

The world in the basement

International Material in Archives and Collections

**Labour Movement Archives and Library
Stockholm**

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The World in the Basement

Cover picture: A library section in one of our basement stores. Photo by ARAB.

Labour Movement Archives and Library & the authors

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FOREWORD

From its earliest beginnings the Swedish labour movement has had many contacts, close relations and collaboration with the labour movement in other countries and the Scandinavian and international organisations held in common. This exchange and collaboration has left its marks on both the archives and collections of books preserved at the Labour Movement Archives and Library that social history research and, in particular, the historiography of the labour movement have been able to exploit over the years.

Living archives and living libraries reflect what is going on in our own country and the world about us. This applies to a very high degree to the Labour Movement Archives and Library (ARAB) which is now in 2002 celebrating its hundredth birthday. The anniversary is a natural occasion for presenting part of the institution's material in more detail, particularly that of international import.

The 150 years over which the Swedish labour movement has developed and, in particular, the dramatic century during which the institution has existed have left many impressions on the collections. In them we can find material on the Spanish solidarity movement, particularly in the 1930s, and on those for Vietnam and Chile including the 1960s and '70s, on refugees during the Nazi period, on relations with the Soviet Union, African countries and Swedish emigrants in the USA. There is a large quantity of documents that shed light on Swedish involvement in Scandinavian and international collaboration, in disarmament and peace, union rights and vocational education. Contacts with authors in many countries can be documented using ARAB's material as can the international activities of prominent Swedish personalities, particularly those of the social democratic and trade union movements, from Hjalmar Branting via Arne Geijer, Alva Myrdal and Olof Palme to Ingvar Carlsson. What is more, there is also unique material on, for example, the progress of the revolutions of 1848 with their various features, both immediately original and highly topical.

The articles in this presentation, written by archivists and librarians at ARAB, are grouped into three main sections: foreign archives – subject oriented presentations – internationalism in some Swedish archives and collections. Each article is followed by a list of relevant articles and collections and a selection of works based on such material. The research potential in this material and elsewhere that has not found a place in the articles is tremendous and it should be even better exploited than has been the case hitherto. We hope that this presentation – as a kind of sampler – will serve this end.

Stockholm, February 2002

Karin Englund
Director

A treasure chest for research

International archives material at ARAB

Right from the start the Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek ARAB [the Labour Movement Archives and Library] in Stockholm opened the windows unto the world beyond Sweden. The result is extensive holdings of (a) foreign archives and (b) internationally oriented collections, along with (c) international material in the Swedish archives and collections. The essays in this book, written by ARAB's archivists and librarians, are structured according to these categories. As will be shown ARAB offers most valuable and important material for research outside Sweden and in international fields.¹

The oldest foreign archives are, incidentally, *Foreningen for socialismens fremme i Sverrig* [Union for the advancement of socialism in Sweden] (Copenhagen), a support organisation for August Palm's agitation and for the establishment of trade unions in Skåne, presumably constituted in the autumn of 1883 (runs to one slim box). The latest material originates from the Independent Commission on Global Governance (chaired by Sweden's former Prime Minister, Ingvar Carlsson), up until the commission was wound up in June 2001.

Acquisition through contacts and exchanges

It was the librarians Fredrik Nilsson and Oscar Borge who proposed that Stockholm Workers' Library should establish a Labour Movement Archives and Library. Work started on 14 June 1902, the idea being that the archives should be directed principally toward the Swedish labour movement. However, an international perspective was established from the outset. Here one may cite, on the one hand, the purchase of foreign literature and, on the other, a regular exchange of organisations' printed matter from the Swedish labour movement for 'the more important printed works of equivalent foreign organisations'. The Labour Movement Archives – which became the name of the department and after 1906 of the independent institution – immediately set about collecting material aiming principally at printed matter, 'however trivial or insignificant it may be' (as the aforementioned proposal put it) and interesting, 'illuminating' documents.

The first foreign material arrived during 1905. As far as it can be determined from correspondence and annual reports, it came principally from the USA where contact had been made with the John Crerar Library in

Chicago and with the Department of Commerce and Labor, the Bureau of Labor, in Washington DC. However, almost as early, yet even more important are the contacts with Germany which had a significant influence on the Swedish labour movement during its first period. Wilhelm Jansson, a Swedish gardener, was chiefly responsible for arranging these contacts. He had emigrated to Germany in 1897 and came to play an important role in the German Trade Union Confederation as well as being an intermediary between the German and Swedish labour movements (see my contribution on Wilhelm Jansson's papers). Printed matter was also received from Norway and Denmark and, according to the annual report for 1905, from *Hauptverein für Volkswohlfahrt* [General Association for Public Welfare] in Hannover, the *Musée Sociale* in Paris and the Austrian Trade Union Confederation. In 1905, it was reported that 102 foreign organisations were represented in the archives section: from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the USA. In *Redogörelse för Arbetarrörelsens arkiv* [Report on the Labour Movement Archives], 1905, Oscar Borge, the director of the Archives, describes 'the foreign collection' as 'still very insignificant since it consists almost exclusively of printed material that has accidentally come into the ownership of private individuals who then handed it over to the Archives'.

When one reads these compilations and lists of 'donors', particularly the foreign ones, in the annual reports for every year up to 1938, a very misleading impression can result. They actually seldom report deliveries of records from the stated organisations but rather material, sometimes almost exclusively printed matter, that has indeed been produced by those organisations but may have been handed over by anyone at all. For a relatively long time no clear distinction was made at ARAB between donors and creators of records, the principle of provenance was not fully respected and no clear distinction was drawn between archives and collections. Documents were collected together into 'archives' (really collections), removed from archives and compiled as new 'archives' including foreign ones such as the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (German Social Democratic Party) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, or else printed documents were transferred to the library with other 'miscellaneous' material (for example posters and photographs) to special collections. However,

despite this interference, the collected material and printed matter, including the foreign items, and the collections that were formed naturally have great informative and research value. This is very much thanks to varied and extensive material having been taken care of and preserved so early on and so ambitiously.

Holdings profile

With the help of ARAB's holdings register it is possible to construct a comprehensive profile. This reveals that 150 of the 4,838 archives and collections registered up to now are classified as international in the sense of foreign archives and internationally oriented collections. Personal papers predominate (47). The German group is appreciably the largest (43), here too the majority are personal papers (36), all of them coming from either political refugees forced into exile after 1933 or exile organisations. Way behind come the Scandinavo-American archives (24), among them 4 fragmentary private archives, and then the Scandinavian archives (6).

The earliest foreign archival documents came from the USA, from Skandinaviska socialistiska arbetareförbundet [Scandinavian Socialist Workers' Federation], which contacted the Archives in September 1906 and offered records. The intermediary was August Palm who had visited the USA in the summer of 1906. The Swedes in the Scandinavo-American organisations felt a natural bond with the old country and naturally turned to The Labour Movement Archives in Sweden. They were aware that they were preserving their own history and offering the opportunity for the writing of a broader historiography than the 'official' one, and this, according to its initiators, Oscar Borge and Fredrik Nilsson, was the object and basis of a Labour Movement Archives. These supplies of archives from the USA were the first contributions to this valuable, although not very large, stock from Scandinavo-American organisations, and people active in them, held at ARAB. Ulf Jönson's contribution has more to say on this.

The post-1933 German refugees were also naturally drawn to ARAB. The Archives became a meeting place where newspapers and periodicals could be read, and a number of emigrants were employed as archives workers. Many of the emigrants remained in Sweden after 1945 and their papers consequently ended up at ARAB. From the Archives' point of view this meant a timely and energetic attempt to collect and save that special source material produced in exile. The extensive exile stock, chiefly personal papers, has been used very frequently over the years, especially by foreign researchers. There is substantial supplementary material in Swedish archives at ARAB, for example those of Arbetarrörelsens flyktinghjälp [Labour Movement Refugee Relief], Internationella Röda hjälpen - Svenska sektionen [International Red Aid - Swedish Section], the syndicalist movement's organisation Sveriges arbetares centralorganisation SAC [Central Organ-

isation of Swedish Workers] and in the archives of the organisations and people who had contact with and helped the emigrants (there is more detail on this in my contribution on the 'German speaking' archives).

Between Scandinavia and Vietnam

The group of Nordic archives consists chiefly of those of Nordic trade union organisations. When the secretariats of these organisations were based in Sweden, the records were likely to end up at ARAB. The largest is that of Nordens fackliga samorganisation [Council of Nordic Trade Unions], and there are also some from the textile, leather and garment workers trade union federations. Those of the Nordic trade union federations contain interesting material that hitherto has seldom been used for research. The same is true of Arbetarrörelsens nordiska samarbetskommitté SAMAK [Joint Committee of the Nordic Social Democratic Labour Movement] and its precursors (for a more detailed account, see my article on the Scandinavian archives in this book).

In this context I would also point out the compendious collections (27) relating to the international trade union federations, the so-called trade Internationals, which have been generally overlooked – as have the large collections on the socialist Internationals (from 1889 to the present day) and trade union Internationals. In the archives of Landsorganisationen LO [Swedish Trade Union Confederation], separate trade unions and Sveriges Socialdemokratiska arbetareparti SAP [Social Democratic Party of Sweden], both international and Scandinavian contacts are naturally well documented as are those of the SAC, the communist parties and the women's and youth organisations. There is additional material in the private archives of the people involved in the Internationals and Scandinavian co-operation (more about this in my article on international collections and archives).

As already stated, 'Internationalism at ARAB' also means international material in the Swedish archives. It is naturally impossible to give an overall account of the international content of these archives. The holdings register and other finding aids can guide us only in a limited way. On the one hand there are archives from internationally oriented organisations – solidarity and relief organisations and friendship societies, on the other, those from people who were involved in this type of activity. These archives contain a wealth of information about other countries and contacts with organisations and authorities and people in them. Lucy Viedma writes about relief aid for Spain during and after the Civil War and how solidarity work with Chile is reflected in our documents, Lars Gogman on that with Vietnam. Ulf Jönson writes about Africa and also the Africa Solidarity Groups in Sweden.

Regarding the USA I should also mention the Swedish Sacco and Vanzetti Defence Committee, Angela Davis Work

Group and the United Farm-workers Support Committee. Other examples of international solidarity include Demokratiska hjälpkommittén för Tyskland [Democratic Relief Committee for Germany] and Svenska kommittén för Greklands demokrati [Swedish Committee for Democracy in Greece] and it is self-evidently vital to mention Arbetarrörelsens internationella centrum [Labour Movement International Centre] now called Olof Palmes internationella centrum [Olof Palmes international centre]. Other important archives originate in friendship societies: Svensk-kubanska föreningen [Swedish-Cuban Association], Svensk-ungerska föreningen [Swedish-Hungarian Association], Förbundet Sverige - DDR [Swedish-DDR Federation] and Förbundet Sverige-Sovjetunionen [Swedish - Soviet Union Federation].

Conversely, there is material on international contacts in various guises in almost all the archives of political, trade union and other national organisations and in many personal papers. To take a thematic example, international peace and disarmament issues, the League of Nations and the United Nations are documented, in, inter alia, the papers of Hjalmar Branting, Rickard Sandler, Carl Johan Björklund, Alva and Gunnar Myrdal, Tage Erlander, Bertil Svahnström, Inga Thorsson, Maj-Britt Theorin, Olof Palme, Sten Andersson, Pierre Schori and Ingvar Carlsson. Here is also found for example, Arbetarrörelsens fredsforum [Labour Movement Peace Forum] and Svenska kvinnor för fred [Swedish Women for Peace]. See Stellan Andersson's article for a detailed discussion of this.

During the major upheaval in Eastern Europe during the 1990s focus turned once more on the archives of the Swedish communist organisations and the personal papers of for instance Ture Nerman, Zeth Höglund, Nils Lind, Carl Johan Björklund, Per Emil Brusewitz and Paul Olberg. There many hoped to find information about the Soviet Union, including Swedish-Russian contacts. The Russian photograph and poster collections can also be mentioned in this context. Lars Gogman has written more on the subject of Swedish-Russian contacts and the Soviet Union.

Stellan Andersson illustrates what an exceptional example Gunnar Myrdal's papers are as a source for contacts with the international scientific community (particularly in the USA). Mats Myrstener describes how foreign authors are well represented in the correspondence of the publisher Tiden förlag and in the smaller archives from Axel Holmström's publishing company.

'Globalisation' – in archives and library

On considering ARAB's total stock over the course of time, it is the contacts with Germany that have left behind the most extensive material. This applies in particular to the period up to the 1940s. Not only do we have source materi-

al that sheds light on the important relationship with the German labour movement, there are also essential sources on the history of that movement up to the end of the Second World War. This, from one point of view is some compensation for the many archives lost in Germany. After the Second World War the picture changes: contacts have partly broadened, partly become globalised; in the relevant archives from this time it is perhaps no longer labour movement contacts that predominate, whilst the new movements in the Third World, for example, are now also well represented.

In the library's stock in particular there is extremely rare material concerning international and foreign affairs. One example is that by or about the utopians, the Paris Commune of 1870 and the Spanish Civil War, but not least amongst these, as by way of conclusion Marie Hedström shows in her contribution, is that of the year of revolutions, 1848, again starting in Paris.

On ARAB's 50th anniversary in 1992 Ture Nerman wrote that the archives had 'from the outset a clear internationalist focus and its windows open to the world'.² The result is an extensive stock of international archives and internationally oriented collections along with a significant international contribution of printed matter, periodicals and literature in the library section. Most profitable, however, has been the international involvement of organisations and people resulting in the breadth and wealth of the international material that has thus gradually ended up in the Labour Movement Archives and Library in Stockholm.

NOTES

1. See also my articles in *Arbetarhistoria* 63-64 (1992/1993), pp 2-7: För 90 år sedan grundades Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek. Nedslag i korrespondensen 1902-1912. [The Labour Movement Archives and Library was founded 90 years ago. An immersion into the correspondence 1902-1912]; in *Arbetarhistoria* 75-76 (1995), pp 37-41: '...och fönstren öppna för utblickar'. Internationellt arkivmaterial på ARAB ['...and its windows open to the world'. International archives material at ARAB]; in *Arkiv hemma och ute. Årsbok för Riksarkivet och landsarkiven 1995*, [Archives at home and abroad. National and Provincial Archives Yearbook 1995], pp 90-196: Internationellt material i arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek [International material in the Labour Movement Archives and Library].
2. Ture Nerman: I internationalismens tjänst [In the Service of Internationalism], in *Hävd och handling. Arbetarrörelsens arkiv 50 år* [Tradition and Document. 50 years of The Labour Movement Archives], Stockholm 1952, pp 50-53.

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'The strongest bridge between the Nordic peoples'

Scandinavian archives and collections

The Scandinavian collaboration between workers' organisations, usually called 'workers' Scandinavianism', played an important part in the formation of the social democratic and trade union organisations in the Nordic countries. Intra-Scandinavian organisations do occur, among stonemasons, saddlers and upholsterers, for example, but the main form of collaboration was between the various national political and trade union organisations partly in Scandinavian associations and partly through regular or occasional Nordic meetings and conferences. This cooperation may be characterised as regional internationalism, structured in organisational terms as a network of collaboration between international and various regional and national organisations. Workers' Scandinavianism – or really workers' Nordicism – has changed over time as the Social Democrats acquired an increasing dominance as the ruling party in the Scandinavian countries and the trade union movement became a powerful lobby. It has also been a part in international co-operation on various levels. As early as 1934, Per Albin Hansson, the Swedish Prime minister, was pointing out in a speech that 'Interest is increasingly focusing on current political issues – national, Scandinavian, international. Workers' Scandinavianism is thus being diluted, while still retaining its own working methods. It is increasingly linked to the general aspiration toward intra-Scandinavian understanding and now has the basis for playing a leading part in the collaboration of the Scandinavian states both in its special concerns and in outward representation in international politics'.

Nine Nordic archives

Nine Nordic archives are kept at ARAB, as well as a number of collections. Half of these archives originate from associations of Nordic trade unions, headed by the very extensive fonds of Nordens fackliga samorganisation NFS [Council of Nordic Trades Unions]. Besides these, there are two co-ordination committees for the social democratic and the trade union labour movement. There are two archival problems associated with these Nordic archives, as with other international ones. In the first place these fonds constitute subdivisions, namely those from the time the secretariat was located in Sweden. The organisations' secretariats used to rotate between the Nordic capitals but there were also permanent secretariats as, for example, that of NFS in Stockholm. Also, under

the statutes, the practice in the event of dissolution was for the material to remain with the organisation whence the secretary came. It is not always simple to trace the other parts of the fonds in other Nordic labour movement archives or at the organisations.

The second problem is that work for the various Nordic organisations is dealt with within the Swedish organisation, for example a trade union. The specific secretariat was placed quite close to the organisation's activities. An unequivocal distinction was not always drawn between the Nordic association's records and those of the Swedish organisation, for example, the Swedish trade union's correspondence with the Nordic one. It is not certain that attention was always paid to this during arrangement work or indeed that it was possible to differentiate between the different records or separate out the Nordic ones. Therefore, and to obtain supplementary information generally, it is necessary to consult trade unions' archives whenever Nordic material appears in the archival descriptions kept at ARAB. Examples of such are those from Svenska gruvindustriarbetareförbundet [Swedish Mining Industry Federation], Lantarbetareförbundet [Farm Workers' Union], Transportarbetareförbundet [Transport Workers' Union] and Handelsanställdas förbund [Commercial Employees' Union]. The same is true for political and other organisations.

The Nordic trade union secretariats had the task of providing each other and each other's members with mutual support and with co-ordinating common interests and demands. The support related both to individual members working in the Nordic countries and affiliated organisation in the event of industrial disputes and in other contexts. Their main duties involved mutual information about and general discussion of trade union and other relevant issues (pay, terms of employment, job content, working environment, economic co-operation in Scandinavia, multi-national companies, etc.), joint projects and courses together with joint pressure in national, Nordic and international contexts. They also to a certain extent took on co-ordinating the approach to international organisations and promoted international amalgamations in their own organisations. This is illustrated in the four fonds from Nordic trade union internationals.

Skandinaviska läderindustriarbetareunionen [Scandinavian Leatherworkers' Federation] was founded in March 1921 after earlier attempts had failed. Foremost on the agenda was mutual support for the unemployed as well as travel subsidies. The first question was remitted to the

unions in the respective countries for decision because the differences in treatment were too great to arrive at a practical set of regulations. All approved members would receive travel subsidies but this would not include transfers to unions in other country. The particular circumstances were a major stumbling block, in particular, if 'there was danger of open conflict' or 'there was mass unemployment'. The objective was to include the Finnish organisations in the federation and this was successful. There was, moreover, an extension toward becoming a joint body of all shoe and leatherworkers' organisations taking place with the make-up of the trade union international as a model. In discussion of the subject in November 1935 the view was that such a body 'would command greater respect'. Problem-free it was not as the debate shows and the name issue, with the principles of the trade association or industry union as the background, was also discussed – shoe and leather or just leather. Under its new statutes of 1936, the new organisation took the name Nordiska läderindustriarbetareunionen [Nordic Leather Industry Workers' Federation].

With the Nazi's seizure of power in Germany and that country's subsequent expansion, new issues took centre

stage. In November 1935 news arrived that the chairman of the German Shoe Workers' Union and one-time secretary of the Shoe- and Leatherworkers' International, Josef Simon, held in Dachau concentration camp since May 1933, had been released but immediately re-detained. He was 'baade legemlig og økonomisk brudt sammen' [bodily and financially broken]. A collection was initiated. Sending an 'expert' to Germany in order to get better information was considered, but there were doubts as to whether 'this would achieve anything to the advantage of the detainee'. A statement was issued protesting at his inhumane treatment and demanding his release. Another consideration was 'that the Nazi regime in Germany might not be that firmly rooted amongst the majority of the population if it considers itself threatened by sick old men of 70'. Josef Simon was released and came to Sweden via Denmark. The federation supported him along with other deserving refugees from the German-speaking countries and the neighbouring Scandinavian countries through a refugee fund.

Nordiska beklädnadsarbetareförbundet [Nordic Leather Industry Workers' Federation] closed down in 1972. That year a joint organisation for textile-, garment-, shoe- and

leather industry workers, Nordiska beklädnadsarbetareunionen, [Nordic Garment Workers' Federation] was founded on an international model with the subtitle Textil, konfektion, läder [Textile, Garment, Leather].² Its secretariat was located in Sweden. The Federation's fonds contains minutes, rules, accounts, reports, correspondence and printed matter describing activities up to 1988. There are also tape-recordings from the annual conferences of 1979, 1984 and 1985.

Nordiska fabriksarbetarefederationen [Nordic Factory Workers, Federation], founded in 1901 as Skandinaviska ömsesidighetskommittén [Scandinavian Committee for Mutuality], was known from 1953-1961 as Nordiska grov- och fabriksarbetarefederationen [Nordic General and Factory Workers Federation].³ Their fonds consists mainly of minutes with appendices (inter alia, statutes, reports and financial accounts) from 1893-1969 and correspondence, also relating to courses, conferences and seminars, from 1909-1973.

Otherwise, there are some collections relating to the Nordic trade union internationals (Builders and Woodworkers, Transport Workers, Foundrymen, Saddlers and Upholsterers) containing administrative printed matter, mainly printed congress and conference minutes and annual reports. There are members' news-sheets and other periodicals in ARAB's library. Contacts with these Nordic trade union internationals, as well as with organisations that do not have fonds and collections at ARAB, appear from the trade unions' archives all of which are at ARAB except those of the Swedish Metal Industry, Building Industry and Municipal Workers' Unions.

One interesting small record is that of De skandinaviska huvudstädernas regleringsfond [Scandinavian Capital Cities Regulation Fund], founded in Helsinki in 1929. This Nordic organisation was founded by regional offices of the associations of bricklayers in Stockholm, Copenhagen, Oslo and Helsinki with the aim of settling questions about membership fees for bricklayers working in neighbouring Nordic countries and of offering one another support, for example in industrial disputes. The rather sporadic material extends up to 1951.

Council of Nordic Trade Unions

The most extensive and richly endowed fonds is that of Nordens fackliga samorganisation NFS [Council of Nordic Trade Unions]. NFS was founded in 1972 and today consists of the Trade Union Confederations of the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden), the white-collar organisations and those for people in academic professions. It is more than a labour movement organisation but rather a general one of wage earners. Material about the earlier co-operation of Nordic trade union confederations is to be found mainly in the

archive of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) but there is also a fragment in ARAB's collection Trade Union Confederation Nordic Co-operation. The records delivered so far by NFS run to 384 volumes including documents up to 1987. They are arranged chronologically but systematically by year according to an archival plan and from 1977 onwards a systematised dossier plan, revised in 1979 (archived in volumes 1, 84 and 158). The fonds are therefore structured but entry is made harder by a chronological arrangement with recurrent subject headings. For example, it is not possible to obtain immediate access to all the minutes (presidium, council, chairman's meetings) or annual reports or to documents and periodicals published by NFS. The latter, with the exception of *Facklig bulletin* [Trade Union Bulletin] 1973-1976, are not in the archives. On the other hand, *NFS Information*, *NFS-Bladet* [NFS Leaflets] and *NFS-Tema* [NFS Topics] are available in ARAB's library.

The task of NFS is, according to its statutes, to 'promote the interests of trade union organisations in a wide sense'. Its primary objectives are 'security of employment and income' and 'improved working conditions' but also to 'increase its influence on social progress'. The reason for the more permanent co-operation between the Nordic wage earners organisations was 'a growing trade union interest in international affairs' and 'the intensified economic and political integration of Western Europe', according to a presentation by NFS in 1979. There was a need 'to co-ordinate the behaviour of the member organisations by means of an international trade union plan', mainly with regard to Fria fackföreningsinternationalen [Free Trade Union International FTUI] and Europeiska fackliga samorganisationen [European Trade Union Association ETUA]. There was also a wish to 'seek to influence the official co-operative bodies at the Nordic level'. There were also attempts to co-ordinate activities with the Nordic Trade Union Internationals to avoid 'duplication of work'. Consultation and the mutual exchange of information were the basic premises.

NFS activities are reflected in the archives, which reveal a broad network of contacts both within and outside the Nordic countries. From the point of view of contacts with member organisations (through circulars, correspondence and meetings), these appear to be with Nordic trade union internationals. A few examples of these are Hotell och restaurang [Hotel and Restaurant], Metall [Metal], Byggnads och trä [Building and Woodworking], Jordbruk och trädgård [Agriculture and Horticulture], Fabriks [Factory], Transport [Transport] and Postmannna [Postal Workers]. The same contacts were upheld with the equivalent white-collar organisations (for example Nordiska bankmannauionen [Nordic Bank Workers' Federation] and Nordiske funktionærssammenslutning [Nordic Office Workers' Federation]). Other Nordic labour movement associations were natural partners for co-operation,

for instance SAMAK, Arbetarrörelsens nordiska samarbetskommitté [Joint committee of the Nordic Social Democratic Labour Movement], or the Nordic Workers Educational Association's secretariats. From the point of view of international trade unionism, NFS was linked on the one hand with FTUI and ETUA, and on the other with the OECD's trade union advisory committee (TUAC).

The whole field of European co-operation is of special interest (EFTA, EC, economy, democratisation of the economy, employment, migration, women, youth, consumers, regional politics, etc.).⁴ The self-evident area of activity was the Nordic countries with its intra-Nordic labour market and the international co-operation between the Nordic states. The Nordic Council, the Nordic Council of Ministers, the Nordic Industrial Fund, the Nordic Investment Bank, the Scandinavian Council for Applied Research (Nordforsk) and the Nordic Cultural Fund are some of the co-operating bodies with which NFS had contact and from which it has material in the archives. Labour market policies, employment, industrial democracy, working conditions, workers lives, social renewal of working life, social policy, national insurance, education, computer issues as well as tourism and leisure are some of the subjects in which the NFS was involved in the region. One vehicle for this was the committees and working parties such as the NFS working conditions committee, economic-political working party, incomes policy working party, economic policy reference group, group union working party, the equal opportunities contact group, multi-national committee.

On top of this there is a special involvement in the third world through the working party for the co-ordination of aid to developing countries. Contacts with and interest in various European, African, Asian and Latin American countries are reflected in the fonds as well as in official material such as ambassadorial reports. Solidarity and relief actions were initiated and co-ordinated. Let us in particular mention a region where many Swedish organisations made a contribution, namely South Africa. There was in addition a special South Africa group working within the NFS. These activities are represented in the fonds by periodicals such as *Sechamba*, *Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, and *Phambili*, *Bulletin published by the African National Congress* (South Africa). Another country for which solidarity work was done was Chile. There were contacts with the Chilean Trade Union Confederation in exile in Paris and one step was co-ordinating help for imprisoned trade unionists in Chile.⁵

Political and trade union co-operation

Interesting and characteristic of Scandinavia are Kommittén för skandinaviska arbetarrörelsens samarbete [Co-ordination Committee for the Scandinavian Labour

Movement], and its successor SAMAK, the cooperation agency for political, i.e. the social democratic, and the trade union labour movement.⁶ This co-operation which began in 1886 through Scandinavian workers congresses – before there were nationwide labour organisations in Sweden and Norway – was, by a resolution of the Labour Congress of 1912, to be intensified by means of an 'executive body', a co-ordination committee. Skandinaviska samarbetskommittén [Scandinavian Co-ordination Committee] existed between 1913 and 1920. In the end, 'it simply disappeared' as a consequence of the Norwegian Social Democratic Party's move to the left during the last year of the First World War and affiliation to the Communist International in 1919. The Co-ordination Committee was made up of a social democratic and a trade union representative from each of the Scandinavian countries. Its management and secretariat were at first located in Sweden but from September 1915 onwards in Denmark. On 20 October 1917 its management was transferred to Norway but effectively ceased to function because of the circumstances within the party there.

The small fonds from the Scandinavian Co-ordination Committee are partly comprised of material from the period of the Swedish secretariat, and partly correspondence up to 1920. There are interesting documents relating to the Scandinavian peace meetings in Meraker/Storlien, Fredrikshald and Arvika in June-July 1914, in other words before and unconnected with the outbreak of war⁷, and others on the conference of social democrats from the neutral countries held on 17-18 January 1915 in Copenhagen.⁸ Because of the First World War the Co-ordination Committee, which was supposed to engage in practical Scandinavian labour politics, ended up being involved mainly in the peace efforts of the neutral social democrats. There is additional material at ARAB in the archives of Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti SAP [Social Democratic Party of Sweden], the LO, Hjalmar Branting and in the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee collection.⁹ The final act of this phase of Scandinavian cooperation was again a labour congress, in Copenhagen. The interrelated topics of industrial democracy and nationalisation were discussed at this congress. Through the democratisation of industry, 'an imperative requirement for justice', and nationalisation, 'a social organisation of industry with planned use of labour, raw materials, energy and tools in the interests of workers and consumers'. Also 'the bureaucratic, capitalistic modes of operation were abolished and 'fully rational production in accordance with social needs' attained as was the object.¹⁰

In 1931 Thorvald Stauning, chairman of the Danish Social Democratic Party and Danish Prime Minister, initiated the re-establishment of a co-ordination committee. On 10 August 1932, the Labour Movement Scandinavian Co-ordination Committee (known as SAMAK since 1985) was established. The Committee is still active. The fonds

cover the years 1931 to 1991. They contain mainly minutes and other material from committee meetings, generally two per year; labour congresses in 1965, 1973, 1979, 1982, 1986 (the Centenary Congress) and 1990, conferences such as *Europa och framtiden* [Europe and the Future] in 1985, other meetings and reports from the various countries. There is also material from the working parties on foreign and security policy, research, local democracy and the public sector as well as the Swedish-Finnish industrial policy working party, an economic-political contact group and an Öresund group. The minutes of the Nordic Co-ordination Committee from 1931-1946 have been published.¹¹ These reports on activities

in Nordic countries and other appendices have, however, unfortunately been omitted. Consequently to study this period it is necessary to consult not just the fonds for the period but also the fonds of the SAP and LO as well as personal archives, for example those of Gustav Möller or Claes-Erik Ohdner. The Co-ordination Committee played – and continues to play – an important role as a political/trade union co-operation body and as a point of contact for party and LO chairmen and other prominent figures in social democratic and trade union organisations. Policies on fascism, the war, aid for neighbouring countries, positions regarding the internationals, League of Nations and UN, Nordic security policy, Nordic eco-

NOTES

1. Speech in Copenhagen in December 1934 *Arbetarskandinavismen* [Workers' Scandinavianism], in Per Albin Hansson: *Demokrati. Tal och uppsatser* [Democracy. Speeches and Essays]. Stockholm 1935, p. 174f.
2. Karl-Erik Persson: *Nordiska beklädnadsarbetareunioner. 1897-1993*. [Nordic Leather Workers' Association. 1897-1993] Stockholm 1995.
3. Sten Sjöberg: *Arbetsmän i nordisk samverkan. Skandinaviska ömsesidighetskommittén 1901-1951* [The Working man in Nordic Collaboration. Scandinavian Committee for Mutuality 1901-1951]. Stockholm 1951.
4. See also Klaus Misgeld: *Den fackliga europavägen. LO, det internationella samarbetet och Europas enande 1945-1991* [The European path of trade unionism. Trade Union Confederation, international cooperation and the unification of Europe]. Stockholm 1997.
5. See also Lucy Viedma on Chile, in this book.
6. Martin Grass: *Arbetarskandinavism 1912-1920. Kommittén för skandinaviska arbetarrörelsens samarbete, några aspekter* [Workers' Scandinavianism 1912-1920. Co-ordination Committee for the Scandinavian Labour Movement, some aspects], in *Årbog for arbejderbevægelsens historie* [Labour Movement History Yearbook], vol. 4, 1974, pp. 55-88; Grass: *Från arbetarkongress till samarbetskommittén. Om Skandinaviska samarbetskommitténs bildande* [From Labour Congress to Co-operation Committee. On the foundation of the Scandinavian Co-operation Committee], in *Arbetarhistoria*, no. 42, 1987, pp. 5-11; Kersti Blidberg: *Splittrad gemenskap. Kontakter och samarbete inom nordisk socialdemokratisk arbetarrörelse 1931-1945* [A Splintered community. Contacts and cooperation within the Scandinavian Social Democratic Labour Movement 1931-1945]. Stockholm 1984; Blidberg: *Just good friends. Nordic Social Democracy and security policy 1945-50*. Oslo 1987; Klaus Misgeld: *As the iron curtain descended. The Coordination committee of the Scandinavian labour movement*

- and the Socialist International between Potsdam and Geneva (1945-1955), in *Scandinavian Journal of History* no. 1, 1988, pp. 49-63; see also Misgeld in note 4.
7. Martin Grass: '... den starkaste brygga mellan Nordens folk för fredligt arbete...'. *De skandinaviska arbetar- och fredsmötena sommaren 1914* ['... the strongest bridge between the Scandinavian peoples for peace work...']. The Scandinavian Labour and peace meetings of the summer of 1914], in *Arbeiderhistorie* 1988, pp. 77-105.
8. On the conference and peace work after the outbreak of war Martin Grass: *Friedensaktivität und Neutralität. Die skandinavische Sozialdemokratie und die neutrale Zusammenarbeit im Krieg, August 1914 bis Februar 1917* [Peace activity and neutrality. Scaninavian Social Democracy and neutral collaboration during the war, August 1914 to February 1917]. Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1975.
9. Otherwise see in particular Socialdemokratisk Forbund [Social Democratic Federation] archive in *Arbejderbevægelsens bibliotek og arkiv* [Labour Movement Library and Archives] in Copenhagen.
10. C.f. *De nordiska arbetarekongresserna under 100 år. Arbetarrörelsens framväxt och utveckling i de nordiska länderna* [A hundred years of Scandinavian Labour Congresses. Growth and development of the Labour Movement in the Scandinavian Countries]. Stockholm 1986.
11. *Samråd i kristid. Protokoll från den Nordiska arbetarrörelsens samarbetskommitté 1932-1946* [Consultation at a time of crisis. Minutes of the Scandinavian Labour Movement Cooperation Committee]. Ed: Krister Wahlbäck/Kersti Blidberg. Stockholm 1986.
12. On Europe see Misgeld above note 4.

nomic co-operation, Europe¹² and other current Nordic and international issues were dealt with at committee and working party meetings. Interesting comparative material was acquired from reports from the countries on activities or special subjects.

An extensive picture of co-operation

The archives and collections from the Nordic Trade Union Internationals and the NFS together with the Co-ordination Committee's archives and the collection from the Scandinavian/Nordic labour congresses present an exten-

sive picture of the Scandinavian region, the Nordic countries' labour movements and the situation in those countries from 1886 until the 1990s. Mainly through reports from affiliated organisations and the issues discussed on which light is shed from the viewpoint of the various national organisations, we are given the opportunity of a comparative overview whose profundity may be enhanced by material and information in the archives of national organisations. We obtain a glimpse of the continuity of, and changes in, worker's Scandinavianism. The change also consists of the world outside the Nordic countries playing an ever-greater part as a consequence of the current Europeanisation and globalisation process.

LIST OF ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS

Fackliga landsorganisationernas nordiska samarbete [Collaboration of Nordic Trade Union Confederations] (collection) – 1 volume
Co-ordination Committee for the Scandinavian Labour Movement – 1 volume
Council of Nordic Trade Unions – 384 volumes
Scandinavian Labour congresses [collection] – 3 volumes
Scandinavian Garment Workers' Federation – 18 volumes
Scandinavian Builders' and Woodworkers' Federation [collection] – 2 volumes
Scandinavian Factory Workers' Federation – 22 volumes
Scandinavian Leatherworkers' Federation – 7 volumes
Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation [collection] – 1 volume
NORSAM – 1 volume
SAMAK – 51 volumes
The center for Scandinavian Workers – 2 volumes
Scandinavian former secretariat [collection] – 1 volume
Scandinavian Capital Cities Regulation Fund – 4 volumes
Scandinavian Leather Workers' Foundation – < 1 volume
Scandinavian Saddlers' and Upholsterers' Federation [collection] – 1 volume
Scandinavian Woodworkers' Secretariat [collection] – 2 volumes

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‘...and this union consists chiefly of Swedes’

Scandinavo-American archives and how they were collected

After writing a study of workers' lives and struggles in the USA in 1936, the Swedish economist Torsten Gårdlund went there in 1937. During his travels he met the Swedish-American Albert Pearson. Pearson had previously been editor of *Ny Tid* [the New Time], the party newspaper of the Scandinavian Socialist Federation of Workers Party, but retired through ill health and was then working on the history of the American labour movement. When Pearson and Gårdlund met they devised a plan for a history of the Scandinavo-American labour movement, but these plans clearly did not get off the ground because, according to Pearson, after returning home Gårdlund stopped answering his letters.

For all that, Torsten Gårdlund's interest had obviously been aroused, as after his return to Sweden he wrote some articles in the newspaper *Social-Demokraten* [Social Democrat], in which he declared his intention of writing the history of the Scandinavo-American Labour Movement.

The committee is organised

One of those who read Gårdlund's articles with interest was C.A. Thorsberg. Thorsberg had himself lived in the USA for a number of years beginning in the second decade of the century and had previously been involved with the Scandinavo-American labour movement but was now back in Sweden. Some time later, during the spring of 1939, Thorsberg got in touch with the director of the Labour Movement Archives, Tage Lindbom. Thorsberg tried to win him over to the idea of forming a committee for the collection of material from the Scandinavo-American labour movement and to write the history of the movement on the basis thereof. Furthermore, Thorsberg was due to travel to the USA in the autumn on behalf of *Metallindustriarbetareförbundet* [Metal Industry Workers' Union] and it appeared opportune that he should simultaneously contact his American brothers to initiate collection work there.

On 17 August 1939 an inaugural meeting of the Committee for the History of the Scandinavo-American Labour Movement was held. Besides Thorsberg, Gårdlund and Lindbom the committee included the author Ture Nerman and the chairman of the Swedish Trade Union

Tickets and printed programme from 1901, from the Scandinavian Socialist Club of Boston collection.

Confederation August Lindberg. The newly formed committee decided to send Thorsberg to America where he would be able to get in touch with Albert Pearson and encourage the Scandinavo-Americans to contribute source material. The intention was primarily to establish some collection points to which material could be sent before being shipped on to Sweden. Permission had already been given by the Danish and Norwegian labour movements for the gathering of the material to Sweden. This was considered necessary because the organisations they were endeavouring to contact in the USA were not indeed purely Swedish but rather Scandinavian groups within the American labour movement.

Thus in October 1939 Thorsberg travelled to America with the purpose of stimulating the collection of archival

material from the Scandinavian labour movement there. All involved were agreed on the importance of this and particularly of its urgency. Emigration to the USA had ceased and it was thought that activities carried on there would fade away. Besides, the movement's pioneers were not getting any younger and before long there wouldn't be any left. The task facing Thorsberg and the committee would, however, prove more difficult than could have been envisaged.

The American labour movement and the Scandinavians

At various times from the 1850s to the 1920s masses of Scandinavian immigrants had arrived in the USA. Many of them found industrial jobs in the big cities, principally Chicago. To the extent that they organised themselves in terms of trade unions and politically they did so mainly within both the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) and The Socialist Party of America. In these organisations immigrant workers had the opportunity to develop their own ethnic sections but the Scandinavian workers chose to establish all-scandinavian rather than national subgroups.

Skandinaviska Socialistiska Arbetareförbundet SSAF [Scandinavian Socialist Workers Union] had been founded by the end of the nineteenth century by Scandinavian sympathisers in the SLP. In its zenith in 1909, the SSAF had nearly 1,500 members distributed among 40 branches across the USA. That year also saw the successful collection of \$30,000 for the Swedes involved in the General Strike. Activity began to drop off after 1920, especially when the editor of the organisation's paper *Arbetaren* [The Worker], Anders H. Lyzell, left – taking a lot of members with him. The paper was closed and shortly after the enterprise survived only as a few individual clubs.¹

The Scandinavian Socialist Federation (SSF) was founded in 1910 by a number of Scandinavian socialist clubs in Chicago. It immediately sought membership of the SPA. The Federation was to be an organisation for socialist propaganda and education and its activities revolved around its paper *Svenska Socialisten* [the Swedish Socialist] and various educational works. In 1919 the Federation left the SPA.

Förenade Skandinaviska Socialistförbundet FSSF [United Scandinavian Socialist Federation] was founded in 1922 by breakaway groups from both the SSAF and SSF. The Federation's paper *Ny Tid* was published until 1936. In 1922, the FSSF became The Scandinavian Socialist Federation of Workers Party, which later changed its name to the Communist Party and aligned itself with the Bolshevik party system. For a time in the 1920s the linguistic federations were replaced by support organisations of working men's clubs since separate ethnic federations were not wanted. Where ethnic divisions still remained, the policy was changed again and in 1928 the name was

changed to the Scandinavian Workers League of America (SAFA).²

Besides these, mention must be made of The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in which the most famous of all Swedish-Americans, within the labour movement, Joe Hill, was active. However, this organisation will not be dealt with here. There were no ethnic sub-groups here as the IWW strove to be 'one big union' and aimed to unite workers irrespective of race, creed, nationality etc.³ Furthermore ARAB lacks primary material from this organisation.

All these party schisms illustrate the presence of a variety of ideological conflicts within the Scandinavo-American labour movement and often the great friction between both people and organisations.

