

'Socialism is a force that no-one can surpass'

International material in Hjalmar Branting's papers

Hjalmar Branting (23 November 1860 - 24 December 1925) was a respected name in the international arena. In literature on the second Socialist International his name is spoken of in the same breath as those of giants such as August Bebel, Victor Adler, Karl Kautsky and Jean Jaurès despite the fact that he only represented a small, peripheral party. As the most prominent Swedish social democratic politician he played a high profile role in international co-operation work, principally within the League of Nations. This 'double' international involvement was honoured in 1921 with the Nobel Peace Prize, which he shared with the Norwegian pacifist Christian L. Lange.

About a quarter of Branting's personal papers, which extends to fully 100 volumes, consist of documents from his international activities in the Internationals, Scandinavian co-operation and contacts with other socialist parties, in the Nordic countries and international inter-parliamentary work, in the League of Nations and various other international contexts. Further relevant material can mainly be found in the extensive correspondence that makes up the central section of the papers.¹

International meetings

Beginning with the Second Congress in Brussels in 1891, Hjalmar Branting attended six of the Second International's nine congresses up to 1912 (the planned 1914 congress had to be abandoned because of the outbreak of war). He could not attend the inaugural congress in Paris in 1889 because a week later he had to start his prison sentence for atheism at Långholmen. As from 1903, Branting was a member of the International Socialist Bureau (ISB), the International's representative managing body between congresses and attended five of its 16 meetings up to 1914. Branting also attended four of the five meetings of the International's Inter-parliamentary Commission between 1907 and 1909. The material in the Branting papers stemming from his activities in the International is mainly official, chiefly printed congress proceedings and reports from the affiliated organisations, although incomplete.² It was Branting who generally wrote Sweden's reports to the Socialist Congresses. His manuscripts from 1904 (Amsterdam Congress) and 1907 (Stuttgart) and a proof

The Social Democratic party chairman Hjalmar Branting in Norrahammar's Peoples Park, 15 July 1916. Photo produced as post card. During 1916 Branting undertook a lecture tour, one stop being in Norrahammar.

with handwritten corrections from 1893 (Zürich) have been preserved. Otherwise there are some ISB circulars that should have been put in the fonds of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden (SAP) but remained with Branting as addressee, highly personal congress material such as delegate badges, programmes and accounts and some notes. In Branting's photo-collection there are five photographs from the Socialist Congresses in Amsterdam, Stuttgart and Copenhagen in 1910.

Branting's part in the International's congresses – he played a more prominent role in Stuttgart in 1907 and in Copenhagen in 1910 – has to be studied in the minutes.³ There are notes from the congress in Stuttgart in which he summarised the contributions to the meetings with the Commission on Militarism and International Conflict on 19 August. He was not a member of the commission but guests were allowed to attend. He took notes from the contributions from August Bebel, Gustave Hervé, Ramsay MacDonald, Edouard Vaillant, Jean Jaurès, Georg von Vollmar, Emile Vandervelde, Victor Adler and Rosa Luxemburg. Afterwards he summarised the discussions in detail in his congress report in the *Social Democrat* of 28-29 August 1907. He made an approving note of the acceptance of the right to national defence with only a Frenchman, Hervé, dissenting. Otherwise there was the struggle between the more 'fatalistic' German point of view (Jaurès in the debate) and a French one (Jaurès-Vaillant), 'with its requirement for a fuller manifestation of the willingness to use more positive action against war, if necessary' as Branting rather carefully summed it up. There are also some notes on other aspects of the congress, including its concluding speeches. The notes end with 'Auf Wi[e]dorsehen in K.[openhagen].'

