Prussia and capitalism in the USA from 1905 to 1911 along with about 200 articles by Heinig published in the German press from 1906 to 1927. In addition there are three diaries from the periods 1924-1931, 1943-1945 and

1947-1949. Of particular interest is a wide and extensive collection of leaflets from the labour movement between 1905-1933, but also from bourgeois (including Nazi) parties and organisations. A separate collection of leaflets and proclamations from the First World War together with a collection of about 300 political postcards from the same period are equally interesting. Heinig's collection of, among other things, proclamations by the military council in Brussels in 1918, German election posters in 1919, 1928, 1930 and 1932 and Nazi posters has sadly not been kept together but incorporated into ARAB's poster collection. The archives also includes pamphlets, periodicals and information sheets such as *Gewerkschaftliche Mitteilungen an die Arbeiterpresse* [Union Notes to the Workers' Press] (1908-1915, roneoed), published by Heinig, and some issues of the *Wirtschaftliche Korrespondenz* [Economic Correspondence] or the *Wirtschafts-Informationsdienst* [Economic Information Service] (1926, 1929, 1930, roneoed and printed).

Paul Olberg's papers contain information of a completely different nature only partly related to Germany. Olberg came originally from Latvia but from the 1920s he lived in Berlin where he was active in German social democracy, principally as a journalist. He was for instance one of the Swedish *Social-Demokraten's* correspondents. Manuscripts from the 1920s onwards are preserved in the archives. They are chiefly about Olberg's specialist subjects – the Soviet Union and Bolshevism, the Baltic States, Poland and Palestine (later Israel). Amongst these manuscripts there is furthermore a short article on Hjalmar Branting and Eduard Bernstein. As early as 1917, Paul Olberg was – as representative and correspondent for the Mensheviks and the Jewish labour organisation Bund – in Stockholm where he was in close contact with the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee which was trying to organise the Stockholm Conference of 1917. Olberg was chosen as a member of the organising committee's press committee. Three letters from Hermann Müller (the German Social Democratic Party, the SPD) in Olberg's correspondence relate to this conference.¹⁰ In the correspondence there are again a number of letters from the pre-1933 period, including an undated letter addressed to Bund from the French socialist leader Jean Jaurès. Jaurès emphasises 'la plus vivre sympathie [deepest sympathy]' with Bund's organisational and educational work in Poland, in the spirit of socialism and liberty without militant nationalism. The correspondence also contains letters from German party comrades, amongst them the well-known theoreticians Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky, along with other Germans such as the pacifists Hellmuth von Gerlach and Helene Stöcker. There is also Kautsky's greeting to the Georgian Labour Movement from an international socialist delegation's visit to Georgia in 1920 of which Olberg was a member. The most interesting letters were exchanged with the Kautsky family, Karl and par-

ticularly Luise, Benedikt, Felix and Karl jr., between 1919 and 1960, and with the Russian Menshevik and leader of Bund, Rafael Abramovich¹¹ from 1942 to 1961.

Another interesting exchange of letters is also worth mentioning – that from 1951–1961 with a Russian emigrant, Angelika Balabanova. She had also been active in Stockholm as early as in 1917, in connection with the Stockholm conference of the left wing opposition, the Zimmerwald movement.¹² This correspondence in Russian presumably reflects an exile different to that of the 'German-speaking' one, and comments on a homeland other than Germany, Austria or the Sudetenland, namely the communist Soviet Union.

Everyday problems, political and cultural activities

The exile period, 1933-1945, is, of course, predominant. Insights into the exile's everyday problems (flight, entry and exit, residence permits, work permits and work, strained financial circumstances and the need of support and other problems) are chiefly apparent from the correspondence but also through journals and memoirs. In Kurt Heinig's autobiographical novel *Die Schale* [*The Shell*] there is, for example, a description of dilapidated housing in Stockholm in the winter of 1940, in a room where 'the loneliness is malign'. There is more wide-ranging information on the exiles' predicament and their need for various forms of support in Arbetarrörelsens flyktinghjälps arkiv [Labour Movement Refugee Relief Archives]. To a lesser extent it can also be found in the Swedish section of the International Red Cross archives, and in the archives of the organisations and individuals the emigrants resorted to, such as Sveriges arbetares centralorganisation [Swedish Workers Central Organisation] (SAC), the unions and the lawyer Georg Branting.