Previous collection attempts

The Committee for the History of the Scandinavo-American Labour Movement was not the first attempt in Sweden to document this activity. As far back as 1900 the Scandinavian branch of the Socialist Labor Party in Providence, Rhode Island, had discussed the matter of how they could increase the intake of members to the association. Someone proposed that by far the best idea was to invite the tailor and agitator, August Palm, from Sweden.⁴

Palm's journey to America opened his eyes to the existence of a Scandinavian labour movement in the USA whose work it would be important to keep an eye on. When the Labour Movement Archive started its work in 1902 it was not long before people began to look into the possibility of acquiring material from America. On a further visit to the USA in 1906, Palm met the SSAF secretary Fred Hanson who wondered if there was interest in Sweden in the Scandinavian and – in particular the Swedish – sections of the American labour movement. In a letter that Hanson later wrote to ARAB's first director, Oscar Borge, in September 1906, he reports

*'as you possibly know there is a union here known as the Skandinaviska Socialistiska Arbetareförbundet af Amerika and it consists mainly of Swedes. We were thinking that, as so many of them have been active in the movement back home, both during its "rambling" years and later when the party acquired more rules, it might be of interest to have some manuscript accounts of these people. Many of them are well known in labour movement circles at home, others became involved in the movement after their arrival here.'*⁵

Material for Sweden

The first consignments of material from America arrived in 1905. The accession registers state that on the 21-22 March deliveries were made from a large number of organisations in North America. They were the Carriage and Wagon Union, Chicago Ill. Carriage Workers', the Foundrymen's Assembly, the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, the Connecticut Federation of Labor, the Deutsch-amerikanische Typographien [German-American Typographers], the Furniture Workers' Union, the Iron Molders' Union, the Journeymen Tailors' Union, the Machine Wood Workers' Union and the United Brewery Workmen.⁶ It probably almost exclusively relates to a delivery of printed material such as newspapers and the like. This assumption is confirmed by the 1905 annual report on the Archives' operation in which the director, Borge, reports the following:

*'As far as the foreign collection is concerned, it is still very insignificant since it consists almost exclusively of printed material that has accidentally come into the ownership of private individuals who then handed it over to the Archives. The intention is, however, gradually to form relationships with other foreign institutions by means of exchanges or in other ways so that more important printed items such as statutes, congress proceedings, price lists etc. can be preserved at the Archives. A start has already been made through the Archives entering into an exchange with the John Crerar Library in Chicago Ill. as a result of which it will repeatedly receive printed matter relating to the labour movement the United States of America.'*⁷

In any case the result of this collection work is that the Labour Movement Archives and Library now has a number of newspapers published in the USA by Scandinavo-Americans. Among them are *Ny Tid* and *Arbetaren*, not to mention a quantity of minor printed items such as membership books and programmes from festivities and meetings held by local unions. Moreover, the later fate of these accessions at ARAB is variable. With regard to the printed matter, part of it was dealt with and catalogued by the librarians of ARAB while other parts were fitted together with archive material delivered later and together with which it now forms small organisational archives.

Deliveries from the USA stopped during the First World War but were resumed between the wars. However, generally speaking, no archives material in the

true sense, that is to say original documents from Scandinavo-American activity, reached Sweden during this period. Toward the end of the 1930s it began to be feared that this material would be dispersed as one after another the pioneers of the Scandinavo-American labour movements were passing away. Thorsberg's proposal for the collection of archive material from Scandinavo-American activity could not have come at a more opportune moment.

Thorsberg's journey – an American sojourn

When Thorsberg arrived in the USA in mid-October 1939 he found that the work of promoting the history of the Scandinavo-American labour movement had already started. Albert Pearson had formed a committee for the purpose in New York and Thorsberg attended its meeting on 23 October. The fact is that as early as the summer of 1939 Tage Lindbom had already received letters from Swedish Americans including ones from Pearson himself, in which the necessity for Thorsberg's visit was called into question. Pearson was positive about practical collaboration with the Stockholm Committee of whose existence he had not been aware (he had indeed assumed that the project had been forgotten when his letters to Gårdlund remained unanswered). He did feel though, that it would be better if he himself – living in the USA and, moreover, unemployed – travelled around and organised the work of collecting. Could the committee in Stockholm fund such a tour? Thorsberg in turn also started to get in touch with other strategically placed people in the Scandinavo-American labour movement. He clearly feared certain difficulties as, back in August, he had suggested in a letter to Lindbom that it was not clear whether Arnold Petersen, for one, would be willing to co-operate. He obviously had a feeling that the conflicts between the various organisations were going to present a major obstacle.

Arnold Petersen was Danish and the National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party of the USA. In a meticulously phrased letter Thorsberg wrote to him saying that:

'Knowing the obstacles that have existed in the past, and still exist, to the writing of that history in the United States, it was thought that the best way to overcome them would be to have the initiative taken in Sweden.'

He went on to say that he was in the USA to collect all available material but that as yet no decision had been made as to who should write the history. All his misgivings were confirmed by Petersen's answer. Petersen did

not want to co-operate under the prevailing circumstances. He accused Thorsberg of failing to mention

'that in this country you are associated in this undertaking with expelled traitors from the Socialist Labor Party, including particularly one Harding whose treason and contemptible conduct against the Socialist Labor Party rendered him, among others, particularly obnoxious to the Socialist Labor Party, and necessarily to any person to whom the words common decency and honor convey meaning.'

Scandinavian Socialist Club and Socialist Labor Party (SLP) section of Jamestown, N. Y., May 1, 1910. Photo in the archives of the Swedish Communist Youth Association.

In addition, Petersen wanted a list of the people with whom Thorsberg was associated in the USA. He also suspected that the writing of the history might be undertaken by people expelled from the SLP and questioned whether Thorsberg and his contacts really were the right people for the job.

In any case, Thorsberg himself received a comforting letter from Otto W. Anderson, Grand Rapids, who commented on the SLP's unwillingness to cooperate as follows:

'They do not seem to have changed a bit. Petersen is still the same fanatic I always consi-

dered him. What harm could come to the S.L.P. and their so-called clear cut Marxian principals (sic!), by turning over the material they had on hand, which by the way is considerable. It seems to me that it is not principals that are at stake, but for a chance to get revenge, they will sacrifice an opportunity to let their own party, and its history be more widely known.'

Irrespective of the reason for the dissatisfaction, Tage Lindbom, back in Stockholm, must in this situation have begun to get the feeling that Thorsberg had not been the ideal choice for bringing about a comprehensive collec-

tion of material in the USA. In the archive of the Committee for the History of the Scandinavo-American Labour Movement there is a draft of a letter addressed to Arnold Petersen in which Lindbom tries to repair the damage. In it, he explains the background to the Committee's work and the project of collecting documentation from the Scandinavo-American labour movement in order to write its history. He stresses that neither the Committee nor the Labour Movement Archives have any party political axes to grind. The objective was not to impose any political perspective on the material received from reformists, radical socialists, communists or syndicalists. He continues:

'If you mistrust the representative sent by the Swedish committee, Mr. C.A. Thorsberg, and if you also mistrust the people in the USA, who will undertake the collection of the material, would it be possible for you, if both you and your party are agreeable, to send the material you wish to dispose of directly to the Labour Movement Archives who will defray the shipping costs. The type of material we want is evident from the appeals and other documents that have been sent to you.'

The draft is not dated and it is not clear whether it was sent. In any case it was written after Thorsberg's return to Sweden in the spring of 1940 since Lindbom additionally

points out that with his return the committee regarded its work to be complete and was discontinuing its activities, continued collection being carried on by the Labour Movement Archives.

'In other words, it is henceforth to me in my capacity as director of the Archives to whom you will be able to turn. I assure you that you can do this in total confidence without any risk of any party political perspectives being brought to bear on the operation.'

Despite the collapse of his contacts with Petersen and the SLP, Thorsberg's American tour does not appear to have been unfruitful. Collection points were set up and material was collected. With Thorsberg's assistance another committee was formed in Cleveland in December and various pioneers were encouraged to set about writing their memoirs. After an extensive, though not actually comprehensive, round-tour of the North American continent Thorsberg returned to New York in March 1940. The committee wished to recommend to the Stockholm Committee first that it grant funds so that someone could complete the tour of the American west coast, second that it was time to start the research work in Sweden of the material required. Thirdly that the Stockholm Committee should grant the New York committee a sum of money as working capital. By February it had been decided that no material should be sent to Sweden, with reference to 'the uncertain circumstances that exist as a result of the state of war'.

Back in Sweden

The progress of the World War caused a good many difficulties even in Sweden. The country was indeed not involved in the war but a state of emergency prevailed and the director of the Labour Movement Archives did not escape mobilisation. Lindbom made sporadic attempts via the field post and whilst on leave to maintain contact with the other members of the committee, but the work slowed to a standstill. On October 11, roughly a year after Thorsberg left for the USA, the final meeting of the Stockholm Committee was held. Thorsberg presented a report of his journey and said that the National Secretary of the SLP (who was probably Arnold Petersen) had promised that the Scandinavian Federation's fonds would be made available for studies. It could also be copied and photographed, if the archive in Stockholm would appoint someone for the purpose. Despite everything, the work of collecting progressed throughout the war years.

The letters between the Labour Movement Archives and the committees in the USA show that what had been feared from the outset was now coming true – one after another the old pioneers were passing away. Not until the summer of 1949 was Tage Lindbom to have the opportunity to travel to America himself and manage the dispatch of the material that had been collected. This material, Lindbom wrote in the Archives' annual report for 1949 'could have been significantly greater had it been possible to carry through the 1939 plan' but 'nevertheless it throws light on an interesting aspect of the international labour movement.'⁸

The sixteenth annual "Stora Folkfesten" [Grand Peoples Fête] arranged by the Scandinavian Socialist Club on Labor Day, 7 September 1903. Speeches were given in English and Swedish. The programme included a folk musician from Stockholm, games and dancing.

The holdings

The twenty-odd Scandinavo-American archives preserved at The Labour Movement Archives and Library originate from organisations at both central and local levels and from newspapers and individuals. Lindbom's description in the annual report for 1949 is most pertinent to the organisational and newspaper archives. Mostly, complete archives are not involved. This can be understood in terms of the prevailing circumstances during the collection operation. Indeed, on the one hand, the collection set out to get activists to hand over the material they had so that minutes, accounts and other material may be relatively complete for particular periods but exhibit large gaps in others. On the other, material was being collected from activities that were still in progress and that were still using the material they themselves had produced. In these cases, copies, duplicates and other material that could be spared were handed in to the collection. The most complete material is in the fonds of Kommittén för den skando-amerikanska arbetarrörelsens historia [Committee for the History of the Scandinavo-American Labour Movement] in one volume. This material came about in the course of work in which the Labour Movement Archives were pivotal. Besides letters and minutes there are circulars and newspaper advertisements published in various papers at the start of the collecting operation along with newspaper clippings relevant to the Committee's work.

With regard to the organisational archives it is particularly obvious that the material received previously in the form of deliveries of printed matter had been combined with original documents received subsequently such as minutes and accounts. Even where material received later is concerned, it in many cases took the form of copies and printed matter of various sorts. This is hardly surprising since during the collection operation it was precisely such material as the organisations could spare that was requested. Only two of the archives exceed one volume, namely *Ny Tid* and the Scandinavian Socialist Workers' Federation, which extend to two volumes each. In many of the other cases the material is scanty.

The newspapers *Ny Tid*, *Socialisten* and *Arbetaren* are in the library's collection although there are gaps in the series. As has been mentioned, the records from these papers is most extensive in the case of *Ny Tid*. Its documents are, with certain exceptions, concentrated on the year 1934 and include correspondence with Scandinavian working men's clubs, registers of correspondents and their locations, a register of subscribers, etc. The other newspaper archives consist predominantly of printed matter and accounts. A minute book covering 1913-1917 from the Svenska Socialistens press committee is also included.

Skandinaviska Arbetarförbundet i Amerika (SAFA),

known also as The Scandinavian Workers League of America, handed over to the Labour Movement Archives printed matter from congresses and accounts from various years, minutes from 1928-1931, a list of members and a good deal else that is kept together in one volume. This sparse stock was, however, supplemented with material from several clubs affiliated to the League: Arbetarklubben Spartacus [Spartacus Workers' Club] in Boston, the club in New York and Skandinaviska arbetarklubbarna [Scandinavian Workers' Clubs] in Cleveland, Hartford and New England section. In the majority of cases this involved a minute book and some of their own publications produced in connection with meetings, bazaars and other events. One of special interest is the 'Fikona Lövet: Illustrerat organ för klasskampen [The Fig Leaf: Illustrated paper for the class struggle]' (from the Cleveland club), a typewritten booklet including some poems probably by local talents.

The Scandinavian Socialist Workers Union (SSAF) contributed with original minutes of the executive committee from 1920-1922 and a good many regulations, circulars, reports and accounts. Here too a few club archives are represented, namely from the sections in Brooklyn, Lake View and New York, the socialist club in Hartford and 'Viljan [Intent]' club in Los Angeles. Timewise these archives chiefly extend from around 1910 to the mid-20s.

The Scandinavian Federation of Workers Party and two of its sections, the Scandinavian Federation of Workers Party in New York and the Finnish Youth Federation in New York provided a very meagre amount of material. It is nevertheless interesting to the extent that these sections do not appear to share the Swedish dominated characteristics common to the other sections handed over to the Archives.

There are in addition a number of organisations that are more difficult to place organisationally. It is worth mentioning a few clubs with such pithy names as Skandinaviska Diskussionsklubben Kraft och Vilja [Scandinavian Debating Society Power and Intent] in Hartford, Gubbklubben [Old Chaps Club] in Boston and Enhetsförbundet mot Krig och Fascism bland Skandinaver [United Scandinavian Front against War and Fascism] in Cleveland. The United Front consisted of delegates from various other organisations such as the IOGT, Scandinavian working men's clubs and lodges (for example Förgät-mig-*ej* [Forget-me-not] lady's lodge and Monitor av Vasa-orden [Order of Vasa Monitor]) which held public mass-meetings and parades against war and fascism in the 1930s. In the minute book lodged by Gubbklubben it is possible to follow the meetings held in 1911. The old chaps seem to have devoted themselves partly to bazaar work with book raffles etc. but they also got together for beer and skittles. Although the club is from a relatively early date, its minutes are characterised, as are those of so many similar clubs, by the very erratic colloquialisms in

the written word and Anglicisms that come out in both spelling and choice of words. Despite the fact that the club was associated with the Scandinavian Socialist Workers' Union and the Socialist Labour Party and its members were called comrades there is not much to show in the minutes other than charity work and social events.

The organisational archives are most interesting in that they give some insight into how the activities of the Scandinavian labour movement in the USA were carried on. However, there are many indications that there is little additional material still in the USA. The most complete and interesting material is probably the archives of private individuals lodged by Swedes who had been active in the USA previously and had then returned home. I am referring to those of Fred Hanson, Arthur Landfors, Carl-Johan Möller, Albert Pearson and Gustav Rudquist. None of these is particularly extensive.

Albert Pearson was born in 1892 and by around 1910 was already active in both the unions and the social democratic party. The party split of 1917 saw him align himself with the left wing and start the Social Democratic Left-wing Party's newspaper, *Västsvenska Kuriren* [The Western Swedish Courier]. In 1923 he travelled to the USA and eventually ended up in Rockford, Illinois, where he joined the socialist club and later became active in the Scandinavian Socialist Federation of Workers Party. Between 1929 and 1936 he was employed as editor of the party's paper, *Ny Tid*. After he retired from this post on the grounds of ill-health he devoted his remaining years in America, until 1946, to the history of the American labour movement. From 1946 onwards he was back in Sweden and immediately got involved in the trade union movement and was particularly active in education. He worked as a translator and leader of a study circle and, as a pensioner, was involved in the local pensioners' association in Solna outside Stockholm. His papers comprise two volumes of material from both the USA and Sweden including manuscripts, photographs and correspondence. Pearson had an extensive network of contacts which seems to have made him a natural central figure in the collection work of the 1930s and 40s. When Carl Johan Möller emigrated to the USA at the age of 25 in 1901 he had already managed to tramp all round Europe as well as being involved in the union movement. In his new country he again turned to the labour movement. He was a member of the Socialist Party of Brooklyn and took part in the fundraising for Swedish workers striking in 1909. Möller had returned to Sweden by 1911 and resumed work in the foundry industry. In the latter part of his life he devoted himself to grinding soot and owned a firm called C.J. Möller's Soot, but his papers contain chiefly documents and books from his time in America between 1901 and 1911.

It includes letters with information from Sweden on the progress of the General Strike of 1909.

The correspondence in many of the personal archives in ARAB evidences the various conflicts between different people in the Scandinavo-American labour movement but also the network of contacts they had. Fred Hanson at the Arbetaren, for example, was at the hub of things around 1910 and his correspondence contains letters from the American socialist leader Daniel de Leon as well as giving a picture of the internal quarrels that took place in the paper's editorial department.

Writing the history

One of the Committee's objectives was at least eventually fulfilled in this way. As to what happened to the other – writing the movement's history – I do not know whether any of the Committee members carried out the work, nor of any evidence of a particular person being engaged to do it. Henry Bengston, the Swedish American, and author of the book *Skandinaver på vänsterflygeln i USA* [Left-wing Scandinavians in the USA], published in 1955, came nearest. Although he was not specially engaged by the committee or the Labour Movement Archives to do it he was in touch with Tage Lindbom at the time of the latter's American trip in the summer of 1949. He visited Stockholm several times during the spring and was asked to give Lindbom tips about suitable contacts in anticipation of his visit to the USA. He writes: I will bring with me to Stockholm the names and addresses of as many of the people that took part in our movement as is humanly possible. However, for many this cannot be. Those involved in the old days are dead and the younger ones have become scattered. It is actually extremely difficult to find out about the final chapter of our history.

1. Per Nordahl: *Weaving the Ethnic Fabric. Social Networks Among Swedish-American Radicals in Chicago 1890-1940*. Stockholm 1994, p. 52ff.
2. Nordahl, p. 54ff.
3. Nordahl, p. 40f.
4. August Palm: *Ögonblicksbilder från en tripp till Amerika* [On the spot accounts of a trip to America]. Stockholm 1901.
5. F Hanson in letters to O Borge, the Labour Movement Archives. Quoted in Martin Grass: 'Nedslag i korrespondensen 1902-1912', in *Arbetarhistoria* nos. 63-65, 1993.
6. ARAB's archives, accession register 1905.
7. ARAB's archives, *Redogörelse för Arbetarrörelsens arkiv 1905* [Account of the Labour Movement Archives 1905], p. 4.
8. *Arbetarrörelsens arkivs berättelse över 1949 års verksamhet* [The Labour Movement Archives Annual Report for 1949], ARAB.

LIST OF ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS

Arbetaren [USA], newspaper archive – 1 volume
 Arbetarklubben Spartacus i Brooklyn – 1 volume
 Enhetsförbundet mot krig och fascism bland skandinaver i Cleveland – 1 volume
 The Finnish Youth Federation i New York – 1 volume
 Gubbklubben i Boston – 1 volume
 Fredrik Hanson – < 1 volume
 Klubben 'Viljan', Los Angeles – 1 volume
 Kommittén för den skando-amerikanska arbetarrörelsens historia – 1 volume
 Arthur Landfors – 1 volume
 Carl J Möller – 2 volumes
 Ny Tid [USA], newspaper records – 2 volumes
 Albert Pearson – 2 volumes
 Gustav Rudquist – 1 volume
 Scandinavian Federation of Workers' Party – 1 volume
 Scandinavian Federation of Workers' Party in New York – 1 volume
 Skandinaviska arbetarförbundet, avd New England [New England Section] – 1 volume
 Skandinaviska arbetarförbundet i Amerika – 1 volume
 Skandinaviska arbetarförbundet, klubben i New York – 1 volume
 Skandinaviska arbetarklubben in Cleveland – 1 volume
 Skandinaviska arbetarklubben in Hartford – 1 volume
 Skandinaviska Socialistförbundet [USA] – 1 volume
 Skandinaviska socialistiska arbetarförbundet, avd Brooklyn – 1 volume
 Skandinaviska socialistiska arbetarförbundet, avd Lake View – 1 volume

Skandinaviska socialistiska arbetarförbundet [USA] – 2 volumes
 Skandinaviska socialistklubben in Boston – 1 volume
 Skandinaviska socialistklubben in Cleveland – 1 volume
 Skandinaviska socialistklubben in Hartford – 1 volume
 Storstrejken [Collection] – separate volumes 1:4 and 2:16
 Svenska Socialisten [USA], newspaper records – 1 volume

LITERATURE

Bengston, Henry: *Skandinaver på vänsterflygeln i USA*. Stockholm 1955
 Nordahl, Per: *Weaving the Ethnic Fabric: Social Networks Among Swedish-American Radicals in Chicago 1890-1940*. Stockholm 1994

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'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 vive 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 Militärflichtlinge 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 och 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. *Arbetsarhistoria* 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 *Arbetsarhistoria* 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 hjälpskommittén 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
Pfleger, 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

LITERATURE

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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
Temptsch, Rudolf: *Från Centraleuropa till folkhemmet. Den sudentyska invandringen till Sverige 1938-1955*. Gothenburg 1997
Temptsch, Rudolf: *Invandrare in folkhemmet. Sudentyskarna i Eskilstuna 1938-1988*. Eskilstuna 1995

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'Everything you have done for us Spanish children will live in our memories for ever'

The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939

In July 1936 sections of the military and right wing forces revolted against the Spanish government. It was the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, a war that lasted until 1939. The official line in many countries was non-intervention but the situation aroused strong feelings in many people, which resulted in a great popular commitment to the cause of the Spanish people. Solidarity work took various forms at both organisational and individual level. Solidarity organisations were set up in many countries. The Labour Movement Archives and Library (ARAB) has extensive material relating to this subject. The material is included in various organisational and personal archives, collections and in the library.

The Swedish Relief Committee for Spain

Svenska hjälpkommittén för Spanien SHfS [the Swedish Relief Committee for Spain] was established in Sweden in the year the war broke out. The Committee, whose fonds at ARAB consists of five volumes, was founded by a number of social democrats at a meeting on 9 October 1936 including such well-known names as Professors Herbert Tingsten and Israel Holmgren. The social democratic Member of Parliament, Georg Branting, was appointed chairman. An appeal was formulated at this meeting which was signed by the participants. Later it was topped up with the signatures of many representatives of Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti SAP [the Social Democratic Party of Sweden], Sveriges kommunistiska parti SKP [the Swedish Communist Party], Socialistiska partiet SP [the Socialist Party] and the syndicalist organisation Sveriges arbetares centralorganisation SAC [Swedish Workers Central Organisation]. The appeal was launched and after just a couple of months a considerable sum of money had been received, illustrating the tremendous interest in the relief campaign.

Landsorganisationen LO [the Swedish Trade Union Confederation] started its own collection on 4 August 1936, the proceeds of which were passed on to Internationella Solidaritetsfonden [the International Solidarity Fund]. The SAC and Kvinnokommittén för Spaniens barn [the Women's Committee for the Children of Spain] were also involved in relief work. Many well-

The evacuation of Madrid. Francos attack on Madrid began in November 1936, but it took until the end of March before the nationalists could enter the capital.

known politicians, union representatives and the cultural world supported the SHfS's work, but there was also a tremendous input from ordinary men and women. Bertil Lundvik writes in his book *Solidaritet och partitaktik* [Solidarity and Party Tactics]:

It was by no means unimportant that there were many collections. The background was political. And the consequences were political. The SHfS passed on the majority of the receipts via the International Co-ordinating Committee or its agency in Paris. This committee commanded a dominant position in Spain and was recognised as the official aid agency of the Spanish government.¹

The Committee was to have 431 local committees throughout the country.

Medical care

The Committee had already embarked on its relief shipments by December 1936. They consisted of medical equipment such as stretchers, bandages and dressings and subsequently even ambulances. With the exhortation 'Give the Spanish people a hospital' the Committee appealed for the raising of SEK 200,000 to equip and install a hospital.² In collaboration with the Norwegian Relief Committee a hospital was later established in Alcoy, between Valencia and Madrid. Its first director was Nils Silfverskiöld who had been involved in the Support Committee right from the start whilst the staff came from Norway and Sweden. It was provided with equipment, surgical instruments, reserves of provisions and five cars. It was intended at the outset for 125 beds but in the end there were around 650. It was opened in April 1937 and in August of the same year its management and operation were transferred to the Spanish state: however, even after that transfer consignments of medical equipment were sent from the Norwegian and Swedish committees. At the end of the war it was bombed, probably by an Italian bomber.

Like many other German emigrants Doctor Max Hodann was involved in the struggle for the Spanish people. He went to Spain in 1937 to work in a republican hospital while at the same time working as correspondent for the Norwegian newspaper, *Arbeiderbladet*. In *Sådant är Spanien* [Such is Spain] he describes his stay. There are a number of volumes of material about Spain in Max Hodann's papers.

The children

Sporadic groups of refugees from Spain crossed the French border at the end of 1936. The great flood came in the spring of 1937 and the refugees included thousands of children. The Committee had resolved as early as the winter of 1936/1937 to establish a home for the evacuated children. The Swedish couple, Siri and Olof Aschberg facilitated its achievement by granting the use of their chateau outside Compiègne, the Château de la Brévière. They also financed the furnishing and operation of the children's home. It was run by Swedish staff under the management of a board whose membership included Rina Branting, Siri Aschberg and representatives of French union and women's organisations

In the wake of the children's home in the Château de la Brévière, many others followed with the support of the Swedish committee. Jean Longuet, Karl Marx's grandson,

who was mayor of Châtenay-Malabry where the home was located, opened the fifth. The other Swedish children's homes were in the environs of Paris and in the south of France. In all there were ten in France and two in Spain. To supply the homes with food and the other necessities required for the thousand or so children that lived there the Committee recruited foster parents in Sweden who undertook to pay SEK 55 per month for a child in France and SEK 40 for one in Spain. The Spanish Committees in Gothenburg, Värmland, Stockholm, Skåne and Västmanland all used this method to support their children's homes. Other groups and organisations such as newspaper publishers, teachers associations, youth and union organisations became fosterers too. One example is the

In the summer of 1938 Catalan children presented a drawing to the Swedish lawyer Georg Branting, in gratitude of the Swedish aid. Photo collection of the newspaper Arbetaren.

Scania-Vabis local union branch in Södertälje, which provided for 13 children in one year. The children wrote letters and sent drawings to their foster parents to thank them for all the help they received. Many of these have been preserved at the Archives.³ The children drew pictures of the war but also of their dreams. Guillermina Ortiz wrote from the home in Asnières:

*Thank you so much for the seven kronor you sent me. Everything you have done for us Spanish children will live in our memories forever, we will never forget you. I just wish that when the war ends you could come to Spain to see how beautiful it is.*⁴

In the homes the children were taught about Sweden in various ways, like reading and discussing Nils Holgersson. Many of the children wrote to Selma Lagerlöf saying how much they appreciated the books and many illustra-

ted them. An excerpt from another letter reads:

*Dear Mrs Lagerlöf
I write to you on behalf of all the Spanish children in this colony supported by the Swedish to tell you just how delighted we were with the book 'Nils Holgersson's wonderful journey through Sweden' ... Old Akka who took the white goose under her wing is a lovely character.⁵*

The children also described life in the home. In 1937 the la Brévière home celebrated a Swedish Christmas with the help of gifts sent from Sweden. One of the children, Maria del Carmen Merín, described it thus:

How happy we were at that moment, and when we were all together. But when we came up to our rooms, there were still many who felt as I did despite everything these kind people are doing and have done for us. I couldn't help taking out my father's picture and telling him, lonely as he is, about this Swedish Christmas that we have enjoyed so much.⁶

The children's drawings caused quite a stir at an exhibition entitled 'Our Spanish children' in Stockholm in 1938.

Kajsa Rothman

Kajsa Rothman's work also made a considerable contribution to the children's cause. She published the book *Barnen ritar om kriget* [Children's drawings of the war] which was distributed and sold throughout the country. Material relating to her efforts appears in many of the archives and collections.⁷

She found herself in Spain when war broke out, but previously she had worked as a nursemaid in France. Later as a marathon dancer she toured all over Europe. At the end of the tour the manager disappeared with the cash and the dancers had no pay. Kajsa went to Romania as a nursemaid with the same family as she had worked for in France. After

three years she moved to Spain and started a travel agency.

When the war broke out she was the first Swedish citizen to enlist as a volunteer. She worked as a nurse and on convoys of the wounded from the front. She wrote from Spain to the *Karlstad-tidningen* and took part in Radio Madrid's Swedish broadcasts. She was also in contact with Svenska Spanienhjälpen [the Swedish Relief for Spain] and worked with them. She was involved in and started children's homes financed from Sweden. In 1938 Kajsa came to Sweden and made a tour, lecturing on the situation in Spain in an effort to invigorate the solidarity work. On her initiative a special fund was established called 'Kajas mjölkfond [Kajsa's milk fund]' the proceeds of which were used to buy milk for babies in Spain.⁸

After a period in Sweden she returned to Spain and at the end of the war fled to France like many others. Thence she moved on to Mexico where she lived until her death on 31 October 1969, at the age of 66.⁹

Volunteers for Spain

The volunteers who went to Spain as soldiers constituted another form of solidarity by joining the fight for democracy on the spot. They came from more than 50 countries and formed the International Brigades as they were known. These consisted of around 35,000 men and around a further 5,000 enlisted in other parts of the republican army. That does not include the nurses, doctors, engineers, etc., who worked for the republicans. Much has been written about the volunteers in Spain. As early as 1938 Sixten Olsson wrote *Spanska frontminnen* [Recollections of the Spanish front]. The Norwegian journalist Lise Lindbæk described the

Swedish volunteers in the *Internationella brigaden* [International Brigade] published in 1939 while Göte Nilsson's book based on interviews with nine volunteers was published in 1972. There is a chapter on the volunteers in Bertil Lundvik's dissertation *Solidaritet och partitaktik* of 1980 and in recent years *Spaniens sak var vår* [The Spanish cause was our cause] and *Kämpande solidaritet* [Struggling Solidarity] have appeared.

*Their contribution in Spain is probably the greatest voluntary effort in recorded history, if you consider the number of countries represented. The commitment the Spanish cause aroused can most obviously be compared with the Vietnam movement, but it exceeded this in its extent, its intensity and in its armed involvement,*¹⁰

wrote Richard Jändel in his book *Kämpande solidaritet*.

Around 520 young people went from Sweden. However, the first to travel from Sweden with the intention of reporting as volunteers were a group of German syndicalists. Nevertheless the majority of the Swedes were communists. It was Knut Olsson, a communist active in Relief for Spain, who dealt with the practical preparations for those who wished to go. He was later to become the secretary of *Frontkämparnas stödfond* [the Frontline Fighters Support Fund].

‘Indeed everyone went to Paris, not Spain. There was, of course, a non-intervention pact – travelling to Spain could mean six months in prison. The headquarters for relaying all volunteers to Spain was in Paris’, Knut Olsson relates in *Spaniens sak är vår*. ‘We never carried any records’, he says, ‘nor did any of the Swedes travel from Sweden. A group, many of whom were seamen, went ashore in Spain.’

The majority of Swedish volunteers were to join the Georg Branting company of the 11th International Brigade. Stig Berggren was active politically in the Swedish Socialist Party. At the end of 1936 he travelled

was later transferred to the hospital in Mataró. One of the ambulances he drove was a gift to the Spanish republic from the American actors Gary Cooper and Myrna Loy, another was donated by students and employees at Harvard University in the USA. There are photographs and amongst other things certificates and movement orders in Stig Berggren’s papers.

Ernst Ingvar Karlsson, a mineworker from Sollefteå, also went into the 11th Brigade. Amongst his papers are some letters his mother set to the front:

*Dear Ernst! I’m dropping these lines in hope that they may reach you. I hope you are alive somewhere in Spain. ... I fervently hope that you will achieve victory although it is very often distressing to think of your having to go away so unexpectedly.*¹¹

A third of the volunteers were killed in action and many were wounded. The brigades were disbanded in 1938 and the Swedes returned home in a number of batches, the last at the end of 1939. The volunteers continued their fight after their homecoming and, in April 1939, Svenska frontkämpförbundet [Swedish Frontline Fighters League] was founded which was later to become Svenska Spanienfrivilligas kamratförening [Swedish Volunteers for Spain League of Comrades]. There are 50 volumes in its archive consisting of, for instance, minutes, annual reports, correspondence, cashbooks, interviews, photographs and two banners.

*From the outset the organisation took on a federal character. At a general meeting on 12 December 1938 it was debated whether we should try to form an intra-Scandinavian association from the start or be content with a national one. The resolution was for the latter and it was constituted at a conference on 29 April 1939, with 10 representatives from Stockholm, 6 from Gothenburg, 3 from Norrland, 2 from Southern Sweden and 1 each from Dalarna, Värmland and Västerås taking part. The guests at the conference included the lawyer Georg Branting, Danielsson – chairman of Spanienveteranernas stödfond [the Spanish Veterans Relief Fund], Dr. Nils Silfverskjöld and Per Moen from the Norwegian fraternal organisation.*¹²

Outside the hospital at Mataró. The Swedish Spain-volunteer Stig Berggren drives an ambulance donated by the Harvard University in the USA.

with SEK 60 and a ticket to Paris, paid for by the party. He was in Spain for 25 months in which time he worked as an ambulance driver. He started in the 11th Brigade and

Thus wrote Sixten Rogeby, Spanish volunteer, in a memorial publication in 1961.¹³

The first issue of *För ett fritt Spanien* [For a Free Spain], the newspaper of the Swedish Volunteers for Spain League of Comrades, appeared in 1963. The last issue was published in 1994 when the league was disbanded. As a

memorial to those who died in Spain, the monument La Mano was erected in Katarinavägen, Stockholm in 1977. Union and political representatives supported a fund, which had started in 1975 on the initiative of the League of Comrades. The same year a competition for the design of the monument was announced. Nearly 90 proposals were received and an expert jury chose La Mano by the sculptor Liss Eriksson. A majority of Stockholm's city councillors decided that the city itself should foot the bill for the monument and the monies collected were then sent to the resistance movement in Spain.

Frontline Fighters Support Fund

The Swedish Frontline Fighters Support Fund was set up in October 1937, at first to help the volunteers in Spain. The organisation sent gifts to the front, such as clothes, shoes, books, chocolates and cigarettes. Subsequently, it was involved with returning volunteers, paid for medical attention and hospitalisation and helped them out with money. The Support Fund resulted from the initiative of the communists but had wide union support – 25 union chairmen signed its first appeal for aid.¹⁴ Its chairman was V. O. Danielsson of Svenska Metallindustriarbetareförbundet [Swedish Metalworkers' Union], its secretary Knut Olsson, and treasurer Nils Löfstedt from the Stockholm branch of the Seamen's Union. The Frontline Fighters Relief Fund's records consist of 9 volumes.

Collection of clothes and other thing to be sent to Spain, Stockholm in the autumn of 1936. Photo: Arvidson Foto.

Swedish Workers National Organisation

The syndicalist movement's organisation Sveriges arbetares centralorganisation SAC [Swedish Workers National Organisation] had direct contacts with the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo CNT [National Confederation of Labour] and with Augustin Souchy, a German refugee who was their intermediary. He took on the job of organising a relief operation in the Scandinavian countries and, on 8 August 1936, wrote a letter to John Andersson and Albert Jensen from Lyon saying:

I have taken on the job of getting in touch with the SAC on CNT's behalf. The aim is to set in motion a powerful world-wide propaganda machine on behalf of Spain. ... It would be nice for us in Spain to know whether you can do anything to further the struggle.¹⁵

John Andersson replied on 18 August:

I can inform you that in the last few days we have issued a circular to all the district committees, and branches saying that the word is eve-

NOTES

1. Bertil Lundvik: *Solidaritet och partitaktik* [Solidarity and party tactics]. Uppsala/Stockholm, p. 113.
2. Leaflets in the Stockholm Spain Committee.
3. Spanish Civil War [collection], Georg Branting's papers, Knut Olsson's papers.
4. Svenska hjälpkommittén för Spanien [Swedish Relief Committee for Spain] Vol 3.
5. *Solidaritet* [Solidarity] no. 3 1939.
6. *Solidarity* no. 3 1939.
7. Spanish Civil War [collection], Swedish Relief Committee for Spain, Knut Olsson's papers.
8. Material in the collection The Spanish Civil War.
9. Kerstin Gustafsson and Mekki Karlsson: *Spaniens sak var vår* [The Spanish cause was our cause]. Stockholm 1992.
10. There is material on Lise Lindbæk in Max Hodann's papers.
11. Richard Jändel: *Kämpande solidaritet* [Struggling solidarity]. Stockholm 1996.
12. Sixten Rogeby's papers is at ARAB.
13. Gösta Hjärpe's papers vol 2.
14. Lundvik, p.128.
15. SAC vol FXIV:1.
16. SAC vol FXIV:1.
17. Augustin Souchy: *Vorsicht Anarchist. Ein Leben für die Freiheit. Politische Erinnerungen* [Take care, Anarchist. A life for freedom. Political reminiscences]. Darmstadt 1977, pp.103-123.

rywhere to collect money on behalf of the CNT.¹⁶

On 8 September 1936 Augustin Souchy was in Stockholm. The SAC's working committee held an extraordinary meeting at which he outlined the situation in Spain; however, he also visited the Swedish Trade Union Confederation.

Souchy writes about Spain in his memoirs *Vorsicht Anarchist. Ein Leben für die Freiheit*. [Take care, Anarchist. A life for freedom].¹⁷ Moreover, in the SAC's fonds there is also Souchy's correspondence with Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista [International Antifascist Solidarity]. There is also material on the SAC's contacts with Spain in Helmut Rüdiger's archive. Rüdiger, a German emigrant, was one of the secretaries of the AIT.

The poster collection

The poster collection relates to and gives a vivid impression of the tremendous international commitment to the people of Spain. There are hundred-odd posters from Spain in Spanish and Catalan. They come from the Confederación

Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), the Unión General de Trabajadores UGT [General Workers' Union], the Federación Anarquista Ibérica FAI [Iberian Anarchist Federation], Socorro Rojo Internacional [International Red Aid] and from the government's various ministers. The Swedish posters were published by the Swedish Relief Committee for Spain, SAC, the Swedish Frontline Fighters Support Fund, Syndikalistiska ungdomsförbundet [the Syndicalist Youth League], the Swedish Communist Party, etc.

The Spanish Civil War collection [1936-1939]

This is a comprehensive collection consisting of 45 volumes, principally printed material in various languages. The material throws light on various aspects of the commitment to and events of the Civil War. It contains, for example, leaflets, newspaper clippings, theatre programmes, advertisements of meetings and lectures, a range of writings, children's drawings and photographs. In the library there are many titles (approx. 500) on the Spanish Civil War in a number of languages. These are mainly books, but there are other publications such as booklets, essays and periodicals.

ARCHIVES WITH MATERIAL ON THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Gösta Andersson – 2 volumes
Stig Berggren – 2 volumes
Gustav Blomberg – 3 volumes
Georg Branting – 13 volumes (out of 42), documents concerning the Spanish Civil War and children's drawings
Per Eriksson – separate volumes
Gösta Hjärpe – 4 volumes
Max Hodann – isolated volumes
Ernst Ingvar Karlsson – < 1 volume
International rescue committee – 1 volume
Carl Mattson – 2 volumes
Nyköping Local Spain Committee – 1 volume
Knut Olsson – isolated volumes
Sixten Rogeby – isolated volumes
Kajsa Rothman – < 1 volume
Helmut Rüdiger – isolated volumes
The Stockholm Spain Committee – 1 volume
Spanish Civil War 1936-1939 [collection] – 45 volumes
Svenska frontkämparnas stödfond [Swedish Frontline Fighters Support Fund] – 9 volumes
Svenska hjälpkommittén för Spanien [Swedish Relief

Committee for Spain] – 5 volumes
Svenska Spanienfrivilligas kamratförening [Swedish Volunteers for Spain League of Comrades] – 50 volumes
Sveriges arbetares centralorganisation [The Swedish Workers Central Organisation] (SAC) – isolated volumes in correspondence with the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo [National Confederation of Labour] (CNT), with 'Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista [International Antifascist Solidarity]' and arranged by subject relief for Spain
Södra förstäädernas Spanienkommitté [Southern Suburbs Spain Committee] – < 1 volume

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Lucy Viedma is an archivist.

'The tears welled up unbidden in our eyes...'

The Soviet Union

'Sweden has been the world's most Russophobic country ever since Russia crushed Sweden's empire by military means. For several hundred years, the campaign against Russia has been the main propaganda weapon of Swedish calls for armament. This was used previously against Tsarism and even more intensively since 1917; against Bolshevism.'

This is taken from *Folkkalendern* [The People's Calendar] 1937 (p. 88). However, a slightly different picture emerges from the archives.

The fact that the politically radical astronomer Hjalmar Branting took the opportunity to meet Russian nihilists when he travelled to Dorpat and Pulkova in 1878 can be viewed as an early example of contact with Russia. More-

over, his first article in 1882, which was published in an exile Baltic newspaper, dealt with Swedish-Russian contacts. When the labour movement was formed, more links came into being, and they took firm shape when the prominent figures of the movement met at international congresses and conferences. After the unsuccessful uprising in Russia in 1905, contact between Sweden and Russia increased as many Russian refugees sought asylum in Sweden. As a result, our country also came to play a significant part in the struggle against Russian Tsardom.

Before the October Revolution

Documentation dealing with this partly illegal operation can be found in a number of archives at Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek ARAB [the Labour Movement Archives and Library], which is evident from the bibliography to Hans Björkegren's book *Ryska posten* [Russian Post].¹ This book discusses the role of the Nordic countries as the 'red base region' for the Revolution between the attempted uprising of 1905 and the October Revolution of 1917. In this book it is possible to find, among other things, a description of the Russian Social Democrats' congress in Stockholm, where many of the people who were to become the leaders of Soviet Russia met at Folkets hus [the People's House] for a few weeks in the spring of 1906. Lenin and Stalin were there, together with around 150 delegates and guests. Hinke Bergegren, Axel Holmström and other 'young Socialists' were in charge of the teller service

A number of Swedish communists chose, in the beginning of the 1920s, to emigrate to the Soviet Karelia. The picture shows the Karelian Communist Youth Association's congress in 1924.

during the congress. They received praise for their services, partly from the Russians, but also from party chairman Hjalmar Branting. Branting himself gave the welcome speech, but at the same time he took the opportunity to meet Plechanov, 'the father of Russian Marxism', in private.

During this time, Hinke Bergegren gave shelter to a large number of refugees at his villa, Agneberg, just south of Stockholm. However, other individuals and organisations whose archives can be found at ARAB were also involved in a variety of ways in supporting the Russian labour movement. They include Charles Lindley, a delegate of Transportarbetareförbundet [the Transport Workers' Union] and Gustav Möller, the man who was to become the Minister for Health and Social Affairs. With the links of the Social Democratic Youth Association (SSU) to what was known as the Zimmerwald movement, the contacts of the party left were brought nearer to the Russian Bolsheviks, while the party maintained its ties with the Russian Mensheviks.

After the February Revolution of 1917, both of these Russian groups had representatives stationed in Stockholm. These people took part in the attempts to reunite the Socialist International (the Stockholm conference) and form a new, leftwing international (the Zimmerwald movement). In Stockholm, these people also distributed information sheets, which are kept at ARAB.

The Swedish Anarchists were another group that maintained links with the East. As late as December 1918 C.J. Björklund visited 'the great hero of his youth', Peter Kropotkin, in Dmitrov. He asked him at the time what he thought of the Bolshevik revolution.