There are notes by Branting from the Copenhagen Congress – in Swedish, German and Russian – which show how the resolution on mutual international aid was formulated; with the Swedish General Strike of 1909 fresh in his memory he had put this point on the agenda. There are also notes from the ISB meeting in Brussels on 28 October 1912. These too provided the basis for Branting's detailed report in the *Social Democrat* (1-2 November 1912).⁴ 'The threatening situation in Europe' (Branting's words) – the Balkans – was on the agenda. For this reason it was decided to hold an extraordinary socialist congress in Basle a month later (24-25 November 1912). Branting attended this congress but did not play a prominent part because, at his suggestion, a preliminary meeting had elected the Dutch party leader Pieter J. Troelstra as joint spokesman for the minor Scandinavian and Central European countries.⁵

The most important source of Branting's description and assessment of the International is the detailed reports in the *Social Democrat* already mentioned, for example the discussion on revisionism in Amsterdam in 1904⁶ or on the military question in Stuttgart in 1907.⁷ In the *Social Democrat* he also reported on ISB meetings and other important events within the International. A large part of Branting's overwhelming overall output of articles is also published in his *Tal och skrifter* [Speeches and Writings], one volume of which is entitled *Internationalen* [The International], and there are others in a special clipping collection at The Labour Movement Archives and Library (ARAB).⁸

Another source is Anna Branting's papers containing her husband Hjalmar Branting's postcards and letters from his foreign travels. There are cards that give interesting glimpses such as from Stuttgart 1907: 'Back to the treadmill again – interesting, to be sure, but extremely tiring. [...] The place is buzzing with a thousand representatives', or from Copenhagen 1910:

'Yesterday the whole thing went so so, neither to plan nor completely awry; I have little idea what impression the others have, because in the noise and commotion it is difficult to form a collected one. My [underlined] main impression is that tomorrow evening the congress ends, however it may have gone up to then, and that the next day is definitely the Malmö meeting. We shall thereby be rid of the confusion of foreigners and return to more normal circumstances, with the opportunity for me to travel directly into your arms soon after.'

Two days later from Malmö:

'Yesterday at the congress went well, rather grandiloquent concluding speeches. I translated to Swedish all the thanks to our Danish hosts [...] and added, outside the programme, some words from the other Scandinavians. The whole of this Scandinavian episode was very refreshing after all the talking in the three main languages'. 'However, the presidency seems to have gone well, I have received friendly expressions from all quarters and everyone has been extremely courteous, even the English whom I had to quieten down several times.'

During and after the First World War

After the outbreak of war in 1914, Branting and the social democrats from the neutral countries became engaged in attempts to reassemble the International. Their aim was to reconstitute it as an agent of peace, in order to bring about a quick end to the war and draw up a programme for a secure peace. The Scandinavian Labour Movement Co-operation Committee was also engaged in this work.⁹ Branting was definitely not a member of the Committee but he did attend some meetings as editor-in-chief of the *Social Democrat*. Branting's papers contain material on the neutral Social Democrats' conferences in Copenhagen in January 1915, in The Hague in August 1916 and from the major drive of 1917, the so-called Stockholm Conference. There are, inter alia, notes by Branting from the conferences in

Copenhagen and The Hague that have not as yet been used for research. The same is true of notes from some meetings at the time of the Stockholm Conference that are included in its otherwise highly official conference material.¹⁰ Branting's photo-collection also includes photographs from the Stockholm Conference in the two albums compiled by the photographer Axel Malmström.¹¹

Furthermore, there are 50 or so photographs in an interesting little collection at ARAB: the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee. Hjalmar Branting, Gustav Möller and Ernst Söderberg represented Sweden on the committee. The head of the Secretariat was the International's secretary, the Belgian, Camille Huysmans, assisted by Arthur Engberg. Huysmans lived in Stockholm from May 1917 until January 1918. The Stockholm Conference never took place, instead there were separate conferences with 30-odd delegations from socialist parties and national groups. The groundwork for these discussions was formulated by the organising committee on 10 October 1917, a draft of a peace programme.

