



Vetenskapsrådet

‘SWEDEN’S RELATIONS WITH NAZISM, NAZI GERMANY AND THE HOLOCAUST’: A RESEARCH PROGRAMME

The Swedish Research Council’s final report on research in the Programme, according to the Government assignment defined in the official appropriation document for 2006.

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Foreword

In the year 2000, the Swedish Research Council embarked on its Government assignment of developing a research programme concerning ‘*Sweden’s Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust*’. The Programme was intended to satisfy both the Government’s interest in knowledge and the research community’s requirements of academic relevance and wish for a broader basis for research on this theme. Research in this Programme is still under way but, at the Government’s request, we now present activities in and findings from the various projects included in the Programme. In a report of this kind, there may also be reason to consider other research in progress that is linked to this Programme in various ways but is still unfinished. The task of compiling and describing this material was carried out by Associate Processor Jan Larsson at the Swedish Research Council.

In the Council’s view, implementation of this research programme has been unexpectedly successful. It has induced researchers from a variety of fields to jointly tackle common issues and problems that are not only highly relevant in historical terms. Their findings also strikingly increase the depth and breadth of current knowledge of Sweden’s relations with and view of Nazism and its victims. Publication of monographs and articles in anthologies is taking place on a substantial scale and may be expected to increase further over the next two years. The research findings, as we have been able to overview them to date, have considerable news value: they reveal parts of a Swedish past in terms of this country’s relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust that has received no attention in the public sphere to date.

It is also a key task for us, in cooperation with public agencies, organisations and other actors in our society, to disseminate to a broader public the new knowledge gained within the scope of the Programme. Both research and research information can help to promote democratic practice based on openness and tolerance, and to defend the institutions of civil society and citizens’ control over the state. It is the Swedish Research Council’s hope that research in this Programme, ‘*Sweden’s Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust*’, will contribute to this task.

Stockholm, March 2006

Bengt Hansson
Secretary General for Humanities and Social Sciences
at the Swedish Research Council

Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust

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‘Sweden’s Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust’: a research programme

1. Introduction

On 27 April 2000, the Swedish Government decided to instruct the Swedish Council for Humanities and Social Sciences¹ (HSFR) to ‘prepare and implement a special research programme concerning Sweden’s relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust’.

This Government decision also prescribed that the research programme ‘should be preceded by an overview of knowledge and an international research conference. The assignment must in other respects be implemented in accordance with the instructions in the Appendix’. The Government also prescribed that funds for the research programme ‘should be announced during the spring of 2001’.

A further stipulation was that the Programme ‘should continue for a maximum of five years and be implemented within a maximum total cost limit of SEK 20 million’. In 2000, the Government contributed SEK 10m. The remaining SEK 10m would, under the decision, be allocated within the ‘D 3’ government grant (for the year 2000) to HSFR for research.

HSFR decided, on 21 June 2000, to appoint a ‘Programme Group’ for the Programme with Professor Stig Ekman as chairman and three members: Professor Svante Nordin, Associate Professor Mats Rolén (Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation) and Professor Klas Åmark.² HSFR’s review work was thus transferred to, and thereafter performed by, the Programme Group.

In 2001 the Swedish Research Council took over the assignment from HSFR following HSFR’s abolition.³

The Programme Group appointed by HSFR was re-formed under a decision of the Scientific Council for Humanities and Social Sciences at the Swedish Research Council on 31 May 2001. The new Group comprised Mats Svegfors (chairman), Lena Berggren (History of Ideas, Umeå), Lena Einhorn (Scientific Council for Humanities and Social Sciences), Stig Ekman (History, Stockholm), Rolf Nygren (Legal History, Uppsala), Mats Rolén (Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, Stockholm) and Klas Åmark (History, Stockholm).⁴

¹ *Translator’s note.* A Swedish government body under the authority of the Ministry of Education and Science, now superseded by the Swedish Research Council.

² Minutes of HSFR meeting and Secretariat decision No. 2000:192, Ref. A 80/00.

³ Official appropriation document for the Swedish Research Council, 2001.

⁴ Scientific Council for Humanities and Social Sciences. Minutes 2001-4, drawn up at the meeting on 30 April 2001.