'The Russian Revolution is of enormous significance,' said Kropotkin. 'Time will tell how great its effect has been, and what it will mean to the people of Russia.' The trade embargo and intervention had, in his opinion, damaged the progressive forces, strengthened the government and obstructed development towards greater freedom. This had promoted the Bolshevik dictatorship.²

Kropotkin was also one of the many refugees who passed through Stockholm on his way home to Russia after the Russian February Revolution of 1917. He was interviewed in the Stockholm press at that time.

Picture of the Soviet Union

Sweden and the Soviet Union maintained contact throughout the entire existence of the union. ARAB has extensive documents relating to this contact. The archives of the communist organisations are stored here, as well as the messages of the Rosta news agency. Among the archives creators are Fredrik Ström, the first consul of the Soviet

Union,³ Georg Branting, who for a time was the lawyer for the Soviet legation, and Nils Lindh and Per-Emil Brusewitz, both of whom worked for periods at the Swedish legation in the Soviet Union. There are also personal archives from top Social Democrat politicians such as Hjalmar Branting, Olof Palme, Gunnar and Alva Myrdal and others. These archives contain documents on more formal inter-government relations, as well as personal experiences of the Soviet Union. The fonds of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden contains a separate series of documents on other countries, with the documentation on the Soviet Union being the most extensive. It consists mainly of information and background material but also includes transcripts of radio transmissions from the Soviet Union between 1952 and 1954.

The fascinating Ryska bilder [Russian pictures] collection of photographs must also be mentioned⁴, as well as photographs from the picture archives of *Ny Dag* [New Day] and other newspapers, photographs from a few other archives and Russian posters in the poster collection.

Depending on one's political place of residence, the archives reveal the communist community's view of a leading country, a country of the future, as well as the rest of the labour movement's more sceptical 'wait-and-see' or hostile attitude.

Between 1917 and 1990, the Soviet Union and its communism posed a challenge to the West. Travelling there was to touch something divine, an adventure, a provocation or a trip to hell, depending on your political convictions. Remaining neutral was more or less impossible. Every contact with that country was viewed with suspicion, and whatever visitors saw had to be corrected so as to fit in with a correct political view of the world.

The following overview will mainly illustrate impressions from travel or visits to the Soviet Union. These may be reports, diary-like notes, letters or manuscripts. Some of these have been published, while others are more or less hidden away in a variety of archives.

The promised land

When the Social Democratic Left Party joined the Communist International in 1919⁵ it became part of a world party or, as it was expressed in a leaflet from the 1930s:

The communist movement is a band of comrades encircling the whole world. There are communist parties in more than 70 countries. They have one basic programme, one will, one leadership.⁶

In Swedish Communist archives and those close to the

communist movement, there is a quantity of documentation dealing with the relationship and contacts with the Soviet Union. For example, almost 1,000 sets of minutes from party executives are available from the Comintern period (1919-1943) alone. Beside the parties themselves, there were also women's movements, youth movements and children's movements, as well as various front organisations that maintained very close contact with the Soviet Union.

Party minutes deal with visits by delegations and study

Russia but instead Russia ended up helping us. ...The boys started off by demolishing the cowshed so as to rebuild it in the Swedish way. We expected to be able to do this ourselves, then because not one of us had any idea about building, we ended up having to get a joinery factory to do the work for us. This would have cost three to four thousand roubles and here we were without a single kopeck... Then we applied for loans, and we probably would have got one, too. But then one of our members, a farmer from Edebo, went up to Gylling and said that it was all the same whether we got the money or not, because we were not farmers and we would be unable to cope. That was true ... then we all scattered. Only Svanson is still down there, I think (in Petrozavodsk: my comment). I have worked at a number of workshops since the commune and I now work up here in the north in a big quarry and I am earning good money, but my family is still in Petrozavodsk.⁷

Children of one of the early emigrants, Knut Lindblom, have also handed over a manuscript of a biography, along with a number of photographs connected with the family's stay in Soviet Karelia between 1923 and 1931.

Another group of Russo-Swedes that involved the Swedish communists was the group of ethnic Swedes from Gammelsvenskby in Ukraine, who 'returned' to Sweden in 1929, or – as the communists put it – were tempted 'through bribes and golden promises'. The whole thing was intended by the Swedish bourgeoisie as a patriotic attempt to save fellow Swedes from Soviet communism but their encounter with the everyday life of a Swedish farm labourer proved to be somewhat different from what they had expected. After just a few months, something of a political bombshell was dropped when, initially, three families contacted the Soviet legation and asked to go back. They travelled to Stockholm where they were given shelter by the Communist Party in anticipation of their return.

Brothers Voldemar and Johan Utas spoke at a meeting at Auditorium on 2 December 1930:

Pastor Hoas promised that we would be given land when we got here, but we became farm labourers for a wage on which we cannot live. Pastor Hoas has deceived and cheated us, persuading us to leave the Soviet Union, where we had homes and land. The taxes there were not terrible. The State helped us when our crops failed. The children in Gammelsvenskby were fed in the children's kitchen. We have seen that much of the farming population does not have

In 1929 some families of ethnic Swedes moved from Gammelsvenskby in the Ukraine to Sweden. But, greatly disappointed, they returned to the Soviet Union after only a few months. Photo: Axel Malmström

visits, as well as representation at the various International events. Attempting to derive benefit from the existence of the Soviet Union was important. For example, the party executive decided that a friendship league should be started, and who would be the editor of its journal.

Among the more spicy decisions was the appointment of a Kommitté för ordnande av frågor om svenska lantarbetares emigration till Sovjetryssland [Committee for the settlement of issues relating to the emigration of Swedish farm workers to Soviet Russia] in 1921. How things went for emigrants, primarily to Soviet Karelia, is still a hot topic of Swedish political debate, and a review of various series of correspondence would probably make things clearer. Nils Flyg's personal papers, for example, contain a letter from a colonist, dated Pulonga, 2 April 1926, with a fairly detailed description of the situation at this early Swedish emigrant colony:

I do not know whether you have found out how things went with our commune, this was a tragicomic story which has given me many a good laugh. We came here with a view to helping

*any land and lives in poor housing, and that things are a lot worse than they were for farmers in the Soviet Union.*⁸

Over the next few years, 300 of the 880 people from Gammelsvenskby were to return to the Ukraine, a fact that the Swedish communists were not slow to exploit in their propaganda.

From the mid-1920s, the Communist Internationals organised extensive study courses held at party colleges (Vestern and the Lenin School) in the Soviet Union. An insight into what was studied on these courses can be gained from the personal papers of Arvid Vretling. Vretling was one of the first students and his notebooks from various lectures still exist.

In the 1920s the communists organised themselves into 'nuclei' [driftceller, DC] and some of the documentation preserved is from the nucleus called DC 8, at the Russian Chamber of Commerce. Here, it is possible to gain a view of how things could be when Swedish communists worked for the Soviet state.

*A letter has been received from the comrades who do the cleaning of the Trade Delegation offices. In this it is stated that comrade Alexandrov, during a lesson with the Russian Circle, is said to have insulted them because the lunchroom, where the lesson was to be held, had not been cleaned. Since, unquestionably, nothing had been said to the cleaners about the fact that the lesson was to take place that day in the lunchroom, which under normal conditions is not used until around 12 o'clock, remarks from comrade A such as 'it will be a great pleasure for me to report to Guchinski how the cleaning is done', and 'they should not believe that they are allowed to do their work in any way they like just because they are Communists' must be regarded as highly inappropriate particularly as non-Communists were also part of the Circle. On these grounds, DC hereby resolves to lodge a protest against comrade Alexandrov and to demand that he take back his insults to the said comrades in front of the Russian Circle.*⁹

A few weeks later, Alexandrov was called to DC 8 to explain himself:

A decision was made to discuss the Alexandrov case first, because he is present only for this specific reason, to explain his behaviour in respect of our nucleus members who deal with the cleaning. The undersigned reported briefly on the visit to the Russian nucleus, whereupon

Alexandrov rebutted the accusations of uncomradely behaviour. In his opinion he had not offended and he did not wish to apologise. He explained that 'if he had known that the cleaners were unaware of the time the Russian Circle was to meet, he would have not said what he did'.

*After a discussion lasting almost an hour, at times becoming fairly heated, the meeting decided to content itself with the explanation put forward by comrade Alex. No proposal was put forward, and so it was decided that the discussion would constitute a response to the issue.*¹⁰

Grigori Alexandrov [sic] is mentioned in ARAB's register of biographies. According to a note there, he was executed by firing squad in Moscow in November 1937, convicted of espionage on behalf of Sweden. The name G. Alexandrov also appears in a document at Georg Brantings' law firm relating to espionage between 1920 and 1929.

Another event which may be worth mentioning is when Signe Sillén, a member of DC 8, was going to travel to Russia in the spring of 1926, she almost did not get her party membership book:

*Comrade Valhjalt then brought up the matter of comrade Signe Sillén's departure to Russia and stated that as she had not made her payments to the nucleus, she should be ordered to do so before her departure. She would otherwise be refused access to her membership book or a recommendation.*¹¹

Signe Sillén resolved her payment problem, probably received both her party membership book and her recommendation, and was able to travel to Moscow with her honour intact.

Communist marketing and criticism

Persuading people to travel to the Soviet Union so as to then be able to tell others of their positive impressions upon their return home has been an important part of the marketing of the communists. These efforts can be said to have started in earnest with the study visit by the newspaper *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* and Stockholms kommunistiska arbetarekommun (the Communist Party organisation in Stockholm) that took place between 16 and 26 July 1925. This 'delegation of workers' consisted of almost 300 people, mainly workers, of whom a third were elected by local trade unions. The inspiration for this appears to have come in part from a British trade union delegation's trip which took place six months previously,

and the view of the Communist International that a united international trade union front had to be created in order to protect the Soviet Union. The importance of this trip is reflected in extensive meetings and discussions in the press.

In the summer, this manifested itself in two long accounts, 'Till Österland' [To the East] and 'Rysslandsresan' [Russian Journey], in *Signalen* [The Signal], the newspaper for railway workers. They could very well be viewed as expressions of two different experiences or, perhaps, two official views of what delegates did during their trip:

*Our train is slowing down. We can hear music – the sound of the International. We are just passing the border and are being greeted in this poignant way by an orchestra on the embankment. The tears welled up unbidden in everyone's eyes and in mine too. We have met a people with whom we felt a sense of solidarity. These were our comrades in a foreign land.*¹²

*I was woken by music; there were Russian soldiers playing the International, according to one person many people were so moved that the tears ran down their faces. I did not see this ... I believe I should have seen it, as the tears flowed so copiously. But of course we were surprised to be greeted like national heroes.*¹³

In the communist and related press, travel reports from delegation visits and study visits are diligently reproduced. The message is simple and predictable: things over there are good – they are progressing, and the people are happy. In his doctoral thesis *Kommunism på svenska?* [Communism in Swedish?], Jörgen Hermansson writes that the view of the Swedish Communist Party (SKP) as a party entirely on the ideological lead of Stalin and Moscow far into the future is reinforced rather than muted in the event of a confrontation with the source material.

In the book by communist Per-Olov Zennström, *Z:s bekännelser* [Z's Confessions], however, an event is mentioned which may be an early¹⁴ attempt by the communists to dim the Soviet picture. Sixten Rogeby, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War and, between 1949 and 1950, the Moscow correspondent of the party agency *Ny Dag* [New Day], wrote a travelogue entitled *Efterkrigsår i Sovjet* [Post-war Years in the Soviet Union]. Plans were afoot for the SKP to publish this book, but according to Zennström, it was turned down on political grounds as it was considered to have too negative an attitude towards the Soviet Union. A manuscript commencing with the lines 'Russian trains do not hurry to any particular extent' did not meet

with any rejoicing within the Communist party in the early 1950s. The manuscript is available in its original format and as galley proof in Sixten Rogeby's¹⁵ personal archive and the notes made by the political proof-readers may in themselves be worth a look.

Only in the 1960s can a more critical assessment be discerned in the reports of communist delegations. When, for example, a delegation travelled to study corporate democracy in 1966, a more questioning attitude can be seen to have become accepted:

*Much has been written about the lack of true popular influence in the Soviet Union. This is certainly well founded. Shortcomings in planning and too much administration undoubtedly impede activities both inside and outside the factory gates.*¹⁶

Reports from internal Communist party conferences, study visits and international correspondence can be found in the fonds of the Left Party – Communists (VPK) as separate series. Otherwise, this type of documentation may appear as appendices to minutes in the various archives of the communist movement. Travel agencies linked with the communist movement have also arranged trips to the Soviet Union. Aktiebolaget Folkturist [People's Tourism Limited] (1961-1973) is an independent archives creator, but travel has also appeared under other names such as Komores, whose documentation can be found in the fonds of Kommunistisk ungdom [Communist Youth].

An in-depth study of various personal archives serves to illustrate the relationship between Swedish communists and the Soviet Union. Plenty of people who followed Swedish communism are represented in the personal archives at ARAB. Many of these archives creators also have their own personal experience of the Soviet Union and have also written memoirs and travel books: Carl Lindhagen,¹⁷ Kata Dahlström, Zeth Höglund, Fredrik Ström, Karl Kilbom and Ture Nerman to mention but a few. In his personal papers, Ture Nerman has also left an extensive collection of documentation dealing with relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union during the post-war period.

Solidarity with impediments

Swedish social democracy found its relationship with the Soviet Union complicated. At the Bern Conference held in 1919, the standpoint of international social democracy was established:

It will not be possible to carry out the progressive reshaping of society demanded by Socialism, nor can it be upheld if it is not rooted firmly in

*the free principles fought for and further developed by democracy.*¹⁸

However, within social democracy there has always been a tendency that has promoted a more conciliatory attitude towards the Soviet Union. At the Bern Conference this was expressed through a caveat:

*We emphatically dissociate ourselves from all stigmatisation of the conditions in the Russian Soviet Republic, as we do not have a sufficient basis on which to make judgement. We can know only one thing with certainty; that the heinous fabrication of lies by means of which the telegram agency of the Central Powers and that of the Entente attempted to outdo one another during the War, now continues undiminished against the Russian Soviet Republic.*¹⁹

The contrast between these two outlooks has also existed within Swedish social democracy. On 4 June 1928, registrar Per Emil Brusewitz lectured before Stockholms socialistiska studentklubb [Stockholm Socialist Student Club] on the subject of 'Den svenska socialdemokratin och sovjetväldet' [Swedish Social Democracy and Soviet Dominion]. This lecture was copied, and at the top of each copy are underlined the words 'Får endast meddelas medlem av det socialdemokratiska partiet' [May be communicated only to members of the Social Democratic Party].

Per Emil Brusewitz was not just anyone, but one of the people in the social democratic movement who knew the most about the Soviet Union. At the time of the Russian Revolutions, he was working for the consulate general in Moscow and Petrograd. He also travelled relatively freely throughout the country on a number of occasions in the 1920s. He described his impressions from these trips in detail in books such as *Det Röda Zarriket* [The Red Tsarist Empire], *Bakom Rysslands järnridå* [Behind Russia's Iron Curtain] and *Världsrevolutionens vapensmedja* [The Armourer's Workshop of World Revolution].

Brusewitz's address seems to indicate a conciliatory attitude towards the Soviet Union. To him, there is solidarity between the communists and the social democrats with regard to their political objectives. The splitting up of the labour movement is something that benefits only the political opponents of the movement and something he regards as 'a terrible tragedy'. Brusewitz maintains that our Western type of democracy would have been impossible to implement in a society with a cultural level as low as that at which Russia found itself in 1917. He also reckons that there are opportunities for socialist development in 'the new Russia':

*In the long run we will never be able to conceal the advance of Soviet power. We will merely become disabused over and over again. ... There are more and more viable companies. Anyone who has seen the red engineers and the red directors at work has seen how they work night and day to ensure that their companies progress and match up to the trust the workers have shown in them by electing them as their leaders. It is clear that the ambition of comradeship is not an empty concept but a driving force fully equal to the individual desire for gain.*²⁰

Per Emil Brusewitz's views on the Soviet Union were not uncontroversial nor did they remain unchallenged. Positive opinions of the Soviet Union could be used by the communists. On the other hand, exaggeratedly describing the country in pessimistic terms risked striking against the movement's own socialist ambitions.

Per Emil Brusewitz's papers consist of more than 70 volumes. One of the things it contains is an extensive collection of Russian brochures. A limited inventory is available. A clear contrast to Brusewitz can be seen in archives left by social democratic refugees such as Paul Olberg, Kurt Heinig, Johannes Mikhelson and Bruno Kalnins, to name but a few.

Social Democratic women go East

In the spring of 1934, a group of Social Democratic women travelled to the Soviet Union on a 14-day study trip. This trip made a big splash in *Morgonbris*, the newspaper of Socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundet SSKF [Social Democratic Women's Association]. There were 34 female and 5 male participants on this trip and their experiences were discussed in around 150 articles. Almost all the travellers also lectured on their impressions.

In *Morgonbris*, the Russian ambassador, Madame Kollontay, welcomed the participants. The intention was to visit workers' clubs, nursery schools, factory kitchens and collective dining halls, social institutions such as hospitals, maternity homes, marriage bureaux, reformatories for children, and so on. This trip was preceded by a conflict within the executive committee of the women's association, where Annie Wallentheim considered it psychologically unwise because:

... getting our members, primarily poor working class women, to start such travelling ... Experiences from earlier trips of social democ-

ratic organisations to the Soviet Union has demonstrated that unpleasant consequences cannot be ruled out.²¹

Annie Wallentheim was afraid that the communists could exploit the impressions of the travellers. Kaj Andersson, editor of *Morgonbris*, was upset about Wallentheim's criticism 'which is always adverse'. However, the editor had assured herself of the support of the party on the issue. She had also decided to establish a press committee in order to check that reports from the trip had the requisite 'reliability', or, as it was put in a circular: '... reliability will be guaranteed by means of a press commissariat included within the travelling group.'²²

Kaj Andersson wrote the official account of the journey, and here it is pointed out that the *Morgonbris* initiative of arranging a study visit to Leningrad and Moscow met with criticism from many sides but that the fears had not materialised. Rather, participants appreciated Swedish progress even more when they returned home: '... after our visit to the Soviet Union, we understood that the communists do not have all that much to fall back on. The experiment of Soviet Russia is not for us.'²³

In another interview in the archive of Hulda Flood, Kaj Andersson also wrote that:

*We made another interesting observation in our capacity as tour guides. Our group was, in its way, quite heterogeneous. On the one hand, we had working class wives and leaders of social democratic organisations, many with practical experience of poor relief work and child welfare work; and on the other we had radical authors and journalists from the bourgeois camp. The enthusiasm of the latter rose with every day that passed, while our representatives cooled more and more...*²⁴

Hulda Flood's personal papers and that of the Social Democratic Women's Association are available. ARAB's collections also include a recorded interview with Kaj Andersson, who gave her assessment of the trip half a century later.

Fears that trips could be exploited by the communists may, perhaps, be illustrated by one arranged by *Sovjetunionens vänner* [Friends of the Soviet Union] that took place the year after the *Morgonbris* trip. Two female social democrats took part: Hilma Pettersson from Collijns confectionery factory and Astrid Hedberg from Marabou chocolate factory. This trip made a big splash in the association's newspaper *Sovjetnytt* [Soviet News] in a series of articles under the heading 'En socialdemokratisk kvinna ser på'

[A social democratic woman looks on].

Hilma Pettersson's travel book appeared in three versions – as diaries, as fair copies in her personal papers and also in instalments printed in the newspaper *Sovjetnytt*. One gets the impression that Hilma Pettersson wrote exactly what she saw in her diary:

The first impression we had of Russia was not favourable. Ugly houses, factories and workshops. Everything seemed ramshackle, grey and dismal... There were lots of beggars in Russia – men, women and children... The trams in Leningrad are big, ungainly and very ugly ... The building was very ugly and shabby with a very dirty yard. One half of the factory was old, the other was slightly newer. The premises were very drab and a horrid air was everywhere.

*Both men and women got the same wages ... In a department with weft winding machines, and where there were just male workers, there was a female foreman. I thought that was plucky ... it was a pleasure to see the energy and enthusiasm with which the Russian women took part in all meetings and how easily they were able to make a statement or give lectures. It was as if, when you pressed a button, the words flowed out of them.*²⁵

The Swedish trade unions and the Soviet Union

The establishment of the Communist International with its express aim of splitting the trade union movement was looked upon with disapproval by the social democrat-oriented Swedish trade union movement. Therefore, over the first decades, visits to the Soviet Union by trade union delegations could be viewed as a result of the relative strengths of the communists and the social democrats within various trade unions. For example, the *fonds* of *Gruvarbetareförbundet* [Mineworkers' Union] contains documentation on its close relationship with its Russian sister organisation in the 1920s.²⁶ The communists had dominated the union throughout the 1920s, and in 1927 an agreement was entered into on mutual aid between the Swedish and the Soviet mineworkers' unions. When the wording of the agreement became known, it triggered a bitter dispute within the union, and also against *Landsorganisationen LO* [Swedish Trade Union Confederation]. This dispute ended with the agreement being withdrawn and members of communist trade unions expelled.

LO's negative view of the Russian trade union movement was crystal clear and was put into words in two separate reports in 1928 only, by Ivar Vennerström and Paul Olberg.²⁷

After the Second World War, the Swedish trade union movement at various levels held an organised exchange with colleagues in the Soviet Union. In the mid-1950s, the contacts seemed to be extra-diligent and the LO made a formal visit to the Soviet Union in April 1955, while a delegation from the Russian TUC made a return visit to Sweden some three months later. Fabriksarbetareförbundet [Factory Workers' Union] exchanged delegations in the same year. The reports from these trade union visits kept a lower general political profile than various party political visits. On the other hand, there were a few more down-to-earth comparisons in these. Charles Winroth and Sven Larsson wrote a report after the study visit by the Pappers- Skogs- och Flottnings-, och Träindustriarbetareförbunden [Paper, Forestry and Log Rafting Union, and Wood Industry Workers' Union] which took place in October 1955:

The industry is impressive on account of its large units, but it is often run down and does not have particularly large amounts of modern equipment. The work of women on the labour

market is astonishingly widespread. Women were often company managers and even more often it was possible to meet female engineers, even in heavy industry. All the doctors and managers at the sanatoria we visited were female.

Furthermore, there were female road workers and railway workers, female tram drivers, and so on. It was clear that women were completely equal to men in the Soviet Union: the tenet of equal pay for equal work was established in principle. In exchange, women appeared to have to work far too hard in our view – which could also be seen from the way they looked.²⁸

Trade union reports are generally available as appendices to the minutes of the respective unions or elsewhere in the archives. Some of these reports are also available in printed form.²⁹

Exchange of friendship and culture

Förbundet Sverige – Sovjetunionen [Sweden – Soviet Union Federation], Svenska fredskommittén [Swedish Peace Committee], Demokratisk ungdom [Democratic Youth] and Sveriges kvinnors vänsterförbund [Swedish Left Women's Association] (Swedish Section of the Women's International Democratic Federation) are organisations which left their documents to ARAB and worked to promote friendly relations with the Soviet Union. They also had ties with the communist movement to varying extents.

In the 1950s, Demokratisk ungdom DU, operated in practice as the Communist Youth Organisation and was affiliated to Demokratisk ungdoms världsfederation DUV [Democratic Youth World Federation]. DUV arranged so called world youth festivals. In 1957, a festival was held in Moscow, and extensive correspondence is held in the DU fonds. Other material, such as photographs and a feature film, can be found in the fonds of Sveriges kommunistiska ungdomsförbund SKU [Swedish Communist Youth Federation] (1921).

From the 1950s, a number of Baltic crossings, peace meetings and conferences were arranged together with the Soviet Union and the countries surrounding the Baltic Sea. Documentation on these events is primarily available from the Swedish section archives of the World Peace Council and the Swedish Peace Committee. Even the Swedish Left Women's Association can be said to have had similar links through its connection with the KDV (Kvinnornas Demokratiska Världsförbund [Women's Democratic Peace Party]).

The Sweden-Soviet Union Friendship League organised many study trips to the Soviet Union. Here some beret-topped travellers study the city crowds in Moscow in 1954.

people, took shape and became a bridge of understanding where we walked hand in hand towards a vast destination far, far away – eternal peace. The Flood had receded, people and animals wandered from Mount Ararat towards Yerivan, the eternal city of health.³⁰

Politics is largely conspicuous by its absence from his travelogue and Åke Claesson seems to have been more interested in food and entertainment:

Caviar, salmon, sturgeon, poultry, fruit, ice cream, gateaux, vodka, white wine, red wine, sweet wine, champagne, red and white, cognac, talking and singing. We drank all the wines without considering what food we were having with them. My neighbour on my right, accompanist Alexander Yerechin, even mixed cognac with sweet wine and then showed us how vodka should really be enjoyed; you gargle first, then you swallow. He showed us how to do this twice. It is at its absolute best in the mornings, an excellent gargle. Disinfects better than any injection.³¹

Women directors, equal pay and general equality were often mentioned facts in the Soviet-travellers reports home. Picture of a female Russian athlete from Hilma Petterssons papers.

The Sweden – Soviet Union Federation was formed in 1935 under the name of Sällskapet för främjande av kulturella och ekonomiska förbindelser mellan Sverige och Sovjetunionen [the Society for the Promotion of Cultural and Economic Links between Sweden and the Soviet Union]. It ran an extensive cultural exchange programme in co-operation with VOKS, the Soviet state cultural organisation. There was also co-operation with the Soviet Union's Friendship Leagues Association and its sister organisation Föreningen Sovjetunionen – Sverige, which was formed in 1958. The archive consists of association documents dating from 1958 to 1987, but also includes a 'collection of cuttings' which are older. In this collection of cuttings it is possible to follow delegation visits to the Soviet Union in the 1950s made by lecturers, authors, artistes and trade union representatives.

The delegation of artists in 1954 was able to experience theatrical performances in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Yerivan and had many opportunities to talk to colleagues. At the drama school at Vachtángov Theatre, they also had the opportunity to attend the entrance examinations. Actor Åke Claesson has left an extensive manuscript telling us of his impressions. He is obviously lyrical about what he saw and experienced:

In my sleep I heard the tapping of the tape, which ran like a bridge of rhythm from people to

Jazz singer Sonja Sjöbäck, who was part of the artists' delegation for 1955, called herself a 'political idiot', but in spite of this she reflected on what she saw:

Artists are like a privileged class. A trumpeter like Eddi Rossner, with a 40-man orchestra, earns 2,000 roubles a day for himself, while his guitarist gets 700. If one compares this with workers' wages of 700–1,500 a month, these can hardly be called fair shares... I cannot understand how a worker with a family can manage on 700 a month, what with the high prices in the Soviet Union – a pair of shoes costs 3–400 roubles, an orange costs 5 roubles, a pair of nylon stockings costs 32 roubles, and so on... And yet for artists and the people surrounding them, most things are free.³²

The Soviet Union no longer exists and it might be thought that it should be easier to remain objective and restrained. Yet it is still almost unthinkable that one can remain neutral. The word itself is still loaded and will perhaps remain so until the spectre of communism has ceased to walk the countries of Europe and the world.

1. Ryska flyktingars kommitté [Russian Refugees Committee], Undersökningskommissionen Alfred Kruse [Alfred Kruse Committee of Enquiry] (Opinionsledningen), Karl Kilbom, Fredrik Ström, Hjalmar Branting, Otto Grimlund.
2. C J Björklund: *Anarkist och agitator* [Anarchist and Agitator]. Stockholm 1969, p 227. Björklund's papers are kept at ARAB.
3. Fredrik Ström's papers are stored mainly at the University Library in Gothenburg.
4. See presentation by Maria Bosdotter in *Meddelande från Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek* [Information from the Labour Movement Archives and Library] issue 26-27, 1983, pp 26-33.
5. Party archives at ARAB linked with the Communist International:
Sveriges socialdemokratiska vänsterparti 1917-1921, Sveriges kommunistiska parti sektion av kommunistiska internationalen 1921-1924 [Sweden's Communist Party Section of the Communist International 1921-1924], Sveriges kommunistiska parti sektion av kommunistiska internationalen 1924-1929, Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna (VPK).
6. VPK Leaflet B 04:2.
7. Nils and Elsa Flyg, Correspondence 3:1.
8. *Ny Dag* 12 March 1930.
9. Sveriges kommunistiska parti sektion av kommunistiska internationalen 1924-1929, nucleus DC8's archives vol. 1, meeting 19 October 1926.
10. See note 9, 16 November 1926.
11. See note 9, 29 March 1926.
12. Newspaper *Signalen*, issue 32, 1925.
13. Ibid, issue 42, 1925

14. Per-Olov Zennström: *Z:s bekännelser*. Lund 1976
15. Sixten Rogeby papers, volume 15.
16. Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna [Left Communists Party] F 7B: 1
17. Carl Lindhagen's papers are for the most part kept at the archives of the City of Stockholm.
18. Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti SAP [the Social Democratic Party of Sweden], Verksamheten 1919, pp 21 ff. Documentation on the Berne Conference can also be found in the personal papers of Hjalmar Branting. Documentation has also been published by Gerhard A. Ritter
19. Ibid.
20. Brusewitz papers, volume 8.
21. Socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundet [the Social Democratic Women's Association] A 2:4.
22. Socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundet B 2:2.23. *Morgonbris*, June 1934.
24. Hulda Flood papers, volume 1.25. Hilma Pettersson's papers, quotation from diaries from the Soviet trip.26. There is also a banner bearing both Russian and Swedish text: 'To the Swedish mineworkers, from the mineworkers of the USSR'.27. Ivar Vennerström: Den ryska fackföreningsrörelsen [the Russian Trade Union Movement] (LO Skriftserie, 20); Paul Olberg: Sovjet-Rysslands internationella fackföreningspolitik [Soviet Russia's International Trade Union Policy] Stockholm 1928 (LO Skriftserie, 21).
28. Charles Winroth's papers, volume 1.
29. See, among other things, the 'Studieresor till Sovjetunionen' collection.
30. Förbundet Sverige – Sovjetunionen, Volume 7.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.

LIST OF ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS

Archives mainly on the Soviet Union

Per Emil Brusewitz – 75 vol.
 Centrala hjälpkommittén for Leningrads barn [Central Aid Committee for the Children of Leningrad] – 3 volumes
 Förbundet Sverige – Sovjetunionen – 17 volumes
 Nils Lindh – 11 vol.
 Hilma Pettersson – 1 vol.
 Ryska flyktingars kommitté [Russian Refugees Committee] – 1 volume
 Studieresor till Sovjetunionen [Study Visits to the Soviet Union] (collection) – 1 volume

Archives in which the Soviet Union appears to a limited extent

The Soviet Union appears in many archives of organisations and private individuals, such as those of Hinke Berggren, C.J.

The Russian youth delegation at the Swedish Communist Youth Association's congress in 1950. They flew home from Bromma Airport in Stockholm. Photo: Sallstedts Bildbyrå.

Björklund, Hjalmar Branting, Tage Erlander, Kurt Heinig, Axel Holmström, Bruno Kalnins, Johannes Mikhelson, Alva and Gunnar Myrdal, Paul Olberg, Olof Palme, Pierre Schori and the fonds of the Executive of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden.

Special mention should be made of the following:

Aktiebolaget Folkturist [People's Tourism Limited]
Demokratisk ungdom [Democratic Youth]
Nils and Elsa Flyg
Förbundet Sverige – Sovjetunionen [Sweden – Soviet Union Federation]
Georg Brantings advokatbyrå [Georg Branting Solicitors]
Otto Grimlund
Zeth Höglund
Karl Kilbom
Knut Lindblom
Ture Nerman
Sitten Røgeby
Svenska fredskommittén [Swedish Peace Committee]
Sveriges kommunistiska parti sektion av kommunistiska internationalen 1921-1924 [Swedish Communist Party Section

of the Communist International 1921-1924]
Sveriges kommunistiska parti sektion av kommunistiska internationalen 1924-1929
Sveriges kommunistiska parti sektion av kommunistiska internationalen 1924-1929: Driftcell 8 [Nucleus DC8]
Sveriges kommunistiska ungdomsförbund [Swedish Communist Youth Association]
Sveriges socialdemokratiska vänsterparti [Swedish Social Democratic Left Party]
Arvid Vretling
Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna [VPK, Left Party - Communists]
Per Olov Zennström

Picture archives in which the Soviet Union is relatively well represented

Per Emil Brusewitz
LO-Tidningen
Morgon-Tidningen
Norrskensflamman
Ny Dag
Ryska bilder [Russian Photographs] (collection of photographs)
Sveriges kommunistiska ungdomsförbund [Swedish Communist Youth Association] (1921)

Poster collection – around 250 posters

LITERATURE

Andræ, Carl Göran: *Revolt eller Reform. Sverige inför revolutionerna i Europa 1917-1918*. Stockholm 1918
Björkegren, Hans: *Ryska posten. De ryska revolutionärerna i Norden 1906-1917*. Stockholm 1985
Björklund, C J: *Anarkist och agitator. Memoarer*. Stockholm 1969
Björlin, Lars: Röd skandinavism i Komintern. SKP:s kris och splittring 1924, in *Arbetarhistoria* no. 69, 1994, pp 18-30
Björlin, Lars: Svensk kommunism. En översikt över 1990-talets forskning, in *Arbetarhistoria* no. 100, 2001, pp 6-17
Eneberg, Kaa: *Tvingade till tystnad. En okänd historia om några svenska familjeöden*. Stockholm 2000
Hirdman, Yvonne: *Sveriges Kommunistiska Parti 1939-1945*. Stockholm 1974
Höglund, Gunhild: *Moskva tur och retur. En dramatisk period i Zeth Höglunds liv*. Stockholm 1960
Josephson, Erland F: *SKP och Komintern 1921-1924*. Uppsala 1976
Kan, Aleksander: *Hjalmar Branting, ryska demokrater och bolsjevikerna 1918. Mellan den ryska oktober- och den tyska novemberrevolutionen*. Uppsala 1999
Kennerström, Bernt: *Mellan två internationaler. Socialistiska partiet 1929-1937*. Lund 1974
Kilbom, Karl: *Ur mitt livs äventyr 2. I hemligt uppdrag*. Stockholm 1954
Meddelande från Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek no. 24-25, 1982/1983, Tema: Kommunismen i Sverige
Thing, Morten (ed.): *Guldet fra Moskva. Finansieringen af de nordiske kommunistpartier 1917-1990*. Copenhagen 2001
Zennström, Per Olof: *Z:s bekännelser*. Lund 1976

Lars Gogman is an archivist.

Printed programme from Signe Höijers papers. Signe Höijer was one of the participants in the trip to the Soviet arranged by the Social Democratic Women's Association's newspaper Morgonbris, in 1934.

'Le Phuong said he was grateful for my views'

Vietnam in the collections

Demonstration against the war in Vietnam. Photo from the archives of the Swedish Communist Youth Association.

It was in the mid-60s that the Vietnam issue made its way onto the political agenda in Sweden. The reason it did so was the war, which arose from the active involvement of the USA in Vietnam's domestic affairs, in one sense a continuation of the earlier colonial war in Indochina.¹ Nowadays, when we think of solidarity work with Vietnam, pictures of FNL [National Liberation Front] supporters are probably what spring to mind – the people who stood outside Systembolaget [the state wine and spirits shops] on Saturdays and collected money or sold their *Vietnam bulletins* on the stairways of the subway. The FNL supporters made demonstrations, fought with the police, threw eggs and burned American flags. In a sense, they became a kind of icon of a contemporary lifestyle. The FNL movement was a movement of its time or of the spirit of the age (the 'student revolt', the '68 movement'). New life was also breathed into activism in Swedish political life. The FNL movement – the United FNL groups (DFFG) – also came to dominate Swedish public debate on the Vietnam War for many years.

Vietnam, Sweden and the labour movement

For the 15 years the movement was in existence, the DFFG's relationship with the traditional labour movement was characterised largely by suspicion and, during the first few years of the movement, pure hostility. The government, social

democracy and the traditional Communist Party of Sweden were viewed as traitors when they did not commit themselves sufficiently explicitly to a conflict in which, according to the DFFG, one could be either right or wrong. Much later, Sköld Peter Matthis, a prominent figure in the FNL movement, described in the reportage book *FNL i Sverige* [FNL in Sweden], how he perceived the heart of the conflict:

The first FNL group was formed in opposition to the established peace movement. Throughout 1965 there was a clear conflict between the FNL supporters' line, expressed by the slogans 'Yanks out of Nam' and 'Support the FNL', and the demands of the peace movement and the Communist Party for 'Peace in Vietnam' on the basis of a mutual ceasefire and negotiations. The pacifist line made no distinction between attacker and attacked. The result was that they gave their support to President Johnson's demands of the Vietnamese on negotiation.²

In 1964, Sköld Peter Matthis was the chairman of Svenska Clartéförbundet (the leftist organisation the Swedish Clarté Association). He became well known among the general public on 14 July 1965, when he and a companion were arrested in sensational circumstances for obstructing pedestrians in Hötorget, Stockholm, at a demonstration. Documentation dealing with the subsequent and, at the time, famous legal proceedings is held with the records of the law firm A. Rudling.

There was enormous suspicion of the FNL movement within the mainstream of the Swedish labour movement. On the one hand, the Swedish Social Democrats dissociated themselves from extra-parliamentary movements, while on the other hand the struggle against Communism was, by tradition, an important part of social democratic policy. Moreover, the ties of friendship with the USA were strong.

However, the conflict between the DFFG and the labour movement did diminish over the years. This was partly due to the fact that the DFFG's slogans came to be embraced by almost the entire labour movement and partly because the organisation itself acted in a more thoughtful manner. The high point of the closer associa-

tion might be said to be when almost 50,000 people gathered at Norra bantorget on 1 May 1972 to listen to Nguyen Van Thien, chief negotiator in Paris for the PRR, the provisional government of South Vietnam. Bert Lundin, chairman of Metallindustriarbetareförbundet [Swedish Metal Workers' Union] and representatives of the DFFG and Svenska kommittén för Vietnam SkfV [the Swedish Committee for Vietnam] also spoke at this meeting. The DFFG's documentation was transferred to Riksarkivet [the National Archives]. Only a small number of documents from the DFFG itself exist at ARAB, along with documentation from local FNL groups such as those in Märsta and Stockholm.

The DFFG's ideological and organisational roots were linked with the pro-Chinese, Maoist wing of Swedish Communism in the early 1960s. Documentation that sheds light upon this early development can be found in a number of archives at ARAB, including those of Svenska Clartéförbundet, Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna [the Left Party – Communists] and Demokratisk ungdom [Democratic Youth]. Developments after 1967 can be seen primarily in the Maoist movement's own archives – Kommunistiska förbundet marxist-leninisterna (the Marxist-Leninist Communist Union) – Sveriges kommunistiska parti [the Communist Party of Sweden] (1973-1986) and Röd ungdom [Red Youth]. Unique photographic documentation of the Maoist movement can also be found in the picture archives of the magazine *Gnistan* [the Spark].

However, the political message of Maoism has not been allowed to remain unchallenged, no matter how much it was 'in the spirit of its time'. Until 1968, Rolf Bucht was the DFFG's international secretary, but after that he became involved with the SkfV. In 1975, he reviewed the DFFG's description of its own history, *FNL i Sverige* [NFL in Sweden], under the heading 'Historieförfalskare i farten' (Falsifiers of History on the March).

History demonstrates the advantages of writing one's own story, as these leading Maoists were now doing. Sticking to Swedish history, we can see that it was being done with great success as early as the time of Gustav Vasa. In fact, it took several hundred years for Gustav Vasa's stories to be unmasked as falsifications of history. It is probable that historical examples such as these have served as guidance for these modern falsifiers of history. But of course, to presuppose that there are and will be no source-critical researchers in this field is an untenable position. Even if one has done one's best to raise as much dust as possible over the battlefield, sooner or later that dust will settle unless I have completely misunderstood Newton's law of gravity.³

Since the end of the war in Vietnam, Swedish Maoism and its successors have had a kind of interpretative advantage as regards the image of themselves and their role in the Swedish movement of solidarity with Vietnam. However, when Kim Salomon discusses the FNL movement in his book *Rebeller i takt med tiden* [Rebels in the spirit of the time] he does so primarily in terms of lifestyle, rituals and symbols.⁴ Moreover, the DFFG was far from the only group in Sweden to do public opinion work on the Vietnam War. Questions on which individuals or organisations did what can certainly be made the topic of further discussion, among other things on the basis of archives documents held at ARAB.

The 'other' Vietnam movement

The most extensive archives is that of Svenska kommittén för Vietnam, Laos och Kambodja [the Swedish Committee for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia]. Many of the leading personalities within this organisation have also submitted their personal archives to ARAB: Gunnar Myrdal, Hans Göran Frank, Bertil Svahnström, John Takman and Hjalmar Mehr.

The Swedish general public and the labour movement, including the traditional Communist Party, recommended negotiated settlements of the conflict in Vietnam in the mid-1960s. Nor was the first Swedish Vietnam organisation, 'Svenska Vietnamkommittén' (the Swedish Vietnam Committee) rooted in revolutionary communism, but in the peace movement and *Kampanjen mot svenska atomvapen* [the Campaign against Swedish Nuclear Weapons] (KMA).

August 1964 saw the first Swedish demonstration on Vietnam,⁵ and the debate on the war got off the ground in earnest only in 1965.⁶ The Swedish Vietnam Committee, together with 'Nationalinsamlingen för Vietnam' [National Vietnam Fund] and 'Stödkommittén för Stockholmskonferenserna om Vietnam' [Support Committee for the Stockholm Conferences on Vietnam] came to constitute a kind of organisational background to the 1968 formation of Svenska kommittén för Vietnam [Swedish Committee for Vietnam], which in 1975 became Svenska kommittén för Vietnam, Laos och Kambodja (1981 and 1982: Kampuchea). The first chairman of this organisation was the renowned economist Gunnar Myrdal, and the Executive also included the former chairman of the KMA, Bertil Svahnström. Other active members of the committee at various times were John Takman (a member of the Swedish Parliament), Hans Göran Frank and Anita Gradin. In 1971, Gunnar Myrdal was succeeded as chairman of the SkfV by Birgitta Dahl.