All of the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee's activities are documented in a comprehensive book, *Stockholm. Comité organisateur de la Conférence socialiste internationale de Stockholm* [Stockholm. Organising Committee of the Stockholm International Socialist Conference] (Stockholm 1918), compiled by Huysmans. It is in ARAB's library.¹² The provenance of the documents in the collection is obscure. Possibly they originated either from the committee itself or from Swedish committee members. The cashbook included possibly came from the SAP's archives. There is also the collection of roneoed or printed official material partly from the organising committee, partly from the delegations that came to Stockholm to put forward their demands and proposals for peace. There is also a collection of clippings consisting exclusively of those from the *Social Democrat* which can be seen as something of an organ of the Organising Committee. The archives of the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee is in Camille Huysmans' papers in Antwerp (in the Archief en Museum voor het vlaamse cultuurleven [Archive and Museum of Flemish Culture]). There is important supplementary material in the archives of the Dutchmen - Pieter J. Troelstra, F.M. Wibaut, Willem H. Vliegen and Hubert van Kol - at the International Social History Institute (Internationaal instituut voor sociale geschiedenis) in Amsterdam and in the Social Democratic Federation's archives in Arbejderbevægelsen's bibliotek og arkiv [Labour Movement Library and Archives] in Copenhagen. These archives also contain relevant material on the conferences in Copenhagen and The Hague, already mentioned.¹³ The attempt to reorganise the Socialist International after the First World War is documented in Branting's papers, especially the first conference in Berne in February 1919 at which Branting was chairman and

played a leading part. This material is included in documentation published by Gerhard A. Ritter Die II. Internationale 1918/1919 [The Second International 1918/19] (Berlin, Bonn 1980). In his opening speech, which is in his papers in the form of a manuscript in Swedish with a German manuscript translation by Arthur Engberg, Branting called for 'plain speaking' - which 'the iron curtain' during the war had prevented. That way 'confidence can begin to be restored' within the international labour movement. A new International will be created. Moreover, people will be united 'in a higher order', a league of nations through which the International's old demand for national self-determination will be pursued. 'We live in a time of unrest as never before. The old, pre-war world, the world of capitalism in conflict with the growing yet still inferior forces of socialism, will never return, as we once knew it. The upheaval the world has experienced makes a return to the past impossible. Socialism is a force that no one can surpass. However, it must first of all define its ends and means.'¹⁴ Of the new International, the Socialist Workers International (SAI), there is only a little official material from the constituent congress in Hamburg in 1923 in Branting's personal archives.

Extensive international correspondence

Contacts with the International and fraternal socialist parties have left their most obvious traces in the correspondence in Branting's papers. There are in addition party administrative documents and periodicals; some, carrying the Hjalmar Branting ex libris stamp, can be found in the library. Branting's correspondence, some 8,000 letters, is made up of roughly a quarter from foreign correspondents - not just socialists of course. Many famous names from the international movement are represented among them. They include Victor Adler, Pavel Akselrod, Otto Bauer, August Bebel, Eduard Bernstein, Louis de Brouckère, Hendrik de Man, Louis Dubreuilh, Friedrich Ebert, Hugo Haase, Arthur Henderson, Rudolf Hilferding, Camille Huysmans, Aleksandra Kollontai, V.I. Lenin, Ramsay MacDonald, Pierre Renaudel, Albert Thomas, Pieter J. Troelstra, Eduard Vaillant, Emile Vandervelde, Georg von Vollmar, Sydney Webb and Clara Zetkin. It is hardly surprising that the majority are from Danish, Norwegian and Finnish correspondents, next are the Germans, not entirely unexpectedly given the part the German Social Democrats played as the 'great teachers' and 'our shining examples' in the International, to quote two of Branting's opinions. Wilhelm Jansson is counted as both German and Swedish because of his work in the German labour movement after 1897. 20-odd letters represent him.¹⁵