2. The Government assignment

HSFR's assignment from the Government was specified in guidelines issued as an Appendix to the government decision of 27 April 2000, No. 11 (Ref. U2000/1687/F). In brief, the Council was instructed as follows.

1. A summary knowledge overview of the current status of research in the field should be produced.
2. This overview should, at least partially, be worded in popular terms and form the basis for an international conference on the subject before 15 January 2001, which would in turn provide the basis for HSFR's further Programme work.
3. The conference should be documented and this documentation disseminated outside, as well as within, the world of research.
4. The content of the Programme should reflect the knowledge interest expressed in the background text of the Government assignment.
5. The Programme should be broadly defined and concern several fields and disciplines.
6. The Programme should relate to additional historical periods, besides that of 1939–45.
7. It is essential to clarify Sweden's and the Swedes' relations with Nazism during the 1930s as well.
8. Certain aspects of the period before 1930 may be of interest to study within the Programme.
9. The Programme should provide broad scope for research on postwar conditions up to the present day.
10. There should be scope for research that monitors development over a long period or that compares development in different periods.
11. The Programme should accommodate a comparative study of development in Sweden in the Nordic and European context.
12. The Programme should be organised in such a way that the themes and issues addressed can be presented in a synthesising report.
13. This report must constitute an important step forward in the accumulation of knowledge in the field concerned.
14. The report must also contribute to knowledge accumulation and debate in society at large.
15. The Programme must be prepared in such a way that funds can be announced and grant applications called for in the spring of 2001.

Under the guidelines, the Programme was also intended to be associated with research needs cited in the final report (SOU 1999:20) of the Commission on Jewish Assets in Sweden at the Time of the Second World War. This Commission emphasised various urgent research requirements, including the following:

The issue of the 'Baltic refugees' is an extremely complex one that, to be clarified, requires large-scale research inputs. It is imperative for further research to be initiated to elucidate the complex of issues relating to collaborators who fled to Sweden from the nearby areas that were occupied by the Germans during the war (p. 33). [Unofficial translation of the original Swedish text.]

The Commission was, moreover, unable to rule out the possibility that Jewish property was transferred to Sweden in conjunction with the refugees' arrival. Further research may therefore show whether *'it is possible that jewellery and other assets from Jews came to Sweden via the influx of Baltic refugees'*.

Regarding trade between Swedish and Germany in such commodities as iron ore, the Commission considered that *'the interaction between traders and the Government during the various phases of the Second World War is an urgent research task.'*

Additional areas where research is deemed to be urgent (p. 39) are:

- ∓ The importance of Sweden's trade with Nazi Germany in terms of the latter's capacity to implement the persecution of the Jews and others until 1945. This research field has come to the fore, in particular, owing to the recent debate about whether Sweden's trade with Germany prolonged the war and thereby the suffering of the Jewish people (p. 39).
- ∓ The Swedish business sector's relations with Jews and Jewish companies at the time of the Nazi persecution.
- ∓ The contemporary persecution of Roma, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, etc in Europe.

Finally, the Commission issued the following reminder:

The grave, profound question that remains unanswered — one that cannot be resolved by Swedish research alone, but requires international inputs — is how the Holocaust could have taken place. What prompted a substantial proportion of the European population to take part in murder, torture and plunder? Many researchers indicate that anti-Semitism was the primary motive, but this conclusion (which is generally hard to substantiate) is not accepted by all Holocaust researchers. Only now, when in-depth research on the scale and execution of the 'Final Solution' has become established, has it become natural to expand research on the material aspect of this genocide as well. Nonetheless, the crucial issue is not one of financial compensation for stolen assets. Instead, it is a matter of justice and moral redress' (p. 39 et seq.). [Unofficial translation of the original Swedish text.]

The guidelines for the Government assignment also emphasised cooperation with the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. This was to involve the knowledge overview, the conference and the Programme itself. The 'synthesising report' requested, based on the research findings from the Programme, *'should as far as possible also include projects in the research field that are funded by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation'*.

Moreover, cooperation with the Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education (the STINT Foundation) should be another objective, the Government considered. This cooperation would enable the Foundation, in conjunction with the Programme, to help promote internationalisation of Swedish research in the field.

3. *Work in the Programme Group appointed by HSR*

In August 2000 the Programme Group embarked on its work, with Bo Öhngren as its secretary. The task in hand was both to compile an overview of current knowledge as documentation for a conference and to organise an extensive network of eminent researchers, from Sweden and abroad, in the various fields covered by the assignment that, in diverse ways, would be able to contribute to the forthcoming work.