Political activity within and between exile organisations and between the various groupings and individuals as well as with party leaderships in exile and exile organisations in other countries are documented in detail in both personal and organisational archives. From these on the one hand, the intensive activity in and through the organisations is apparent, such as wide-ranging journalistic work and a fervent involvement in the struggle against fascism and for a future 'new' and 'better' Germany. German emigrants in Sweden also took part in the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939 on the republican side. There is material on this in the Max Hodann and Helmut Rüdiger papers. The Germans feature in this context in the archives of Svenska hjälpkommittén för Spanien [Swedish Relief Committee for Spain], Frontkämparnas stödfond [Frontline Fighters Support Fund], Svenska Spanienfrivilligas kamratförening [Swedish Volunteers for Spain

League of Comrades] and the SAC.¹³ On the other hand, another typical exile phenomenon is apparent – possibly also characteristic of the political labour movement: inflexibility, ideological antagonism and conflicts with ensuing organisational fragmentation, and all this in a relatively small – and powerless – group of emigrants. This has been described in novel form in the Swedish emigrant Peter Weiss' *Motståndets estetik* [The Aesthetics of Resistance] (in 3 parts, in Swedish 1976-1981).

Remarkably many periodicals and information sheets were published, both printed and roneoed or typewritten, with some also appearing after 1945. They are to be found as isolated numbers more or less complete, dispersed through a number of exile archives; some are also in ARAB's library.

Some examples: *Zur Information* [For Information] or *Information und Informations-Notizen* [Information and Informative Notes], published by the SPD's representative in Sweden, Kurt Heinig (also in Swedish); *Mitteilungen der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (SPD) in Schweden* [Communications of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) in Sweden]; *Sozialistische Tribüne* [Socialist Tribune]; *Mitteilungsblatt des Landesvorstands der Vereinigung deutscher Sozialdemokraten in Schweden* [Newssheet of the National Committee of the Association of German Social Democrats in Sweden]; *Rundbrief* [Round Robin] later *Mitteilungsblatt* [Newssheet], *Landesgruppe deutscher Gewerkschafter in Schweden* [German Trade Unionists National Group in Sweden]; *Gewerkschaftsbrief* [Union Letter] published by Gewerkschaftsvereinigung der in Schweden lebenden Mitglieder des ehemaligen deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes in der Tschechoslowakischen Republik [Trades Union Congress of Members of the Former German Trade Union Federation of the Czechoslovakian Republic Resident in Sweden]; *Blätter für sudetendeutsche Sozialdemokraten* [Newssheet for Sudeten German Social Democrats]; *Weg und Ziel* [Ends and Means], published by Arbeitsgemeinschaft tschechoslowakischer Sozialisten [the Czech Socialist Workers Association], the opposition within the Sudeten German Social Democrats; *Österreichische Information* [Austrian Information] (also in Swedish), published by the Austrian socialists in Sweden; *Mitteilungsblatt der österreichischen Vereinigung in Schweden* [Newssheet of the Austrian Association in Sweden]; *Informationsbrief* [Newsletter], published by Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher, österreichischer und tschechoslowakischer Sozialisten [the Workers Association of German, Austrian and Czech Socialists]; *Rapporter från Tyskland* [Reports from Germany] and *Brev från Tyskland* [Letters from Germany], published by the Swedish group of the Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschland [the German Socialist Workers Party]; *Politische Information* [Political Information]. *Zeitschrift der deutschen Antifaschisten in Schweden* [Journal of the German

Anti-Fascists in Sweden], published by the communist-leaning Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland in Schweden [Free Germany National Committee in Sweden]; *KPO-Brief* [Communist Opposition Letter] or *Revolutionäre Briefe* [Revolutionary Letters], published by the Communist opposition group; *Das graue Korps* [The Grey Corps], published by Fritz Ecker, Kameradschaftsvereinigung ehemaliger politischer Gefangener [Comradeship Association of Former Political Prisoners]; *Der Weg ins Leben* [The Road to Life], published by Kameradschaft deutscher Militärflüchtlinge und Seeleute in Schweden [Brotherhood of German Military Refugees and Seamen in Sweden]; *Mitteilungsblatt der Orientierungsgruppe junger Deutscher in Schweden* [Newssheet of the Orientation Group for Young Germans in Sweden]. In addition, the archives contain information sheets published by the exile organisations in other countries.