The General Strike of 1909

From the correspondence I take one example of an event of importance to the Swedish labour movement: the General Strike in 1909. Branting wrote two articles in *Die Neue Zeit* published by the German Social Democratic theoretician, Karl Kautsky: 'Der Massenstreik in Schweden' [The General Strike in Sweden] on 20 August 1909, and 'Am zwanzigsten Tage' [On the twentieth day] on 3 September 1909. In a letter of 15 November 1909, Kautsky exhorts Branting to write a comprehensive analysis as well. Branting wrote such a piece on 11 August 1910, not for *Die Neue Zeit* but for the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*; 'Generalstreiklehren' [Lessons of the General Strike] was one of many planned articles from foreign socialists in the lead up to the Socialist Congress in Copenhagen in 1910. In his letter Kautsky wrote that the Swedish trade union movement had succeeded in achieving 'what was possible under the particular circumstances'. An 'outright victory' was in reality out of the question from the beginning. 'That would have meant a victorious proletarian revolution which, however, cannot happen in a decidedly agrarian society such as Sweden, particularly with the power of the state unshaken.' If the proletarian organisations remained

'unharmd' whilst averting 'the capitalist assault', as the Swedes have 'done spectacularly', they deserve the 'International's congratulations'. They deserve recognition for the resolution of the strike because 'the strike was a necessity.' This was also Branting's assessment in the articles cited. At a meeting on 7 November 1909, at which Branting was present, the ISB also expressed 'its heartfelt congratulations to the wonderful Swedish working class'.

According to a letter on 30 July to his wife Anna Branting, at the time of the General Strike Branting visited Berlin on 29-30 July to 'beg money, albeit for a vital cause' from the German trade union movement. The archives preserve two notebooks from this visit. One contains the manuscript of a speech, probably delivered at the meeting with the German Trade Union Confederation representatives in which Branting outlined for half an hour the position in Sweden as he reported to Anna Branting in a postcard home on 31 July. Branting gave an overview of events leading up to the General Strike and

Pages for September 1909 from Hjalmar Branting's account book for the years 1908-1910. In it he made a note of every expenditure and income. It is all there, mostly private matters but also some financial transactions to do with his official assignments.

the course of events hitherto. He emphasised that the strike was 'aufgedrängt' (forced on them) by the intention to 'annihilate' the trade union movement's influence. The decision to strike and its implementation were 'Notwehr' (self-defence), and were of abiding credit to the Swedish proletariat ('bleibende Ehre schwed. Prol.'). A 'class war' is involved in the sense that a whole class is fighting but not in the abused meaning of overthrowing society. External support was important, from Scandinavian countries and Germany, where internationalism was not just an empty word, was important. ('Für Sie internat. prolet. Bruderschaft nicht eine Phrase, sondern schon in Thaten [underlined in the original] gezeigt' [For you the international brotherhood of the proletariat is not merely a phrase but has already been evidenced as deeds]). But that is how the Swedish working class is fighting for the whole proletariat. 'Vergisst nicht den kämpf. schwed. Brüdern! Sie haben für das Recht des gesamten [underlined] Prol. gekämpft. Und sie kämpfen noch!' [Do not forget your struggling Swedish brothers. They have been struggling for the rights of the entire proletariat. And they are struggling yet], the speech ended according to the manuscript.

In the other notebook there are some short drafts (also in German), presumably from the meeting summarised in the mentioned letter to Anna Branting: 'This afternoon I must make a small speech to a rather larger circle.'

A postcard the next day reveals that the circle consisted of 800 people, invited on account of the visit of the American trade union leader, Samuel Gompers. I will quote just one sentence: 'Wir nicht als extrem bekannt, aber wenn nach reifen

Überlegung beschlossen zu kämpfen, wenn [underlined] Unterstützung der Int [We are not known as extremists but have after mature consideration decided to fight if we have the support of the International]. The notes also contain a draft of a telegram to Pressebureau in Berlin concerning the circumstances of the strike and the account entries obligatory in Branting's notes, for instance the fact that he had taken a cab 'home to his hotel.¹⁶ And in the same way there follows a sort of journal including a lecture tour from Västervik to Sala in August and a further visit to Berlin in September.