On 13 February 1968, the SkfV adopted a programme, 'Appell för Vietnams folk' [Appeal for the People of Vietnam], which came close to the peace terms which the

FNL and North Vietnam had formulated at the time. On 21 February, the committee arranged a torchlight procession through Stockholm in which Olof Palme, then Minister for Education and Science, took part together with the North Vietnamese Ambassador. This event triggered diplomatic complications between Sweden and the USA. This intergovernmental conflict has been dealt with in detail by a variety of researchers, but there probably exists even now documentation that can shed more light on the matter.

For example, the archive of the Executive of the Swedish Social Democratic Party contains a series of documents arranged by country which include much basic material in the form of reports, notes and press cuttings. Six days after the famous demonstration in Stockholm, for example, Lars Thalén from SSU (the Swedish Social Democratic Youth Association) strode into the FNL's legation in Moscow, where he passed on the congratulations of Social Democratic Youth of Sweden. His conversation with Dang Quang, head of the legation, took two hours.⁷

There is also an original report from when Bo Ringholm, Thage G Peterson and Pierre Schori met representatives of a youth delegation from the FNL over lunch on 16 June 1967. Pierre Schori writes:

At the end of our conversation, I told the FNL representative about my view of the Swedish FNL committees. From my observations, the committees' activities have tended more and more in a Maoist direction. Sköld Peter Matthis and other leaders on the FNL committees now seem to be using the Vietnam issue to enlist sympathisers for a pro-Chinese policy. The FNL committees will become more and more isolated and turn into a small sect if they continue along these lines. Within the Party, we are seriously concerned about this development, and we fear that it will harm the FNL's cause. I asked the delegation whether they had had any contact with Sköld Peter Matthis and his fellows.

Le Phuong replied that no contact had been sought with the FNL committees, but that Matthis himself had looked them up in Stockholm. Le Phuong said that he was grateful for my views on the FNL committee. He himself, and other FNL representatives who had been to Sweden previously, had also sensed this tendency, which, of course, they regret. During the tribunal, FNL people had also expressed their concern about the working methods of the committees to Sköld Peter Matthis.⁸

The conflict between the Maoist-dominated Swedish FNL committees, the DFFG, and the rest of the movement of solidarity with Vietnam is something, which can still to a certain extent be regarded as controversial. One of the people who was perhaps most subject to the condemnation of the Maoists was communist John Takman.

John Takman's personal contact with Vietnam dated back to the 1940s, and he had become an authority on the matter through his books *Vår vid sydkinesiska sjön* [Spring in the South China Sea] (1959) and *Vietnam – ockupanterna och folket* [Vietnam – its Occupiers and its People] (1965). Takman was also one of the few Swedes to meet Ho Chi Minh, the legendary President of North Vietnam, on a number of occasions.

In 1966, Takman, together with a number of young communists, started Vietnam-Press, which was tasked with monitoring and passing on information on Vietnam. To the Maoists, John Takman represented Soviet revisionism, but his contact with Vietnam and the Vietnamese was difficult to ignore.

One of the earliest Vietnam demonstrations, on June 14 1965. The chairman of the Swedish Clarté Association, Sköld Peter Matthis, 'obstructs pedestrian traffic' in central Stockholm (Hötorget), according to the police. Photo: DFFG archives.

Nor did Takman himself mince his words when he was attacked, as we can see from this letter to C.H. Hermansson:

Comrade C.H.! After Ingberg's latest iniquities (see Stormklockan), I at least am forced, when pressed, to note that a movement which to date has never done anything productive is entirely alien to me. Fortunately, there is no one who takes this playground anarchism seriously any more. Please find enclosed a copy of today's letter to Hanoi.⁹

Takman's extremely extensive records contain much documentation that touches upon his commitment in a variety of ways. This applies to such bodies as the World Peace Council, Vietnamhjälpen [Vietnam Aid], the SkfV and Vietnam-Press.

Another archives which may illustrate the background to the attitudes of the traditional communists is that of Svenska fredskommittén [Swedish Peace Committee]. The SkfV acted within the framework of the democratic

In 1974 the communist Member of Parliament and Doctor John Takman visited the printing shop of the Laotian Patriotic Front. It was hidden in a cave in Nakay, Jaguari. Photo by Klas Thorberg, SkfV's archives.

system, and its task, according to its first chairman Gunnar Myrdal, was – among other things – to support the American minority who shared a moral repugnance of the Johnson government's war policy on Vietnam. The SkfV was of the opinion that the USA was a political democracy with freedom of opinion and the organisation dissociated itself from flag burning, window breaking, egg throwing and other breaches of the law. This type of activity obstructed the committee's objectives and tended to give the impression that the opposition to the Vietnam War was insignificant in terms of numbers, and at the same time encouraged reactionary sentiments in Sweden. The SkfV intended to organise the popular movements and thereby amass public opinion against the Vietnam War.

The SkfV arranged meetings and also helped other organisations to do so. It pursued with gusto the issue of whether South Vietnam's national liberation front

should be given the opportunity to open an information office in Stockholm and also worked to promote material aid to Vietnam and a halt to American bombing. A 'Vietnam Lottery' was organised and representatives of the committee also took part in the Working Group for the Support of Conscientious Objectors to the Vietnam War. Another issue that very much interested the committee was the establishment of diplomatic relations with North Vietnam. In addition, the SkfV hosted the annual International Stockholm Conferences on Vietnam. Erik Svanfeldt discusses the political role of the SkfV in a paper.¹⁰

Conferences on Vietnam

In 1966, Svenska freds- och skiljedomsföreningen [the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Association] invited international peace organisations to take part in discussions in order to co-ordinate international protest actions against

the Vietnam War. These conferences took place in 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970 (all in Stockholm), 1972 in Versailles, 1976 in Rome, 1973 in Paris and 1974 in Stockholm. Documentation on these conferences is collated in the archives of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, international liaison committee.

On the initiative of the Stockholm Conference, the International Commission of Enquiry into US Crimes in Indochina, was also set up and operated from 1970. The Secretary General of this commission was the lawyer Hans Göran Frank and documentation from it can be found mainly in his personal papers.

In 1972, the biggest international conference ever held up to that time, the UN's conference on the Human Environment, was held in Stockholm. A specialist conference on the destruction of the human environment in Indochina was organised at the same time. The opinions expressed here were partly why Prime Minister Olof Palme greatly dissociated himself from the USA's environmental war. He developed these thoughts in a speech to the SSU's Congress:

NOTES

1. There are diverse documents at ARAB from, among others, the communist youth movement, which was very much involved in the fight against colonialism in the late 1940s.

2. *FNL i Sverige* [The FNL in Sweden]. Ed.: Tommy Hammarström. Stockholm 1975, pp 15 ff, 1975.

3. *Vietnam Nu* [Vietnam Now], issue 5-6 1975, p. 15.

4. See also Lars Åke Augustsson and Stig Hansén: *De svenska maoisterna* [The Swedish Maoists]. Stockholm 1997; new edition titled *Maoisterna. En historia berättad av några som var med* [The Maoists. A history told by some of those involved]. Gothenburg 2001. The background to this book (interviews) can be found in Augustsson's personal papers at ARAB.

5. Erik Svanfeldt: *Svenska kommittén för Vietnam. Regeringens megafon eller folklig kravmaskin* [the Swedish Committee for Vietnam. Government megaphone or popular demand machine]. Uppsala 1992.

6. See Vietnam i svensk pressdebatt sommaren 1965 [Vietnam

in Swedish Press debate Summer 1965]. Stockholm 1965.

7. Fonds of Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti SAP [the Social Democratic Party of Sweden] F 02 D:10.

8. Ibid.

9. John Takman's papers; arranged by subject 'Vietnam'; list not available. By John Takman: *Krigsförbrytelser i Vietnam* [War crimes in Vietnam]. Stockholm 1967; *Vietnam – ockupanterna och folket* [Vietnam - its Occupiers and its People]. Malmö 1965; *Vår vid Syd kinesiska sjön* [Spring in the South China Sea]. Stockholm 1959.

10. Svanfeldt, see note 5.

11. Minutes, Sveriges socialdemokratiska ungdomsförbund SSU [Swedish Social Democratic Youth Association] 20th Congress, p 80.

12. *Vietnambulletinen* 1 1979, p 2.

13. Documentation and photographs on reconstruction and aid work after the war can be found in the personal archives of Thorsten Nilsson, among others.

*Today, public opinion the world over is faced with the urgent political task of immediately putting a stop to the mass destruction, the environmental war, the extermination of people. It has been said that the United States wishes to avoid in Vietnam the humiliation, which a military setback would entail. But the greatest humiliation for the people of America would be a military victory for the United States in Vietnam. The greatest defeat would be a victory for this kind of war.*¹¹

Another conference which aroused strong feelings was 'the Russell Tribunal', the international war crimes tribunal held in Stockholm in 1967. This tribunal was originally intended to take place in Paris, but French President de Gaulle refused to sanction it. Bertrand Russell then chose Stockholm despite the fact that Prime Minister Tage Erlander was trying to discourage him and even pleaded that he not do so. Moreover, the DFFG adopted a

negative attitude towards this tribunal, as it was based on what was referred to as 'Bourgeois international law'.

Documentation on the Russell Tribunal can be found in the John Takman and Olof Palme archives, among others.

When the war ended

In 1975, the Vietnam War came to an end and the Swedish movement of solidarity with the people of Indochina entered a new phase. Now, working for greater aid and support for the liberated countries became a central issue. It was also considered important to break down these countries' international isolation. However, before long new political battle lines were being drawn, as the friendship between the former guerrilla groups proved fragile. For the DFFG, this was the beginning of the end of the organisation. It changed its name to Vietnam & Laosförbundet [Vietnam & Laos Federation] within

LIST OF ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS

Archives mainly on Vietnam

De förenade FNL-grupperna [the United FNL Groups] in Sweden – 2 volumes
Föreningen Böcker till Hanoi [Books to Hanoi Association] – 6 boxes
Föreningen mot USA:s krigsförbrytelser i Vietnam [Association against the USA's War Crimes in Vietnam] – See Hans Göran Frank's papers
Märsta FNL-grupp [Märsta FNL group] – 3 volumes
Stockholm conference on Vietnam, International liaison committee – 74 volumes
Stockholms FLN-grupper [Stockholm FNL groups] – 1 volume

Svenska kommittén för Vietnam, Laos och Kambodja [the Swedish Committee for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia] – 34 volumes, 26 boxes
Vietnam-aktion [Vietnam Action] – 1 volume

Archives in which Vietnam appears to a limited extent

Demokratisk ungdom [Democratic Youth]
Hans Göran Frank
Anita Gradin
Kommunistisk ungdom [Communist Youth]
Hjalmar Mehr
Gunnar Myrdal
Ture Nerman
Olof Palme

which conflict broke out in earnest when Vietnam occupied Kampuchea and China invaded Vietnam. As a consequence of these events, the federation was disbanded on 14 May 1979:

The federation was split into three factions. One group uncritically expressed its support for Vietnam even in respect of Vietnam's military occupation of Kampuchea. Another group was firmly on the side of China and gave its full support to China's invasion of Vietnam. The third group at the meeting condemned Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea but at the same time was of the opinion that Vietnam's crimes against the people of Kampuchea could in no way justify what was known as China's punitive expedition.¹²

In April 1977, a friendship league was formed with the aim of supporting the new Kampuchea. This league pas-

sed on the Maoist traditions of the DFFG. In the terminology of the day its guiding light was resistance to the superpowers. The league also took it upon itself to pass on the views of the Pol Pot regime. Over time, this consistent support for the Khmer Rouge meant that the organisation came to be regarded by many as a support organisation for genocide.

The SkfV was also dragged into the conflicts, even though it had initially attempted to keep a low profile. As the world became aware of the genocide in Kampuchea, the organisation also dissociated itself from this. It worked hard to support the new regime in Kampuchea after the fall of the Red Khmers, but at the same time it was of the opinion that the Vietnamese troops should leave the country.

Once again, the countries of Indochina became 'ordinary countries', far removed from the hot air of Swedish politics. Now that the war was over, reconstruction and aid work were required.¹³

Röd Ungdom [Red Youth]

Pierre Schori

Stockholms arbetarekommun [Stockholm branch of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden]

Bertil Svahnström

Svenska Clartéförbundet [Swedish Clarté Association]

Sveriges kommunistiska parti [Communist Party of Sweden] (1973)

Sveriges kommunistiska ungdomsförbund [Swedish Communist Youth Association] (1921)

Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti SAP [Social Democratic Party of Sweden]

Sveriges socialdemokratiska ungdomsförbund [Swedish Social Democratic Youth Association]

John Takman

Anders Walldén

Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna [the Left Party - Communists]

Picture archives in which Vietnam is relatively well represented

Gnistan

LO-Tidningen

Thorsten Nilsson

Ny Dag

Svenska kommittén för Vietnam, Laos och Kambodja [Swedish Committee for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia]

Around 275 posters in the poster collection

LITERATURE

Augustsson, Lars Åke and Hansén, Stig: *De svenska maoisterna*. Stockholm 1997; new edition titled *Maoisterna. En historia berättad av några som var med*. Gothenburg 2001

Möller, Yngve: *Sverige och Vietnamkriget*. Stockholm 1992

Svanfeldt, Erik: *Svenska kommittén för Vietnam. Regeringens megafon eller folklig kravmaskin*. Uppsala 1992

Lars Gogman is an archivist

'Had we lived in Chile we would have been the ones imprisoned'

Chile in the collections

The military coup in Chile on 11 September 1973 shook the world. The democratically elected government was overthrown, the constitution abolished and a junta comprising the heads of all branches of the military and the police seized power. There was universal condemnation and in many instances organisations were formed in solidarity with the Chilean people, who were to live under a harsh dictatorship for 17 years to come.

The popular front

In September 1970 the 'Unidad Popular' [Popular Front] consisting of six parties came to power. They won a general election and Chile acquired a left-wing parliamentary government under Salvador Allende. It looked to many like the start of a new era for Latin America and there were high expectations of this political experiment in terms of democracy and peace. The political and social process that was beginning was regarded sympathetically by the democratic parts of world opinion. Even critics showed a certain understanding. The real opposition and

repudiation of the Allende regime came from powerful political and economic forces in the USA. This was because of the reforms started by the Chilean government and the possible effects these new political experiences might have on other Latin-American countries or even other third world countries.

In Chile political and economic right-wingers were a formidable and confrontational opposition within the democratic framework, but they did not conceal their intention of overthrowing the constitutional regime by any means.

The process was followed with great interest in Sweden and by October 1970 Allende had been invited to the Nordic countries. The social democratic parties in these countries were to act as hosts for his visit. The trip did not proceed because of disturbances in his country. The Swedish government with Olof Palme as Prime Minister decided to give Chile financial aid and, in addition, in 1971 Solidaritetskommittén för folkfrontsregering i Chile [Solidarity Committee for the Popular Front government in Chile] was established. Its object was to show solidarity with the Popular Front government and disseminate information about the situation in Chile. In 1973 this organisation became Chilekommittén [the Chile Committee] and remained active until the early 1990s.

President Salvador Allende receiving orphans in Santiago. Photo: Thomas Billhardt.

Preparations before the coup on September 11 1973: Soldiers loyal to the government outside the presidential palace, La Moneda. Photo: Comez Mora/Reportagebild.

The military coup

The international community's reaction to the coup and its leaders was one of fierce and total repudiation. The most notable phenomenon was the total elimination of the judicial standards that characterise the civilised world. During its time in power the junta proceeded to breach every human right laid down by the UN. The Swedish reaction was immediate. The day after the coup the social democrats held a demonstration in Stockholm. Alva Myrdal was one of the speakers:

The message we have received today from the outside world is one of despair: in yet another country democracy has been raped; in Chile the constitutional order has been crushed.¹

Olof Palme also made a number of statements on the issue. In one he said that:

Today our first goal must be the preservation of human life. The new masters of Chile must be aware that the rest of the world is following events there closely. It must be in their interests to avoid a bloodbath.²

Solidarity with the people of Chile was a main topic at the May Day demonstration 1974 in Stockholm. SAP's and the LO's march is headed by Beatriz Allende, one of the president's daughters. By her side Ingvar Carlsson, who would become the Swedish Prime Minister twelve years later. To their left Sweden's Ambassador to Chile, Harald Edelstam. Photo: Litman Epstein

The government cut off aid and financial support was reallocated to humanitarian aid in Chile. Preparations for the reception of refugees started. The contributions of the ambassador, Harald Edelstam, are well known – he saved the lives of many Chileans who sought refuge at the Swedish embassy in Santiago. Part of a communiqué from the party secretariat's deliberations concerning Chile on 3 October 1973 reads:

The Social Democrats, Centre Party, Liberal Party and Left Communist Party jointly express their fierce condemnation of the overthrow of democracy in Chile and wish to indicate by this statement their desire to work together without regard to party differences in support of the democratic forces within Chile.³

A couple of months later the labour movement's Chileinsamling [Chile Collection] was started under the management of Tage Erlander. Landsorganisationen LO [Swedish Trade Union Confederation], Socialdemokratiska arbetarepartiet SAP [Social Democratic Labour Party], Socialdemokratiska ungdoms- och kvinnoförbunden [Social Democratic Youth and Women's Associations], Broderskapsrörelsen [Brotherhood Movement], Unga Örnar [Young Falcons movement] and Arbetarnas bildningsförbund ABF [Workers' Education Association] were among the organisations giving their active support to the Chilean people. A paper containing information about the situation in Chile – *Chileaktuell* [Chile Today] – was published and raised money in various ways. The Chile Collection was later incorporated in the labour movement's international solidarity fund, the I-fund.

With representatives of all the branches of the labour movement the I-fund ran international solidarity campaigns. 'Chile is still bleeding' was one of the campaigns to raise money for the resistance movement in Chile.

For Arbetarrörelsens internationella centrum AIC [Labour Movement International Centre], Chile was an important field of activity. The AIC was founded as a co-operation agency in the labour movement to reinforce international activity. The AIC had also for many years supported the Chilean struggle for democracy. The Swedish trade union movement, in general, played an important role during the years of dictatorship. Through the LO-TCO Secretariat of International Trade Union Development Co-operation, for one, co-operation was established with the

Chilean trade union movement with regard to union training and the defence of union rights. The LO had by means of the Nordic Trade Union Association, the NFS, also become involved in supporting those union representatives who had been imprisoned. The NFS was in close contact with the Chilean central organisation, the CUT, in exile.⁴

Thus solidarity with Chile was extensive. It was present in political parties, political groups, union organisations, popular movements and between private individuals. The local union branch at the engineering works in Kallhäll expressed it thus:

Had we lived in Chile, we would have been the ones imprisoned in the football stadium. We would have been stricken by terror and abused by the junta's forces.⁵

They decided to donate an hours wage each to their persecuted comrades.

The Chile Committee

In the months following the coup more than 70 local Chile groups were set up around the country. In December 1973 representatives of these groups gathered and founded Chilekommittén [Chile Committee] as a national, party politically independent organisation, which remained active until Chile returned to democracy in 1991. The Committee's material was then transferred to The Labour Movement Archives and Library. It contains extensive material that summarises its activities, the situation in Chile and Chileans in exile. ARAB also holds the Nacka Chile Committee's records. Other local groups transferred their material to the regional Popular Movement archives, for example in Gothenburg, Malmö, Örebro and Uppsala.

The Chile Committee was a wide-ranging solidarity movement that under its statutes worked to offer material and political support to the Chilean opposition's struggle and to disseminate information and knowledge about developments in Chile. The principal slogans were:

Support the Chilean people's fight
against fascism – for socialism

Fight imperialism

Free the political prisoners

The Chile Committee's plan of operations included the development of solidarity work among workers whereby the issue was introduced to the workplace, to union branches and other worker organisations. Information would be provided in schools, among young people and in the radical music movement. Conscripted soldiers must be made aware of and have illustrated the military's roles in Chile and in Sweden. The Chile Committee study activities were also designed to raise consciousness among those members who were already active in study circles and seminars and to offer sympathisers and other interested parties better reason to participate in solidarity work. The book *Chilekommitténs introduktionscirkel* [Chile Committee's Introduction Circle], used by study circles throughout the country, gives detailed information about Chile's history, geography and economy and about the Unidad Popular and the coup. Following each chapter there are questions on the various subjects. It is one of many examples of just how ambitious the effort to inform and educate members was.⁶

Sweden's Davis Cup home tie with Chile, in the town of Båstad in 1975 caused an outcry. The booklet 'Action Group Stop the Chile Game' gives the background to the demonstrations against the game and their results, some of which were even noted in Chilean media.

Another important objective was to mobilise opinion for a boycott of the junta economically, politically, militarily and culturally. There are resolutions, circulars, posters, proclamations and leaflets containing this demand. One important campaign, already under way in the autumn of 1973, was that for a boycott on imports of Chilean copper. Although the LO rejected the boycott, a circular sent out by Hamnarbetareförbundet [Dockworkers' Union] to all its sections exhorted all its members to refuse to take part in the unloading of Chilean copper imported into Sweden for one month in the autumn of 1974.⁷ For its part the Chile Committee wrote a leaflet encouraging the Transportarbetareförbundet [Transport Workers' Union] to unite with the dockers in the boycott and work towards international co-ordination.

Båstad 1975 – Nobel Prize 1976

Another campaign that attracted great public attention was the boycott of the Sweden's Davis Cup home tie with Chile in Båstad. The 'Stop the Chile Match Campaign Group' was set up, other organisations being involved too. The Swedish Sports Confederation and the Tennis Associa-

Chilean sports commentators had no option but to report back to Santiago on the demonstration.⁸

A letter of 2 November 1976 from the Chile Committee to the Royal Academy of Sciences read:

*Is the Royal Academy of Sciences convinced that Milton Friedman does not have blood on his hands? If the answer is no, we wonder whether the Academy is anxious to exculpate him by giving him the Nobel prize?*⁹

This letter was a part of the extensive campaign initiated after the decision to award Milton Friedman the Nobel Prize for Economics. The protests were based on the fact that Friedman had acted as adviser to the military dictatorship in Brazil and had contributed to the formulation of Chile's economic policy. An appeal against Friedman's nomination was subscribed by 40-odd organisations. The Chile Committee held a press conference regarding the protest against the prize. Material on Milton Friedman was distributed and a demonstration held on the same day as the presentation of the prize.

Sweden's membership of the IDB

In 1976 the bourgeois parties won the Swedish election and there was a change of government. In spite of massive protests from all the political youth movements except Moderata ungdomsförbundet [Conservative Youth League] it was proposed that Sweden should seek membership of the Inter-American Development Bank, the IDB. The bank had significantly reduced its aid to Chile during the time of Salvador Allende's government, but increased it again after the military coup. One element of the bank's operation was governed by the principle that the USA had its own right of veto on aid projects. The Social Democratic Party and the Left Party - Communists also issued communiqués protesting at the decision.

The Chile Committee ran an extensive campaign against membership of the IDB; this involved studies and debates based on weighty documents written by experts.¹⁰ The youth leagues of the Liberal, Centre and Communist Parties signed a proclamation from the Chile Committee. Lars Engqvist, chairman of the Social Democratic Youth Association, wrote to the Prime Minister, Thorbjörn Fälldin, requesting a 'no' to Sweden joining the IDB on the grounds that the bank's credits were employed directly to serve the purposes of American foreign policy.

Collecting money for Chile and selling the Chile Bulletin in Stockholm in the spring of 1976. Photo: Anders Enarsson.

tion, amongst others, were urged to support the Chilean people. The campaign culminated in a demonstration that drew around 7,000 participants. Hundreds of balloons were released bearing the names of political prisoners and the information really did reach Chile, partly because the

The Chile Committee's work and meetings were characterised by thoroughly worked out information campaigns and the contributions of prominent people from both the political and cultural scenes. The Committee published books and essays and arranged concerts and theatre performances. Members of the Chile Committee received detailed and up to date information through the *Chilebulletinen* which was also sold on the streets and at demonstrations. The *Chilebulletinen* was produced throughout the Committee's existence.

At the annual meeting in September 1991 the decision was made to disband the Committee after 20 years of solidarity work. The minutes state that on dissolution the Committee's resources will be passed on to organisations working for political prisoners and, on their liberation, to human rights organisations.¹¹ The day after the Committee's final annual meeting six members met to close the books. Stefan de Vylder, economist and researcher of developing countries, had been with the Committee throughout. He summed up its work thus:

*The Chile Committee was the only place where people of a slightly radical bent could discuss important issues across party borders. ... The organisational framework that the Committee chose, free of tendencies and open to a range of views within the framework of the mini-platform was absolutely essential to the success of the work for Chile.*¹²

Hans Göran Franck and the Chile Commission

Six months after the coup, on 21 March 1974, 'Internationella kommissionen för undersökning av militärjuntans brott i Chile [International Commission of Enquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile]', the Chile Commission, was founded in Helsinki. The chairman was the Finnish parliamentarian Jakob Söderman and the Secretary General was Göran Franck, jurist and social democratic politician. Together they would head the Commission until the start of the 90s. In 1991 the Commission handed over relevant material to the Chilean embassy in Stockholm to be forwarded to the 'Commission on Truth and Reconciliation' in Chile. Material concerning the Commission's work is included in Hans Göran Franck's papers. It is as he organised it and reflects his working methods. Before the various sessions the Commission held he assembled material such as correspondence, testimony, investigations and newspaper clippings chronologically.

The Commission's regulations emphasised that it did not intend to act as an international court but that its decisions should rather be of the nature of moral and humanitarian opinions based on jurisprudential rights. The Commission's foremost task was to investigate the events arising from the coup d'état. It organised tribunals, sessions and hearings. The work also included the analysis of information received, testimony etc., and to draw the conclusions required to deal with the accusations levelled against the military regime. In this way the Commission was able to deal with hundreds of cases of crime and after thorough examination pass a verdict on their nature, which was done in accordance with the general principles of human rights laid down by international law and agreements.

Without belittling the significance of the other organisations and solidarity groups that appeared at this time, there is no question that the Commission was the most pluralistic entity, with representatives from the majority of the world. Its work was supported by governments, parliaments, political parties, religious associations and human rights organisations and, above all, prominent people representing virtually all sections of society. The

Booklet edited by the Secretariat in Helsinki of the International Commission of Enquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile.

Commission consisted of a fixed number of permanent members and a number of observers. The latter's contribution was as experts at the various international sessions and to present current information on events, reports or analyses of the Chilean situation. These contributions were made on an individual basis and not as representative of any organisation or political party. Mario Soares of Portugal, Felipe González of Spain, Andreas Papandreu of Greece, Ole Espersen of Denmark, Gabriel García Márquez of Colombia and others participated in this way. Many of the members were jurists who contributed technical and professional advice.

The Chile Commission kept open every channel that might offer information or documentation about Chile including material disseminated by the junta itself. The sources of information used were primarily documents dealt with by international organisations such as the UN, the Organisation of American States (OAS), the Red Cross, Amnesty International and human rights organisations, religious organisations, trade unions, etc. Other sources included the documentation of Chilean parties, personal testimony of the victims of repression, reports and enquiries carried out by experts along with reports of the Commission's own observers. Hans Göran Franck went to Chile himself as an observer. He visited the Tres Alamos concentration camp, spoke to some of the prisoners and reported later on the illegalities of the conditions there. At a meeting of the Commission held in the Parliament building on 11 September 1976 Franck said:

From my visit to Chile six months ago I shall never forget the intense, concentrated atmosphere with prevailed during my visit to the concentration camp of Tres Alamos. Everything had to be said in two short hours – unheard by the military guard who stood in his corner with a machine gun continuously ready to use. I remember the woman worker who was called to the morgue and there – by chance – learned that her husband had been tortured to death.¹³

On his next trip to Chile Hans Göran Franck was detained at Santiago airport and then deported as a 'persona non grata' to the military government. Many years later he was honoured with the 'Orden al mérito' by the new democratic Chilean government for his work for the preservation of human rights.

The Chile Commission financed the cost of its permanent secretariat itself from private donations and contributions from individual organisations. Meetings were held with various countries as host and in many cases with the explicit support of the host country's government. One

The Swedish evening paper Aftonbladet reporting on the expulsion from Santiago de Chile of Swedish lawyer Hans Göran Franck, who was also the Secretary General of the Chile Committee.

example is the third session held in Mexico City in February 1975. 135 people were invited from five continents for four days of discussion on the situation in Chile. Reports were submitted on everything from North American involvement in the coup to testimony of torture and disappearances. Detailed reports were presented from Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists. There were contributions from Chilean delegates, such as the former minister, Orlando Letelier. Shortly after, he was murdered in the USA on the orders of the junta. Letelier, Minister of Defence in Allende's administration and supreme commander of the generals involved in the coup, gave a detailed description in his report of the treachery of these officers and their moral cowardice. The proofs presented by this session were later used by parliaments and governments to decide whether to condemn the Chilean military regime and dissociate themselves from it.¹⁴

In addition, to illustrate and call into question the military regime's actions in various cases, the Commission also concentrated on the presentation of substantive accusations as to how the judicial system was subordinated to the military and the junta's introduction of a new constitution. The Commission's criticisms still apply as since Chile's return to democracy a debate has been carried on in the Chilean parliament on the reform of the constitution and the legal system inherited from the military. The solidarity movements worked on were still to some extent relevant after the reversion to democracy. Truth, justice and reconciliation are the keywords in modern Chilean politics.

The material in the various archives concerning Chile and the solidarity work during the military regime paints a broad and varied canvas of the work of the popular movements, politically and internationally. It also illustrates the involvement of individuals in the issue. Much of the material also consists of the history of the afflicted.

NOTES

1. *Aktuellt i politiken* [Politics today] no. 19 1973.
2. Träindustriarbetareförbundets [Wood Industry Workers Union's] conference- 26 September 1973, minutes.
3. Vänsterpartiet kommunisternas VPK [The Left Party - Communists] fonds volume F7d:15.
4. The archives of Arbetarrörelsens internationella centrum [Labour Movement International Centre], LO-TCO biståndsnämnden [Aid Council] and Nordens fackliga samorganisation [Nordic Trade Union Association] are at ARAB.
5. *Chileaktuellt* [Chile Today] no. 3 1974.
6. Chilekommittén [Chile Committee volume] 21:1.
7. Chile Committee volume 9:6.
8. Chile Committee volume 9:6.
9. Chile Committee volume 9:2.
10. Chile Committee volume. 9:5
11. Chile Committee volume 3.5.
12. *Chilebulletinen* [Chile Bulletin] no. 4 1991.
13. Hans Göran Franck's papers volume 4.2:016.
14. Hans Göran Franck's papers volume 4.2:007,010

LIST OF ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS

The Labour Movement International Centre, AIC
- isolated volumes

Chile Committee - 268 volumes
Hans Göran Franck - in a series relating to the Chile Commission
Föreningen för Unga Örnars barnmatsal i Chillán i Chile [Young Falcons Children's Canteen in Chillán Association] - 11 volumes
Landsorganisationen LO [Swedish Trade Union Confederation] - many series, inter alia International items
LO-TCO's Aid Council - in the Documents concerning studies and Projects series
Nacka Chile Committee - 6 volumes
Nordic Trade Union Association, NFS - isolated volumes
Olof Palme - in the Speeches, Interviews, Correspondence series
Göran Sallnäs - 30 volumes
Pierre Schori - isolated volumes
Social Democratic Party of Sweden (SAP) - in the International Secretaries' correspondence series, Documents concerning other countries; Printed matter collection
The Left Party - Communists (VPK) - in the International Correspondence and International Documents by subject series

Poster collection

Lucy Viedma is an archivist.

'The peacocks are screaming in Kaunda's garden'

Africa in the collections

During the winter of 1947-1948 the Swedish writer, Artur Lundkvist, made a long documentary tour of Africa, from Algeria down to South Africa and then back up through East Africa (Tanganyika and Zanzibar). His travel writings were published in 18 instalments in the magazine *Folket i Bild* [The People in Pictures] nos, 19-37, and are a fascinating snapshot of Africa immediately after the end of the Second World War. Colonial rule was still universal in the form of English and French garrisons and officials. The whole journey is described in colourful language that would certainly not be acceptable today: 'Into negro country', 'Negro pleasures in Zinder', etc. However, he is describing a continent in ferment, where a latent national self-consciousness foreshadows the liberation from colonial rule that would commence during the following decade.

All issues of the *Folket i Bild* magazine are, of course, in The Labour Movement Archives and Library. In addition there are some letters Lundkvist wrote to the editor-in-chief, Ivar Öhman, whose bequest of documents is kept at ARAB, in which he mainly complains about the heat but gives reassurances that everything else is going according to plan:

Durban is tropical. My clothes stick to my body, as I'm sure you'll be delighted to hear. How I would love a few weeks of fresh Scandinavian air. Otherwise your correspondent is still going strong.

The oldest material, from 1917

The majority of the material on Africa in the Labour Movement Archives and Library is mainly about the period following the liberation Artur Lundkvist saw would come. The 1970s and 80s are very strongly represented with the great involvement with South Africa and against the policy of apartheid that made itself felt at the time.

Conversely, before 1945 there is a dearth of African material and some is of an incidental or random nature. Take, for example, the papers of Karl and Elin Lund. Karl Lund (1874-1953) became, in the fullness of time, the editor of the periodical *Metallarbetaren* [The Metalworker],

but as a young man he spent some time during the 1890s in the Congo as some sort of fitter. The papers left by him and his wife consist partly of a diary of his stay and partly of photographs from the foundation of the Association of Congo Veterans in the 1930s. Apparently this is not, as the name might lead you to believe, an association of people working on behalf of the United Nations during the Congo crisis of the early 1960s. The diary describes the rough life and heavy drinking sessions of the young mechanics who reported for duty in Brussels and then travelled by boat down the African coast and up the River Congo.

Material retrieved from the documents in the papers of the chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Hjalmar Branting, on the so-called Stockholm Conference appear less random; an international socialist conference that was to take place in 1917. The conference itself did not come about but during the autumn of 1917 representatives congregated including many from 'the oppressed peoples of the east'. There were, for example, representatives from Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt and Tripolitania wishing

*'to appeal to liberal-minded people throughout the world and urge them to hasten the end of the war. They ought also to take the necessary steps to safeguard against further hetacombs [sic] of dead bodies, the inequality of man, to restore the world's equilibrium – disturbed by the imperialists, whose blind tyrannical ambitions and lust for glory, power and wealth hold half mankind in chains. By the same token this equilibrium cannot be safe and enduring until all oppressed peoples are freed and their right to free determination of their own destiny is acknowledged by both belligerent blocs.'*¹

The failed conference was described as follows in a contemporary newspaper article:

These days ten Muslims are stalking the streets of Stockholm like wandering souls. They are representatives of oppressed Mohammedan peoples in India, the whole of North Africa and the Caucasus. Over wearisome paths they have

come here and met each other. They have left behind their warm countries and hot deserts, tempted by a rumour running the world of a light shining up here in the cold north, standing over our capital as over Bethlehem. What have they ultimately found in their burning desire for a new-born messiah? Here as everywhere they have been greeted only by commonplace politics and a mulish worshipping of the world and its materialistic values and not by the whole of the truth that would set them free. The great peace conference was only in their imagination. [...] Now the cold is creeping over the pilgrims.²

Branting's papers contain a good deal of these peoples' grievances, declarations and memoranda. Two examples are the Tunisians' and Algerians' complaints 'Une voix du Maroc' [A Voice from Morocco] and 'Översikt i sammandrag av verksamhet som utövas av de under oktober och November 1917 i Stockholm församlade ombuden för de förtryckta orientelska folkslagen' [A summarised overview of the activities carried out by the representatives of the oppressed oriental peoples assembled in Stockholm during October and November 1917].

Apart from this First World War document from Stockholm there is very, very little material relating to Africa from before the end of the Second World War. The material in Hjalmar Branting's papers are therefore extremely interesting, since it contains many early manifestos of the strivings of oppressed African peoples, among others, to be freed from colonial rule. It is also important because in purely geographical terms it contrasts with the material from the post-war period with its strong southern African emphasis.

The primary material from Africa during the inter-war period, Second World War and up to the time of freedom from colonial rule in the 1950s and 1960s is to a large extent made up of newspaper pictures of the course of events. The institution has taken over many newspaper photo-archives containing, on the one hand many portraits of various African leaders and, on the other, extensive and often very good pictorial material from journalistic trips such as that of Artur Lundkvist. There are, however, no pictures from his travels – the pictorial material received from the Folket i Bild magazine is extremely scanty. Of course the press material also contains reports on political events. Take for example the extensive series of pictures from the Congo crisis at the start of the 1960s. The Swedish participation in the UN's peace-keeping force in the Congo was a political hot potato,

which is reflected in other places, for example in the papers of the then Prime Minister, Tage Erlander in the series Foreign Policy Issues and Speeches.

The great mass of material concerning Africa however, is to be found in the fonds of the solidarity organisations involved in that part of the world. They deal chiefly with specific organisations such as the Africa Groups, but also with the solidarity work carried on by trade union organisations (for example the LO-TCO Secretariat of International Trade Union Development Co-operation).


The Africa Groups

Local Africa Groups were already starting to develop in various parts of the country in the 1960s, beginning in Gothenburg, Lund, Stockholm and Uppsala. The newspaper, *Syd- & Sydvästafrika* [South & Southwest Africa] began publication in 1964 (later on *Södra Afrika* [Southern Africa], the *Afrika-bulletin* [African bulletin] and from 1995 *Södra Afrika* [Southern Africa] once again). Above all the desire was to disseminate information and alert public opinion to the terrible state of affairs in South and Southwest Africa. Riksorganisationen Afrikagrupperna i Sverige AGIS [National Organisation of Africa Groups in Sweden], was, however, only found-

ed in 1975. A year later Afrikagruppernas Rekryteringsorganisation [Africa Groups' Recruitment Organisation] was formed on the initiative of the Africa Groups. Its first task was to recruit skilled 'solidarity workers in the independent countries, where the liberation struggle is bringing political victory and to carry out practical aid projects.'³

1992 saw these two organisations merge as the Africa Groups. The organisation's objective was, as earlier, to fight imperialism in all its forms and South Africa would remain the focal point.⁴

The Labour Movement Archives have also received only a trickle of material since the restructuring in 1992 of the Africa Groups. The archives of both the merged organisations are, however, at the institution. The least extensive is from the Recruitment Organisation of the Africa Groups. A series of 74 volumes contains chiefly extensive correspondence, primarily with solidarity workers but also authorities in various aid countries. A special project – 'Healthcare for SWAPO' – has left behind 16 volumes of documents concerning recruitment of aid workers, correspondence, dispatches from 1982-1989 etc. There is also material from seminars on solidarity work and of course minutes and accounts of the organisation's operations.



The pin reads "Liberty for Southern Africa". It was distributed by the Swedish Trade Union Confederation.

The Africa Groups have so far provided over 300 volumes of material of various types. The majority of this has still been only provisionally inventoried, but here too material from various projects and campaigns is predominant along with courses, seminars and meetings.

The Africa Groups in Sweden were involved together with eleven other individual organisations in a five-year project that the organisation Sida [Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency] initiated in 1986 to develop a long-term, joint focus on collaboration, training and information about Africa. The Project's secretariat was based at Sida and supported among other things the production of pamphlets and booklets – 'Afrika i skolböckerna [Africa in schoolbooks]' being one of them – and questionnaires the answers to which were collected and processed. In spite of the fact that Sida is a central civil service department answerable to the National Archives in terms of archiving, at the end of the project its material was transferred to the Labour Movement Archives and Library.

The Isolate South Africa Committee

Isolera Sydafrika-kommittén ISAK [Isolate South Africa Committee], was an umbrella organisation founded in 1979 on the initiative of the Africa Groups. Around 60 national organisations with altogether a million members were involved. The object of their activities was to work for the abolition of the apartheid system in South Africa, work in support of the ANC liberation movement and other democratic movements and for the isolation of the apartheid regime in South Africa. At first these activities were carried out in the local Africa Groups.⁵

By 1995 it was clear that the goal had been achieved. The Committee's activities were then wound down and its entire fonds of around 400 volumes was transferred to Nordiska Afrikainstitutet [The Nordic Africa Institute] in Uppsala, whence it has gradually found its way to the Labour Movement Archives and Library.⁶

This material too is not yet fully organised. An extensive collection of clippings testifies to the systematic monitoring of the contacts between Swedish companies and sportsmen and South Africa. The fonds is otherwise dominated by material from campaigns, meetings, people's parliaments, international exchanges and other similar activities.

Besides these large organisations there are documents concerning the aid and solidarity activities carried on by other organisations. One example of such an operation carried on on a small scale is a quite recent transfer, the records of Föreningen för folkhögskola i Namibia [Association for Extension Colleges in Namibia] in just one volume. Some Namibians who had spent time at

Swedish extension colleges decided in 1990, after Namibia became independent, to take the initiative in establishing similar education activities in their own country. The association was founded in 1990 and was active until 1997. Many of its members were based in various extension colleges in Sweden. The archive contains minutes, correspondence, clippings, etc. Common to all the above organisations is that the whole of their activities was focused on African issues. However, solidarity with Africa, as with involvement in other parts of the world, has been on the agenda of a large number of organisations but in these cases the African question is involved as a small part of a wider context.

Political and trade union aid work

One such example is Nordens fackliga samorganisation NFS [Council of Nordic Trade Unions], established in 1972 and consisting of the Trade Union Confederations in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden together with the confederations of professional employees in several of these countries. Its secretariat is in Stockholm. An example of how the organisation worked can be found in volume 56 of the archive in which South Africa is discussed at an NFS board meeting on 8 October 1976. A memorandum to the meeting states that the NFS presidency had appointed a working group with the task of 'mapping out what the member organisations were doing with regard to South Africa and against this background investigating the opportunities for co-ordinated measures by the NFS'. The working group included people from the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish Trade Union Confederations and proposed on the one hand calls on the Nordic foreign ministers and, on the other, a wide range of union activities along with financial assistance for those suffering the oppression of apartheid. In the organisation's fonds, running to many hundreds of volumes, the African question crops up here and there in various volumes. Here too the South African question is predominant, but other countries such as Angola and Tunisia feature as well. Africa is represented in at least 15 volumes.

LO-TCO Secretariat of International Trade Union Development Cooperation was another union organ with the task of co-coordinating and administering Swedish trade union development work in developing countries together with Central and Eastern Europe. Work here was also carried out mainly in the form of projects, from which documentation was progressively transferred to ARAB. Many of these projects concerned Africa but the organisation's fonds, which is very extensive, is still not open for research without special permission.