Beside information from, and about, Nazi Germany, the central theme of political activity was the future rebuilding of Germany, *Tyskland efter Hitler* [Germany after Hitler] was the title of a book by Otto Friedländer (1944). 'Re-democratisation' and democratisation of all sections of society, fundamental reform of the economic, social and political system, the education system, reorganisation of the socialist parties and union organisations were all topics for intense discussions. There were debates at meetings and in various groups, study circles prepared themselves, articles and books were published, lectures given, principles and memos written. Some titles: 'Richtlinien für die deutschen Nachkriegsaufgaben [Principles for Germany's mission after the war]', 'Was ist Demokratie? [What is Democracy?]', 'Richtlinien für den deutschen Wiederaufbau in demokratischem, republikanischem, föderalistischem und genossenschaftlichen Sinne [Principles for the rebuilding of Germany along democratic, republican, federal and cooperative lines]', 'Ein deutsches Umerziehungsprogramm [A German programme of re-education]', 'Die Demokratisierung des deutschen Erziehungswesens [The democratisation of the German education system]', 'Vorbereitung einer demokratischen Buchproduktion [Preparation for democratic publishing]', 'Der Wiederaufbau der deutschen Gewerkschaften [Rebuilding the German trade unions]', 'Möglichkeiten und Aufgaben einer geeinten sozialistischen Partei in Deutschland [Opportunities and tasks for a united socialist party in Germany]'. This last, plans for a socialist 'unity party' or co-operation between the social democrats and communists, was an issue fraught with conflict and the object of fierce struggle. This was also one reason for the disintegration of the social democratic party group in Stockholm, the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands in Schweden, Ortsgruppe Stockholm [German Social Democratic Party in Sweden, Stockholm Branch], as a result of the foundation of a sub-

urban group (Ortsgruppe Stockholmer Vororte [Stockholm Suburbs Branch]). It also had repercussions after the exile, in a negative sense for the social democrats in West Germany because of their co-operation with communists, and those re-emigrating to East Germany were equally suspect, having co-operated with social democrats.¹⁴

Another contentious issue dominated the Austrian exiles: whether Austria should regain its independence after

the war. This material has been preserved only fragmentarily in ARAB's exile archives, chiefly in the personal archives – principally those of Max Hodann, Otto Friedländer, Kurt Heinig and Curt Treppe – together with fragments in the Exile 1933-1945 collection. In Treppe's papers there are also 60-odd photographs from various theatre productions.

There are cultural articles and manuscripts from their own literary activities in a number of personal archives, principally those of Fritz Rück, Hermann Greid, Ernst Harthern and Otto Friedländer. In this case, the papers from an interesting German-Scandinavian cultural intermediary Ernst Harthern are a little unusual and have scarcely been used up to now. Harthern had lived in Copenhagen from 1924 where he was active as a journalist and translator. He had to flee to Sweden in 1943. Manuscripts and articles, correspondence with well known authors such as Lion Feuchtwanger, Stefan Zweig, Carl Zuckmayer and Halldór Laxness – Harthern translated the last into German – and detailed publishing correspondence from 1920s to the 1960s are included in the archives.¹⁶

Awaiting a new era

All post-war planning hinged on the issue of returning to Germany after the war and the opportunity for the emigrants to influence the situation.¹⁷ Among Kurt Heinig's papers there is a manuscript from July 1944 entitled 'Illusionen der Emigranten [The Emigrants' Illusions]'. It predicted that many emigrants, chiefly the younger ones, would not want to return, they had become rooted in their host country, Sweden, and would not want to up sticks once again in favour of an uncertain future, not to mention substantial obstacles (entry permits, travel expenses and the like). 'The future in Germany will not be rosy', Germany would not become 'a democratic paradise right away'; 'seven lean years of prosaic facts' are now approaching, predicted Heinig. In contrast to his sentiment that 'a great deal of energy, good intentions and enthusiasm are sinking away in the quicksand of exile' there is his optimistic hope that emigrant experts with experience of life are needed in Germany and would be appreciated during the severe post-war years. Just over 25 percent of the German-speaking political refugees returned. In the exiles' archives, chiefly in the correspondence, there is much information about the problems of returning, and the frustration of not being able to return or even not being needed.