The Berlin visit in July was successful, according to a postcard home 'très favorable'. The German Trade Union Confederation sanctioned a collection among the unions and granted a loan. Wilhelm Jansson played an important intermediary role in this.¹⁷ In a letter of 7 August, in Branting's correspondence, he reports that the collection has 'just begun' and that 'a good deal of money has also been granted out of union funds'. Ten days later Wilhelm Jansson reports 'an excellent response already' to the collection, this despite industrial disputes in the building trade amongst others. 100,000 marks had 'already been sent by Friday' and 'an equally large sum would probably be dispatched tomorrow'. The Germans offered by far the greatest support during the General Strike. In spite of this support and detailed favourable reporting of

the General Strike in the German workers' press, principally in *Vorwärts* but also through the efforts of Wilhelm Jansson in other workers' papers, there were hitches. A letter from Wilhelm Jansson alludes to different views and polemics as

The cartoon magazine 'Storstrejksrättan' [the General Strike Rat] poked fun at all those involved in the strike of 1909. On the cover the Social Democratic party chairman Hjalmar Branting is compared to Hamlet.

between the *Social-Demokraten* and *Vorwärts*. According to notes in his account book, Branting was in Berlin once again from 5-8 September¹⁸ negotiating with the German Trade Union Confederation. Strapped for cash by the General Strike Swedish trade unions needed a loan 'to enable them to finish the fight honourably' ('um den Kampf bis zu einem ehrenvollen Friedensschluss fortsetzen zu können'). The LO had asked for one million marks through Branting; the German Trade Union Confederation had granted this sum aware that the workers struggle in Sweden had 'great significance for the whole international trade union movement' ('von so weittragender Bedeutung für die gesamte internationale Gewerkschaftsbewegung').¹⁹

The League of Nations

During his last years Hjalmar Branting became involved in the League of Nations as one of Sweden's representatives and a member of the League's council as both Prime Minister, and Prime Minister and Foreign Minister (10 March-27 October 1920 and 1921-1923).²⁰ In its draft peace proposal, the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee had adopted the idea of an 'International Society of States' ('Société des nations'). This was also supported by the Berne conference in 1919 which Branting, as already mentioned, stressed in his opening address but especially during his closing speech - a question 'on which the future of the world depends.' The League was felt to be an opportunity to turn the International's hope of preserving peace by discouraging war into reality by means of an international peace and human rights convention. Branting became the leader of the Swedish delegation at the League's meetings and from 1922 onwards was the Swedish member on its council. The material from these League of Nations activities extends to 16 volumes. Therein is almost exclusively official material (minutes, memoranda, numbered League documents, the League's official journal, League printed material, etc.). In principle, this is also the case in the League of Nations part of Branting's so-called hand archives in the Foreign Office archives from his time as Foreign Minister, which are kept at the National Archives. At all events this material provides an overview of the then current national issues on which the League had to adopt a position, the Saarland, Memel, Danzig, Schleswig-Holstein, Corfu, the Turkey-Iran border conflict, to name but a few. The correspondence in Branting's papers is another profitable source.

Karl Kautsky pointed out after Branting's death that he was the first statesman to try to use the League as a 'shield for the oppressed' ('Schutzwehr der Unterdrückten'). That he had grasped this is apparent from his correspondence. I will choose just two random examples. In a letter the

German SaarlandVerein on 3 August 1923 thanks Branting 'for his great interest in the problems of the Saarland' and expresses the hope for 'the continuation of Your Excellency's' forceful voice, borne by neutral justice, to represent the interests of the Saarland in the League of Nations'. In another letter from the Turkish legation in Bucharest on 6 September 1923 there is an appeal to Branting's well known 'sentiments d'équité et de justice [sense of fairness and justice]'. The letter also contains a request for him to use his influence to ensure that the delegation would check that the resettlement of Turks and Greeks agreed at the peace talks was arranged by 'personnalités intègres et impartiales [persons of integrity and impartiality]'.