The fonds of Arbetarrörelsens internationella centrum

AIC [Labour Movement International Centre] occupies around twenty metres of shelving and some of it refers to Africa. This organisation, which is affiliated to the Social Democrats, was founded in 1978 and set out to strengthen the labour movement's interest and involvement in international issues. In 1992, the operation merged with Arbetarrörelsens Fredsforum [Labour Movement Peace Forum] giving rise to a new operation, Olof Palme's Internationella Centrum [International Centre]. AIC's fonds consists chiefly of correspondence, printed material –

land of racial hatred]' is to be found between one filmstrip on the abortion issue and another with the title 'Bosse luktar sprit [Bosse smells of liquor]'. In addition there are some films on Africa in the list.

Very often, the big central trade union and political organisations have had an international exchange of some sort. This is not always apparent from the catalogues but it is safe to say that Africa is represented in series of correspondence and the like. It is very clearly evident of both Socialdemokratiska Arbetarepartiet SAP [Social

Democratic Party], and Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna VPK [Left Party – Communists] – now the Left Party. The SAP has, in the post-war period, had an international secretary whose correspondence forms a special series in the archives. There has also been an international section active within the party but Africa appeared to be very poorly represented in the material left by it. In the VPK's archives there are 50-odd volumes on international activities including correspondence but also minutes and documents arranged by subject. Here too Africa appears only exceptionally, for example in the form of documents from an African tour in 1961 and from anti-apartheid work from 1966 to 1983. The Christian social democrats – Broderskapsrörelsen [the Brotherhood Movement] – has also carried on international work but their descriptions are brief and

provide only rough references to African material. The same is true in the main of all the youth associations in the Labour Movement. As with their parent parties, international solidarity work has been carried on sometimes to an even greater extent although partly in other forms. One example is Sveriges socialdemokratiska ungdomsförbund SSU [Swedish Social Democratic Youth Association], in whose fonds a separate section – Handlingar rörande internationella frågor [Documents relating to international issues] – contains documentation from involvement in both Africa and other continents. Sveriges socialdemokratiska studentförbund [Swedish Social Democratic

Prime Minister (1946-1969) Tage Erlander visited Tanzania and Kenya in 1968. There are a lot of newspaper clippings from these countries about the visit, in Erlanders papers. Photo: Morgon-Tidningen (MT).

including the AIC bulletin, the newspaper it published – along with a good many documents involving individual functions. However, the material is not arranged by subject.

International projects and seminars were also held by Socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundet [Social Democratic Women's Association] which reaped dividends for the association's archives. In the late 1970s, for example, Kvinnor i Moçambique [Women in Mozambique] project took place. It is also worth mentioning an index of films and tapes that the association left behind. It is not arranged systematically which means that the tape 'Afrika, rashatets land [Africa,

Student Union] took part in the Afro-Scandinavian conferences in Sweden and other Scandinavian countries. Africa also features in the Union's international correspondence.

An example of how Africa can feature in the smallest collection can be found in Svenska Kommunal-arbetareförbundets avdelning 1 [Swedish Municipal Workers' Union section 1], where there is a batch of documents about international trade union co-operation. These deal with basic education for union representatives in Tanzania in cooperation with Juwata (The Union of Tanzanian Workers or in Swahili *Jumuiya Ya Watanyakazi Wa Tanzania*). A great deal of the material is in English but there are also texts in both Swedish and Swahili.

Africa in the archives of individuals

*The peacocks are screaming in Kaunda's garden. I remember that from my previous visit. Kenneth Kaunda was in Sweden as early as the 50s if I remember correctly. Then he was thought of as an opposition leader and semi-terrorist no less. He has now been the president of a free Zambia since 1964.*⁷

Of the institution's large collection of personal archives it is mainly material from the two successive Social Democratic prime ministers – Tage Erlander and Olof Palme – that is of particular interest. In both cases there is material from state visits made on the one hand to Sweden by African leaders and, on the other, to African countries by them. Erlander visited Morocco in 1965 and Tanzania and Kenya in 1968. The latter of these visits at any rate aroused a great deal of interest in the countries visited if one is to judge by the newspaper clippings concerned in the material. Olof Palme visited East Africa in 1971, a visit documented by the background reading material sent him by the Foreign Ministry together with newspaper clippings and the like. The greatest immediacy is given by some undated scraps of jottings with notes (Palme's own?) that appear to originate from conversations with Tanzania's President Nyerere. Six years later in 1977, Palme made another trip through Angola, Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania. On this occasion he was not travelling as the Swedish Prime Minister but as the leader of a delegation from the Socialist International – he had been one of the vice-chairmen of the International since 1976. Palme described the twelve-day journey himself in a travel diary published in the Swedish evening paper *Afton-bladet* and in France in *Jeune Afrique*.

However, indisputably the richest material is to be found among Olof Palme's many speeches and addresses. These are also very easy to find thanks to the auxiliary register that has been prepared for the archival descriptions and which is computerised. The keyword 'Afrika' guides you to almost a hundred articles, contributions to debates, speeches and addresses from the period 1950-

Medal awarded to Olof Palme by the United Nations on 11 October 1978, for his meritorious struggle against the Apartheid system.

1986. The material appears to almost sum up Palme's political activities. His first article from 1950 in the newspaper *Studenten* relates to Africa and one of his last addresses was against apartheid, made to the Swedish People's Parliament against Apartheid in Folkets hus [People's House] Stockholm on 21 February 1986 – just a week before he was murdered.⁸

There are other individuals whose archives have African connections, for example SAP's international secretary (also Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Foreign Ministers Lennart Bodström and Sten Andersson), Pierre Schori's, Alva and Gunnar Myrdal's and many others although Africa in particular is scantily represented here. Alva Myrdal made a trip to Tanganyika (now Tanzania) in 1961, from which at least the itinerary was preserved. Material has also been saved from her time as chairman of the UN's Commission for Investigation of Measures Against South Africa in 1964. However, the Myrdals' international interest lay rather in Asia and America, Pierre Schori's international involvement tended to be in Latin America (his papers are, moreover, not accessible to researchers without permission).

Nevertheless Africa is well represented in one of the personal archives transferred to ARAB in 2001. From 1963-

1986, Thorsten Nilsson was active in various ways in the Swedish aid organisation Sida and investigated amongst other things the need for adult education in Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania after which he was engaged to take part in their practical implementation. Nilsson's papers contain a great deal of material on these activities. Documents relating to Nilsson's UN assignment as observer of the first free elections in Namibia in 1989 are also of great interest. They include a typewritten diary in which he describes his experience of these events. The material also includes a large quantity of photographs and negatives of African subjects.

Special types of documents

Speaking of Africa we must make particular mention of some of the institution's special holdings, namely the large collection of pictures and posters. We have already spoken of the picture collection in connection with the

reporting and documentation of African leaders and monitoring of the Congo crisis for instance.

Posters, like photographs, can be searched for in a special register. A large number were produced by the organisations mentioned above and a large number of others as a part of their work of raising public awareness. (Stockholms arbetarekommun [Stockholm Branch of the Social Democratic Party], Sweden's Social Democratic Youth Association, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation, Folkets park [People's Park], Arbetarnas bildningsförbund [Workers Education Association], etc). Posters belonging to these fonds are at ARAB but are kept separately because of their special format. There are posters that encourage attendance at various open air meetings, ask for contributions to funds, give information on the current situation in Eritrea or express a point of view ('Sovjet förfalskar Eritreas historia! [Soviet falsifies Eritrean history!]) or simply make invitations to a cultural event in the manner of an Eritrean evening or the like.

NOTES

1. Summarised overview of the activities carried out by the assembled representatives of the oppressed peoples of the east during October and November 1917 in Stockholm. Hjalmar Branting's papers, vol. 4.1:2, ARAB. For the Stockholm Conference see Martin Grass: The Peace Issue in Stockholm 1917 - a Threat to the Belligerent Powers, in *Arbetarhistoria* no. 47, 1988, p 9ff.
2. *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* [People's Political Daily], quoted in Martin Grass: 'Ten Muslims account for their nations' slavery'. Representatives of Islamic Peoples in Stockholm 1917, in *Arbetarhistoria* no. 97, 2001, p 44.
3. *The Syd- och Sydvästafrika, Södra Afrika* newspapers, various numbers and the *Afrikabulletinen* 3/1991, p 2.
4. *Folkrörelse- och föreningsguiden*. Stockholm 1993, p 261.
5. Ibid. p 265.
6. 'ISAK plockar ned skylten' [ISAK takes down the signs], *Södra Afrika* 5/1995, p 23.
7. Olof Palme's African diary, published in *Aftonbladet* 9 October 1977, Magazine pp 1, 4-7.
8. Systematisation of the register is, however, not completely

reliable. Ingrid Malm-Andersson's *Olof Palme. En bibliografi* [Olof Palme, A Bibliography]. Hedemora/Uppsala 2002, is on the other hand amply provided with systematic subject registers and search paths to Palme's printed works.

9. Thorsten Nilsson's papers, ARAB, vol. 4:08, UNTAG = the United Nations Transition Assistance Group.

SUMMARY OF ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS

- Afrikagrupperna - 317 volumes
- Afrikagruppernas rekryteringsorganisation - 79 volumes
- Alva and Gunnar Myrdal - a few volumes, separate series 4.1.12 South Africa
- Arbetarrörelsens Internationella Centrum (AIC) - a few volumes in Series F2 Handlingar rörande seminarier [Documents relating to seminars]
- Hjalmar Branting - a few volumes in Series 4.1. Socialistiska internationalen and internationella socialistiska kontakter [The Socialist International and international contacts]

However, there are also particular posters from international organisations such as the Organización de solidaridad por Africa, Asia, y América latina OSPAAAL [Organisation for Solidarity with Africa, Asia and Latin America]. Their proclamation of a World Solidarity with Mozambique Day on 25 September 1968 is incorporated in the collections at the Labour Movement Archives and Library. To anyone wanting a quick overview of the whole broad field of Swedish opinion forming on Africa, these posters are a goldmine. Since the poster collection is for the most part registered by object it also gives a picture of the breadth of Swedish organisations' involvement in Africa that one would otherwise have to search quite systematically through an enormous stock to find.

There are no 'African' archives at the Labour Movement Archives and Library of the same type as the German exile archives, for instance, or those from the Scandinavo-American organisations. The material that has been described here, however, does give an overview of the involvement with Africa that existed and the interna-

tional co-operation concentrated on Africa that was carried on by various Swedish labour movement organisations. It also shows how Swedish public interest in the continent appeared generally speaking throughout the whole of the last century. This interest to a large extent involved the fight to decolonise and democratise the countries of Africa. As an example of how Swedes engaged and were engaged in this process we may quote from Thorsten Nilsson's last diary entry as UN observer in Namibia:

The election is over, the result is clear. We are humbly grateful and above all happy that it has gone so well. Countless things could have gone wrong. Even the weather was on Namibia's and UNTAG's sides. Now we intend to see some of Namibia before the journey home. ... It has been a great privilege to be present at the birth of the Namibian state.⁹

Tage Erlander – a few volumes in Series 4.2. Handlingar rörande särskilda frågor [Documents relating to specific issues], 4.4.1. Statsministerns besök i utlandet [The Prime Minister's visits abroad] and 4.2.1. Utländska statsbesök i Sverige [Foreign state visits to Sweden]
Framtid för Afrika [A Future for Africa] – 31 volumes
Föreningen folkhögskola i Namibia – 1 volume
Isolera Sydafrika-kommittén (ISAK) – approx. 400 volumes
LO-TCO:s biståndsnämnd – separate series F1-F3b
Biståndsprojekt [The Aid Project]
Olof Palme – frequent in Series 2.2 Books, pamphlets etc., 2.3. Articles, etc., 2.4.0. Speeches, public, and 2.6. Interviews
Pierre Schori – isolated volumes
Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti (SAP) – separate series E2B Partisekreterarens utländska korrespondens [The Party Secretary's Foreign Correspondence] and E5 Internationale sekreterarens korrespondens [The International Secretary's Correspondence]
Sveriges socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbund (SSKF) – isolated volumes in Series F4 Handlingar angående internationella kon-

ferenser, seminarier och särskilda projekt [Documents relating to international conferences, seminars and special projects] and in Series K1a Filmer and ljudband [Films and Tapes]
Sveriges socialdemokratiska ungdomsförbund (SSU) – separate series F05 A-B Internationella frågor [International Issues]
Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna (VPK) – separate series 7a-d
Handlingar rörande internationella frågor [Documents relating to international issues]

Picture archives in which Africa is relatively well represented

Byggnadsarbetaren
Gruvarbetaren
Karl and Elin Lund (Föreningen Svenska Kongoveteranerna)
Metallarbetaren
Morgon-Tidningen
Ny Dag
Statsanställd

Poster collection – Approx. 200 posters

Ulf Jönson is a historian and archivist.

'A vision of an alternative, better world'

International collections and archives

The labour movement sees itself as transnational. The creation of international political and trade union federations, unions of different groups and movements is a manifestation of this. It is also reflected in the diversity of labour movements in an international context. There are both global – at least titularly – and regional organisations, arranged in a hierarchical co-operative structure. In the trade union segment, for example, there are trade union confederation internationals, trade union internationals, supra-regional (e.g. European) federations and regional (e.g. Nordic) trade union secretariats.

The records of these international organisations are, however, not to be found in the Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek ARAB [Labour Movement Archives and Library], with the exception of the Socialist Temperance International and some Nordic organisations. The Internationale Sozialistischer Alkoholgegner ISA [International Socialist Temperance League], was founded in 1928 following an earlier attempt to create an international organisation in 1910. In 1934 the secretariat was reconstituted in Stockholm as a result of an offer from the Swedish temperance organisation, Verdandi,¹ and the German political refugee Henry Dittmer (1905-1985) was the organisation's driving force and secretary until 1952 when the secretariat was moved to Finland. Close co-operation was developed with Verdandi and the Scandinavian Temperance League. On specific issues there was co-operation with non-socialist temperance organisations, which was permitted under the regulations. Henry Dittmer transferred the records to ARAB. There are supplementary entries in his personal archives both at ARAB and at its sister institution the Archiv der sozialen Demokratie in Bonn-Bad Godesberg.²

ISA's fonds is still not completely organised. It contains documents from 1932-1952: minutes, bulletins and other journals, reports, regulations, correspondence, leaflets, posters, accounts, brochures and other printed matter together with temperance news from other countries. For example, ISA's press correspondence, ISA-Press nos. 3-4, 1935, relates what famous Labour leaders had to say about alcohol. One such is Hjalmar Branting, the leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Party who was scarcely an opponent of alcohol. He is quoted as saying: 'Just as it is certain that a wretched proletariat can never be the bearer of a higher social order, so undoubtedly must the struggle

Sheet of music with Joe Hill's song 'The Rebel Girl', '...to the working class she's a precious pearl...'. Published by Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) 1915.

against alcohol consumption as a popular custom form part of the preparations for a socialist revolution' (translated from German). An international bibliographic project on international socialism shows that ARAB's ISA material is in part unique.³

Mostly collections and printed works

ARAB also has internationally oriented collections that have been delivered as such or have been put together by the archives department. These collections are of two types: there is material from international organisations within the labour movement and there are some collect-

ions that contain material of interest and relevance to our field from individual countries. Among the latter one might, for example, mention collections of posters, leaflets and newspapers from the revolutions of 1848 in Austria and France. There is also a group on the 1918 – 1919 revolution in Germany contains leaflets and newspapers chiefly from the Soviet Republic in Munich and the revolution in Bavaria together with postcards from the so-called Spartacist uprising in Berlin from 5 - 12 January 1919.⁴ The Russian photographic collection contains interesting and in part unique photographs from 1917 to the mid 1920s.⁵ Collections from the 1933-1945 resistance movements, on the one hand German disguised writings (Tarnschriften)⁶ and, on the other, material from occupied Denmark and Norway. There is the 1933 - 1945 Exile collection,⁷ an extensive and interesting collection on the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939;⁸ a collection of cuttings on Franco's Spain 1962-1978 and some Scandinavian collections.⁹

Most of the collections contain only printed matter including organisations' printed matter (such as conference minutes, reports on activities and regulations). Some consist solely of clippings others contain a variety of material. Among the latter may be found a special type, 'archival collections' to use a German archival phrase, which means that they contain material that originally formed part of fonds but has been removed and combined with other material as collections. This was a common practice at ARAB up to the mid-1960s, in conflict with the archivist's 'fundamentals' - the principle of provenance and the premise of maintaining records intact. In general, it is difficult or impossible to trace the origin of particular documents. Therefore we have had to accept that they remain in their new context in different collections. Further collections of foreign organisations' printed material are managed and continually added to in the library department.

There are 27 collections from the trade union internationals, which constitute the largest block among the international collections. Fully ten of these internationals were already in existence as far back as the 1890s. During a joint stocktaking project with the other Nordic labour movement archives it was shown that ARAB, all in all, keeps an impressive stock. The pan-Nordic compilation is an outstanding aid at our information desk.¹⁰

The collections contain chiefly organisations' printed matter and periodicals, the latter usually stored in ARAB's library. Some collections are very extensive, for example the International Foodworkers' Union in 25 volumes.¹¹ In general, the material is fragmentary, and unevenly distributed in time (sometimes going up to the 1980s). There is a great deal of rare material from the early decades of the trade secretariats as much was lost during the war years in Europe. This material, for example various enquiries and reports, sometimes submitted to con-

gresses, are of great interest. It provides valuable comparative information about working conditions, working hours including night work, working environments, wage trends and so on, as well as the union struggles in various industries. Much more advantageous use could be made of this but it must naturally be supplemented by material in the archives of the trade unions involved in this co-operation and of Landsorganisationen LO [Swedish Trade Union Confederation].

Party and other internationals

The socialist international, the Second International, was founded in Paris in 1889, thus called from the International Workers' Association, the first international (1864-1872). The International was the federation of socialist parties throughout the entire world or, more correctly, chiefly

In 1987 the Labour Movement Archives and Library (ARAB) held a conference on the so-called Stockholm Conference 1917. The contributions were published in the periodical Arbetarhistoria [Labour History] (edited by ARAB), in the no 47 issue, 3/1988. On the cover is the invitation sent out by the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee to social democrats of all nations to participate in the peace meeting in Stockholm 1917.

Europe. It was the largest international alternative movement before 1914; through its organisation and power it represented 'a vision of an alternative, better world' (Feliks Tych); in the first place, a world of peace with no wars. During and as a result of the First World War this aspiration came to nought and the Second International ceased to function although, during the war, attempts were made to regroup as a peace movement.

The vision survived, and thus, in 1923, the Socialist Workers International (SWI) was founded. This was active until April 1940 when a new war brought it to an abrupt end. A new International, the Socialist International (SI), was established in 1951 following a number of attempts at reorganisation after the war. Material from all of these organisations has been assembled in a chronologically arranged collection. This contains principally printed conference proceedings including reports from associated organisations from 1889 to 1989 and provides a compendium of information, not least by means of reports on the situations in the various countries, the socialist parties and their struggle. A great deal of material, including circulars, originates in terms of provenance from the fonds of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden (SAP). Since it is difficult to establish precisely the correct provenance in every individual case, the collection has been maintained in its existing state. Only those documents marked with a 'Hjalmar Branting' ex libris stamp have been restored to their origin. Together with the publications of the internationals that are in ARAB's library, this is an extremely usable collection, providing a fine

overview of the activities of the internationals and containing besides a few things that are either rare or unique. There is supplementary material in SAP's fonds and in the personal archives of people who were engaged in the activities of the internationals, for example Hjalmar Branting,¹² Gustav Möller, Kaj Björk, Inga Thorsson and Alva Myrdal. Photographs are found in ARAB's photographic collection.

As well as these big collections, some smaller ones must be mentioned: the trade union internationals (International Trade Union Federation and International of Free Trade Unions); the Red Trade Union International and the communist Trade Union World Federation. Others are the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee which tried to reassemble the International in 1917¹³, the International Socialist Commission, the action centre of left-wing groups during the First World War, the Communist International, the Socialist and Communist Youth and Women's Internationals; the

The first Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), in Paris, 25 September-8 October 1945. The presiding committee on the stage of the huge congress hall in Palais de Chaillot in Paris. The first person from the left is August Lindberg, president of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation. Next to him the legendary French trade union leader Leon Jouhaux. The white-haired man (no four from the left) is the Secretary General of the British Trades Union Congress, Walter Citrine. He became the new International's first president. Sitting to the right of the chairman is the Internationals first Secretary General, the Frenchman Louis Saillant. Photo: AEP Paris/LO-tidningen.

International Falcons movement and the Socialist Workers Sports International.

In this connection I have to mention two other international archives of another type that are related to Swedish social democracy: the first is the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, which was active during the 1980s under the chairmanship of Olof Palme and consequently known as the Palme Commission; the second is the Commission on Global Governance, active from 1990 to 2001, with Ingvar Carlsson as chairman, in which global co-operation and the role of the UN were discussed.¹⁴



Camouflage booklet [Tarnschrift] from ARAB's collections. This type of publication, small and innocent-looking, containing political texts on thin paper, were illegally disseminated throughout Germany and Austria during the time of National Socialism.

Finally I should like to draw attention to records that lie outside the scope of international archives and collections as set out here – the Polish Solidarnosc [Solidarity] information office in Stockholm. ARAB holds extensive and fascinating material on Solidarnosc as an opposition, the changes in Poland and the support offered by the Swedish labour movement.

All in all, the international collections afford an excellent possibility to obtain both an overview of the activities of international organisations and background information about the involvement of Swedish organisations in the international arena of the labour movement. Naturally it is fundamental to study the archives of the organisations that were and are engaged in this co-operation whose archives are also kept at ARAB.

NOTES

1. The Verdandi records are held at ARAB.
2. Henry Dittmer presented material from ISA 1982 (accession 1982/60) together with personal papers and exile material 1961, 1969, 1970 and 1982. Dittmer's personal archive is not described yet. There is a description of his personal papers in Bonn-Bad Godesberg at ARAB.
3. Gerd Callesen: *Socialist Internationals. A bibliography. Publications of Social-Democratic and Socialist Internationals 1914-2000*. A project by the International Association of Labour History Institutions. Bonn/Gent 2001.
4. There are additional posters and leaflets in Kurt Heinig's papers and in the poster collection (mainly from Heinig's papers) and postcards in Hjalmar Branting's papers, volume 5.3:1.
5. See the introduction by Maria Bosdotter in *Meddelande från Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek* nos. 26-27, 1983, pp. 26-33. Russian photographs are also included, for example, in Per Emil Brusewitz's papers (including interesting lantern slides) and in the fonds of the Sweden-Soviet Union Alliance.
6. ARAB's disguised writings appear in Heinz Gittig: *Bibliographie der Tarnschriften 1933 bis 1945*. Munich 1996.
7. See Martin Grass: The German Speaking émigrés' papers 1933-1945, in this book.
8. See Lucy Viedma: The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939, in this book.
9. See Martin Grass: Scandinavian Archives and Collections, in this book.
10. *Internasjonale fagsekretariater. Nordisk felleskatalog over historisk kildemateriale fra de internasjonale fagsekretariater*. 1994.
11. Sigvard Nyström: *IUL's historia. Del 1. Från början till 1920*. Genève 1983. Also available in a German translation.
12. See also Martin Grass: International material in Hjalmar Branting's papers, in this book.
13. Ibid.
14. See Stellan Andersson: Peace and Disarmament, in this book. – An outcome of the Palme Commission: *Common security. A programme for disarmament*. London 1982.

LIST OF ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS

Foreign organisation pieces arranged by country are not shown here.

Commission on Global Governance – c.150 volumes
Trade Union International (collection) – 10 volumes
World Federation of Trade Unions (collection)
France: The Revolution of 1848 (collection) – 7 volumes
Commercial Employees' International (collection) – 3 volumes

Dutch – Scandinavian Committee (collection) – 3 volumes, of which 1 is photographs
 Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues – c. 150 volumes
 Indian National Committee, Stockholm (collection) – < 1 volume
 International Falcons Movement (collection) – 1 volume
 Internationale Sozialistische Alkoholgegner – 16 volumes
 International Federation of Tailors and Garment Workers (collection) – 1 volume
 International Union of Builders and Carpenters (collection) – 4 volumes
 International Federation of Factory Workers (collection) – 8 volumes
 International Federation of Government and Local Authority Employees (collection) – 2 volumes
 International Federation of Public Service Personnel (collection) – 2 volumes
 International Union of Hairdressers (collection) – 1 volume
 International Glass Workers' Federation (collection) – 1 volume
 International Graphical Federation (collection) – 3 volumes
 International Federation of Mineworkers (collection) – 2 volumes
 International Federation of Railwaymen (collection) – 1 volume
 International Federation of Farmworkers (collection) – 2 volumes
 International Federation of Metalworkers (collection) – 9 volumes
 International Federation of Painters and Decorators (collection) – 1 volume
 International Union of Shoe and Leatherworkers (collection) – 1 volume
 International Socialist Commission (collection) – 1 volume
 International Masons' Secretariat (collection) – < 1 volume
 International Federation of Textile, Clothing and Leatherworkers (collection) – 1 volume
 International Union of Textile and Clothing Workers (collection) – 1 volume
 International Union of Textile Workers (collection) – 1 volume
 International Federation of Tobacco Workers (collection) – 1 volume
 International Federation of Transport Workers (collection) – 14 volumes
 International Woodworkers' Union (collection) – 1 volume
 International Typographers' Secretariat (collection)

– 1 volume
 International Union of Hotel, Restaurant and Café Employees (collection) – 1 volume
 International Union of Lithographers and Associated Workers (collection) – 1 volume
 International Union of Food and Leisure Workers (collection) – 25 volumes
 Communist International
 Communist Youth International
 The resistance movements in Denmark and Norway 1940-1945 (collection) – 3 volumes
 Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Personnel International (collection) – 5 volumes
 Russian pictures [photo collection] – 14 volumes
 The Red Trade Unions International (collection) – 5 volumes
 The Socialist Workers Sports International – 1 volume
 The Socialist International (collection) – 36 volumes
 The Socialist Youth International (collection)
 Solidarity Information Office, Sweden – c. 200 volumes
 Spain: Clipping collection – 28 volumes
 Spanish Civil War 1936-1939 (collection) – 2 volumes
 Study trips to the Soviet Union (collection) – 1 volume
 Germany: The Revolution of 1918/19 (collection) – 3 volumes
 Austria: The Revolution of 1848 (collection) – 1 volume

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 Misgeld, Klaus: *Den fackliga europavägen. LO, det internationella samarbete och Europas enande 1945-1991*. Stockholm 1997.
Socialdemokratin och svensk utrikespolitik från Branting till Palme. Ed. Hult, Bo/Misgeld, Klaus. Stockholm 1990

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'Madness is now becoming more widespread.'

Peace and disarmament

Peace and disarmament issues have always played a prominent part in the Swedish and international labour movements. These were high on the agenda of the Socialist International as early as the years before the First World War. In 1912, when the international situation was looking ever darker, the International called its members to attend an extraordinary congress in Basel in order to 'discuss joint action for the preservation of peace'. It 'became something unique in external formality and as a political expression of the collective desire for peace among the working class,' wrote Zeth Höglund in his memoirs, *Från Branting till Lenin* [From Branting to Lenin]. '545 representatives from all over Europe were greeted by the government of the canton of Basel...' he continued. The representatives included August Bebel, Jean Jaurès, Keir Hardie, Viktor Adler, Troelstra and all the other big Labour leaders of that time. Eight delegates from the political and trade union labour movement, including Hjalmar Branting, Herman Lindqvist, Fredrik Ström and Zeth Höglund, came from Sweden.

Hjalmar Branting reported on his impression of the congress in a number of articles in *Social-Demokraten* [The Social Democrat]. In the first, dated 26 November 1912, he quoted the welcome speech to the congress given by Wullschlegel, Minister for the Interior.

*'With powerful action against warmongering chauvinism and capitalistic greed for profit, the International will serve not only the entire working class, which of course would suffer the most through the terrors of a war. It will also become the standard bearer of peace for the masses in town and country, who have every reason, all of them, to rise to their feet against becoming cannon fodder.'*¹

The biggest sensation of the congress, in the opinion of Zeth Höglund, was

...a woman who served as an interpreter – she was part of the Italian delegation and translated for her fellow countryman Agnini, who spoke in his native language with a sonorous eloquence that captured the attention of everyone, even those who did not understand him. But the little

dark woman with burning brown eyes and fervent delivery, who translated his words and alternated between German, French and English, without taking a single note and with fluent, captivating rhetoric, amazed everyone and gained their admiration. And then we found out that she was born in Russia but was a naturalised Italian – so she had a good command of at least five languages so perfectly that they could all have been her mother tongue. Her name was Angelica Balabanoff, she was a Marxist Social Democrat and one of the leaders of the Italian party.

Congresses and conferences

Angelica Balabanoff was one of the international contacts made by Swedish representatives when they attended various congresses and conferences overseas. Their personal archives often contain letters from many of the great names of the time in which topical matters were discussed. Among Zeth Höglund's papers are almost 200 letters from Angelica Balabanoff.²

Over the years up to the outbreak of war in August 1914 the congress in Basel was followed throughout Europe by numerous campaigns and conferences for peace and against war. The fact that this work was unsuccessful was disastrous for the future of the international labour movement. The attempts of Swedish and Dutch social democracy, headed by Hjalmar Branting, to bring about peace in 1917 are well known.³

In the period between the wars, disarmament issues came to play a major part in the debates on both domestic and foreign policy. This was influenced by the work of the League of Nations, formed after the war, where Swedish representatives Hjalmar Branting and Rickard Sandler were driving forces on many issues. Hjalmar Branting's papers in particular contain extensive documentation on the work of the League of Nations (series 4.3). The Swedish Parliament's decision on the defence issue of 1925 meant substantial disarmament for the Swedish Armed Forces. The people of Sweden had great expectations for the International Disarmament Conference held in Geneva in 1932. In 1931, in the first issue of *Morgonbris*, the newspaper of Socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundet

SSKF [Social Democratic Women's Association], an appeal was made by Internationella kvinnoförbundet för fred och frihet [International Council of Women for Peace and Freedom]; this said:

As we all know the intention is for a first Disarmament Conference, to include all states, to be called by the League of Nations, if possible in 1931. The men and women who are called to this conference in their capacities as representatives of their governments will take on the greatest task which can be imposed upon an assembly in these times. Courage, wisdom and good will will be required of them in unique measure. If they are to be able to complete their task, they must feel themselves carried by the desire of the people for peace. It is this desire for peace and reconciliation, often still bound up and instinctive, that the International Council of Women for Peace and Freedom has wished to arouse and is expressing by inviting the signing of an appeal to the Disarmament Conference. This work has begun all over the world. The voice of our people must not be lacking. We appeal to each man and woman over 18 years of age to unite with us so that the voice of Sweden may ring out loud and strong.

In the autumn of 1931 prior to the approaching conference, Landsorganisationen LO [Swedish Trade Union Confederation] and Socialdemokratiska arbetarepartiet SAP [Social Democratic Party of Sweden] prepared a manifesto 'to all labour organisations and friends of disarmament in the country'. The intention was that – during October, November and December – 'each and every organisation in favour of disarmament [was] to sign the petition on disarmament'. At the same time, 'special meetings in every town' were arranged where the petitions were accepted to be sent subsequently to the Executive of the Social Democratic Party. The manifesto read as follows:

So long as disarmament does not take place, peace is always in danger. The peace treaty has resulted in the compulsory disarmament of some countries and promised the disarmament of the others. However, the protracted negotiations in Geneva have to date had no tangible results. The burden of armament is growing. The patience of the people is being tried to the extreme.

Therefore, we demand of the governments represented at the Disarmament Conference that they at last take positive action. A treaty

must be concluded which secures a grand immediate reduction of armies, of munitions in all their forms, and of military expenditure, and which leads to complete general and controlled disarmament.

Thus the Disarmament Conference, which opened in February 1932, had been preceded by major campaigns to influence public opinion made by the labour movement, the peace, women's and temperance movements, and from the Church and the non-conformist societies. What were known as Geneva committees, which worked to promote disarmament, were formed throughout the country. Major campaigns to collect names were carried out. In Stockholm, a 'people's parliament for world peace' was arranged prior to the conference, supported primarily by the trade unions with, for example, Sigvard Cruse and Fredrik Ström, the chairmen of Typograförbundet [Printers' Union] on the organising committee. An exhibition entitled 'People disarm' by Informationsbyrån för fredsfrågor [Information Bureau for Peace Issues], the Morgonbris newspaper and the Executive of the Social Democratic Party was housed 'on the beautiful premises of the TUC building at 18 Barnhusgatan'.⁴ A special committee appointed by the liberal government of Carl Ekman prepared the Swedish disarmament programme for the conference. This committee included all party leaders and Per Albin Hansson. Members of the Social Democrats also included Rickard Sandler and Allan Vougt. In the period between the wars, disarmament issues were given top priority in Swedish foreign policy.

For anyone interested in how the peace and disarmament issues were dealt with by the Swedish and international labour movement, there is much information to be found in the various documents of the political and trade union organisations. There is everything from congress proceedings, executive minutes, circulars, letters and member journals to photographs, posters and pins. These issues were discussed by the highest decision-making bodies and were dealt with at local level at branch and club meetings.

Planning for after the war

The unsuccessful efforts in the 1930s to prevent armament and the war by means of international campaigns and agreements did not dim the hope of a peaceful world. As late as the year before the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, Stiftelsen Fredshögskolan [Peace College Foundation] was formed by, among others, Karin Boye, Anna-Lenah Elgström, Oscar Olsson and Fredrik Ström, with Greta Engkvist as a driving force. The aim of the Peace College was 'to educate people with a new dis-

A disarmament conference opened in Geneva on 2 January 1932. The man standing second from the left and in front is the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, Per Albin Hansson. In September of 1932 he became Sweden's Prime Minister. Standing with his back to Hansson is the then Prime Minister C. G. Ekman. Photo: J. Cadoux, Geneva.

position, open to national and international co-operation, by means of studies and lectures'. The Peace College was active until the end of the 1990s, when their documents were transferred to Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek ARAB [Labour Movement Archives and Library].

During the war years, the world that would emerge after the end of the war was discussed and planned. The group of refugees fleeing Nazism that gathered in Stockholm under the name of 'Lilla internationalen' [Little International], the most famous members of which were Willy Brandt and Bruno Kreisky, is renowned.⁵ Practical work for peace was started during the war years by composer and writer Wolfgang Sonntag, through what was called International work teams, where young volunteers took part in international aid and reconstruction work after the war.⁶ Sonntag's papers at ARAB contain documents on this work.

When the Charter of the United Nations was signed in San Francisco on 26 June 1945, the 51 founding members of the organisation undertook by article 1 'to preserve international peace and security'. To achieve this, the General Assembly and the Security Council were given the task of paying particular attention to the issues of disarmament and arms control. Less than two months later, on 6 and 9 August 1945, the USA dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. With this new weapon of mass destruction, the discussions on peace and disarma-

ment took on a different dimension to that of the period between the wars. At the first session of the UN, which took place in London in January 1946, the first resolution of the organisation unanimously approved the proposal for the establishment of an Atomic Energy Commission. This would be entrusted with putting forward proposals on how atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction should be eliminated.

The decision of the Swedish Parliament in 1946 on membership of the UN meant that much of the Swedish commitment to peace in the future would take place within the framework of the UN. In 1947, Rickard Sandler was elected Sweden's delegate to the UN. He resumed his work from the League of Nations and soon became the person who 'was industrious in the UN's atomic debates, immersed himself ever deeper in the political, technical and scientific aspects of the issue. He soon emerged as one of Sweden's top experts in the field', as his biographer Yngve Möller wrote.⁷

During the post-war period, international issues – including those of peace and disarmament – took on ever greater importance in the work of the Social Democratic Party. Kaj Björk was appointed international secretary. In his correspondence in the party archives, as well as in his private papers, it is possible to follow how this work developed. The international material is also well represented in the papers of Tage Erlander, the new party chairman (1946-1969).

Peace campaigns and atomic weapons

At the first declaration of the new Social Democratic government's foreign policy at the Parliament in the autumn of 1945, Östen Undén warned that 'should, contrary to expectation, there appear to be a tendency within this organisation [the UN] toward a division of the great powers into two camps, our policy must be not to allow ourselves to be driven into such a grouping or the formation of blocs'.⁸ 'Contrary to expectation' turned out to be a pious hope and soon the antagonism between West and East became ever greater, and the Cold War began.

Atomic weapons, nuclear testing and various proposals on the disarmament issue became important instruments at an early stage in the struggle for international public opinion and became part of what the English socialist John Strachey called 'the political warfare' between East

and West.⁹ From the time of the formation of the Cominform in 1947, the Soviet Union, with its various front organisations, came,¹⁰ via a series of so called peace offensives, to play on people's genuine fears of a third world war in which atomic weapons would be deployed.

1949 saw the formation of the World Peace Council, perhaps the principal front organisation of the Soviet Union, with its Swedish offshoot Svenska fredskommittén [Swedish Peace Committee]. The records of the Swedish Peace Committee at ARAB includes 39 volumes containing documents from the early 1950s through to the 1970s, and a large number of posters. This archives includes documents relating to everything from international peace congresses to Baltic crossings. In the spring of 1949, the World Peace Council organised a major world peace congress in Paris. Per Anders Fogelström, in Kampen för fred [Fight for Peace], his historical account of the Swedish peace movement, tells how artist Bo Beskow, who attended the congress, was frightened by what he saw:

He said that information had been given that the new peace movement had 600 million affiliates (for North Korea, according to Beskow, a figure of 31 million was given – which was more than the population of the country). Beskow was of the opinion that there was no free discussion, there were no spontaneous contributions... 'Day after day, delegates were fed prepared speeches, which had been submitted in plenty of time because they had to be translated into five languages, and so they could be checked and approved.' He was of the opinion that 'the agitated, aggressive, warlike atmosphere at this peace meeting could not be described'. Beskow feared that the new movement was a threat to all peace work. 'Can the word PEACE be washed clean again?' he wondered.¹¹

At the end of March 1950, the World Peace Council arranged a conference in Stockholm where the famous 'Stockholm Appeal' for a ban on atomic weapons was adopted.¹² This Appeal is said to have been signed by more than 500 million people. In a critical speech at the General Assembly of the UN in the autumn of 1950, Östen Undén said:

Can it really be possible that people could be delivered from the evil of war through a general association with the Stockholm Appeal? Was this the case, the name of Sweden's capital city would be linked with the greatest miracle in the

history of humanity. I am sorry to say that I am compelled, rather, to think that the name of Stockholm has been borrowed to represent a superstition.

All of these peace congresses, peace festivals, peace cros-

Booklet about the so-called Stockholm Appeal 1950. It contains the text of the appeal, press material, speeches and articles in connection to the appeal. The whole project was, according to the critics, a communistic manoeuvre orchestrated from Moscow.

sings and peace weeks led to countermeasures from the West. In the summer of 1950, at the same time as the outbreak of the war in Korea, the Congress for Cultural Freedom was formed in Berlin on the initiative of the CIA.¹³ A series of intellectuals of the time were present, such as Bertrand Russell and Karl Jaspers. They would all come to play an important part in the formation of public opinion against nuclear weapons over the years to follow. Sweden's representative was Ture Nerman, who later helped to form the Swedish subdivision Svenska kom-

mittén for kulturens frihet [Swedish Committee for Cultural Freedom]. The documentation from the archives of this committee was presented to ARAB in 1972. Further documents can be found in the archives of Ture Nerman and Helmut Rüdiger. The Nordic labour movement would also act in response to the Communists' peace propaganda and the Stockholm Appeal. That which became the peace manifesto of the Nordic labour movement was discussed from the autumn of 1950 to January 1951. This manifesto too came to achieve a relatively great international impact. Among others, the fonds of the Arbetarrörelsens nordiska samarbetskommitté SAMAK [Scandinavian Co-ordinating Committee of the Labour Movement], at ARAB contains documents relating to discussions on this peace manifesto.¹⁴

From Östen Undén to Alva Myrdal

In 1961, Östen Undén, Minister for Foreign Affairs, had decided that it was time for him to withdraw after many decades of active politics. He had regularly taken part in the annual UN sessions since 1946, and so now he wanted, in the autumn, to present a proposal in a last major speech to the General Assembly which could break the deadlock in the negotiations on disarmament.

Since the USA's test of a 15-megaton hydrogen bomb at Bikini Atoll in the spring of 1954, the issue of nuclear weapons had mobilised more and more people all over the world to take part in protests. The issue had taken on ever more importance in Sweden too, particularly in connection and with discussions on atomic bombs in the Swedish Defence Forces. The protest movements in the various countries made contact with one another. Aktionsgruppen mot svensk atombomb AMSA [Action Group against a Swedish Atom Bomb], Sweden's most renowned newly formed movement against atomic weapons, attracted numbers to its meetings. One of the most active people in this group was Bertil Svahnström. His very extensive records, which were transferred to ARAB in the early 1980s, contain a lot of material on the Swedish and international peace movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Like the papers of its chairman, Inga Thorsson, the fonds of Socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundet [Social Democratic Women's Association] also contains information on the issue of nuclear weapons in the 1950s.

In the summer of 1961, a group of people at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs worked on Östen Undén's next speech for the UN. This group included Alva Myrdal, whom Undén had given the special task of working on the disarmament issue after she returned to Sweden after six years as the Swedish ambassador to India. By close studies of the contemporary literature and through contact with the experts concerned in other countries, the group did further work on a proposal that the British labour move-

ment persuaded the Socialist International to adopt in 1959. The proposal was for a group of countries free of atomic weapons in a 'non-nuclear club'. This became the Undén Plan, in a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in the autumn of 1961. Alva Myrdal devoted the rest of her life to peace and disarmament issues, initially as the chief Swedish delegate at the international negotiations on disarmament that took place in Geneva between 1962 and 1973. She then became an author, lecturer and animator on the issue, not just in Sweden but all over the world, a fact to which the very extensive material in her papers bear witness. She entitled her first major public speech on the issue 'Nedrustningsfrågans internationella läge [International position of the Disarmament Issue]'. This speech was given at the major public peace meeting arranged by 18 women's organisations that took place in the Concert Hall in Stockholm on 30 October 1961. Here, Alva Myrdal said:

And so history repeats itself: every time an opportunity for mutual agreement is missed, the technological development of weapons continues until both parties achieve 'saturation'. No one dares allow himself to be locked out. And now they stand there not only with their capacity for retaliation secured but also with what the military call, in their somewhat brutal popular parlance, 'overkill capacity' – the ability to more than totally destroy one another. Does this sound as if there were no hope of disarmament?