Moreover, they reflect intensive contacts with and observant interest in the 'new' Germany after the war ended in 1945. A few examples: the reports of visits to Germany during the first post-war year by Kurt Stechert,

Home-made news pamphlet for German youths who, after the war, lived at Nissafors extension college.

the war or be united with Germany. The Austrians in Sweden with Bruno Kreisky at their head were unequivocally committed to the former solution – in contrast to the Austrian socialists in London – as is apparent from their information sheets.

Cultural activity was also an important part of the German-speaking exiles' life.¹⁵ This too was basically political with its 'importance in cementing a sense of community' (Müssener). The organisations such as Freier deutscher Kulturbund [Free German Cultural Federation] (FDKB) and Freie Bühne [Free Stage] demonstrated against national socialist German 'culture' by their programmes, speaking and acting for the 'other and better Germany that is condemned to silence in our homeland' (FDKB proclamation 1943/44). This public cultural work only became possible in the final phase of

Franz Mockrauer and Arno Behrisch are interesting. Kurt Heinig's papers contain material from the SPD – some about East Germany, and correspondence with the SPD, the latter chiefly via the one-time emigrants in Sweden and England, Erich Cichoki and Fritz Heine – giving details of his contacts with the revived social democracy movement. Articles on and by Willy Brandt show interest in the political career of a Swedish emigrant in post-war West Germany. At the same time Heinig examined and produced a critical report on the situation in East Germany. Walter Pöppel collected material from West Germany and lodged it at ARAB on various occasions up to 1988. Some were on negative tendencies (rearmament, discussions about Nazism, neo-nazism, exclusion of left wing workers) and on the Deutsche Friedens-Union [German Peace Union], a party in which the former Swedish emigrant, Arno Behrisch, played a leading part. In Helmut Rüdiger's papers there is material from the second half of 1945 concerning Schleswig-Holstein and South Jutland. The emigrants active in journalism presented information on Germany in various articles, for example on the important first election of the Federal Parliament in 1949, on the re-establishment of national defence and on neo-nazi movements in West Germany. Manuscripts and clippings are to be found in the personal archives.

The experiences of the exile in Sweden are reproduced in articles on Swedish social democracy or with titles such as 'Einführung in die schwedische Demokratie [An introduction to Swedish democracy]', 'Die schwedische Volkshochschule [The Swedish Continuation College]', 'Nach dem Wohlfahrtsstaat [After the welfare state]', 'Sweden's middle way continues'. In Heinig's papers there are German translations of Folkets husföreningarnas centralorganisation's [The People's Houses Associations Central Organisation] report for 1945 (translated in September 1946) and of Ernst Wigfors' speech on the economic position at the SAP congress in 1948. In particular, Kurt Stechert wrote many articles on the re-establishment of democracy. He was also involved in and directed a practical project at the extension college in Nissafors in 1949 in which young Germans were able to learn about democratic relationships sandwiching work at the Gislaved rubber factory with classes in modern history and social studies. They were also to cope with living in a self-governing collective – something that did not happen without conflicts. Other emigrants participated as lecturers, for example Kurt Heinig and the Hungarian Stefan Szende who lived and worked in Austria and Germany in the 1920s and 30s. In an article of March 1950 Kurt Stechert designated Nissafors as 'the most original Extension College – a successful experiment'. The Nissafors material in Stechert's private papers, which are still only partly organised, includes minutes, educational material, lists of participants, applications with curricula vitae, letters, rules, the pupil newspaper *Nissafors Kurier*, the payroll from the rubber factory, articles on the project, clippings, accounts and some photographs.