A wide network of contacts

In the correspondence, there is also information from many different countries. I will just highlight two Swedish letter-writers, a journalist and a diplomat, who were constantly reporting from abroad. From 1908-1921, Hugo Vallentin briefed Branting on the political situation in England in around 100 letters and telegrams. It would be an interesting task to get into this correspondence and see how Vallentin may have put his stamp on Branting's picture of England. Nils F C Wikstrand was the Swedish chargé d'affaires at the legation in Tokyo, for Japan, China and Siberia, and thereafter in Athens. His letters are marked 'private' and 'confidential': twenty from Tokyo from 1919-1920 and nine from Athens and were written alongside the customary diplomatic reports. In one letter on 26 February 1920 he thanked Branting for his kind letter and added that 'ever since the autumn of 1917 he had never received a written word with a hint of friendliness from official Swedish quarters'. In the same letter he pointed out certain similarities to current Scandinavian issues: the Åland islands were regarded in Japan as 'our desiderata'. They had in Shantung a like issue the solution to which was also delayed on talks with Russia about a 'buffer state', here Outer Siberia, there Finland and Poland.

One month later Wikstrand reported that on 23 March 1920 the respected newspaper *Nichi-Nichi* had published an article about Branting and the new government. 'May I be permitted to point out that no previous Swedish statesman has set so many benevolent "Chinese characters" in movement in a big Japanese daily newspaper. This pleases the Swedish community out here and is to our advantage (because Japan is a great power even in relation to European issues) even if certain phrases in the newspaper article are partly misleading, and partly written for the benefit of an Oriental rather than European public.' A short article had been published in the *Japan Advertiser* a few days earlier based on information from Wikstrand.

The sentence 'he is more obnoxious to the Bolsheviks than even a reactionary would be' came, however, from the editor-in-chief, as Wikstrand was careful to point out. Moreover, a notice on 24 August 1920 in the same newspaper about one of Branting's election speeches is attached to a letter. The statement of 'a policy of safeguarding the independence and neutrality of the country' has according to Wikstrand made 'a good impression in Tokyo'.²¹ Another newspaper article that was sent back gives an account, under the headline 'Socialism in Japan', of the foundation of the Japanese Socialist Federation on 26 July 1920 with the intention of uniting all socialists. From Athens, Wikstrand reported on 18 July 1922, inter alia, on Sweden's great reputation in Greece and Greece's desire to 'take our country as an example for its education system, in P.E. (through our gymnastics) as well as "l'instruction primaire" by examining our elementary education.'

In these examples, I have given only an idea of the scope of the information in the correspondence. The correspondence is not just an important source for Branting's international contacts and activities, it also contains general information of interest on the world at large and in many fields. For the user this is, in the hackneyed phrase, a goldmine.

Finally, regarding Branting's other international activities some documents relating to his peace work can be mentioned. Some come from the peace organisations, the Organisation centrale pour une paix durable [Central Organisation for a lasting peace] 1915-1917 and Nederlandsche Anti-oorlog-raad [Dutch Anti-War Council] 1914-1919, in connection with the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 in which Branting took part as a Swedish delegate. Riksdagens interparlamentariska grupp [Swedish Parliament's Interparliamentary group] 1900-1924, Nordiska interparlemen-