However, this was how she concluded her address:

I know only two things for certain. Firstly, that we will gain nothing by skirting around the difficulties and merely indulging in wishful thinking. Secondly, there is always something that we ourselves can do. In by far the most unpretentious form, this is how the exhortation runs: to study, to attempt to analyse various proposals against one another and weigh up the effectiveness of the solutions – even if they are not in themselves complete solutions. Otherwise there would indeed be nothing else to do but to give up. And giving up is not worthy of human beings.

From Inga Thorsson to Olof Palme

In 1973, Ambassador Inga Thorsson succeeded Alva Myrdal as the chief negotiator at the international disarmament

talks in Geneva. As mentioned above, in the 1950s she had played a prominent part in the fight against Swedish atomic weapons as chairperson of the Women's Association. Now she would soon become a respected name in international disarmament work; initially at the first conference to review the non-proliferation treaty of 1975. The opposition was so great that the conference was threatened with failure. Thanks to the chairmanship of Inga Thorsson and a proposal for a compromise, prepared by her, for a final document, the conference was a success.

Inga Thorsson's work as chairperson of the UN's special enquiry on 'disarmament and development' which ran between 1978 and 1981 with 27 government experts and around a hundred researchers involved, was highly valued. Of this study, she said:

This study taught us a lot. With the help of figures and clear facts, we could point out the negative economic effects on the economy. We concluded also that the world cannot afford – either in advanced nations or in developing countries – both to arm and at the same time to attempt to resolve the economic and social problems that are becoming ever more damaging.¹⁵

Like Alva Myrdal's papers, Inga Thorsson's contain very extensive information on international peace and disarmament work.

At the Social Democratic party congress held in the autumn of 1978, Olof Palme said:

About a year ago, I had a visit from two elderly gentlemen, both of whom had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. One of them was Philip Noel-Baker, the other Sean McBride. Noel-Baker, who has worked with disarmament issues all his life, said at that time, 'Now we really are in danger. Madness is now becoming more widespread. We have to put a stop to this now and the only chance we have is to mobilise people in favour of international disarmament. The politicians, the parliaments, the military and the UN are no longer enough. We have to mobilise the people, go directly to the popular movements, the trade unions, the Christian organisations and so on. We have to launch a campaign in which we mobilise all popular movements, encouraging them to fight the lunacy of armament.'

NOTES

1. Hjalmar Branting: Intryck från Basalkongressen [Impressions of the Basel Congress], in *Hjalmar Branting. Tal och skrifter IX, Internationalen* [Hjalmar Branting. Speeches and Writings IX, the International]. Stockholm 1929, p 294 ff.
2. Höglund's archive contains another volume of documents with archive fragments from Balabanoff (acc. no. 2000/22, volume 4a).
3. 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 1914 to February 1917]. Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1975. See also Martin Grass: *Konferensen kom aldrig till stånd. Stockholmskonferensen 1917* [The Conference will never come off. The Stockholm Conference of 1917], in *Arbetshistoria* 11, 1987, pp 13 ff, and Grass: *Fredsfrågan i Stockholm 1917 – ett hot mot de krigförande makterna*, [The Peace Question in Stockholm 1917 – a threat to the warring powers] in *Arbetshistoria* 12, 1988, pp 9 ff.
4. *Morgonbris* 1932:2, p 2.
5. Klaus Misgeld: *Die 'Internationale Gruppe demokratischer Sozialisten' in Stockholm 1942-1945. Zur sozialistischen Friedensdiskussion während des Zweiten Weltkrieges* [The

- 'International Democratic Socialists' Group' in in Stockholm 1942-1945. On socialist peace discussions during the Second World War]. Uppsala/Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1976.
6. *Frivilligt arbete för fred – en bok om Internationella Arbetslag*. [Voluntary work for peace – a book on International Labour Team]. Stockholm 2000.
7. Yngve Möller: *Rickard Sandler. Folkbildare. Utrikesminister* [Rickard Sandler. Adult Educator Foreign Minister]. Stockholm 1990.
8. Östen Undén's archive is kept at the National Library of Sweden.
9. John Strachey: *On Prevention of War*. London 1962.
10. Natalia I. Egorova.: Stalin's Foreign Policy and the Cominform 1947-53, in *The Soviet Union and Europe in the Cold War, 1943-53*. Ed.: Francesca Gori and Silvio Pons. London 1996, pp 197-207.
11. Per Anders Fogelström: *Kampen för fred. Berättelsen om en okänd folkrörelse* [The Fight for Peace. An account of an unknown popular movement]. Stockholm 1971, p 243. The archive of Svenska Freds- och Skiljedomsföreningen [the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Association] is kept at the Stockholm city archives.
12. The archive of Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna [The Left Party - Communists (VPK)], volume F11:1, contains documen-

After the agreement on a partial test ban in the summer of 1963, the peace movement – which had been very active – had almost ceased to act. It was reactivated in the mid-1970s, and over the next few years would become more active than ever. In Europe, the USA, Australia and many other countries, protests against nuclear armament became more widespread. One direct reason for this was the thought that neutron bombs had been brought to the fore once again in the USA, while another was the deployment of thousands of nuclear weapons in Europe by the superpowers.

People became more and more anxious about a future nuclear war. Various professional groups such as doctors, lawyers, engineers and even the military formed their own organisations against nuclear weapons. One group in particular, women, took on responsibility in forming public opinion against the ever more grotesque armament efforts

of the superpowers. In the extensive fonds of Kvinnor för fred [Women For Peace], which was transferred to ARAB in 1994, it is possible to follow their work in their great international contact network and in international arrangements such as the famous peace marches. The trade union and political labour movements also devoted more and more resources to peace work in the 1980s. Arbetarrörelsens fredsforum [Peace Forum of the Labour Movement] was founded in 1981 with Alva Myrdal as chairman. Conferences, seminars, publications and international contacts were used to disseminate information on nuclear weapons and the consequences of nuclear war. The fonds of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation contains documentation from the peace delegations of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the European Trade Union College to Washington DC and Moscow, among other places, in the 1980s.

NOTES

tation on the Stockholm Appeal.

13. Peter Coleman: *The Liberal Conspiracy. The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe*. New York 1989; see also Nils Runeby: Klerkernas ansvar och frihetens organisation. Kring de intellektuellas mobilisering i 1950-talets Sverige [The Priesthood's responsibility and the Organisation of Freedom. On the mobilisation of the intellectuals in 1950s Sweden], in *Der nahe Norden. Otto Oberholzer zum 65. Geburtstag. Eine Festschrift* [The Near North. A Festschrift for Otto Oberholzer's 65th Birthday]. Frankfurt am Main 1985, pp 287-305; Matthias Hannemann: Kalter Kulturkrieg in Norwegen? Zum Wirken des 'Kongress für kulturelle Freiheit' in Skandinavien [Cultural Cold War in Norway? On the effect of the 'Congress for Cultural Freedom' in Scandinavia], in *Nordeuropa-forum* 2/99. Berlin 1999, pp 15-41. See also *Arbetshistoria*, issue 100, 2001, several articles.

14. Klaus Misgeld: Den nordiska arbetarrörelsens fredsmanifest 1951. Ett dokument från Koreakrigets dagar [The Peace Manifesto of the Scandinavian Labour Movement, 1951. A document from the time of the Korean War], in *Scandia* 1985, issue 1-2, p 197-216.

15. Lars G Lindskog: *Att förändra verkligheten. Porträtt av Inga Thorsson*. [Changing Reality. Portrait of Inga Thorsson]. Stockholm 1990, p 118.

A large number of organisations' archives and personal archives contain documentation (minutes, documents, letters and so on), in various series and various volumes, which at the same time also include documentation on other issues. Therefore, it is not possible to be precise about their scope. Examples of such archives are as follows:

Arbetarrörelsens nordiska samarbetskommitté [Nordic Co-operation Committee of the Labour Movement (SAMAK)]
Hjalmar Branting
Ingvar Carlsson
Tage Erlander
Per Albin Hansson
Zeth Höglund
Landsorganisationen i Sverige [Swedish Trades Union Congress] (LO)
Alva and Gunnar Myrdal
Ture Nerman
Olof Palme
Rickard Sandler
Sveriges kristna socialdemokraters förbund [Swedish Association of Christian Social Democrats] (SKSF),
Broderskapsrörelsen [the Brotherhood Movement]
Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti [Swedish Social Democratic party] (SAP)
Sveriges socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbund [the Swedish Social Democratic Women's Association] (SSKF)
Bertil Svahnström

ARCHIVES

Olof Palme had been working actively for peace in a variety of ways for many years. From 1977, he was more and more often to deal with the issue of disarmament in various speeches. This was partly due to the fact that the Socialist International had devoted itself ever more to the problems of disarmament after Willy Brandt became its chairman in the autumn of 1976. Olof Palme was one of the vice-chairmen of the International. The Socialist International congress held in Helsinki in 1978 was devoted entirely to the issue of disarmament. A special working group was appointed under the leadership of Finland's Kalevi Sorsa. The UN's first special session on disarmament also took place in 1978.

Olof Palme's papers contain a lot of material on the issues of peace and disarmament, as does the fonds of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues – generally known as the Palme Com-

mission – under his chairmanship, which was active in the 1980s. One important conclusion of the work done by the Palme Commission was that the position of the United Nations had to be reinforced if it were to be possible to preserve peace in the future. The results of the Commission were presented in a first report, Common Security, at the UN's second special session on disarmament, held in the summer of 1982. In the 1990s, Ingvar Carlsson, Olof Palme's successor as party chairman and Prime Minister, would head a commission for global co-operation where proposals for the future role of the UN were the main topic of discussion. The archives documentation from this independent commission, the Commission on Global Governance, until it was brought to an end in June 2001, is kept at Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek [Labour Movement Archives and Library].

Inga Thorsson

Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna [Left Communists Party]

Other archives contain more unambiguous material on the subject area. Examples of such archives are:

Arbetarrörelsens fredsforum [Labour Movement Peace Forum]

– around 6 shelf metres

Commission on Global Governance – 150 volumes

Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues

– 130 volumes

Kvinnor för fred [Women for Peace] – 107 volumes

Wolfgang Sonntag – around 4 shelf metres

Stiftelsen Fredshögskolan [Peace College Foundation]

– 22 volumes

Svenska fredskommittén [Swedish Peace Committee]

– 39 volumes

Svenska kommittén för kulturens frihet [Swedish Committee for Cultural Freedom]

– 4 volumes

LITERATURE

Andersson, Irene: *Kvinnor mot krig. Aktioner och nätverk för fred 1914-1940*. Lund 2001

Engkvist, Greta: *Så började vi. Om Fredshögskolan*. Stockholm 1982

Fogelström, Per-Anders: *Kampen för fred. Berättelsen om en okänd folkrörelse*. Stockholm 1971/1983

Grass, Martin: *Friedensaktivität und Neutralität. Die skandinavische*

Sozialdemokratie und die neutrale Zusammenarbeit im Krieg, August 1914 bis Februar 1917. Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1975

Karlsson, Gunnel: *Från broderskap till systerskap. Det socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundets kamp för inflytande och makt i SAP*. Lund 1996

Lindskog, Lars G: *Att förändra verkligheten. Porträtt av Inga Thorsson*. Stockholm 1990

Misgeld, Klaus: *Die 'Internationale Gruppe demokratischer Sozialisten' in Stockholm 1942-1945. Zur sozialistischen Friedensdiskussion während des Zweiten Weltkrieges*. Uppsala/Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1976

Myrdal, Alva: *Spelet om nedrustningen*. Stockholm 1976 (English original: *The Game of Disarmament*. New York 1976)

Möller, Yngve: *Rickard Sandler. Folkbildare. Utrikesminister*. Stockholm 1990

Möller, Yngve: *Östen Undén. En biografi*. Stockholm 1986

Nilsson Hoadley, Anna-Greta: *Atomvapnet som partiproblem*.

Sveriges socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbund och frågan om svenskt atomvapen 1955-1960. Stockholm 1989

Trönnberg, Stefan: *Nedrustning under mellankrigstiden. Sverige och nedrustningskonferensen i Genève 1932*. Kungälv 1985

Wieslander, Hans: *I nedrustningens tecken. Intressen och aktiviteter kring försvarsfrågan 1918-1925*. Lund 1966.

Stellan Andersson is an archivist.

'In England, we led an extremely frugal life'

An international network of contacts in the archives of Alva and Gunnar Myrdal

Two of social democracy's more prominent personalities in the 20th century, Alva and Gunnar Myrdal were scientists and politicians. To them, science was all about society and social welfare policy. Thanks to their work in the 1930s they have come to be known as the principal representatives of the art of social engineering. In his 1930 work, *Vetenskap och politik i nationalekonomin* [Political Element in the Development of Economic Theory], Gunnar Myrdal wrote:

Our scientific goal must be to acquire sufficient knowledge of the world in which we live to be able to predict future development trends as well, and thereby to make it possible to implement rational measures in order to change these trends and thereby to realise our aspirations. However, establishing what these aspirations should be lies beyond the scope of science.

'Acquiring sufficient knowledge of the world in which we live' presupposes access to and the exchange of information on the latest results of scientific research. And this in turn presupposes access to works of reference and contact with other researchers the world over. How an international, scientific network of contacts was built up and what it looked like can be investigated in Alva and Gunnar Myrdal's papers.¹ In what follows, I want to use a few examples to point out the opportunities that exist for carrying out a study of this kind. Their papers, which have been available at Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek ARAB [Labour Movement Archives and Library], since the mid-1970s, contain extensive series of correspondence. All in all, these fonds contain some 400 volumes, or somewhat more than 120,000 letters. The letters from the 1930s and 1940s have been used in research to some extent but much of the information in them has not yet been exploited. This is particularly true of the most extensive collections dating from the 1950s to the 1980s.

A famous photograph of Alva and Gunnar Myrdal, wearing matching, striped suits. The couple is en route to the USA in September 1938. Photo: Reportagebild.

London, Kiel and the USA

When he were studying economics under Gustav Cassel, at that time the most famous economist beside Keynes, it became obvious to Gunnar Myrdal that he should be looking abroad. As a doctoral postgraduate, he and Alva

together spent many months in London and Kiel. In his partly autobiographical book of 1982, *Hur styrs landet?* [How is the Country Run?] Gunnar Myrdal wrote:

Then in the spring of 1925 I received a travel grant from Vetenskapsakademien, [Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences] amounting to 2,500 Swedish kronor, the highest award made up to then. When Gustav Cassel came home from the Academy's conference, he called me in the middle of the night to tell me the news. He knew what putting wind in my sails meant to me. [...] In England, we led an extremely frugal life and managed to stay there for more than six months on that money, plus a grant of 700 kronor that Alva received. We spent most of our time in the Reading Room at the British Museum, where all the literature of the world was there for the choosing. Alva followed up her interest in social psychology.²

krati? [Why Democracy], was, like Gunnar Myrdal, greatly inspired by Axel Hägerström of Uppsala. How things went can be traced from the letters they exchanged from the late 1920s. The Ross couple may serve to represent their contact with Nordic scientists. Invitations to lectures, primarily in Denmark and Norway in the 1930s, meant that Alva and Gunnar Myrdal got to know a lot of Nordic researchers, not least in the discussions on the solution to the population issue.³

From 1926, Gunnar Myrdal also ended up working closely with Gösta Bagge, professor and principal of Socialvetenskapliga institutet [Social Sciences Institute], a venture largely financed by funds from the American Rockefeller Foundation. Gösta Bagge had had good contacts with American economists for many years, which would turn out useful for Gunnar Myrdal during the 1929-1930 academic year, when he spent much of the time at various universities in America as holder of a Rockefeller scholarship. Letters of introduction from Cassel and Bagge allowed him to get to know the top institutional economists of the time, such as Professors John R. Commons at the University of Wisconsin and Wesley C. Mitchell at

Columbia University in New York. For Alva and Gunnar Myrdal, the most important contacts made during that academic year were primarily those with the American sociologists. They became very close friends with W.I. Thomas, the father of American sociology, and his wife Dorothy S. Thomas. The Thomas couple went motoring through Europe and Sweden together with Alva and Gunnar Myrdal and spent a lot of time together with them during the summer of 1931. For many years, Dorothy S. Thomas was involved in a major research project in Stockholm under the direction of Myrdal dealing with population changes. The correspondence between the two couples occupies several hundred pages.⁴ During the trip to America, Alva Myrdal visited many institutions of interest to her

Alva Myrdal, Director of the Social Affairs Department of the United Nations Secretariat (left) and Eleanor Roosevelt, of the United States, in Lake Success, New York, at the UN General Assembly 3 October 1949. United Nations Photo.

In London, they got to know the Danish couple Alf and Else-Merete Ross. Alf Ross, later renowned among generations of students as the author of the book *Varför demo-*

*fields: psychology, sociology and raising children. At Columbia University, Robert Lynd – who published the famous book *Middletown* in 1929 – took her under his wing (Alva Myrdal planned doing a similar book on Västerås on her return to Sweden.) Child psychologist Charlotte Bühler made a lasting impression on her. In Chicago, Alva and Gunnar know the two eminent sociologists William Fielding Ogburn and Ernst W. Burgess.⁵*

Gerhard Mackenroth came from Kiel, where Gunnar Myrdal had made a lot of friends during his visit in the mid-1920s. He spent some time at Stockholm University as a Rockefeller scholarship holder in the late 1920s. It was Mackenroth who translated Myrdal's *Vetenskap och politik i nationalekonomin*, into German, but he also translated *Der Gleichgewichtsbegriff als Instrument der geldtheoretischen Analyse* [Concept of Balance as an Instrument of Monetary Analysis], published in F. A. Hayek's *Beiträge zur Geldtheorie* [Contributions to Monetary Theory], Vienna 1933. In the extensive correspondence between Myrdal and Mackenroth (almost 300 letters) there can be found the origins of the terms *ex ante* and *ex post*, both important in economics.⁶ Mackenroth's work brought Gunnar Myrdal into contact with other colleagues in Germany and Austria. In some cases – Rudolf Meidner, Rudolf Heberle, Fritz Croner, Theodor Geiger – it was he who gave them support and employment when they fled from Nazism to Sweden.⁷ They too are represented in the collection of correspondence.

Geneva and Stockholm

After his return to Europe in the summer of 1930, Gunnar Myrdal was appointed to a chair at the *Institute universitaire des hautes études internationales* in Geneva for the 1930-1931 academic year. Here, he would make the acquaintance of a number of lecturers and students who would later have important parts to play in other arenas, such as the Austrian Egon Glesinger, who was to become one of his closest friends and advisors right until his death in the mid-1970s. After the war, Glesinger took an active part in the FAO, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, in Rome. (It is possible to follow the work of Glesinger and Myrdal in several hundred letters exchanged between the two.) Robert B. Schwenger, another student in Geneva, who later worked for the American administration for many years, also became a close friend of the Myrdals. Hal B. Lary was to become a colleague of Gunnar Myrdal's in Geneva 20 years hence. Alva Myrdal continued her studies in child psychology, now under Piaget.

In the 1930s, as one of the economists at the so called *Stockholmsskolan* [Stockholm School], Gunnar Myrdal got to know economists from institutions such as the London School of Economics. One was David V. Glass and another Hugh Dalton, later the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Attlee government, when they visited Sweden. In the summer of 1936, Hugh Dalton and Gunnar Myrdal collaborated in writing a joint memorandum, 'The Financial Problems of the French Government', containing advice to Léon Blum's Popular Front government. It was found as an appendix to a Dalton letter during the work of organising the Myrdal archives in the mid-1970s.⁸

From the left: Gunnar Myrdal, 1947-1957 Secretary General of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Palamadi S. Lokanathan, head of the UN's Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, and Raúl Prebisch, Argentinian political economist and head of the UN's Economic Commission for Latin America. Photo from New York, 1954. Photo: Leo Rosenthal.

USA and Stockholm by turns

Between 1938 and 1942, Alva and Gunnar Myrdal spent most of their time in the USA where Gunnar wrote his most famous scientific work *An American Dilemma* (1944). The Carnegie Corporation, which financed the study, placed enormous resources at Myrdal's disposal and practically all qualified researchers in the field ended up working for the project in one way or another. Besides the minor parts of working papers and correspondence preserved in Gunnar Myrdal's archives, there are two rolls of microfilm sent to ARAB in October 1974 by the Carnegie Corporation.⁹ Gunnar's staff included Ralph J. Bunche, who became Dag Hammarskjöld's right-hand man at the United Nations. Together with Richard Sterner, Arnold Rose, later a professor at the University of Minnesota, gave Gunnar Myrdal the greatest assistance in the final phase of this work. At the same time, Alva Myrdal wrote up for the American public her summary of the discussions on the population issue in Sweden in the 1930s. This was

published in 1941 under the title *Nation and Family*.¹⁰ Alva Myrdal was active in the IFBPW, the International Federation of Business and Professional Women, and in the IFUW, the International Federation of University Women. In both organisations, she got to know many of the most successful women in the academic world of the time. With the help of the IFUW, she later acquired information from many countries for the book *Women's Two Roles*, which she wrote jointly with British sociologist Viola Klein. This was published in 1956. The correspondence between Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein is very extensive.

Gunnar Myrdal, here together with the president of Cuba, Fidel Castro, participated as the only Nobel Price winner during the Second Congress of the Association of Third World Economists, in Havana, Cuba, 26.-30. April 1981. His address was entitled 'The Role of the Economists in Underdeveloped Countries'. (Cropped photo).

In the autumn of 1943, Gunnar Myrdal once again travelled to the USA on behalf of the Swedish government in order to attempt, in discussion with economists in the administration and at the various universities, to clarify international economic development after the end of the War. Those he visited included the economists Alvin H. Hansen and Gottfried von Haberler of Harvard University whom he had been in contact with since the early 1930s.

Gunnar in Geneva, Alva in Paris

In the spring of 1947, when Gunnar Myrdal was appointed Secretary-General of the Economic Commission for Europe, the newly formed regional organisation within the UN, he decided early on to tie into it the most highly qualified economists in order to analyse the situation of a devastated Europe. He would work on the basis of those analyses in recommending appropriate options for action to the various governments. People such as Walt W. Rostow, later President John F. Kennedy's advisor on foreign policy, Charles Kindleberger and Hal B. Lary came from the USA. From Cambridge in the United Kingdom there came Nicholas Kaldor, later economics guru to the Wilson government, Albert Kervyn from Belgium and, from the Soviet Union, E.M. Chossudovsky. From a detailed series of documents in the Myrdal papers including memoranda and correspondence, it is possible to follow this work within the ECE. It stretches from the days of Marshall Aid in June 1947 through the most chilly period of the Cold War to the summer of 1957 when world politics were considerably more relaxed and Gunnar Myrdal resigned his post. The results of their work can be studied in the ECE's annual *Economic Survey of Europe*.

In 1949, Alva Myrdal became a director of the UN's Department of Social Affairs, where she worked directly under Trygve Lie and was responsible for social welfare, social policy and population issues. In this position, she had many opportunities for discussion with the world's leading scientists in their respective fields. The same year, she worked with Paul Vincent on behalf of Unesco and published one of the first studies of the future trend of world population: *Are We too Many?* Two years later, she became the head of Unesco's Department of Social Sciences in Paris. Here, she became the initiator of – and responsible for – work to ensure that international scientific organisations including those for sociology, psychology and political science were able to resume their work, which had been discontinued since the War. The collection of letters from this time bears witness to her extensive list of contacts. At that time, the situation of underdeveloped countries was coming under the spotlight to an ever greater extent. Alva Myrdal visited for the first time various scientific conferences in India and Japan on behalf of Unesco and made contacts that would be important later on.

The Third World – New Delhi

From 1953 on, Gunnar Myrdal, like many of his fellow economists at the time, wanted to devote his efforts to studying developments in what were known as underdeveloped countries. It would be four years before he was entirely free of his commitments in Geneva and before he arranged

financing for the project, which would become the mammoth work *Asian Drama* fifteen years later (1968).¹¹ Therefore, until 1957, he worked in parallel with his ECE position and carried out a series of pilot studies and trips on which he consulted many of the scientific experts of the time. He did major initial work of this kind prior to a series of lectures for the 200th anniversary of Columbia University in 1954. Here, it is possible to look through the archives material and follow in detail the growth of the information that later became the book *An International Economy* (1956) with versions that many of his colleagues read and commented on. In 1955, he held a series of lectures in Cairo that became the book *Economic Theory and Under-developed Regions* (1957).

A number of trips to the regions around India and Pakistan, the Middle East, the southern parts of the

Soviet Union, and of course tours of India and Pakistan, led to much contact with researchers at various universities and at the various government administrations working in these fields. His opposite number in India, Dr. Palamadi S. Lokanathan, head of ECAFE, the UN's Economic Commission for Asia and Far East, helped him a great deal in getting in touch with the right contacts at the various universities in India. In the autumn of 1957, Heinz W. Arndt at the University of Canberra arranged for Gunnar Myrdal to have an extensive tour of Australian universities.

From 1957, when Gunnar Myrdal spent a long period in New Delhi – where Alva Myrdal had become the Swedish Ambassador in 1955 – his correspondence with colleagues all over the world grew. As a rule, he spent his summers at Balliol College, Oxford, where his friends, headed by Pro-

Alva Myrdal speaking at a conference arranged by the Quakers of New York, in June 1975. Alva and Gunnar Myrdal had close ties with the Quakers movement.

fessors Thomas Balogh and Paul Streeten, took good care of him. At the same time, his speaking commitments as a guest lecturer grew, mainly at major American universities, but also in many other countries throughout the world, or – as he put it – ‘the world at large’. Gunnar Myrdal became a ‘jetsetter’ who flew all over the world, lecturing at major international conferences.

Between the World and Sweden

In the spring of 1961, when Alva and Gunnar Myrdal returned to Sweden, they were both better established in the international arena than they were in Sweden. Over the following years, Alva Myrdal came into contact through her work on the disarmament negotiations in Geneva with the academic experts in the field, such as Henry A. Kissinger, Jerome Wiesner and Herbert F. York. However, her other positions – as a Member of the Swedish Parliament, a UN delegate, a cabinet minister and the chairman of, for example, *Att välja framtid* [*Choosing the Future*], the committee for future studies – also led to various scientific contacts until 1973, when she gave up her commitments in Sweden. Through his personal pro-

fessorial chair, at Institutet för internationell ekonomi [Institute of International Economics], a body recently started by him, and a number of other undertakings including the chairmanship of Stockholms internationella fredsforskningsinstitut SIPRI [Stockholm International Peace Research Institute] and Latinamerikainstitutet [Latin American Institute], Gunnar Myrdal was to remain in constant contact with scholars in other countries.

If we analyse the material in Gunnar Myrdal's collection of letters for the period 1961-1973, we can, in brief, establish a few facts. This correspondence was so extensive that he (or his secretary) kept them in folders sorted initially by year, then by country. For each country, the letters were ordered alphabetically according to its author's name or the name of the institution. During this period he received a total of over 15,000 letters and he sent almost 13,000 (copies of responses kept, as a rule dictated letters). Of these, around 11,000 came from abroad (and he sent around 10,000). Most of his correspondence was with the USA – from which he received around 5,500 letters (sent 4,700) – the United Kingdom (900 and 700 respectively) and India (450 and 400). He also enjoyed lively contacts with the Scandinavian countries: Denmark 200 (150),

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1. For a description of the archives, see Stellan Andersson: On the value of personal archives. Some examples from the archives of Alva and Gunnar Myrdal – with a main focus on Gunnar, in *Nordeuropaforum* Berlin 1999:1, p 15-32.
2. *Gunnar Myrdal. Vägvisare* [Essential Gunnar Myrdal]. Selection and comments by Örjan Appelquist and Stellan Andersson, Stockholm 1998, p 37.
3. Cecilie Stokholm Banke: *Den sociale ingeniørskunst i Danmark. Familie, stat og politik fra 1900 til 1945* [Social Engineering in Denmark. Family, State and Politics from 1900 to 1945]. Roskilde 1999.
4. E Stina Lyon: The Myrdals and the Thomases 1930-1940. The Trials and Tribulations of a Cross-Atlantic Research Collaboration, in *Mirrors and Windows. Essays in the History of Sociology*. Ed.: Janusz Mucha. Torun 2001, pp 219-234.
5. For details on the trip to America and their contacts there, see: Jan Olof Nilsson: *Alva Myrdal – en virvel i den moderna strömmen* [Alva Myrdal – an eddy in the stream of today]. Stockholm 1994, pp 138 ff.

6. The translator of the English version of *Vetenskap och politik i nationalekonomin*, Paul Streeten of Oxford University, was also to play a significant role in Gunnar Myrdal's life. The correspondence between them is very extensive.
7. See, for example, Rudolf Meidner's introduction: Gunnar Myrdal – några reminiscenser och lärdomar [Gunnar Myrdal – some reminiscences and lessons], in *Gunnar Myrdal. Vägvisare*, p 14.
8. This memorandum came to be published in 1978 under the title 'Un parallèle: le Front populaire (1936, le premier gouvernement Blum)' [Orig. title: A Parallel: The First Blum Government 1936. A Footnote to History], in *Solutions socialistes. À propos de 'La transition socialiste'*. Ed.: Serge-Christophe Kolm. Paris 1978, pp 143-146.
9. For information on the discussions which preceded the offer, see Gunnar Myrdal's own words in *Hur styrs landet*, Stockholm 1982, chapter VIII, note 6, pp 280-281. See also the standard works on Gunnar Myrdal's book by Walter A. Jackson: *Gunnar Myrdal and America's conscience. Social engineering and racial liberalism, 1938-1987*. Chapel Hill/London 1990, and David W.

Finland 120 (120) and Norway 250 (200).

More or less every country is represented in the material. Most of his correspondence is with academic colleagues at various universities, with scientific journals, or with publishers responsible for the translation and sales of his books. If we look in more detail at, for example, the American correspondence, almost all the major universities are represented there, such as California (Berkeley, Los Angeles, La Jolla), Columbia, Harvard, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan State, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Stanford, Texas, Wayne State, Wisconsin and Yale. If we look at the fellow professors with whom he had most correspondence, we find it is with his old friends such as William J Barber, Kenneth E. Boulding, John Kenneth Galbraith, Alvin Hansen, Charles P. Kindleberger, the brothers Eugene V. and Walt W. Rostow and George E. Wilson. However, many younger people requesting advice on a variety of issues are also represented. Some of them, such as economists from other countries such as Alvin Hansen, also became involved in research projects jointly with Institutet för internationell ekonomi.

In the autumn of 1973, Alva and Gunnar Myrdal left Sweden to spend much of their time at American universi-

ties as guest professors over the years to come. Their first port of call was the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara – California, where Gunnar Myrdal once again took up the American racial issue. The intention was for him to write a book, *An American Dilemma Revisited*. Alva Myrdal worked there as well as at MIT, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Mass., on her book *The Game of Disarmament*. The following year, Gunnar Myrdal ended up working at City College of the City University of New York with Professor Kenneth B. Clark. One academic year was spent at the University of Texas in Austin. Of course, their continued academic work led them both to maintain their old contacts, such as that of Alva Myrdal with Elisabeth Mann Borgese on the militarisation of the oceans, and to the creation of new ones. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Gunnar Myrdal became ever more popular in Japan, resulting in a lot of correspondence and lecture tours. Both their Nobel Prizes – Gunnar Myrdal's Prize for Economic Sciences in 1974 and Alva Myrdal's Peace Prize in 1982 – also led to extensive correspondence. Not least their honorary doctorates – almost 40 to Gunnar Myrdal and over ten to Alva – bear witness to their unique international academic standing.

Southern: Gunnar Myrdal and black-white relations. *The use and abuse of 'An American Dilemma', 1944-1969*. Baton Rouge 1987 (1994). See also the anniversary issue of the journal of the American Academy of Sciences, *Daedalus*, 1995, winter issue, which is devoted entirely to Myrdal's book. Original documents for the research project Carnegie-Myrdal study of the negro in America. *The negro in America*, is kept at the New York Public Library's Schomburg collection. These are stored on 13 rolls of microfilm published by the Kraus-Thompson organisation. Gunnar Myrdal himself writes about his work in the article 'Gunnar Myrdals 'An American Dilemma' – har det blivit löst?' [Gunnar Myrdals 'An American Dilemma' – has it been resolved?], in *I stället för memoarer* [Against the Stream]. Stockholm 1972, pp 296-309. See also the book by Gunnar Myrdal published posthumously: *Historien om An American Dilemma* [tale of An American Dilemma]. Stockholm 1987.

10. Translation into Swedish in 1944, entitled *Folk och familj*. In a new American edition published in 1968 by MIT Press, her friend Daniel P. Moynihan wrote an introduction.

11. The archives of the labour movement include some fifty volumes from Gunnar Myrdal's work on *Asian Drama*, and there are still more volumes held at the manuscripts department at the National Library of Sweden. Alongside the scientific correspondence, his correspondence with publishers the world over is of great interest here, as with all of Gunnar Myrdal's books. As of the end of the 1930s, Gunnar Myrdal wrote in English, but his books have been translated into many languages, from Arabic to Urdu. *Asian Drama* has recently been translated into Chinese.

This contribution is based in the main on the material in Alva and Gunnar Myrdal's archives. To my knowledge, no research with the particular starting point described here and based on these archives has been carried out as yet.

Stellan Andersson is an archivist

'It took me such a long time to get a novella together that I actually could not afford to do it.'

Correspondence with foreign authors and publishers in the archives

Some of the archives in Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek, Labour Movement Archives and Library (ARAB), are connected to publishing and authorship within the labour movement, principally those of Folket i Bild (FiB), Tiden and Axel Holmström publishing, and Ivar Öhman's personal papers. Hidden in here is interesting correspondence with many foreign authors, publishers, translators and literary agents. The following introduction will provide some examples of this rich material, which is of literary historical interest, both with regard to their specific authorship and to cultural activity within the movement as a whole.

Ivar Öhman and Folket i Bild

The magazine Folket i Bild [the People in Pictures] started in 1934 on the initiative of the communist Member of Parliament, Karl Kilbom. The idea was to provide an alternative to the 'yellow press'. The magazine was initially 40 pages long and cost 35 öre. From the start, circulation was as high as 25,000 copies, which were distributed through a large number of representatives and sellers in the labour and trade union movements throughout Sweden. Ivar Öhman was employed as sub-editor and later became editor-in-chief in 1946.

Ivar Öhman, driving force behind FiB, in front of a drawing with 'his' writers, illustrators and graphic artists, 1984. Photo: John Wahlbärj.

Ivar Öhman (1914-1989) grew up in Sundsvall, where he was a good friend of the author Lars Ahlin. His father was a sawmill worker and local editor of the left-wing socialist newspaper *Norrlands-Kuriren* [The Norrland Courier]. Together with Ahlin, Öhman published the magazine *Unga röster* [Young Voices].¹

Ivar Öhman soon built a wide network of contacts with authors both within and outside Sweden, mainly the working class authors.² He edited a number of literary anthologies, was responsible for 'FiB's grafikklubb [FiB's graphic arts club]' and participated in the committee for the publishing of a cultural programme for the labour movement, 'Människan och nutiden [Man and the present]'.

Subsequently FiB occupied an almost unparalleled position within the labour movement as an illustrated weekly with news, competitions and many literary contributions in the form of short stories and poems. FiB took the initiative to support unemployed stone workers, a grant given for holidays for housewives and a meeting room set up for Saami youth in Jämtland. FiB announced a competition for young inventors, 'inventors in overalls'. In 1955, Tage Erlander presented the prize of SEK 5,000. In just six months the paper had collected SEK 85,000 for the starving in Tanganyika, a considerable sum for the time.

Folket i Bild also started a highly rated book club and published new books in its series FiB 'folkböcker [peoples books]'. Swedish working class authors such as Vilhelm Moberg, Jan Fridegård, Bernhard Nordh and Per Anders Fogelström were featured in this series, as were such foreign authors as Aksel Sandemose, Hans Scherfig, Upton Sinclair, Jack London, Pablo Neruda and Carl Sandburg. A total of some 200 titles were sold, amounting to around 15 million copies – an enormous print-run by the standards of that time in Sweden. Foreign authors also featured in the 'Världsbiblioteket [World library]' series and a series of popular children's books, FiB 'Gyllene böcker [Golden Books]' by Walt Disney among others. Literary evenings were arranged at Folkets hus socialist community centres throughout the country.

The FiB 'konstklubb [Art club]' published illustrated papers and organised art exhibitions, and the 'Lyrikklubben [Lyric club]' published lyrical poetry. All in all, this was a gigantic adult education project of great significance particularly for Swedish working class literature, and important 'counter-publicity' against Sweden's bourgeois weeklies and book publishers of that time. Literary historian Lars Furuland called FiB 'one of the few weeklies that is part of the history of (Swedish) literature'.³ Folket i Bild turned into a 'popular movement' within the labour movement.

After a financial crisis the whole company ceased to operate in 1962 and was sold by its owners in the labour movement to Åhlén & Åkerlunds förlag [Åhlén & Åkerlund Publishing] (Bonniers). There it was turned into a 'girlie

magazine' with pin-up centerfolds. As a reaction, the left-wing radical weekly, *FiB-Kulturfront* [FiB Cultural front], appeared in the 1970s. After FiB's closure Öhman's long career in the cultural field was crowned with the post of ambassador to Athens.

Ivar Öhman's papers

The content of Ivar Öhman's papers includes a lot of correspondence between 1936-1989, of which a good deal concerns international author contacts. It has now been inventoried and described.

As a young journalist, Öhman travelled to the USA as a reporter for papers including *Nordstjernan*. Consequently there is much correspondence with Swedish-American connections. He was to stay in touch by letter for a long time with people such as Kurt Singer, Frances Pollack and Charles W. Hanson.

Moreover there are a great many Scandinavian authors represented – many were friends of Öhman, many were published in *Folket i Bild* and in literary anthologies. For example, there are letters from Nils Johan Rud, Aksel Sandemose, Johan Borgen, Tove Ditlevsen, Väinö Linna, Halldor K. Laxness, Björn Rongen, Johan Falkberget, Arthur Omre and F.E. Sillanpää. The correspondence preserved from some authors, such as Rongen and Omre, covers many years. For instance, on 13 July 1953 Laxness wrote about his problems writing 'novellas':

*The fact is that, in my whole life, I have not produced more than 6 or 7 presentable novellas (including the novelette 'Den goda jungfrun og Huset [The good virgin and the house]') roughly three times the length of 'Lilja' that Tedin has sold you for 2,500 kronor. It took me such a long time to get a novella together that I actually could not afford to do it. You should go over a novella again and again at intervals of about six months for at least three years and it is still not ready then. Unfortunately, I have never written a perfect novella. Over the last few years I have incorporated a good deal of novella material in my larger works. If you want to get some really good novellas, write and give my regards to my Irish friend Seán O'Faoláin in Dublin, who is one of the best writers of novellas in English.'*⁴

Laxness, who won the Nobel prize for literature in 1955, concluded the letter by offering Öhman to buy an Icelandic pony:

An ordinary Icelandic pony costs about the same as a novella by Laxness but the poor creature should preferably go to Sweden on a direct boat. It will possibly not be entirely easy and certainly a little expensive to bring it across but such shipping has been done many times. If you fly here you can buy one and have it sent home. There is a society here devoted to small horses and they will certainly undertake to get you one. A pony is a friend for life.

From the Danish author Tove Ditlevsen (1918-1976), an 'office girl' by profession, a good few letters are preserved, many of them very personal. There is interesting information here about the payment of royalties, fees and the public lending right. Of the publication of her novel 'Barnedomens gata [Childhood's road]' in Swedish in 1948, Ditlevsen wrote (24 October 1947) to Ivar Öhman:

With regard to Childhood's Road, I have already written to 'Little Gamby'⁵ and passed on your wish to publish it later in FiB and given the idea my every recommendation. I cannot demand it since the contract is signed. I wanted to write directly to the publishers but couldn't for the life of me read the signature on their letter. But now you know that I have sent Gamby the request in case the sly little beggar thinks up any fool tricks.

On 19 May 1948 Elmer Diktonius, the famous Finnish poet and revolutionary, wrote the following for FiB from his home, Grankulla, in connection with an article in memory of Edith Södergran, whom he had known personally:

Dear Editor-in-Chief. Herewith a short article on Södergran; collecting the material took a bit of time, hunting out pictures and this and that. For that matter it is really tricky writing about Edith, because so much in many quarters is under lock and key – both she and her mother covered their traces as well as they could, and they succeeded. However, hopefully this will reach you in good time, and you will be reasonably satisfied. I can't do any better in the present situation. The price is 100, which stands.⁶ With sincere Finnish felicitations, Elmer Diktonius

Another famous author from Denmark, Martin Andersen-Nexö, writes interestingly on film on 13 November

1946, just as his book 'Ditte människobarn [This Child]' is going to be filmed in Sweden, by Nordisk Tonefilm.

The film is an independent work based on the idea and action of the novel; it sticks closely to the novel but ultimately stands or falls on its own without having any influence on the novel as such. It would be possible to take the words away from the film and show it as a silent movie without having any decisive effect – besides its becoming less readily accessible. But first to adapt and trim down a novel for a film and then take the film away and let the adapted remains stand in for the actual work is absolutely impossible! Apart from my novel's connection with the film it must be allowed to remain word-for-word as I wrote it. I cannot agree to any kind of shortening whatsoever – or any consequent rearrangement.

Among the more unusual author contacts there are, for instance, letters from Arthur Koestler, Peace Prize winner Carl von Ossietzky's daughter Rosalinda in connection with her father's Nobel Peace prize in 1936, and the Indian writer Mulk Ray Anand. Contacts with the publisher Carit Andersen in Copenhagen also merit mention and Norwegian newspapers, such as *Magasinet litterært og populært* [Literary and Popular Magazine]. The lion's share of the correspondence naturally involves Swedish working class authors such as Vilhelm Moberg and Ivar Lo-Johansson, but there is in particular a large correspondence with Scandinavian authors that may be of interest to students of literature.

The Folket i Bild publisher's fonds

It can be difficult to separate Ivar Öhman's papers from those of Folket i Bild. FiB's fonds actually contains letters addressed to Öhman, in which the periodical FiB has obviously been confused with the publisher Folket i Bild. Letters to Einar Ebe also confuse his two roles; with the magazine, where he was one of the driving forces and distribution manager; and with the publishing company, where he was managing director. The frank Tove Ditlevsen turns up again here in the form of her outspoken letter, in this case addressed to the publisher's managing director, Einar Ebe (8 May 1956), in connection with publication of 'Childhood road' by Folket i Bild publishing. Here her great popularity in both Denmark and abroad is writ large, as is a great need for her own manifest in plain language, but also a great need for her 'own niche'.