Another type of experience and earlier adventure of the exiles is dealt with and described in the memoirs and autobiographical works of which the Archives have unpublished manuscripts. Some of these are Kurt Heinig's *Die Schale*, which has already been mentioned and the manuscript of the article 'Wie ich mich sehe [How I see myself]' from 1946, Otto Friedländer's memoirs in various versions '*Zwischen zwei Zeiten* [Between two eras]' and his 'novel of life' *Hans Erlenbach*. Anna Zammert's autobiography, Hermann Greid's novel *Der neue Mensch* [The new Man] and other autobiographical material, is here, as well as part of an autobiographical novel by Fritz Rück. The Hungarian Stefan Szende's notes for, manuscript of and correspondence about the memoirs *Mellan våld and tolerans* [Between violence and tolerance] which appeared in 1975 in both German and Swedish¹⁸ are to be found here, together with autobiographical articles by Max Hodann and Kurt Stechert. Walter Pöppel's replies to a researcher's enquiries on the socialist parties' illegal work in Dresden in 1933 and on the young socialists in Dresden from 1927-1930 must also be mentioned in this context.

After 1945

There is another type of documentation about the emigrants, that is to say the reason for it, in the documents in Ernst Pflöging's and Otto Seifert's personal archives, which deal with Wiedergutmachung [Reparation], damages for the persecution under the Third Reich. There is also interesting information in the on-going correspondence with emigrants in other countries and Swedish emigrants who had returned to Germany and Austria. The correspondence, of course, has much to say about other areas of interest too. There is a parallel here with Paul Olberg's long-running correspondence with Rafael Abramovich mentioned previously. Kurt Heinig corresponded with Erich Cichoki and with Hans Reinowski, the editor-in-chief in Darmstadt from 1947; Stefan Szende with Willy Brandt and Irmgard Enderle in West Germany from the 1960s and 70s on and Hermann Greid with Curt Trepte in the DDR during the 1960s and 70s. In the case of Helmut Rüdiger this post-war correspondence up to 1966 comprises about half the archives. Of most interest is the voluminous exchange of letters with the grand old man of anarcho-syndicalism Rudolf Rocker (1873-1958) who had been in exile in New York since 1933. This is political correspondence even when they are discussing journalistic work and publications of various types, the syndicalist movement and brotherhood in various countries, historical development or the political situation (inter alia in West and East Germany or 'the bankruptcy of Russian state capitalism'). 'Above all', writes Rocker in a letter of 28 January 1957, 'it is about promoting certain lines of thought about syndicalism in other situations. In the mass protests that arise in the course of time, barricades

are really no longer a way to protect our rights; that is done by a general strike and then it is immaterial which organisation it originates from.' Furthermore, letters from Rudolf Rocker are also included in Walter Hanke's fragmentary personal papers.

The personal archives also contain documentation of post-1945 activities in Sweden, the exile country. They are not to do with the exile period, or at least not directly. This is most obvious in Hermann Greid's papers of which the exile material is the smallest element. The predominant part is religious or religio-philosophical discourses and religious plays, 'dramatised sermons'. Greid under-

went a religious crisis around 1940. He discovered 'that the Marxist route did not lead to the correct solution of the problem' in contrast to that of the true faith. To broadcast and 'put across our Christian belief', as Greid's described his contribution, he began to revive the mediæval religious play – the first was performed in 1944 – and became the 'father of the church play' in Sweden.¹⁹ In Stefan Szende's personal papers roughly one third of the 63 volumes contain documents from after 1945 right up to 1985 (no other archives of a German-speaking exile carries on for so long). The most extensive material is from the independent news agency Agence Européenne