The working group also carried out the groundwork for an introductory research conference in Sigtuna on 10–11 January 2001. The documentation consisted of preliminary knowledge overviews in various fields, initiated under Stig Ekman's leadership. Under the Swedish Research Council's auspices and with a foreword by Bengt Hansson, the Secretary-General, these overviews were published on www.vr.se, since the Council gave priority to a rapid and simple form of publication to enable the overviews to 'serve as guidance to prospective applicants for research funds' within the framework of the Programme.⁵ Several outstanding Swedish researchers made ample contributions, in four specific chapters, and there were two commentaries on the status of research by Programme Group members Nordin and Åmark, as follows:

- Jonas Hansson, PhD, *Sverige och nazismen* ('Sweden and Nazism')
- Professor Martin Fritz and Birgit Karlsson, PhD, *Ekonomisk-historiska aspekter på Sveriges förhållande till Nazityskland* ('Economic-History Aspects of Sweden's Relations with Nazi Germany')
- Professor Harald Runblom, *Sverige och förintelsen i ett internationellt perspektiv* ('Sweden and the Holocaust in an International Perspective')
- Gunnar Åselius, PhD, *Sverige och Nazityskland* ('Sweden and Nazi Germany')
- Professor Svante Nordin, *Litteratur kring Sverige och Nazityskland* ('The Literature on Sweden and Nazi Germany')
- Professor Klas Åmark, *Demokratier i kamp mot diktaturer* ('Democracies' Struggle against Dictatorships').

In his introductory chapter the group chairman, Stig Ekman, presented a detailed account of the background to Swedish social debate and historical research. He also indicated the contours of the Programme Group's attitude towards its assignment.

An exchange of knowledge and experience was also arranged through Professor Bernd Henningsen of Humboldt University, Berlin. This took place in February 2001, at the University's Department for Northern European Studies. The intention was to discuss with eminent German researchers, on the spot, the scope for a forthcoming, wide-ranging research programme under the aegis of the Swedish Research Council, focusing on the relations between Sweden and Nazi Germany.

In an introductory letter, Klas Åmark introduced the Programme Group's knowledge focus and the reason for the Swedish visit to the Department. He compared the diverging paths (*Sonderweg*) taken by German and Swedish social development, which had long been discussed among German historians, in particular, but also in Sweden. Other questions were

⁵ Swedish Research Council, 2001, *Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust — a Research Overview*. This report, 221 pages long, was available as a PDF file on the Council's website during the application period. The same material was later published in English for international readers: see Ekman, S. & Åmark, K. (eds.), 2003, *Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. A Survey of Research*. Edsbruk.

posed. Why was there no overt Nazism in Sweden at this time? Was Swedish society more resistant to the ideology and popular attraction of Nazism, thanks to the capacity of Social Democracy to mobilise the citizens' support for the welfare-state policy introduced in the 1930s?

Or were there authoritarian ideas, racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia in Sweden as well, albeit in different forms and contexts than those in Germany? Can the presence of such ideas, attitudes and mindsets help to explain Swedish policy towards Germany before and during the war — for example, Sweden's appeasement policy and its voluntary adaptation to the new situation in the Nazis' New European order (*Neuordnung Europas*)?

Swedish and German researchers also discussed comparative gender aspects, since these had seldom been touched on in the research field in terms, for example, of contemporary ideas about mothers' status and 'motherhood' as a category in the two countries. Other themes, too, were dealt with. How should we perceive and interpret Sweden's relations with Nazi Germany in the light of the Swedish wartime policy of neutrality? The Swedish Government's stance and actual policy have periodically been subjected, in historical research and in public debate, to intensive debate, in terms both of their moral aspects and of accusations of amorality. The debate should be seen in the light of a long prevalent silence on issues of responsibility and culpability in Sweden. How has German research perceived the matter, and what would German historians put forward as urgent perspectives and research issues on which to cooperate within the framework of the Swedish Programme? The Swedish–German research seminar served to give a considerable boost to the Programme Group's work, and resulted in the publication of a few academic overview articles on salient research issues in the Department's 'Northern Europe Forum' monograph series (*Nordeuropaforum* No. 2, 2001).