Dear Einar Ebe. Very many thanks for the clip-

ping, the congratulations, the letter from before Christmas that I never got round to answering and for the handsome book. Having my autograph on the cover is a good idea. No, I cannot manage to go to Gothenburg and have written to them. You must understand the way it is – if I said yes to all the invitations I receive every day to take part in every possible kind of literary function, I would have to lead the life of a travelling salesman. The difference would be that I simply would not be able to earn a living from it. I would be compelled to neglect my three small children grievously, not to speak of my marital duties. The gentleman in Gothenburg wrote to me, somewhat offended, about the contact between author and reader – so important for sales of the book. But it seems to me that these take place because people read a book and not because they hear the author muttering out his own works since almost all of us do it so badly! And every time that, let us call him the 'ordinary' reader, has looked me up, it proves that they expect that I 'who are so clever' (!) may be able to help and advise them in one current personal conflict or another – which I naturally cannot. There are never any that have come with the intention of getting to know me or of increasing their understanding of something I have written. You must not take my refusal as arrogance, I simply do not have time.

Ditlevsen also returns to her filming experiences:

The story goes that there was a film producer in Stockholm who seemed to be interested in making a film of one of my books. It seemed to me that carrying on negotiations about something like that required a man on the spot, particularly as from bitter experience I know two things about films: there's chattering and writing and meetings held and synopses written and scripts written in time-wasting endlessness – and the whole thing never comes to anything! It is simpler with translations, you just sit on your backside in Birkerød and then one day a charming letter arrives from Folket i Bild. Go-betweens are superfluous.

This large fonds has a register of letter writers covering the years 1944-63. There is a lot of correspondence with foreign authors, principally Norwegian: Mika Waltari,

Halldor Laxness, Johan Falkberget, Johan Bojer, Tage Nissen, Jon Björnsson, Helge Krog, Nils Johan Rud, Björn Rongen, Kurt Michaels. This is where you will find correspondence with publishers such as the American Disney-owned Golden Press Inc., which published the so-called *Gyllene böckerna* [Golden books] for children. The fonds is an interesting complement to the more personal correspondence in Ivar Öhman's papers.

For example, the Norwegian author, popular portrayer of both workers and the countryside, Johan Falkberget, wrote as follows to his 'Dear friend, Einar Ebe' on 5 May 1959 in connection with a publication in the publisher's bargain book series:

I am really pleased to have a letter from you and it brings back so many old memories of the days when we often wrote to one another. You were always a helpful comrade, particularly before the War. I must admit that I have long missed the cosy collaboration with you and Folket i Bild. I

The magazine Folket i Bild's Distribution Manager Einar Ebe, who was also Managing Director of the publishing company Folket i Bild, 1947. Photo: Carl-Erik Sundström/Sallstedts Bildbyrå.

have not heard from Ivar Öhman for a long time and was gradually beginning to believe that I no longer meant anything to him.

I have today sent off 'Bjørneskytteren [The Bear hunter]' and hope that Folket i Bild will succeed in getting some joy out of it as a bargain book. This is something you can never know in advance. I have not yet published 'Bør Børson 2' as a book as it is in great demand in the press and I must earn what I can there first. Last winter Nils Johan Rud had it in *Magasinet* as a serial. There are many people who claim that Bør Børson 2 is much funnier than 1. The action in the second part is partly taken off to the Galapagos where he celebrates adventurous victories.⁷ I think it is certain that you will be given the text of this story and may also possibly be able to use the illustrations. I have not read 'Den falske målstokken [The False Scale]' in Swedish translation so I can scarcely judge whether it is good or bad or, taken as a whole, is suitable for use by Folket i Bild. It is not a good title but Folket i Bild will certainly be able to give this tale a better one. Let us hope that when I have finished this big last volume of 'Nattens Brød [Bread of the night]' we will then be able to get to see one another again either here or in Stockholm. My regard to Ivar Öhman and my other friends at Folket i Bild. Your devoted friend, Johan Falkberget.

When, in 1957, Folket i Bild published the Romanian author, Zaharia Stancu's novel 'The Devil's Furrow' as 'Djävulens plogfåra', Einar Ebe received a letter from one of Stancu's fellow authors in Romania, Nicolae Philipovici. He wrote from Bucharest on 2 March 1957 in the hope that he too would be published:

Dear Mr Ebe. Please note: At the start of next year you will receive from me the promised gift, a Romanian national costume lady's blouse. I haven't forgotten it. Just before your arrival in Bucharest I received a visit from the Brazilian author, Origenes Lessa. I have translated some of his novels into Romanian and in Brazil he translated one of mine into Portuguese, which will be published next month. You are obviously interested in philately. My son is an enthusiastic philatelist and I would be happy to help with an exchange of stamps between the two of you. It would be nice to hear from you if you have a spare moment and, besides, I'd be happy to help you in any way I can. With best wishes, yours faithfully, N.P.

The fonds of Tidens förlag

Tidens förlag [Times publishing] (1912-1995) was for a long time linked to Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti [Social Democratic Party of Sweden] and was responsible for important book publications especially by Swedish working class authors such as the poet Dan Andersson and the popular female writer Moa Martinson. The publisher's first board included well-known social democrats such as Hjalmar Branting, Fredrik Ström, Per Albin Hansson and Gustav Möller, who also became the first head of the group. For a long time, one of its leading personalities was the dreaded literary critic Erik Hedén.⁸

Its publications included an encyclopaedia and the political *Tidens kalender* [Tidens' Yearbook] and it ran a book club, which had started in 1940. Examples of Tiden's publications are Rickard Sandler's translation of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*, announced in 1914 but only published in 1930-34 in parts with a print-run of just 4,000 copies. Over the years many foreign authors were published as well: Elmer Diktonius, Aksel Sandemose, D.H. Lawrence and A.J. Cronin, the Dane Martin A. Hansen and the Swiss Friedrich Dürrenmatt. Mikhail Sholokhov's 'Quiet Flows the Don' as 'Stilla flyter Don' in 1965 was a major publication in five thick volumes. A substantial part of Tiden's output by both Swedish and foreign authors is archived at ARAB.

Its fonds has a large letter writers' register stretching from 1918-1972. Here a rich vein of material is still largely unexplored.

You will also find a wealth of Scandinavian correspondence here with names like Johan Bojer, Nils Johan Rud, Johan Falkberget, Haakon Garaasen, Aksel Sandemose, Thor Heyerdahl, Hans Scherfig and Toivo Pekkanen. Many non-Scandinavian writers, however, crop up in the register too: Jack London, Sinclair Lewis, Upton Sinclair, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, the social anthropologist Margaret Mead, the Russian author Ilya Ehrenburg, the German Oscar Maria Graf, the children's books writer Lisa Tetzner, the Spaniard Vicente Blasco Ibañez, the publisher Leonard Woolf (married to Virginia Woolf), the English writer Alan Sillitoe, the Romanian Zaharia Stancu, the Nobel prize winner Miguel Angel Asturias, etc.

The Archives' large holding of correspondence with foreign publishers is interesting: publishers such as Fremad, Jonathan Cape, Henrik Koppel, Gyldendal, Schildt – English, American, Dutch and East European publishers as well. German publishing contacts were for instance Dietz, Ullstein, Schelter, Reiss and Fischer, and correspondence with German printers. There is a lot of correspondence with an agent in Holland, Greta Baars-Jelgersma, about Tidens' publication of technical and children's books in Holland and Belgium.

Another aspect of publishing activity is reflected in the correspondence with several translators such as one Marianne Frölich in Vienna who wrote to Karl Olsson, the head of the publishing firm, on 7 October 1925:

I have succeeded in interesting Arbeiter-Zeitung and a publisher in Vienna in Maria Sandel's 'Droppar i folkhavet [Drops in the Sea of People]', but I can't give a definitive answer until I know what Mr Olsson wants for the translation rights. Ragnar Jändel's 'Den trånga porten [The Narrow Door]' is considered to be far too typically Swedish. However, I should tremendously like to translate Sandel's book. I would be very grateful if Mr Olsson would be so kind as to reply to me as soon as possible regarding the conditions which I trust will be more reasonable. Providing we can come to an agreement I will start on the book immediately.

Another correspondent, the Swedish American Joseph Swanson, commented on a rejection thus:

Baltimore, 8 October 1924. Gentlemen, I have received rejected manuscript and am sorry you did not find it suitable to publish. I do assure you that this was a great mistake, as the future plainly will show. Bonniers, who also have got a copy, are still holding it and I have reason to believe that they shall publish it. Joseph Swanson

A book by Swanson came out in 1932, published by Efr. Fraim in Stockholm, entitled 'Med Guds hjälp. Verklighetsskildringar från svensk-Amerika [With God's help. Realistic accounts of Swedish America]'.

There is an interesting letter from the author Morten Korch (1876-1954) who was inordinately popular in Denmark and described in hundred-odd novels a rural Fyn of manor houses and a peaceful yeoman's existence. Korch writes to the head of Tiden publishing in an attempt to introduce himself to the Swedish market:

Charlottenlund, 12 June 1923. I am in grateful receipt of your note and wish to inform you about what is involved in the publication of my novels. I have written 20 popular stories and by next autumn there will be 25. There are 11 of them that I intend selling in Sweden: Kongemøllen [The King's Mill], En Husmand [A

Smallholder], En Vagabond [A Vagabond], Guldglasuren [The Golden Glaze], Fløjtespilleren [The Flautist], Fru Sara på Enø [Mistress Sara on Enø], Lyrgaarden, Palle Jarmer, Retten sejrer [Justice Prevails], Junker o Co [Junker & Co.] and Uhrene i Rørby. My books have sold well in Denmark to a public in town and country, also in cheap editions. Several of these have been translated into German. If you wish to pick up the gauntlet, I should like to grant you the rights to my entire output at a reasonable price. As proof that my stories are entertaining and popular, I attach advertisements from Schönberg'ske Publishers forlag. Yours sincerely, Morten Korch.

Morten Korch was never to be seriously launched in Sweden, nor did Tiden pick up the gauntlet. However, even legal questions could be discussed as in this correspondence with the Finnish lawyer, Ano Oinas who wrote from Kotka on 20 November 1923:

In proceedings in which we act on behalf of Kotka bokhandels AB [Kotka Bookshop Ltd] the estate of the book dealer Alexander Alopaesus claims that our client should inter alia also be found liable to make good your claim against the company, the defendant has produced to the court your letter by which you renounce your claims against said estate. In order to enable us to discontinue proceedings, would you please inform us by return that you have by your renunciation also declared Kotka bokhandels AB to be absolved of said debt. In anticipation of your esteemed reply, I sign myself, Yours respectfully, Ano Oinas.

Axel Holmström förlag's fonds

Axel Holmström (1881-1947) was one of the early labour movement's cultural personalities. In 1910 he started a publishing firm that was to become one of the most significant in the young labour movement. It published a succession of Swedish working class writers and foreign authors too, such as Upton Sinclair, Lisa Tetzner, Jaroslav Hasek and the mysterious pseudonym, B. Traven, who remained unidentified for a long time.

The fonds' letter collection contains correspondence chiefly linked to those mentioned above. They are from Hasek's publishers at the time of the publication of *The Good Soldier Schweik* in 1941, from Tetzner in connec-

tion with the publication of three of her children's books in the 1930s, a long correspondence with Sinclair, whose books Holmström published for many years. Of course there are also letters from the mysterious Traven. It appears from these that on one occasion Holmström was to meet Traven in Stockholm, but he never turned up at the rendezvous.⁹

Material in other archives

There is, of course, foreign authors' correspondence in other archives at ARAB. These include two German exile

archives, for example – those of Ernst Harthern and Hermann Greid. In the personal papers of the journalist and translator Ernst Harthern there is correspondence with German publishers and authors such as Lion Feuchtwanger, Stefan Zweig and Carl Zuckmayer, manuscripts, printed material and photographs.¹⁰

Hermann Greid (1892-1974) came to Sweden as a refugee via Denmark during the Second World War. He was an actor and director in the Soviet Union among other places and with Bertholt Brecht in Finland, but he also wrote poems and a great number of religious mystery plays. His archive contains exchanges of letters about his many religious plays, and also with Swedish and German authors,

NOTES

1. See Gunnel Ahlin: *Lars Ahlin växer upp* [Lars Ahlin grows up]. Stockholm 2001.

2. The Swedish working class authors, authors having links with the Swedish working class, and playing a significant part in Swedish literary history. The best known internationally are perhaps the Nobel prize winners, Eyvind Johnson and Harry Martinson, and Vilhelm Moberg, whose novels *Utvandrarna* [The Emigrants] and *Invandrarna* [The Immigrants] have also been filmed. See also this chapter's bibliography and *Arbetets ansikten. Arbetardikt i Sverige under ett sekel* [The Faces of Work. A Century of Working class Poetry in Sweden]. An anthology by Lars Furuland. Stockholm 1998.

3. *Folket i bild, tidningen som var en folkrörelse, 1934-1984* [Folket i Bild. The Magazine that became a Popular Movement]. Exhibition catalogue, Kulturhuset, Stockholm 1984, editor Beate von Sydhoff. For the history of this see also *Folket i bild, tidningen som var en folkrörelse*. Stockholm 1984. Parts 1-2.

4. In connection with the publication in *Folket i Bild* of his novel *Lilja* [Lily]. Halldor K. Laxness (1902-1998).

5. Erik Gamby (1908-1996) author and publisher in Uppsala with good contacts with the Swedish working class authors.

6. Scandinavian authors generally wanted to be paid in Swedish currency to avoid domestic taxation. Laxness also stresses this point carefully in his letter to Ivar Öhman.

7. The Bör Börson books are about an adventurer in the tradition of Peer Gynt. Amongst other things, Falkberget had himself worked as a miner and navy in Röros. Later he became a yeoman farmer and member of the Norwegian Parliament. He lived from 1879-1967.

8. See *Bokförlagsaktiebolaget Tiden, 1912-1937* [Tiden Publishing Ltd. 1912-1937]. Stockholm 1937, and *Det var på Tiden* [It was in Tiden]. Stockholm 1962.

9. Traven, who resided in Mexico, was identified by some German researchers as the German communist, Ret Marut (1882-1969). See, for example, Rolf Recknagel:

B. Traven. Leipzig, 2nd Edn. 1971, and Karl S. Guthke:

B. Traven. Frankfurt am Main 1987. Another theory, proposed by the Mexican journalist, Luis Spota, for one, is that he was

such as Olof Lagercrantz, Sven Stolpe and the Nobel prize winner for literature, Nelly Sachs. There are also diaries, manuscripts, printed material, photographs, tapes and posters.¹¹

In conclusion: Although the archives relating to fiction literature make up a relatively small part of ARAB's total holdings, they nevertheless consist of rich and perhaps slightly forgotten material. They contain not just interesting socio-literary material on the publishing business, translators and illustrators, fees and public lending rights, but also a lot of correspondence with a large number of foreign authors, mainly Scandinavian. To a large extent this material remains unexplored.

The young publisher Axel Holmström. Photo: Atelier Tre Kronor, Stockholm.

the Norwegian-American, Berick Traven Torsvan (1890-1969), an oil-driller from Chicago.

10. Harthern translated Laxness and others into German.

11. See Martin Grass: 1993 års accessioner till arkivavdelningen [The 1993 accessions to the archives department] in *Arbetsarhistoria* no. 69, 1994, pp. 45-46.

LIST OF ARCHIVES

Folket i Bild's papers – 62 volumes, of which 19 volumes of correspondence

Hermann Greid's papers – 31 volumes, of which 6 volumes of correspondence

Ernst Harthern's papers – 24 volumes, of which 2 volumes of correspondence

Axel Holmström publishing's fonds – 5 volumes, of which 2 volumes of correspondence

Tiden publishing's fonds – 524 volumes, of which

101 volumes of correspondence

Ivar Öhman's papers – 108 volumes, of which 24 volumes of correspondence

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'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]dersehen in K[open]hagen.'

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 Demokrat* 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 Hultdt/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 *Arbetshistoria* 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 Hult/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.

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'We are only too well aware of the depth of gratitude we owe you'

Wilhelm Jansson's papers

Wilhelm Jansson (29 May 1877–1 August 1923) is, in his person and activities, the embodiment of 'Internationalism'. As so many travelling workers, this Swedish gardener ended up in Germany, where he was active from 1897. In Hamburg he became the chairman of the Garden Workers' Union, wrote for the *Allgemeine deutsche Gärtner-Zeitung* [General German Gardeners' News] and became a member of the council of the German Gardeners' League. He studied economics and history and was a contributor to the social democratic newspaper, the *Hamburger Echo*. He also evidently owned a bookshop and stationers as is apparent from the letterheads he was using in 1900–1902.¹ In 1904 he moved to Berlin and became editor of the German Trade Union Confederation *Korrespondenzblatt* [Correspondence] (1905–1919) and a member of the Council of the Confederation. From 1 October 1919 until 1921 he acted as a social welfare attaché at the Swedish legation in Berlin.

Wilhelm Jansson became a significant go-between for the Swedish and German labour movements. His connections with the Danish movement were also excellent. In *Social-Demokraten*, *Tiden*, *Morgonbris*, the trade union press and other labour movement newspapers and periodicals, he reported on German affairs, and in *Korrespondenzblatt*, *Vorwärts*, other labour movement newspapers and periodicals he wrote about those in Sweden. During the General Strike of 1909, he was an intermediary for the tremendous support the Germans gave the Swedish trade union movement and he disseminated information about the conflict in the German working class press. Various organisations and individuals in the Swedish labour movement sought his advice on a wide range of issues. He presented to the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) organisational enquiry of 1911–1912 an overview of the history, organisation and tactics of the trade union movement in Germany² and he wrote a detailed report on the nationalisation issue in Germany for the Nationalisation Enquiry from 1920 onward.³ During the First World War he became well known for his pro-German attitude. He tried to influence Swedish social democracy in favour of Germany and, in his articles and letters especially, 'persecuted' the entente-minded Hjalmar Branting. This was also the object of his publication of *Deutsch-Skandinavische Korrespondenz* [German-Scandinavian Correspondence], which came out irregularly during 1916 and 1917.⁴ Later during Jansson's time as social welfare attaché, Branting, as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, became his superior.

Wilhelm Jansson's role, particularly during the First World War, has been mentioned in the literature but, as far as I know, there is no in-depth examination of his role as a Swedish-German go-between and intermediary over the years nor is there a biography. Given this and the background, it is thus of interest to draw attention to his personal archives housed here.⁵

A relatively meagre archive

Jansson's extensive activities are not reflected in his papers, which amount to just seven volumes. Two of these contain books and pamphlets (the others form part of the library as a result of the archival procedures that were standard previously, nevertheless their provenance is evident from a Wilhelm Jansson ex libris stamp).⁶ Personal documents are the most extensive including a number of notebooks (two volumes) and correspondence (one volume), also manuscripts (one small volume) and a range of documents from his activities (one volume). There is supplementary material at ARAB in Gunnar and Ingrid Lundberg's papers – Ingrid was Wilhelm Jansson's daughter⁷ – in Hjalmar Branting's papers and particularly in the LO's fonds⁸ together with a large number of organisational and personal archives. The notes and manuscripts are written in Swedish or German and are seldom dated. They not only give an indication of Wilhelm Jansson's wide-ranging activities as a journalist but also reveal his literary ambitions. There is a striking number of literary works, possibly for the simple reason that many other manuscripts ended up with the publisher rather than here in the archives. There are poems with titles such as 'An die Gärtnersfrau [To the gardener's wife]' or 'Mein Herz, mein Weib [My heart, my wife]'; drafts of plays such as 'Die Hinterbliebenen. Eine Familientragödie in zwei Akten [The Bereaved. A family tragedy in two acts]' or 'Die Neutralen [The Neutrals]'; another is 'Brev från Kråkvinkel' ['Letter from a One-Horse Town'] (under the pseudonym Erik Brunte)⁹ or 'Über das Glück' ['On Happiness']. I have found two manuscripts about his gardening work: 'Kapstadens trädgårdsanläggning [Garden design in Cape Town]' (in a notebook from 1890–1896/1898) and 'Einige Anregungen für die Winterabende [Some Ideas for Winter Evenings]' with suggestions about further education (vocationally oriented and botanical studies) through study meetings. The range

of other works: 'Folkupplysning och Kristendomen' ['Popular enlightenment and Christendom'], 'Den svenska modernärningen förr och nu [Swedish primary industry then and now]', 'Teknikens framåtskridande [Technological progress]', 'Socialismus und Gewerkschaft [Socialism and Unions]', 'Der Klassenkampf [The Class Struggle]' (all in his notebooks 1890-1896/1898), 'Demokratin i arbetarrörelsen [Democracy in the labour movement]' (1912), 'Denkschrift über gewisse wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse in Deutschland während des Krieges [Memorandum on certain economic and social circumstances in Germany during the war]' (1916), 'Zur Frage des schwedischen Eisenerzes [On the Swedish iron ore question]', 'Zur Frage der deutsch-nordischen Handelsbeziehungen [On German-Scandinavian trade relations]' and 'Socialiseringens problem [The Problems of Nationalisation]' can also be found amongst his notes.

The correspondence starts in 1895 with some letters from Johan Eriksson, another Swedish gardener who ended up in Germany but evidently did not intend to stay there. In a letter of 25 January 1899 he writes in reply to Wilhelm Jansson's decision to stay: 'I can scarcely conceive that you are lost to Mother Sweden. On many occasions I have imagined myself some time in the future enjoying the beautiful walks we could take together in the moonlight along the shores of Mälaren and by the billows of Saltsjön. We can recall to mind events that took place in former times when we could have a glass of beer and tell of what we had lived through since we bid each other farewell at Blume's in the evening or at the Gärtnerherberge in Berlin in the morning.' Now 'all these hopes' collapsed 'like a house of cards'.

Wilhelm stayed because of a girl. Johan Eriksson interpreted this more as 'a marriage of minds' although 'many put their minds aside in such matters'. Whether it was Berta Deutsch, born in Hungary, later to be Wilhelm Jansson's wife, who was the reason is not clear. According to their marriage certificate, he married Berta Deutsch in 1906. The letters between the gardener friends contain some glimpses of an important ingredient in the internationalism of the labour movement: the journeymen travels.

The correspondence gives a rough idea of Wilhelm Jansson's function as an intermediary. Principally it concerns his mediation of information and materials, articles and translations together with interpreting assignments. The current issues range from membership subscriptions via ration stamps to wages in the sugar refining industry, vocational schools, the formation of a social democratic women's league and a proposed bill for health and safety at work. Jansson received similar assistance when, for example, he asked about Swedish health insurance, needed information about the Miners' Union or, in 1911, asked Sågverksindustriarbetareförbundet [the Sawmill Workers' Union] for a photograph of workers in Bomhus. Fredrik Ström, the SAP's secretary and a member of the left wing, briefed him during 1912/1913 about the pension issue after Ålderdomsförsäkringskommittén [the Old Age Insurance Committee] had put forward its proposals. Ström provided, amongst other things, critical perspectives in which fragmentation within Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti SAP [the Social Democratic Party of Sweden] become visible. He wished above all for the publication of critical articles in *Die Neue Zeit* - 'for

which Branting has (at least had) very great respect' - *Correspondenzblatt* and *Vorwärts*. One such was published in *Vorwärts* and later in translation in *Stormklockan*. An article by Wilhelm Jansson on 'the social policies of trade union organisations' was published in the trade union journal *Järnarbetaren* [The Iron Worker] the opinions of which were possibly influenced by Ström's criticism.¹⁰

Wilhelm Jansson in the archives

To grasp the scope of Jansson's activities we must look to other organisational and personal archives, primarily the international correspondence

Wilhelm Janssons membership certificate of the Voluntary Fire Brigade of Friedrichshagen. It states that he has paid his dues for the years 1920-21.

in the LO's fonds, and to articles in newspapers and periodicals dealing with the information. In the correspondence, which also contains those from German correspondents, the letters are predominantly from Herman Lindqvist (LO chairman), Ernst Söderberg (treasurer) and Arvid Thorberg (at that time LO secretary) and other trade union representatives. Also, inter alia, from social democrats from both the right and left wings (Fredrik Ström, Otto Grimlund, C. N. Carleson, Otto Järte, Yngve Larsson, Erik Palmstierna, A. C. Lindblad). Contact with Hjalmar Branting (the SAP's chair-

General Strike in the German labour movement's press, which certainly had its effect on the collection being made for the Swedish strikers. Wilhelm Jansson himself attached great importance to this and naturally emphasised his own role. In a letter to Herman Lindqvist he writes: 'Telegrams are vital here. Without this organisation of press coverage in Germany the results of the collection might not be as generous as they are, surpassing all expectation.'¹²

Jansson also organised talks by Swedish party members in Germany 'to keep the collection going reasonably well', as Hjalmar Branting wrote. One had to be ready 'to dance to Jansson's tune'. Such a 'melody' appears in the LO's international correspondence.¹³ In a letter of 7 August, Wilhelm Jansson exhorts Branting to send telegrams directly to him because earlier ones ended up somewhere else and 'had not been used'.¹⁴ He also requested Branting to send telegrams 'somewhat earlier' so that they could be forwarded to the provincial press on the 'same day' and sometimes he complains: 'we are hampered by a lack of information'.¹⁵ In his first telegram of 6 August Branting describes how the tram and taxi drivers in Gothenburg and the gas workers in Stockholm had stopped work and how 40,000 strikers in Stockholm held a strike meeting 'in vollständigster Ordnung [in total order]'. In the second telegram of 10 August it is stated that 'some trams running circular line with managers and volunteers, peace undisturbed - government suspended decree on cars for easier strike-breaking and police require taxi owners drive greatest possible extent or lose licences - bourgeois press only temporary leaflets - 150,000 copies response dispatched - extent of strike unchanged. Branting.' In the last telegram (16 November) the LO chairman, Herman Lindqvist, speaks of 'a recent change in our struggle' - consequently the mediation broke down whereafter the conflict 'fizzled out' (Sigfrid Hansson) - and declared 'the generous help given by the workers of Germany' to be finished. However, there were 1,500 workers still out of work. He concluded with 'our warmest thanks'.

The Germans had, therefore, not started 'to tire of helping' as Lindqvist had feared in a letter to Wilhelm Jansson in mid-October. With further assistance we should 'at least be able obtain a dénouement by which we avoid shackling ourselves with a humiliating and risky settlement.' He added: 'We know only too well how much thanks we owe you for all your work and contributions during the Swedish General Strike and we hope that in due course we will be able to find a way to express our gratitude.' This gratitude - but also in general Jansson's great efforts for LO in various contexts - is definitely one of the reasons for Lindqvist's positive treatment of Jansson's efforts during the war to persuade the Swedish Labour Movement to support Germany's cause. The 'unanimous confidence on the part of the Scandinavian trade union leaders' is apparent also in the obituary in the *Social-Demokraten* in 1923.¹⁶

The cover page of the social democratic magazine Tiden [The Time] for August 1910. In this issue Wilhelm Jansson wrote an article on the German General Lockout of that year. Hjalmar Branting was the editor of the magazine.

man) is dominated by what amounts to the central block of information in the correspondence: 98 telegrams about the General Strike of 1909, the majority from Branting, written - in Swedish or German - between 5 August to 16 November, in other words virtually a day by day record of the situation.¹¹ These reports, for one, are a useful tool in the study of the dissemination of information about the

some letters concerning the visit there are both dated and undated notes in Jansson's archives. The undated notes originate from a meeting with representatives from the German Social Democratic Party, SPD, and the German Trade Union Confederation in Berlin, presumably on 17 July 1916. These have been published.¹⁷ What the Scandinavians were mainly briefed on was the SPD's position on the war and national issues together with the conflicts in the German party. One of the Danes, Sigvald Olsen, 'sanctioned' the Germans' own assessment by way of conclusion: the SPD had not been able to act otherwise and it was not their fault that the French and English Social Democratic parties did not wish to make contact. A C Lindblad wanted to know something of Branting's feelings during the visit to Berlin on 22 June and 30 July 1915. He received only a general answer 'in confidence': one is received 'amicably' but Branting had adopted the French view that Germany would have to relinquish Alsace-Lorraine.¹⁸

The note of 2 August 1916, part of a sort of journal from 27 February 1916 to 13 February 1917, is couched in rather personal terms. Wilhelm Jansson described the travellers. The Dane, A Hansen (Chairman of the Machinists' Union) was 'seinen Kollegen um einige Pferdelängen voraus [head and shoulders above his colleagues]'; whether this refers to stature or something else is not clear. In Hallén, the Swedes had brought along 'einen Pfaffen [a black-coat] der im großen und ganzen ein Pfaff ist, ohne immer wie ein Pfaff zu stinken [who is generally speaking a black-coat but without always stinking like one]'. Nils Persson is 'stinkfaul [bone idle]' which causes a lot of irritation. Moreover Jansson gives a brief account of the stops between Berlin and Strasbourg. There is constant reference to contacts with the top brass in Belgium, with directors and political dignitaries. The phrases used are striking; 'glänzend [splendid]' and 'famos [grand]' referring both to the people and the manner in which they were received, the food and the wines. It is also clear that a great deal was drunk on the trip. That very nearly made a mess of things after the conclusion of the trip in Strasbourg which was 'vorzüglich [excellent]'. Albert Südekum made a speech to the Scandinavians at half past twelve in the morning. He said, inebriated as he was, things that amount to 'dummes Zeug, das den ganzen Reisezweck eventuell vernichtet hätte [stupid nonsense that all but thwarted the whole purpose of the trip]'. Sigvald Olsen saved an awkward situation by saying: 'In reality we need a longer debate but now it is late so my thanks for everything you have done for us during the tour'.

The notes also reveal Jansson's discussions with diplomats and journalists on the subject of Scandinavia. He concurred with the view of Count Moltke, the Danish minister in Berlin, that an agreement between Germany and Russia was necessary in order to unite Scandinavia. But not just that: also an alliance with Germany and Russia. 'Das ein-

Certificate from the Swedish Legation in Berlin, January 1916. In it German civic and military authorities are requested to let Wilhelm Jansson travel freely inside Germany.

A war-time trip to Germany

The study tour of Germany and Belgium by Scandinavian social democrats and trade union officials in July/August 1916 initiated by Wilhelm Jansson and the social democrat, Albert Südekum, in co-operation with the German civil and military authorities was to be a real opportunity to create good publicity for Germany. On the Swedish side there were Herman Lindqvist, Nils Persson (Swedish Bricklayers' Union), A.C. Lindblad (editor of the *Ny Tid* in Gothenburg) and Harald Hallén (clergyman and social democratic Member of Parliament). The trip was widely reported and debated not least because of the controversial statements the travellers made or were supposed to have made according to the media. As well as

zige Programm, das hinsichtlich Skandinaviens eine politische Auslandsarbeit lohnend machen würde. Die jetzigen Liliputvölker können keinen politischen Einfluß ausüben [This is the only programme that would make political overtures to Scandinavia worthwhile. The present Lilliputian peoples have no political influence].'

There is also a different type of Scandinavian contact in the notes: on 23 September 1916 there is an account of the previous evening's premiere of 'Master Olof' at the Volksbühne in a production by the famous director, Max Reinhardt. The first half was 'zum Davonlaufen [made you want to run away]', 'ein Geschrei, wie im Irrenhause [screaming as if in an asylum]'. The director clearly saw Strindberg as 'einen schwedischen Fanatiker [a Swedish fanatic]'. 'Wir schreien nicht, wie Waschweiber oder Berliner Rollwagenkutscher, wenn wir etwas tun wollen [we Swedes do not scream like fishwives or Berlin draymen when we want to do something]', observes Jansson, 'wir reden und nur in der zitternden Stimme darf im schwedischen die Leidenschaft Ausdruck suchen [we speak and, in Swedish, passion can be expressed solely through a quiver in the voice]'.

Other material of interest consists of two minutes from conferences with representatives from the Scandinavian Trade Union Confederation on 22 October and 10 November 1916. These conferences were, according to Herman Lindqvist, of special significance at a time when the trade union international too 'was itself in danger of splitting' (22 October). On both occasions international contacts

were central, rather than Scandinavian co-operation and labour politics as was the norm. The Scandinavian representatives decided after exhaustive discussions not to recommend either an international trade union conference at that time or the removal of the International Secretariat from Berlin to a neutral country. An international conference took place in Stockholm on 8 June 1917. The minutes are also in Jansson's papers.¹⁹ Naturally the peace activity following the Russian February revolution and the attempt to bring about a peace conference in Stockholm form the natural background to this initiative.²⁰ However, it was a rump of a conference: there were no representatives of the Entente countries, those present were from Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Hungary and Austria. According to Herman Lindqvist's speech of welcome, however, 'the first step toward co-operation' had been taken. Wilhelm Jansson acted as interpreter here as he did at many conferences. The meeting resulted chiefly in a general invitation to an international trade union conference in Switzerland in the autumn of 1917 to debate 'the social policy requirements that trade union organisations should promote in future peace negotiations.'

This conference took place in Berne from 1-4 October 1917. It was hardly more 'international': only the Swiss were new attendants. The conference formulated detailed social policy requirements for peace (right to free association, immigration and emigration, national insurance, health and safety at work, protection for women and children). The organising committee adopted these for the peace conference in Stockholm, referred to above, in its draft peace (10 October 1917).²¹ In Jansson's papers there is only a little official material relating to the Berne conference. There is extensive material on Scandinavian and international trade union co-operation, including Wilhelm Jansson's contribution, in LO's fonds.

From the notes and the few letters, manuscripts and other documents from the time of the First World War in Wilhelm Jansson's papers we are able to gain only a restricted glimpse of the political and trade union labour movement's policies in neutral Scandinavian countries at that time. This is also true about their relationship with the German labour movement and the role of Wilhelm Jansson. Consequently it is necessary to look to material in other archives and in the press to get the full picture.

Wilhelm Jansson and ARAB

Wilhelm Jansson also played a part as intermediary for the Labour Movement Archives. On 6 December 1905 the institution's first director, Oscar Borge, expressed his thanks – he also mentions an earlier letter – for the consignments of

Telegram from Hjalmar Branting in Stockholm to Wilhelm Jansson in Berlin, 13 August 1909. It contains information on the General Strike and on the incorrect reporting in bourgeois press and news agencies.

material and promises to ask for help again later on. He himself would send duplicates. Borge indicates that shortly after the establishment of the Archives he thought about having it 'transferred' to either the LO or SAP or to both jointly. 'It would thereby acquire a more official status.' He forgot, as becomes apparent from a card two days later, to request information about the German party archives. In his letter of reply of 16 December held at ARAB – written in German, 'because you wished it so, perhaps for practice' runs a PS – it appears that Wilhelm Jansson had sent among other things the German Trade Union Confederations' minutes and other publications. He himself had received circulars that were 'of less interest to me' along with pricelists and contracts of which he wanted more. Then he asked for *Lucifer*, 'a very remarkable publication'. He also provided an address in Hamburg where an important yearbook on the co-operative movement could be acquired. Later he provides information on the SPD's archives. The party archives presently runs to about 35,000 volumes. Karl Marx's private library after the death of Friedrich Engels – which is made up chiefly of scholarly and political literature – was incorporated. Because it is not

a lending library there is only an internal catalogue. Possibly a copy could be made available. Oscar Borge's comment on 9 January 1906 was that the SPD's archives is clearly 'as far as I can see [...] actually or in the main a party library'. His own institution, on the other hand, is 'an archives in the true sense, that is to say it contains organisations' documents in the widest meaning of the word.' However, the intention is 'gradually ... to set up a library of party literature.'

Wilhelm Jansson returned to the issue of the party archives on 26 April 1906 – he wrote in Swedish because 'it arises so seldom one tends to forget it' (the wording of a letter of November 1905).

'It is not an archives in your sense; that would be impossible for us – so great is the present size of the German labour movement. Thousands of different copies of leaflets, for instance, are distributed daily [...]. Consequently the party and trade union organisations cannot be collected into and kept as an archives of this form. We would have to employ a whole staff to collect and arrange the

NOTES

1. Wilhelm Jansson Papier- und Buchhandlung, Hamburg 6, Altonaerstr. 46. Letters 9 September 1900 in ARAB, LO, International correspondence, and letters 23 September 1901, 22 November 1901 and 6 November 1902 in Hjalmar Branting's papers, volumes 3.1:5.
2. Fackföreningsrörelsen i Sverige, Norge, Danmark, Tyskland, England och Frankrike jämte specialutredningar för Sverige Del 2: Utlandet [The trade union movement in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, England and France including special enquiries for Sweden. Part 2: Abroad. Stockholm 1912. pp. 235-370.]
3. The enquiry can be found in Gustav Möller's papers, volume 36, at ARAB. A fragment in Jansson's papers, volume 3.
4. There are odd copies held at ARAB.
5. Jan Peters: Arbeiterbewegung und deutsch-schwedische Nachbarschaft. Zur Vermittlerfunktion von Wilhelm Jansson [The Labour Movement and German-Swedish Neighbourliness. On the Intermediary function of Wilhelm Jansson] (1877-1923), in *Nicht nur Strindberg. Kulturelle und literarische Beziehungen zwischen Schweden und Deutschland 1870-1933* [Not just Strindberg. Cultural and Literary relationships between Sweden and Germany 1870-1933]. Hg: Helmut Müssener. Stockholm 1979, pp. 181-190.
6. Wilhelm Jansson's book collection (700 volumes) transferred in 1927 together with archives material. There are further accessions to Jansson's papers in 1978 (118), 1979 (7), 1980

- (34), 1982 (103), 2000 (49) and 2000 (67).
7. 13 letters to his daughter, Ingrid and documents from his wife, Berta Jansson.
8. Inter alia fully 70 letters from the years 1900-1921 in the foreign correspondence.
9. Also some of the Swedish translation of the German chairman of LO's, Carl Legien's, letter of 1903 in LO's fonds remain 'Translated by Erik Brunte'.
10. *Järnarbetaren* nos. 30, 31 and 33, 1913.
11. In a collection of Branting's information on journeys, telegrams, and more to do with his involvement in the General Strike of 1909 there are the following notes: '2 August – 4 September Expenses: the telegram to Berlin (Jansson o. Vorwärts) encl. specif. 288,35.' Branting's papers volume 1:7, ARAB.
12. Wilhelm Jansson to Lindqvist, 20 August 1909 in ARAB, the LO, International correspondence. There are also a 10 or so telegrams and letters from Jansson about the General Strike.
13. Branting to Lindqvist 6 September 1909, written from Berlin. According to the telegram from Jansson to the National Secretariat 10 September 1909 Gunnar Löwegren will 'immediately' travel to a meeting in Hanover. Both in ARAB, LO, International correspondence.
14. ARAB, Hjalmar Branting, volume 3.1:5. See also Martin Grass: International material in Hjalmar Branting's papers, in this book.

material. However, our party archives collect everything that is of any direct value to the movement, its leaders, politicians and so on, and in particular political, socio-political, trade union and similar literature, statistics etc. A group secretary is employed for the group's work and [underlined in the text] for the archives, which at present is really not as developed and organised as one would wish [...]. At least two to three people would be needed to bring this about [...]. It is, of course, impossible for us to collect the more important written documents as you do, because we might be open to daily visits from the police who might possibly find them of interest! For the moment a strong reaction prevails here and one can never be sure about the police.²²

There is interesting information here about both the archives in Stockholm and that of the SPD but at the same time there are indications of differences between the large German labour movement with its special problems and the differing circumstances of the developing movement in

Sweden. This information was of mutual interest then as it is for researchers today. It highlights the importance of Wilhelm Jansson as a person and of his personal papers in the study of relations between Sweden and Germany. His exposed position during the First World War has overshadowed his real significance as a 'key figure' in the communication and mutual exchanges between the Swedish and German labour movements during his years of involvement from around 1900 to the beginning of the 1920s. To be sure his papers provide only a snapshot of these activities but it is an excellent starting point for the worthwhile task of studying his intermediary function in its full breadth. It is interesting to note by way of conclusion that his sons, Ewald and Karl-Erik, became intermediaries of a different sort in another era of contacts between Sweden and Germany. They were active in the labour movement's refugee support campaign of 1933-1945 which to a large extent supported the labour movement's refugees from the German-speaking countries.²³

15. Wilhelm Jansson to Lindqvist, 20 August 1909 and telegrams to the National Secretariat 20 August 1909, in ARAB, LO, International correspondence.
16. *Social-Demokraten* 2 August 1923.
17. Agnes Blänsdorf: Friedrich Ebert und die Internationale [Friedrich Ebert and the International], in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, IX, 1969, pp. 375-378. About the journey 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 1914 to February 1917]. Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1975, p. 245f; Agnes Blänsdorf: *Die Zweite Internationale und der Krieg. Die Diskussion über die internationale Zusammenarbeit der sozialistischen Parteien 1914-1917* [The Second International and the War. The discussion in the international collaboration of the socialist parties 1914-1917]. Stuttgart 1979, p. 323f.
18. About Branting's journey see Grass: *Friedensaktivität und Neutralität*, pp. 151-161; Blänsdorf: *Die Zweite Internationale und der Krieg*, pp. 177-180.
19. The minutes and other material about this conference at which, amongst other things, Wilhelm Jansson's role as interpreter is evident, in ARAB, LO's fonds.
20. About this conference see Martin Grass: *Konferenzen kom aldrig till stånd. Stockholmskonferensen 1917. Den offentliga diskussionen i Social-Demokraten* [The Conference that Never

Took Place. Stockholm Conference 1917. The Public Debate on Social Democracy] in *Arbetshistoria* no. 43 1987, pp. 13-32.

21. Reprinted in *Stockholm. Comité organisateur de la conférence socialiste internationale de Stockholm* [Stockholm. Organising committee of the Stockholm International Socialist Conference].

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22. The quoted correspondence in ARAB's archives, volume E 1:1. Any language errors have come from the original.

23. See Martin Grass: *The archives of the German-speaking exiles 1933-1945*, in this book.

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'Oh people, thou shalt reign supreme!'