NOTES

1. In the following text the improper designation emigrant is sometimes used instead of political refugee.
2. See the attached compilation.
3. See also *Hitlerflüchtlinge im Norden. Asyl und politisches Exil 1933-1945* [Refugees from Hitler in Scandinavia. Asylum and Political Exile 1933-1945]. Ed: Hans Uwe Petersen. Kiel 1991. The book documents a conference organised by the Scandinavian labour movement archives; Jan Peters: *Exilland Schweden. Deutsche und schwedische Antifaschisten 1933-1945* [Country of Exile Sweden. German and Swedish Anti-fascists 1933-1945]. Berlin 1984; Dieter Günther: *Gewerkschafter im Exil. Die Landesgruppe deutscher Gewerkschafter in Schweden von 1938-1945* [Trade Unionists in Exile. The National Group of German Trade Unionists in Sweden from 1938-1945]. Marburg 1982; Klaus Misgeld: *Die 'Internationale Gruppe demokratischer Sozialisten' in Stockholm 1942-1945. Zur sozialistischen Friedensdiskussion während des Zweiten Weltkrieges* [The International Group of Democratic Socialists in Stockholm 1942-1945. On Socialist Peace Discussions During the Second World War]. Uppsala/Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1976.
4. On the source position, see Martin Grass' contribution in *Hitlerflüchtlinge* (note 2), pp. 297-311; Lars Hallberg: *Källor till invandringens historia i statliga myndigheters arkiv 1840-1990* [Sources on the History of Immigration in the Archives of Government Bodies 1840-1990]. Borås 2001.
5. From Max Hodann there is also material in Riksförbundet för sexuell upplysning RFSU [National Federation for Sex Education] records. Hodann was active in the RFSU and set up a systematised information archive, called the Havelock Ellis-Archive, in which he amongst other things placed his own interesting correspondence with sexual researchers in various countries.
6. The remainder of the Treuegemeinschaft's archives are in the Archiv der sozialen Demokratie [Social Democracy Archive], Bonn-Bad Godesberg (Seliger-Archiv).
7. Rudolf Tempsch: *Från Centraleuropa till folkhemmet. Den sudet-*

- tyska invandringen till Sverige 1938-1955* [From Central Europe to the Swedish Welfare State. The Sudeten German Immigration to Sweden 1938-1955]. Göteborg 1997; contribution by Tempsch in *Ein sehr trübes Kapitel* [A Very Melancholy Chapter], pp. 283-316; Tempsch: *Invandrare i folkhemmet. Sudettyskarna i Eskilstuna 1938-1988* [Immigrants to the Swedish Welfare State. Sudeten Germans in Eskilstuna 1938-1988]. Eskilstuna 1995.
8. One part of Helmut Rüdiger's papers is also in the Internationaal instituut voor sociale geschiedenis [International Institute of Social History], Amsterdam.
9. Walter Pöppel: *Es war einmal. Eine Jugend in Deutschland* [Once Upon A Time. A Youth in Germany]. Stockholm 1984, p. 222.
10. Mentioned in Martin Grass: Internationalism in Hjalmar Branting's papers, and Grass: International archives and collections, in this book.
11. Abramovich passed through Stockholm in May 1917 on route to Petrograd from exile in Switzerland. After the October Revolution of the same year he was again forced to leave Russia.
12. Fragmentary papers from Angelika Balabanova, which was in Zeth Höglund's possession, was lodged with ARAB in 2001.
13. See Lucy Viedma: *The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939*, in this book.
14. Michael F. Scholz: *Skandinavische Erfahrungen erwünscht? Nachexil und Remigration. Die ehemaligen KPD-Emigranten in Skandinavien und ihr weiteres Schicksal in der SBZ/DDR* [Scandinavian Experience Desirable? Post-exile and remigration. The former German Communist Party emigrants to Scandinavia and their later fate in the Soviet Zone of Occupation/East Germany]. Stuttgart 2000.
15. On this see Müssener: *Exil in Schweden* [Exile in Sweden]. München 1974, pp. 196-213, 271-396; moreover, the latter contribution, see his bibliography in *Ein sehr trübes Kapitel*, p. 503f; 'Kommt einer von Ferne ...'. *Festschrift für Helmut Müssener. Eine Auswahl seiner Aufsätze zum Thema Exil und Exilliteratur* ['Someone comes from afar...'] Festschrift for Helmut Müssener.