NOTES

1. Martin Grass: Hjalmar Brantings arkiv [Hjalmar Branting's papers], in *Arbetarhistoria* nos. 39-40 1986, pp. 67-74.
2. See also the Socialist International collection at ARAB, mentioned in Martin Grass: International Archives and collections, in this book.
3. See Martin Grass: *Hjalmar Branting och Andra internationalens utrikespolitiska program* [Hjalmar Branting and the Second International's Foreign Policy] in *Socialdemokratin och svensk utrikespolitik från Branting till Palme* [Social Democracy and Swedish Foreign Policy from Branting to Palme]. Pub: Bo Huldt/Klaus Misingeld. Stockholm 1990, pp. 5-20.
4. Reprinted in *Hjalmar Branting, Tal och Skrifter, IX*, [Hjalmar Branting, Speeches and Writing, IX] Stockholm 1929, pp. 284-293.
5. 'Intryck från Baselkongressen [An impression of the Basle Conference]' in the *Social-Demokraten* 29 November 1912, and another two articles 30 November and 4 December, reprinted in *Hjalmar Branting, Tal och Skrifter, IX*. Stockholm 1929, pp. 294-313.
6. *Social-Demokraten* 18, 19, 22, 23-25, 27 August 1904 reprinted in *Hjalmar Branting, Tal och Skrifter, IX*. Stockholm 1929, pp. 160-201.
7. *Social-Demokraten* 27-31 August 1907, reprinted in *Hjalmar Branting, Tal och Skrifter, IX*, Stockholm 1929, pp. 222-252.
8. Hjalmar Branting - articles from *Social-Demokraten* 1886-1921. The clipping collection was compiled by Zeth Höglund at the time of his edition of *Hjalmar Branting, Tal och Skrifter*.
9. Mentioned in Martin Grass: The Scandinavian archives and collections, in this book. See Martin Grass: *Friedensaktivität und Neutralität. Die skandinavische Sozialdemokratie und die neutrale Zusammenarbeit im Krieg, August 1914 bis Februar 1917* [Peace Activities and Neutrality. Scandinavian Social Democracy and Neutral Collaboration in the War, August to February 1917]. Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1975.
10. These notes will be reproduced in a forthcoming source-book on the Internationals 1914-1918 of which ARAB is one of the publishers.
11. See Martin Grass: Hjalmar Branting's fotosamling [photo-collection] in *Meddelande från Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek* nos. 26-27 1983, pp. 18-25.
12. There are also some reprints published by Minkoff, 1980. The Draft Peace Proposal in Stockholm pp. 491-521; published inter alia in the Social Democratic Party (SAP), *Berättelse* 1917, pp. 33-47.
13. See Martin Grass: *Konferensen kom aldrig till stånd. Stockholmskonferensen 1917. Den offentliga diskussionen i Social-Demokraten* [The Conference that never happened. The Stockholm Conference 1917. The Public Debate within Social Democracy] in *Arbetarhistoria* nos. 43 1987, pp. 13-32; plus Grass: 'Tio muselmän redogöra för sina nationers slaveri. Representanter för islamska folk i Stockholm 1917 [Ten Muslims account for their nations' slavery. Representatives of Islamic peoples in Stockholm 1917]', in *Arbetarhistoria* no. 97 2001 pp. 42-49.
14. Branting's opening speech in Swedish is reprinted in *Hjalmar Branting, Tal och Skrifter, IX*. Stockholm 1929, s 314-321.
15. See Martin Grass: Wilhelm Jansson's papers, in this book.
16. In Branting's accounts book of 1909, in his papers, vol. 1:6, there are further notes on expenses during the Berlin visit, including those for 'Lunch Ital. Restaurant', books and newspapers, umbrella, odds and ends to bring home.
17. See Martin Grass: Wilhelm Jansson's papers, which also

tariska samarbetet [Scandinavian Inter-parliamentary Cooperation] 1908-1922, the International Inter-parliamentary Union 1903-1924 are a few others. There are also eleven picture postcards (by Mia Green, Haparanda) of Branting's journey to Petrograd in April 1917 and up to 150 photographs of the war in France 1917-1918 (bombed cities, villages, churches, trenches, the life and the soldiery). Branting's visit to the front in France in July 1918 generated more postcards together with a collection from the First World War.²² In addition there are documents from various conferences: the 4th International Journalists Congress in Stockholm in June 1897, the International Congress for Industrial Welfare in Zurich in August 1897, the 18th World Peace Conference in Stockholm in August 1910, the International Conference for the Battle Against Unemployment, Paris, September 1910 and the Scandinavian Workers Conference in Copenhagen in 1920. It is

true that this is mainly just stark, official, mostly printed material, but it does nonetheless provide an impression of the breadth of Branting's international involvement.