Rare books and pamphlets of 1848 – Year of Revolution

The library collections at Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek [the Labour Movement Archives and Library] (ARAB) consist mainly of two kinds of literature: scholarly literature focusing on the labour movement; and material published by organisations or individuals within the labour movement. The latter is first-hand material that may serve to shed light on historical events. The Paris Commune of 1871 and the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 are some such events from which the library has documents of this kind. Here I shall be illustrating another important event in the history of the labour and democratic movement – 1848 – year of revolution in Europe – concentrating on material produced by the protagonists themselves. The presentation is mainly chronological and covers about ten percent of the 1848 French library collection at ARAB. The collection holds unique documents and rare books.

1848 - Year of Revolution

One of the causes of the revolutions in 1848 was the potato blight that had afflicted Europe in 1845; two years later, virtually the entire potato crop was lost. In many places, the rye crops as well were ruined leading to rising prices on corn and flour with wages simultaneously declining. Famine beset country after country along with a financial crisis with bank failures, falling share prices, factories closing down and increased unemployment as a result of company speculation. In January 1848 revolts broke out in Sicily and Naples; in February the revolution began in Paris and the rest of France. 'The age of the people began on the 24th of February in 1848' were the final words in poet and politician Alphonse de Lamartine's proclamation in the evening that same day, stating that a provisional government had been elected, and that it and the population of Paris had acknowledged the republic. A few hours later that government was united with another provisional government under the leadership of Louis Blanc. King Louis Philippe had abdicated and fled to England with his family.

Over the next few days the newly formed government made a good number of reforms and legislative changes. An electoral reform meant that all men over 21 acquired

the right to vote so that the electorate grew to over nine million. The prohibition on freedom of speech and of opinion were abolished and every man was entitled to enter the National Guard. Slavery and capital punishment for political crimes were abolished. The right to work – the duty of the government to provide work for all – was proclaimed. A normal working day of ten hours in Paris, eleven in the rest of the country was introduced and public employment agencies were commissioned. The continuing demonstrations demanded the establishment of a ministry of employment. However, this demand was not met with; instead, the labour question was to be investigated by a commission under Louis Blanc and Albert. Louis Blanc was a socialist politician and writer. In 1839-1840 he published *L'organisation du travail* [The Organisation of Work], a socialist programme with emphasis on the establishment of co-operative workshops. Albert was a worker, the only one in the provisional government, and worked as a mechanic in a button factory. He was editor-in-chief for the paper *L'Atelier* [The Workshop] and member of the conciliation board for employment matters. He signed all government papers 'Albert, worker'; his real name was Alexandre Martin.

The greater part of ARAB's French books and pamphlets published in 1848 was acquired during the then head of the institution, Tage Lindbom's antiquarian shopping trips to Paris from the beginning of the 1950s until the beginning of the 1960s. The mere year of publication, 1848 and the immediately subsequent years, was the principle for acquisition. This principle has given voice also to opponents of the revolution: religious and anti-socialist writings are part of the collection. The archives section at ARAB also has a collection 'The French Revolution of 1848' consisting of four volumes 'Agitationsskrifter, flygblad, manifest [Propaganda, fly-sheets, manifestos]', one of which contains only ballot papers, and three volumes of 'Affischer [Posters]'. The collection is supposedly acquired during the same period as that of the library but the material has no accession numbering (year and number).

'It is gratifying that the stock of older literature now is so good that future purchases of antiquarian literature can be reckoned to be more modest than has been the case over the last fifteen years', observes ARAB's annual report for 1963. The library collection on the revolution

in France in 1848 is kept together in one section in the classified catalogue. It contains approximately 400 works, both scholarly accounts, memoirs and the like, and material published in 1848 and the immediately subsequent years. A good half of the collection falls into the latter category. However, due to the fact that the library collections are arranged in sequential number order, the material is spread across the various book and pamphlet series.

1847 – Demand for an extended Franchise

Some works record the events that preceded the revolution. In 1847 the radical liberals in the French Chamber of Deputies had demanded that the franchise be extended. It was so restricted that it encompassed only 200,000 out of a population of almost 30 million. The electoral reform had been rejected by a large majority of the Chamber. The opposition then began 'reform banquets', political demonstration dinners at which every participant had the opportunity to speak. Police permission was required to hold a political meeting. Since the often very outspoken speeches were reported in the press, the banquet became an extremely potent propaganda medium. Seventy-odd banquets had been held across France since the summer of 1847. A great banquet that was to be held in Paris became the prelude to the February Revolution of February, 22-24, when it was banned, firstly by the police and then by the government.

Banquets démocratiques recueillis et publiés par Jules Gouache [Democratic Banquets, collected and published by Jean Gouache] was published in Paris: Aux Bureaux de la Réforme, 1848. The book reports exhaustively, almost in minute form, on three banquets in Lille, Dijon and Châlon-sur-Saône during November and December 1847. A strong feeling of immediacy is generated by the publisher relating the entire course of events in the present tense and all acclamations and emotions being reported in brackets. At the banquets toasts were proposed, in particular to the right to vote. The following toast was proposed at the banquet in Lille on November, 7th:

Vient ensuite le toast qui doit être porté par M.

Ledru-Rollin, député.

A l'amélioration des classes laborieuses! Aux travailleurs! (Bravos frénétiques.)

M. Ledru-Rollin monte à la tribune.

...

Citoyens,

*Oui, aux travailleurs! A leurs droits imprescriptibles, à leurs intérêts sacrés, jusqu'ici méconnus!*¹

Ledru-Rollin was a lawyer and deputy, appointed on February, 24th in 1848 as a member of the provisional government, in which he became Minister of the Interior.

Historical accounts

There are several examples of historical accounts of those February days in Paris that report events minutely and chronologically. *Histoire des trois journées de février 1848* [History of Three Days in February 1848] (Paris: Louis Colas) by Eugène Pelletan recounts the history of the February revolution in 38 sections in 184 pages. The revolution and republic take on religious significance. The last section begins thus:

*Nous venons de raconter le plus grand événement qui ait ébranlé les âmes depuis le jour où le Christ, en penchant la tête sur la croix, brisa le vieux monde.*²

And of the republic:

*La République n'est plus à proclamer, ni à discuter, ni à reconnaître. Elle est. Elle est du même droit que le peuple dont elle est l'expression.*³

Another revolution history is *Histoire de mémorables journées de février 1848*, écrite d'après les documents officiels fournis par le Gouvernement provisoire par le citoyen Leynadier, [The story of the Memorable Days of February 1848, written by Citizen Leynadier based on official documents provided by the provisional government]. It bears the surtitle *République française!!!* [French Republic!!!]. Citizen Leynadier had been editor of the paper *La Révolution* in 1830 and was the author of *Des peuples et des révolutions de l'Europe* [On the Peoples and Revolutions of Europe]. He relates a tale that recurs in many of the histories involving the upholsterer Théodore Six, who courageously intervened when, on the evening of February, 24th, the rioters began to chop and shoot furniture and paintings to pieces:

*Respect aux monuments! Respect aux propriétés! Pourquoi tirer des coups de fusils sur ces tableaux? Nous avons montré qu'il ne faut pas mal mener le peuple; montrons maintenant que le peuple sait respecter les monuments et honorer sa victoire!*⁴

These words were followed by applause and, according to Leynadier, in this respect the following months were calm.

Journées de la révolution de 1848 par un garde national [Revolutionary Days 1848 by a National Guard] deals with the days February, 21st-29th, in Paris. The book recounts incidents and anecdotes, funny stories, some with Parisian street urchins as their principal characters, a mosaic of letters and short articles together with poems and songs. The name of the author was Charles Eugène Honoré Richomme.

Le 24, au moment où le peuple travaillait activement à la construction des barricades, un orage violent éclata sur Paris. Un gamin, qui gardait l'une d'elles, rue Richelieu, éleva alors son sabre en l'air, en criant: 'Mes amis, Dieu est pour nous, il nous envoie des rafraîchissements'.⁵

Lamartine became Foreign Minister in the provisional government and his well-known *Manifeste à l'Europe* [Manifesto to Europe] was a circular to French envoys abroad on March, 7th. The manifesto was translated into Swedish and published under the title *Cirkulär till franska republikens diplomatiska agenter* [Circular to the Diplomatic Representatives of the French Republic] (Norrköping: Östlund & Berling, 1848. ARAB does not have this Swedish edition).

La proclamation de la République française n'est un acte d'agression contre aucune forme de gouvernement dans le monde. Les formes de gouvernement ont des diversités aussi légitimes que les diversités de caractère, de situation géographique et de développement intellectuel, moral et matériel chez les peuples. Les nations ont, comme les individus, des âges différents. Les principes qui les régissent ont les phases successives.⁶

The library's copy of Lamartine's circular was published by Pagnerre and is bound together with five other works under the somewhat inappropriate title of *Mémoires sur la révolution de 1848* [Memories of the Revolution of 1848]. The volume includes Louis Blanc's *Le catéchisme des*

'Democratic Banquets, collected and published by Jules Gouache (1848) contains reports on three Reform Banquets in November and December 1847. Booklet from ARAB's collection.

socialistes [The Socialists' Catechism] published 1849 *Aux Bureaux du Nouveau Monde and Manuel républicain de l'homme et du citoyen* [Republican Manual for Man and Citizen] by Charles Renouvier, published by the same publishing house as Lamartine's manifesto.

La république ou le plus parfait des gouvernements par Matton-Gaillard [The Republic, or, The Most Perfect of Governments by Matton-Gaillard] is a history of the republic with the motto 'Le peuple seul est souverain' ['The people alone is sovereign']. According to Matton-Gaillard, who was a lawyer, the duties of man in a republic are obeying the law, fraternity and love of country. *Pétition à l'Assemblée nationale sur un projet d'impôt qui grèverait par la voie d'un enregistrement annuel les valeurs mobilières de toute nature, telles que créances hypothécaires et privées, rentes sur l'Etat, actions de la banque de France, actions industrielles et de chemins de fer, etc., etc.* [Petition to the National Assembly concerning a tax project which, by means of annual registration, would bear upon securities of all kinds, such as mortgages and private loans, state bonds, shares in the Bank of France, shares in industry and railways, etc, etc.] by M. Duchesne, Grenoble 1848 is a tax proposal in thirteen articles.

Discours du citoyen Cabet, sur la Garde nationale, la liberté de la presse, le droit d'association, de réunion et de discussion, les élections et le travail [Speech by Citizen Cabet on the National Guard, the freedom of the press, the rights of association, assembly and discussion, and on the elections and labour] Paris : Au Bureau du Populaire, 1848, is a pamph-

let of 15 pages that reproduces not only Etienne Cabet's speech but also contributions from other citizens at a meeting arranged by the Société fraternelle centrale on March, 6th. Etienne Cabet was a communist, influenced by the English Utopians Thomas More and Robert Owen. In his novel *Voyage en Icarie*, 1840, [Voyage in Icaria], he describes his utopian ideal society. The meeting was originally planned to discuss matters concerning the first French inhabitants in the colony in the United States of America, which was the first Icarian society. This Utopian experiment had started off just shortly before the February Revolution broke out and the first shipload of Icarians had only just arrived in the United States of America. The paper *Le Populaire* was edited by Cabet and published twice a week.

*Quelles sont les questions essentielles, urgentes, capitales aujourd'hui? ... la plus urgente c'est l'organisation de la Garde nationale, c'est l'organisation du peuple entier sous les armes, du peuple enrégimenté, nommant ses chefs, habillé démocratiquement et armé.*⁷

Bulletins, pamphlets and reports

French novelist George Sand was the best known female intellectual of the period. She was the author of many of

the Ministry of the Interior propaganda bulletins. Her *Lettres au peuple* [Letters to the People] consists of two letters, the first *Hier et aujourd'hui* [Yesterday and Today] dated March, 7th, the second entitled *Aujourd'hui et demain* [Today and Tomorrow] dated March, 19th, in which she extols the republic and the French people to the skies in lofty terms.

*Tu vas régner, ô Peuple! Règne fraternellement avec tes égaux de toutes les classes; car la République, cette arche sainte de l'alliance, sous les ruines de laquelle désormais nous devons tous périr plutôt que de l'abandonner, la République, cette forme par excellence des sociétés durables, proclame et consacre devant l'univers qu'elle prend à témoin de son serment l'égalité des droits de tous les hommes.*⁸

Due to a misunderstanding and the author being away, the first edition of *Lettres au peuple* was a luxury publication. By contrast, the issue that ARAB has was sold for the bene-

fit of unemployed workers. Each letter is eight pages and cost only ten centimes. In our collection they are bound together in one volume.

Xavier de Montepin and Alphonse de Calonne were authors of *Les trois journées de février* [The Three Days in February], a pamphlet that had earned them great renown: they had done their duty as good citizens. During 1848 they also published *Le gouvernement provisoire. Histoire anecdotique et politique de ses membres* [The Provisional Government. An anecdotal and political history of its members]. Biographies of members of the provisional government is a popular genre. Five different collections of biographies of this type, with similar titles, and by five different authors, have been bound together in one volume. Most are illustrated with portraits of the members of the provisional government. The reason why it was so important to introduce them was mainly that most of them were completely unknown to the public at large, Montepin and Calonne say in the preface to their pamphlet.

Révélation sur l'organisation du Comité révolutionnaire. Pièces curieuses trouvées chez Blanqui [Revelations on the Organisation of the Revolutionary Committee. Remarkable documents found at Blanqui's house] has no publication date but 'Paris [1848]' is written on it by hand. This four page pamphlet contains instructions for members of the Revolutionary Committee and working men's clubs on how to secure candidates in the election to the National Assembly:

*... le délégué doit parcourir avec tenue, avec circonspection, avec la portée républicaine, les degrés de l'échelle sociale, depuis le premier jusqu'au dernier. Suivant les habitudes, les mœurs, il faut qu'il modifie son langage, sa conduite, afin d'arriver au but proposé: le choix des candidats.*⁹

The appointed member's duties also include to write and dispatch each day a detailed report of the state of opinion in the place: 'no phrases, many facts'. The object of publishing the pamphlet was to cast suspicion on the Revolutionary Committee and its leader Auguste Blanqui and damage it by these revelations. Blanqui was one of those who led the great workers' delegation to the provisional government on March, 17th, to prevail upon it to postpone the election to the National Assembly for two months so as to give the candidates time for their election campaigns. The government deferred the election by only two weeks, till April, 23rd. Blanqui was an author and politician who wished to realise the revolution through the dictatorship of the proletariat. He spent half his life in prison for revolutionary activities and armed rebellion.

Different collections of biographies are illustrated with portraits of the members of the provisional government. The portraits were necessary, it was said, since the members themselves were completely unknown to the general public.

In May 1848, Victor had privately published *Attentats de la police républicaine contre la souveraineté du peuple*. Accusations contre Caussidière [Attacks by the republican police on the sovereignty of the people. Accusations against Caussidière]. Caussidière was the prefect of police and the accusation against him was that he on March, 17th, had fortified the Hôtel-de-Ville, Paris' town hall, which was the seat of the provisional government, and had had the hundred thousand man strong delegation wait for three hours before the government put in an appearance. The pamphlet bears the exhortation:

*Ne confondez pas la police politique avec la police des rues, la police judiciaire avec la police de sûreté, la police secrète avec la police municipale.*¹⁰

Revolutionary catechisms and manifestos

One popular genre when something new shall be explained simply and effectively is the catechism, with its questions and answers. *Nouveau catéchisme républicain à l'usage de tout citoyen honnête qui désire le règne de la raison et de la justice à la place de celui de la cupidité et de l'orgueil* [New republican catechism for the use of all honest citizens wishing for the rule of reason and justice in place of that of greed and pride] by Taxil, 35 pages, (Paris: Chez l'auteur) begins comprehensibly enough but the answers soon become ever longer and more complicated. Taxil was an architect and his catechism had been adopted by La société philanthropique démocratique des artilleurs de la Seine [Seine Artillerymen's Democratic Philanthropic Society].

Jean Macé's *Petit catéchisme républicain* [Little republican catechism] is a catechism where the questions and answers are divided under headings such as De la république, Du gouvernement, De la garde nationale, [On the republic, On the government, On the National Guard], so it is far more easily accessible than Taxil's. Jean Macé was also the author of a profession of faith: *Profession de foi d'un communiste* [A communist's profession of faith] of which ARAB has the first part: *De la forme actuelle de la société* [On the present form of society] dedicated to his friends and dated April, 17th, 1848.

Propriété et communisme [Property and communism] par Louis Morin (Paris : Chez Amyot) gives the following recipe for communism:

Prenez tous les discours prononcés au club des jacobines; joignez-y les élucubrations de Babeuf; melez-y les idées de Saint-Simon et les théories

*de Fourier; à tout cela ajoutez une forte dose d'exagération et de puérilité; amalgamez le tout, et vous aurez le communisme.*¹¹

Aux membres du Gouvernement provisoire [To the members of the provisional government] is a four page letter from Etienne Cabet on April, 17th, 1848 in which he relates how, after a meeting, he and his Icarian Communists were threatened and attacked by a mob shouting:

*A bas les Communistes! Ce sont eux qui sont cause de la misère! Ils veulent la destruction de la propriété et de la famille! A bas Cabet! à bas Blanqui! à bas Raspail! On criait même: A bas Louis Blanc! à bas Ledru-Rollin!*¹²

Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin were members of the provisional government.

Manifeste des représentant[s] de la Montagne [The Montagnard Manifesto], printed in Dijon, is signed by scarcely sixty members in the in April elected National Assembly. The Montagnards was a party formed during the February Revolution; its name was taken from the National Assembly of 1791 after the French revolution of 1789. On work and the right to work, the manifesto states:

*Le travail, c'est la puissance de l'homme; c'est la force intelligente, active, qui s'empare de la nature extérieure et la soumet. ... c'est un besoin, c'est-à-dire un droit, le plus inviolable de tous. Le droit au travail, c'est le droit à la vie.*¹³

Les Montagnardes, satires politiques [Political satires on the Montagnards] is an eight page pamphlet publishing two poems by A. Eude Dugaillon: *La haute cour de justice* [The High Court of Justice] and *Le sabre* [The Sabre]. It has no place or date of publication but is probably from 1849.

*Voici Blanqui: ses jours ne sont qu'une agonie
Et Baroche se plaint de son acrimonie!
Vous l'avez irrité, nos seigneurs les bourreaux
En lardant le captif à travers les barreaux ...
Puis Albert l'ouvrier, ministre prolétaire,
Qui n'est plus, aujourd'hui, qu'un infâme secrétaire,
(From La haute cour de justice)¹⁴*

The June Uprising

Insurrection du 23 juin [The 23 June Uprising] is a more extensive work by Etienne Cabet, signed October, 25th, 1848. The document consists of 59 pages and deals with the June Uprising when soldiers were called out against the workers. The immediate cause of the June Uprising was the government closing the national workshops, a type of relief work that consisted of repairing main roads, streets and town walls, and which had provided work with good pay to 100,000 unemployed craftsmen and workers in Paris – 2 francs a day to those who could actually be provided with work, 1 franc to the others. Now instead, the unemployed between 18 and 25 were to be conscripted into the army, and the rest forced into agricultural work. Cabet pleaded for an amnesty, reconciliation and fraternity: the three days of strife in the June Uprising had resulted in 10,000 dead and injured, and 14,000 revolutionaries taken captive, 3,000 of whom were executed and thousands deported to the French colonies, mostly to Algeria.

Another pamphlet dealing with the June Uprising is the 16 page *Evénements de Paris journées des 23, 24, 25 et 26 juin 1848* [Events in Paris on June 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1848] which reports the uprising in great detail, virtually hour by hour. It concludes with an index of the named dead and injured, mainly among the soldiers. The June Uprising is also the subject of a book with the title *Journées de juin. Récit complet des événements des 23, 24, 25, 26 et des jours suivants. Accompagné d'un plan de Paris* [Days in June. A Complete Account of the Events of 23, 24, 25, 26 and the following Days. Accompanied by a map of Paris] by M. A. Pagès-Duport (Paris and Lyon: Pitrat). ARAB has the second edition, also published in 1848. 126 pages + map included. Each day's events are followed by an appendix containing decrees and proclamations issued by the National Assembly.

Emploi des travailleurs [Employment of workers] is the sur-title of *Projet de colonies agricoles* [Project on agricultural colonies] published by *Comité central d'agriculture* [Central Agriculture Committee] in 1848. The committee's proposal was that half of the uncultivated land in France, 5.6 million hectares, should be cultivated by collectives each consisting of 500 people, 350 men and 150 women, thus providing work and welfare for 2.2 million citizens. Then there follows a detailed cost statement per man and woman per year down to the smallest article of clothing and pocket money... and, as from the fourth year, every colony already has an annual income of 500,000 francs. A utopia as good as any in 16 pages ... One G.O. proposed another colonisation project to solve the unemployment problem in *Un avis de plus sur l'organisation du travail adressé au citoyen Louis Blanc* [A further suggestion on the organisation of work addressed to Citizen Louis Blanc] 1848. The unemployed were to colonise Algeria and all surplus goods were to be exported.

Question agricole et financière [The Agriculture and Finance Question] by J.-J. Reverchon states that the goal is to protect agriculture, which is to be achieved by progressive taxation. This would eventually lead to a reduction of taxes, and henceforth to general prosperity and social revolution.

A la révolution par le citoyen Proudhon [On the Revolution by Citizen Proudhon] is a letter dated October, 17th, 1848 (Marseille: Au Bureau de la Propagande Democratique Sociale). For the government and National Assembly, the revolution no longer exists; they are merely maintaining the republican form.

*Le peuple seul, opérant sur lui-même, sans intermédiaire, peut achever la Révolution économique fondée en février. Le peuple seul peut sauver la civilisation et faire avancer l'humanité!*¹⁵

...concludes Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in his letter to the citizens. Proudhon was author and theoretician with great impact on the development of French anarcho-syndicalism. In his book *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* [What is property?] of 1840, he formulated the famous thesis 'Property is theft!'

The March Revolution in Vienna

News of the February revolution spread across Europe via newspapers. As early as February, 29th, people in Vienna were jostling in front of a placard that laconically announced: 'In einem Monat wird Fürst Metternich gestürzt sein. Es lebe das constitutionelle Österreich!' [Within a month, Prince Metternich will have been overthrown. Long live the constitutional Austria!] On March, 13th, open revolt broke out; workers and students combined to build barricades as defence against government troops. Metternich was compelled to resign, censorship of the press was abolished, the formation of a national guard was permitted and promises made of a liberal constitution. In Vienna the soldiers were replaced by a force of students and citizens.

The library does not hold many works that record the Year of Revolutions in Austria. Neither is there any special section in the classified catalogue for Austrian history in 1848. In *Aufruf an die Slaven von einem russischen Patrioten Michael Bakunin, in Koethen auf Selbstverlag des Verfassers ausgegeben, 1848*, [An appeal to the Slavs by a Russian patriot Mikhail Bakunin, privately published in Koethen] Bakunin signs himself Mitglied des Slavencongresses in Prag [member of the Slav Congress in Prague]. This is the founding congress of the Panslavic movement.

*Und die Partei der Staatspolitiker, aus dem Reichstage zu Wien, in der Stunde der Gefahr und der Entscheidung, wo einzig und allein das Interesse des Volkes gelten durfte und Alle Eins machen musste, feig entwichen, suchte sodann in Prag Euch vorzuspiegeln, dass der letzte Wiener Aufstand keine Volksbewegung gewesen sei, sondern mit magyarischem Gelde gemacht.*¹⁶

Mikhail Bakunin was a Russian anarchist revolutionary and agitator. From the beginning of the 1840s, he travelled around Europe taking part in every revolutionary movement and forming secret groups.

Hugo Jacques Petri said farewell to Metternich in *Ein Abschieds-Wort an einen Minister* [A Word of Farewell to a Minister], 1848:

*Er war jener grosse Kanal in dem des Staates
Millionen flossen; er war die lebende Cassa der*

*Verzehrungssteuer, denn nur sein starker
Körper wie er, konnte so viel Metall verdauen.
Er war als eine undurchdringliche Scheidewand
zwischen das Volk und dessen geliebten Mon-
archen gefallen.*¹⁷

The author takes care never to refer to Metternich by name. One example of a history by a participant is *Das Studenten-Comité in Wien, im Jahre 1848* [The Student Committee in Vienna, in 1848] by Albert Rosenfeld, 'ehemalig. Mitglied des Studenten-Comités und des Sicherheitsausschusses in Wien' [one-time member of the Vienna Student Committee and Committee of Public Safety]. This was published in 1849 by Fischer in Bern. Many of the revolutionaries fled to Switzerland after the Vienna Uprising in October 1848. Interestingly enough, Rosenfeld says in his foreword to the book that he has managed to bring with him in exile, documents belonging to the probably best-known of all the German revolutionary democrats – Robert Blum, who did not survive the revolution.

Proclamations and leaflets

On the archive side there is a very interesting collection 'Österreich. Revolutionen 1848 [Austria. The revolution of 1848]' which consists of 'Kungörelser, flygblad, etc., etc. [Proclamations, fly-sheets, etc., etc.]'. The collection was handed over by an Austrian refugee, possibly the doctor and social democrat, Wilhelm Ellenbogen, who donated his large library to ARAB on the German occupation of Austria in 1938. It arrived in Sweden in 1940 in 39 packing cases. The year of accession of the archive collection is 1943 and it comprises 114 works dated between March, 13th, 1848 and October, 29th, 1849; around ten are undated. The works are indexed chronologically on seven sheets in the old sheet catalogue and are similarly arranged in the collection. The catalogue entries describe them only by quoting the first two or three words in the text: 'Dem Verwaltungsrathe [To the administrative council]', 'Nach der Besitznahme [Having taken possession]', 'Da der unterzeichnete [Since the undersigned]'.

The collection includes official proclamations, many of poster size, which were displayed in the streets. The collection also includes some isolated, very tattered and imperfect numbers of the comic paper *Wiener Katzen-Musik* (Charivari). *Politisches Tagsblatt für Spott und Ernst mit Karrikaturen* [Viennese Caterwauling (Charivari). Political daily for fun and seriousness with caricatures] and some numbers of *Politischer Horizont*, [Political Horizon] including those from September, 27th and 28th, and October, 28th, 1848. The collection contains miscellaneous mani-

Proclamation singed by the magistrate of Vienna and the provisional citizen's committee on march 19 1848. It informs the citizens that the Duke of Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha has agreed that part of his palace in Vienna will be used as a temporary jail for 'certain individuals' brought in from the surrounding areas. The city jails soon ran out of room during the revolution.

festos and programmes of constitutional and democratic associations, orders of the day from commanding officers, appeals by individuals, programmes for festivities, speeches in honour of particular occasions and army bulletins.

This document proclaims that the emperor Ferdinand has abolished censorship:

Seine K. K. apostolische Majestät haben die Aufhebung der Censur und die alsbaldige Veröffentlichung eines Pressgesetzes allergnädigst zu beschliessen geruht.

Wien am 14. März 1848.

*Johann Talatzko Freiherr von Gestieticz,
K. K. Nieder-Oester. Regierungs-Präsident.¹⁸*

A Doctor Wildner-Maithstein celebrated 'im Augenblicke nach der Verkündigung der Censurfreiheit [In the moments after the proclamation of freedom from censorship]' on March, 14th, 1848 in Vienna with the call *Wackere Mitbürger des grossen herrlichen Oesterreichs!* [Valiant fellow citizens of the great and glorious Austria!]

Freiheit! Ordnung! Gerechtigkeit! Liebe zu Fürst und Vaterland! seien die Losungsworte der Bürgergarde, wie jedes Mitbürgers, und es werden gewiss die Geschwirre, die des entflohenen Mannes verkehrtes System zur Reise brachte, baldigst zu heilen beginnen, was wir alle brüderlich uns wünschen.¹⁹

Government President Talatzko had a busy day on March, 14th, and issued another two proclamations. One concerned, among other things, the right of students to arm themselves. There were around eight thousand students in Vienna at this time. Calm, order and security had to be preserved:

... dass alle Bürger durch Einreihung in die Bürger-Corps diese möglichst verstärken, und zur Erhaltung der Ruhe kräftig mitwirken werden²⁰

A third proclamation signed by Talatzko concerned the setting up of a national guard:

... zur Aufrechthaltung der gesetzmässigen Ruhe und Ordnung der Residenz und zum Schutze der Personen und des Eigenthumes...²¹

Barely a month later, on April, 10th, 1848, a ten paragraph proposal for the fundamental rules of the national guard was published.

An 'Kundmachung von dem Magistrate und prov. Bürgerausschusse der Stadt Wien am 17. März 1848 [Proclamation by the magistrate and provisional citizens' committee of the city of Vienna on March, 17th, 1848] announced:

In Folge der von den nied. Österr. Herren Ständen erlassenen Kundmachung vom 15. d. M. wurde bey dem Magistrate und dem provisorischen Bürgerausschusse die Wahl jener 12 Mitglieder aus dem Bürgerstande vorgenom-

Galley proof written by T. M. Jettel: 'The Parliament in Kremsier [the Parliament moved from Vienna to the bishop's palace of this small town, in November 1848] An abbreviated Account of the Proceedings of the Austrian Constituent Assembly since its Re-opening in Kremsier'.

men, welche an den in gegenwärtigen wichtigen Momenten erforderlichen Verhandlungen der nö. Herren Stände provisorisch Theil zu nehmen haben.

Bei dieser Wahl wurde vor Allem auf die Bedeutenheit der Geschäftsbesorgung und auf den Umstand Rücksicht genommen, dass nach Möglichkeit verschiedenen Klassen des Bürgerstandes die gehörige Vertretung zu Theil werde.²²

A New Constitution

The collection holds complimentary poems and leaflets with requests directed to the Austrian Emperor together with proclamations by him, 'Wir Ferdinand der Erste [We, Ferdinand the First]':

haben nunmehr solche Verfügungen getroffen, die Wir als zur Erfüllung der Wünsche Unserer treuen Völker erforderlich erkannten.

*Die Pressfreiheit ist durch Meine Erklärung der Aufhebung der Censur in derselben Weise gewährt, wie in allen Staaten, wo sie besteht. (Gegeben den fünfzehnten März.)*²³

Offene und ehrliche Bitte der getreuen Oestreicher an ihren geliebten Kaiser [A public and honest plea to their beloved Emperor by loyal Austrians] is the title of a pamphlet written on March, 30th, 'ausgegeben durch Tendler et Comp. [published by Tendler & Co.], in which 'the loyal Austrians' request that the Emperor dismiss the men of "the old system":

*Aber Eines ist noch nothwendig, dringend nothwendig, damit das Uebrige zur Wahrheit werde, und ungefährdet gedeihen könne; diess ist: Entlassung jener Rathgeber Eurer Majestät, die noch dem alten Systeme angehören, dem Systeme, welches das Land an den Rand des Abgrunds gebracht hat.*²⁴

On April, 25th, 1848 an imperial ordinance 'Wir Ferdinand der Erste [We, Ferdinand the First]' proclaimed a free constitution for Austria: Verfassungsurkunde des österreichischen Kaiserstaates [Constitutional Charter of the Austrian Imperial State], which introduced a bicameral parliament.

Guter Rath eines Oesterreichers an seine Mitbürger! Zur Würdigung und näheren Verständniss des neuen Nationalanlebens

[Good advice from an Austrian to his fellow countrymen! On the Estimation and closer Understanding of the new Standing of the Nation] is a seven page pamphlet signed by B. T. v. G.

Der Reichstag in Kremsier. Gedrängte Darstellung der Verhandlungen der constituirenden österreichischen Reichs-Versammlung seit ihrer Wiedereröffnung in Kremsier [The Parliament in Kremsier. An abbreviated Account of the Proceedings of the Austrian Imperial Constituent Assembly since its Re-opening in Kremsier] is a four page Probe-Blatt [Galley proof] written by T. M. Jettel.

An example of an appeal from an individual, 'Ein Bürger Wien's [A Citizen of Vienna]', although he writes 'im Namen aller Gutgesinnten [in the name of all right-thinking people]', *is Mit unserer Freiheit steht's wirklich miserabel! Ein ernstes Wort an die gutgesinnten Wiener* [The State of our Freedom is Truly Miserable! A Serious Word to the Right-thinking Citizens of Vienna] dated September, 12th, 1848.

Many appeals, addresses and proclamations are signed by Der Ausschuss der Bürger, Nationalgarden und Studenten für Ruhe, Ordnung, Sicherheit und Wahrung der Rechte des Volkes [The Committee of Citizens, Students and National Guard for Peace, Order, Public Safety and the Preservation of the Rights of the People]. The Committee appears under somewhat various names. The subjects of the texts include electoral procedures, the payment of taxes, the importance of watching out for reactionaries; they warn against taking part in illegal games and provide details of troop movements. In *Adresse der gesammten Einwohner Wiens an das souveraine Parlament zu Frankfurt* [Address by all the Inhabitants of Vienna to the Sovereign Parliament in Frankfurt] on June, 8th, the Committee writes to the national parliament in Frankfurt with representatives elected by all the 34 states belonging to the German Confederation 'Im Namen der ganzen Bevölkerung Wiens [In the name of the entire population of Vienna]':

*Soll die Einheit Deutschlands zur Wahrheit werden, so kann sein Parlament nicht minder freisinnig seyn, als wir es waren.*²⁵

The March Revolution in Berlin

At the end of February and during the first weeks of March, meetings of burghers and mass meetings were held in many towns in western Germany. In Mannheim in Baden a programme was adopted that demanded democracy, freedom of assembly, a citizen army, equality, freedom of the press and popular courts. In Berlin a demonstration on March, 18th, was fired upon by soldiers. The King of

Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, withdrew the troops, adopted the colours of the German tricolour and promised a constituent assembly. The so-called Pre-parliament, 500 men from throughout Germany, met in Frankfurt on March, 31st, and proposed the old National Parliament that it convene a national assembly elected by universal suffrage that would independently resolve upon a constitution for Germany. The National Parliament acceded to this at once. On May, 18th, 1848 the national assembly met in St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt.

We do not have many works published in 1848 or the immediately succeeding years in the subject section on

German History 1848 in the classified catalogue, which comprises around a hundred works. We have a second expanded edition of *Ideen zu einer Deutschen Reichsverfassung* [Ideas on a German Imperial Constitution] (Erlangen 1848) by a Dr. Eisenmann which proposes that the German sovereign power should rotate at five year intervals between the monarchs of Prussia, Austria and Bavaria. Legislative power is to be exercised by the head of state, privy council and popular assembly. *Die deutsche Revolution im März 1848. Eine übersichtliche und getreue Darstellung der Bewegungen in allen Staaten Deutschlands von der Proclamierung der französischen Republik bis zur Wiener und Berliner Revolution* [The German

NOTES

1. Then there follows a toast to be proposed by the deputy M. Ledru-Rollin.

To a better life for the working class! To the workers! (Wild cheers.)

M. Ledru-Rollin gets up to speak.

...

Citizens,

Yes, to the workers. To their inalienable rights, their vital interests unrecognised until now!

2. We have just recounted the greatest event to have shaken our souls since the day that Christ, hanging his head on the cross, shattered the old world.

3. It is no longer necessary to proclaim the Republic, nor to discuss it, nor to recognise it. It is here. It is here by the same right as the people of whom it is the expression.

4. Respect for the monuments! Respect for property! Why shoot at these pictures? We have shown that the people must not be badly led. Let us now show that the People is able to respect monuments and honour its victory!

5. On the 24th, at a moment when the people were working industriously on building barricades, a violent storm broke out over Paris. An urchin who was guarding one in Rue Richelieu raised his sabre in the air and shouted: 'God is on our side my friends, he is sending us refreshments!'

6. The proclamation of the French Republic is not an act of aggression against any form of government whatsoever. Forms

of government have a diversity as legitimate as the diversity of the characters, geographic situations and intellectual, moral and material developments of peoples. Like individuals, nations are of different ages. The principles that govern them go through a succession of phases.

7. What are the essential, urgent, vital questions of today?... the most urgent is to organise the National Guard, to organise the whole people under arms, formed up in regiments, appointing its own leaders, democratically uniformed and armed.

8. Oh people, thou shalt reign supreme! Shalt reign in brotherhood with thy equals of every class, for the Republic, the ark of our covenant under whose ruins we must henceforth perish ere we relinquish it, the Republic, form unequalled of an abiding society, proclaims and hallows before the Universe as witness to its vow all men's equality of rights.

9. ... the delegate must scale the rungs of the social ladder from the lowest to the highest with style, circumspection and a republican intelligence. Out of respect for customs and manners he must amend his language and conduct in order to achieve the set goal – the choice of delegates.

10. Do not confuse the political police with those on the beat, the criminal police with the security police, the secret police with the local police.

11. Take all the speeches given at the clubs of the Jacobins, add the wild imaginings of Babeuf, mix in the ideas of Saint-Simons and the theories of Fourier and add to all this a good dose of

Revolution of March 1848. A Clear and Faithful Account of Movements and Events in all the States of Germany from the Proclamation of the French Republic until the Revolutions in Vienna and Berlin], published in Berlin in 1848 by Verlag von Gustav Hempel is the most complete story of the revolution in Germany.

There is also *Der Nothstand der untern Volksklassen mit seinen augenfälligen, nahen und entfernten Ursachen und den ausführbaren sichern Mitteln zu seiner radikalen Bekämpfung. Den Fürsten und ihren Rathgebern, den privilegierten (sic!) Ständen, den Volksvertretern und den Volksfreunden gewidmet von einem Ostpreussen* [The Crisis of the Lower Classes, its Evident, Im-

mediate and Remote Causes and Practical Certain Means of Combating it Radically. Dedicated to the Princes and their Advisors, the Privileged Classes, the Representatives and the Friends of the People by an East Prussian] published anonymously by Verlag von Adolph Samter in Königsberg in 1848. A pencil inscription on ARAB's copy ascribes it to J. Jacoby.

The revolutionary movements spread over virtually all of Europe but with the help of the armies, those in power soon regained lost ground. The reasons for this were many and differed from country to country. The revolutionaries were never a homogeneous group and their demands were often contradictory. The students wanted the abolition of

exaggeration and childishness; blend them all together and you have communism.

12. Down with the communists! They are the people who are the cause of our misery! They are for the destruction of property and the family! Down with Cabet! Down with Blanqui! Down with Raspail! People were even shouting: Down with Louis Blanc! Down with Ledru-Rollin!

13. Work is the power of man, the intelligent, active force that seizes upon external nature and forces it to submit... it is a need, that is, a right - the most inviolable of all. The right to work is the right to life.

14. Here comes our Blanqui, his days are an agony
Baroche's agriping that he's malevolent!
How you have riled him, worthy executioners,
Hacking at the captive through the bars...
Albert the worker, proletarian minister,
No more today than sectarian vile.

(The High Court of Justice)

15. Only the people, acting on its own without intermediaries, can bring to fruition the economic revolution started in February. Only the people can save civilisation and cause humanity to advance!

16. In the hour of danger and decision, when only the interests of the people should have counted and everyone had to act together, the party of the establishment cravenly fled from the Reichstag in Vienna and then attempted to plead to you in

Prague that the last Viennese uprising was not a movement of the people but done on Magyar money.

17. He was that great canal into which the state's millions flowed; he was the living strongbox of sumptuary tax as only his stout body could digest so much metal. He stood as an impenetrable dividing wall between the people and its beloved monarch.

18. His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty has graciously resolved upon the abolition of censorship and the immediate publication of a law on the press.

Vienna, 14 March, 1848

Johann Talatzko, Duke of Gestieticz,
President of the Imperial and Royal Government of Lower Austria.

19. Freedom! Order! Justice! Love of Prince and Fatherland! These are the watchwords of the Civil Guard as of every fellow citizen and the boils that the deranged system of him who has fled brought to a head will begin to heal as soon as possible as is the fraternal wish of us all.

20. ... that all citizens, by enlisting in the Civil Guard, reinforce the latter to the greatest possible extent and cooperate energetically in the preservation of the peace.

21. ... for the maintenance of lawful peace and order in the Residence and for the protection of people and property...

22. In consequence of the proclamation made by the noble estate of Lower Austria on 15 inst., twelve members of the

supervision and censorship; the peasants were demanding liberation from the duty of day labour; the bourgeoisie wished for liberal reforms, workers and craftsmen wanted the state to guarantee them the right to work. There were, however, some abiding results of the revolution – in Austria the abolition of soccage for peasants and in France universal suffrage for men.

Lastly: one of the most prominent refugees of the revolution was Karl Marx, who was expelled to France from Brussels in March 1848. In April he, together with Friedrich Engels, moved back from Paris to Germany to take part in the revolution there. Marx became editor-in-

chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne. He was expelled from Germany, returned to Paris, was deported again and finally fled to London where he remained for the rest of his life. His and Engels' *Communist Manifesto* was published in London in February 1848. It was published in Swedish in December the same year, bearing the title *Kommunismens röst* [The Voice of Communism] by Per Göttrik, Swedish writer, publisher, bookseller and Utopian. This first Swedish edition also stated on the cover *Folkets röst är Guds röst* [The Voice of the People is the Voice of God]. The library has two copies of *Kommunismens röst* – as yet another document from 1848 - Year of Revolution.

bourgeois estate who are provisionally to participate in the negotiations required in the present momentous times were elected by the magistrate and provisional citizens' committee. In this election, account has been taken above all of the importance of dealing with the matter and the circumstance that, in so far as possible, various classes of the bourgeois estate should be accorded representation.

23. ... have now promulgated such arrangements as We consider necessary for the fulfilment of the wishes of our loyal people. Freedom of the press is granted by Our declaration on the abolition of censorship in the same manner as in all states where it exists. (Promulgated 15 March)

24. But one thing is still necessary, urgently necessary that the remainder may become reality and prosper unimpaired – the dismissal of those advisers to Your Majesty who still adhere to the old system, to the system that has brought the country to the brink of disaster.

25. Should the unity of Germany become a reality, its Parliament cannot be any less liberal than were we.

LITERATURE

For ARAB's golden jubilee in 1952, a commemorative booklet *Hävd och handling. Arbetarrörelsens arkiv 50 år* was published, in which Per Lind wrote about ARAB's 'Rare books and curiosities'.

This was also published in numbers 1-2 (2000) of our journal *Arbetshistoria* under the title 'Utopister och klassiker. Rariteter i ARAB:s bibliotek'. In number 19 (no. 3, 1981) of the same journal, which was then called *Meddelande från Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek* [Bulletin from the Labour Movement Archives and Library], librarian Birgit Parding wrote 'Utopier och manifest. Rariteter i Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och biblioteks samlingar [Utopias and manifestos. Rare books in the collections of the Labour Movement Archives and Library]'. The article contains a register of Swedish language publications of *The Communist Manifesto*, which had been published in German in February 1848.

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