de Presse 1947-1968 at whose Stockholm office Szende was editor-in-chief and for which he was the Scandinavian representative. For the rest, other journalistic activities are portrayed such as radio talks and TV scripts (for example on the October Revolution of 1917 and Hungary's fight for freedom), together with educational and lecture series (at such places as ABF and LO's extension colleges). A large part of Paul Olberg's personal papers are also made up of on-the-spot accounts from post-war journalistic activities. It is still Olberg's special subjects – the Soviet Union, the Eastern Bloc (including East Germany), the Baltic States, anti-Semitism, Israel

and the Middle East – that predominate. Among the manuscripts there is one for a radio programme on Kropotkin which includes a mention of his visit to Stockholm on 9 June 1917. In Wolfgang Sonntag's personal papers there is material on the International labour team, which took part in the rebuilding of various quarters of Central Europe after the war.²⁰

Besides the archives of the German-speaking exiles there are at ARAB three other exile archives and a collection I will at least mention in conclusion. The Zionist-Socialist youth organisation Hechaluz is represented by the Hechaluz in Sweden collection, which contains mate-

A collection of his essays on the theme of exile and exile literature]. Ed.: Elisabeth Auer/Liselotte Werge. Stockholm 2001.

16. See also Mats Myrstener: Correspondence with foreign authors - and publishing contacts, in this book.

17. On the post-exile period Klaus Misgeld: *Schweden als Paradigma? Spuren schwedischer Politik und Kulturpolitik in der Arbeit ehemaliger politischer Flüchtlinge nach ihrer Rückkehr in die Westzonen/Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Österreich (1945-1960). Grundsätzliche Überlegungen und Beispiele* [Sweden as a Paradigm? Traces of Swedish Politics and Cultural Policy in the work of former political refugees after the return to the western zone/German Federal Republic and Austria (1945-1960). Fundamental considerations and examples] in *Aspekte des Kulturaustausches zwischen Schweden und dem deutschsprachigen Mitteleuropa nach 1945. [Aspects of Cultural Exchange between Sweden and German-speaking Central Europe after 1945]* Ed.: Helmut Müssener, Stockholm 1981, pp. 231-251; Misgeld: *Folgen des Exils. Wechselseitiges Lernen und besseres gegenseitiges Verstehen* [Consequences of Exile. Mutual learning and better common understanding], in *Ein sehr trübes Kapitel*, pp. 399-416; Scholz in note 14.

18. *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz. Zeugnisse und Reflexionen eines Sozialisten* [Between Violence and Tolerance. Confessions and Reflections of a Socialist]. Frankfurt/M 1975; in Swedish *Mellan våld and tolerans. Minnen*. Stockholm 1975.

19. Helmut Müssener: *'Wir werden sehen! Weiter!' der Schauspieler, Regisseur und Schriftsteller Hermann Greid. Fragmente einer Biographie* ['We will see! Go on!' The Actor, Director and Author Hermann Greid. Fragments of a Biography], in *Bilanz Düsseldorf '45. Kultur und Gesellschaft von 1933 bis in die Nachkriegszeit* [Düsseldorf Balance Sheet '45. Culture and Society 1943 to the Post-War period]. Düsseldorf 1993.

20. *Frivilligt arbete för fred. En bok om internationella arbetslag* [Voluntary work for peace. A book on the International Labour Teams]. Stockholm 2000.

21. On Hechaluz see Müssener: *Exil in Schweden*, pp. 243-245.

22. *Arbetarhistoria* no. 55, 1990, pp. 3-8, published a part of Böhm's memoirs from 1949. On 'the international groups' Misgeld: *Die "Internationale Gruppe demokratischer Sozialisten" in Stockholm 1942-1945*.

23. Baiba Vitolin's: Bruno Kalnins arkiv – en presentation [Bruno Kalnin's archive – an introduction], in *Arbetarhistoria* nos. 63-65, 1992/93, pp. 102-104.

LIST OF EXILE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS

- Abicht, Fritz – 2 volumes
- Arbeiterwohlfahrt, Landesausschuss Schweden [Workers' Welfare, Swedish National Committee] – 1 volume
- Behrisch, Arno (collection) – 1 volume
- Blachstein, Peter – 2 volumes
- Brandt, Willy – < 1 volume
- Böhm, Wilmos – 7 volumes
- Croner, Liselott – 1 volume
- Croner, Nelly – 4 volumes
- Demokratiska hjälpkommittén för Tyskland [The Democratic Relief Committee for Germany] – approx. 15 volumes
- Dittmer, Henry – 1 volume
- Exilen 1933-1945 (collection) – 75 volumes
- Friedländer, Otto – 17 volumes
- Greid, Hermann – 32 volumes
- Hanke, Walter – < 1 volume
- Harthern, Ernst – 24 volumes
- Hechaluz in Sweden (collection) – 4 volumes
- Heinig, Kurt – 58 volumes
- Hodann, Max – 47 volumes
- Jacoby, Erich Hellmut – 2 volumes
- Jahnke, Albin (collection) – 2 volumes
- Kalnins, Bruno – 409 volumes