Branting was also the undisputed leader in the field of international co-operation which was made possible in particular by his knowledge of languages and his foreign contacts. Zeth Höglund observes correctly, if a little pompously: 'His [Branting's] achievements as a fighter for Swedish democracy, as a leader and promoter of the Swedish labour movement to the high level which it has by degrees attained, must be seen against the background of his conception of world citizenship and his tireless work in the service of international worker solidarity and the establishment of the brotherhood of peoples.'²³

deal with the General Strike.

18. The account book for 1909, in Branting's papers, vol. 1:6. In a letter to Herman Lindqvist from Berlin 6 September he writes nevertheless: 'More tomorrow. The train's leaving now', in ARAB, LO, International correspondence. The letter is possibly misdated. In an accounting note, dated 27 September 1909, there is a summary of all the expenses for the Berlin trips, amounting to just over SEK 1,000; in Branting's papers, vol. 1:7.
19. The German Trade Union Confederation circular to affiliated trade unions, signed by Gustav Bauer, 9 September 1909, at ARAB, LO, International correspondence.
20. See Torbjörn Norman: Hjalmar Branting och Folkens förbund [Hjalmar Branting and the People's Union], in *Arbetarhistoria* no. 33 1985, pp. 13-16; Norman: Hjalmar Branting, Nationernas Förbund och naturrätten [Hjalmar Branting, The League of Nations and Natural Law], in *Socialdemokratin och svensk utrikespolitik från Branting till Palme*. Ed: Bo Huldt/Klaus Misgeld. Stockholm 1990, p. 21-28.
21. It is worth mentioning that there is an interest in Sweden and the Swedish labour movement among historians and political scientists in Japan sometimes extending to very specific facts.
22. See note 11.
23. Zeth Höglund: Hjalmar Branting och den internationella idén [Hjalmar Branting and the Concept of Internationalism], in *Arbetets söner*. Del II: Samlingens tid [Sons of toil, Part II: the Age of Assembly]. Stockholm 1956, pp. 274-299.

LITERATURE

- Franzén, Nils-Olof: *Hjalmar Branting och hans tid. En biografi*. Kristianstad 1985
- Grass, Martin: *Friedensaktivität und Neutralität. Die skandinavische Sozialdemokratie und die neutrale Zusammenarbeit im Krieg, August 1914 bis Februar 1917*. Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1975
- Grass, Martin: Hjalmar Branting och Andra Internationalens utrikespolitiska program, in *Socialdemokratin och svensk utrikespolitik från Branting till Palme*. Ed: Bo Huldt/Klaus Misgeld. Stockholm 1990, pp. 5-20
- Grass, Martin: Hjalmar Brantings arkiv, in *Arbetarhistoria* nos. 39-40, 1986, pp. 67-74
- Grass, Martin: Hjalmar Brantings fotosamling, in *Meddelande från Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek* nos. 26-27, 1983, pp. 18-25
- Höglund, Zeth: *Hjalmar Branting och hans livsgärning*. I-II. Stockholm 1928, 1929<Ingen>
- Höglund, Zeth: Hjalmar Branting och den internationella idén, in *Arbetets söner*. Del II: Samlingens tid. Stockholm 1956, pp. 274-299
- Mousson-Lestang, Jean-Pierre: *Le parti social-démocrate Suedois et la politique étrangère de la Suède 1914-1918*. Paris 1988
- Norman, Torbjörn: Hjalmar Branting, Nationernas förbund och naturrätten, in *Socialdemokratin och svensk utrikespolitik från Branting till Palme*. Ed: Bo Huldt/Klaus Misgeld. Stockholm 1990, pp. 21-28
- Norman, Torbjörn: Hjalmar Branting och Folkens Förbund, in *Arbetarhistoria* nos. 33, 1985, pp. 13-16

Martin Grass is a historian and archivist.