rial from 1939-1948, chiefly circulars and periodicals. Sweden became a staging post en route to Palestine.²¹ The Hungarian Vilmos Böhm went into exile as long ago as 1919 after a short time as the Hungarian ambassador in Vienna. In 1938 he ended up in Sweden where he was in contact with the German-speaking emigrants in the Internationale Gruppe demokratischer Sozialisten [International Group of Democratic Socialists] and other places. His papers extend to five volumes.²² The Latvian Bruno Kalnis emigrated to Finland in 1937 and arrived in Sweden in 1945. He worked here as chairman of the Latvian Social

Democratic Workers Party's Foreign Committee from 1949 to 1990. He bequeathed an extensive personal archives.²³ Finally, a mention of another Baltic emigrant, the Estonian Johannes Mihkelson, whose personal papers have still not been organised.

The papers from the German-speaking exiles 1933-1945 and other exile archives are the residue and witness of a dramatic period in our contemporary history. They and the range of their material covering many areas make them an interesting object of study. Full use has not yet been made of their multi-faceted scope.

Kroner, Erwin – 3 volumes
 Landesgruppe deutscher Gewerkschafter in Schweden [German Trade Unionists National Group in Sweden] – 1 volume
 Mihkelson, Johannes – approx. 200 volumes
 Mockrauer, Franz – 3 volumes
 Neurath, Alois, – 2 volumes
 Olberg, Paul – 39 volumes
 Pankowski, Paul – < 1 volume
 Pasch, Hans – 2 volumes
 Pflöging, Ernst – 7 volumes
 Philipp, Rudolf – < 1 volume
 Platschek, Werner – 1 volume
 Pöppel, Walter – 52 volumes
 Reinowski, Hans J. – 3 volumes
 Robinson, Moritz – < 1 volume
 Rück, Fritz – 20 volumes
 Rüdiger, Helmut – 20 volumes
 Schreiber, Fritz Christian – < 1 volume
 Schwartz, Richard – 1 volume
 Seifert, Otto – 9 volumes
 Sonntag, Wolfgang – approx. 25 volumes
 Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands in Schweden [German Social Democratic Party in Sweden] – 4 volumes
 Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands in Schweden, Ortsgruppe Stockholm [German Social Democratic Party in Sweden, Stockholm Branch] – 2 volumes
 Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands in Schweden, Ortsgruppe Stockholmer Vororte [German Social Democratic Party in Sweden, Stockholm Suburbs Branch] – 1 volume
 Stechert, Kurt – 68 volumes
 Stern, Kurt – 1 volume
 Szende, Stefan – 63 volumes
 Thiele, Paul – < 1 volume
 Trepte, Curt – 1 volume
 Treuegemeinschaft sudetendeutscher Sozialdemokraten [Sudeten German Social Democratic Trust Association] – approx. 50 volumes

Vereinigung deutscher Sozialdemokraten in Schweden [the Association of German Social Democrats in Sweden] – 2 volumes
 Zammert, Anna and Paul – 2 volumes

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Ein sehr trübes Kapitel? Hitlerflüchtlinge im nordeuropäischen Exil 1933 bis 1950. Hg.: Lorenz, Einhart/Misgeld, Klaus/Müssener, Helmut/Petersen, Hans Uwe. Hamburg 1998
 Tempsch, Rudolf: *Från Centraleuropa till folkhemmet. Den suddetyska invandringen till Sverige 1938-1955*. Gothenburg 1997
 Tempsch, Rudolf: *Invandrare in folkhemmet. Suddetyskarna i Eskilstuna 1938-1988*. Eskilstuna 1995

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