Another step forward for the Programme Group's part was its decision to embark on an extensive endeavour to collect, summarise and present to the Swedish public relevant bibliographic information about German research literature, in an overview by Patrick Vonderau.⁶

Moreover, the Group — which had previously also held a research conference in Sigtuna, on 10–11 January 2001 — had advanced far in the planning of an international conference in Stockholm on 14–15 March 2002. This was to be concerned with the 'state of the art' in the field, focusing on new perspectives in three planned theme areas, with the participation of several eminent researchers.⁷

⁶ Vonderau, P., 2003, *Schweden und das nationalsozialistische Deutschland. Eine annotierte Bibliographie der deutschsprachigen Forschungsliteratur. 825 Einträge – 439 Annotationen* ('Sweden and Nazi Germany. An Annotated Bibliography of Research Literature in German. 825 Entries, 439 Annotations'). *Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Stockholm Studies in History* 65. Edsbruk.

⁷ Memoranda from the Programme Group meeting of 17 August 2001, p. 5.

4. *'Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust': a research programme*

The HSRF-appointed Programme Group thus came to devote considerable efforts to surveying research fronts; identifying and defining new needs and scope for research; and linking this research with international researchers. The Group convened in February and April 2001, to agree on and give a more specific shape to both the ambitiously planned knowledge overview and the definition of the Programme itself. It was vital to take into consideration both the Government's underlying knowledge interest in the actual research initiative and the requirement of the research world's confidence in the ability of the newly formed Swedish Research Council to assert its integrity in the further performance of its assignment.

The Programme Group devised a wide-ranging programme that spanned several academic fields and disciplines. Here, broadly planned projects with a cross-disciplinary organisation were welcomed — projects that 'place Swedish conditions in a general international perspective, with diverse starting points in terms of the various disciplines' concepts, terms and methods', as the wording went. The scope of different historical periods was not restricted to the years 1939–45 alone.

The description given to the Programme implied three thematic areas in particular. The first was *Sweden's relations with Nazism (and Fascism) as an ideology, value system and social movement*. The knowledge interest of the Programme concerned both Nazism and fascism as such — in Germany, Sweden and other countries or in general — and to the various forces of resistance they encountered. The focus can thus range from the earliest social, political, economic or ideological factors that paved the way for Nazism and fascism to our own day.

The second area was identified as *Sweden's relations with Nazi Germany as a state*. Here, the focus was on political, economic, social relations between the nations or organisations, companies and citizens in the two countries, and especially how Swedes reacted to the explicit or implicit requirements entailed by Germany's position of power.

The third thematic area was *Sweden's relation to the Nazi regime's oppression and persecution of various demographic groups*. The Swedes' information about and reactions to the Holocaust and treatment of the Jews were given pride of place. But the area also included the treatment meted out to the Roma, political opponents, religious groups, people with disabilities and homosexuals, for example, as well as Swedish refugee policy and reception of refugees.

In May 2001, in conjunction with its application period, the Swedish Research Council made available funds for relevant research projects, in conjunction with its call for researchers' applications for grants. The application period lasted until 3 September.⁸

5. *The Programme Group's handling of applications and the Swedish Research Council's grant decisions*

⁸ The Programme Group's proposal for the wording of its call for applications was approved by the board of the Research Council's Scientific Council for Humanities and Social Sciences on 10 April 2001. See the Minutes of this Scientific Council, 2001–03, section 9a.

The Programme Group appointed by the Swedish Research Council (on 31 May 2001) was constituted on 17 August, with County Governor Mats Svegfors as its chairman. He was also a member of the board of the Scientific Council for Humanities and Social Sciences, along with Lena Einhorn. Mats Rolén was responsible for liaising with the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, while the other members of the group were historians in the field concerned. Ekman and Åmark also provided continuity for further efforts.

The Programme Group made a connection with what had been done before, and in particular the ongoing call for grant applications. The following handling procedure was agreed upon:

All the members read all the applications and consider the matter of some kind of priority. The applications are also sorted by content and allocated to the researchers in the Programme Group, who each write a brief assessment... If the applications prove to touch on fields for which the researchers in the Programme Group lack competence, or if they wish to extend their skills for other reasons, the Programme Group's activities may [in accordance with the Scientific Council's previous decision] be supplemented by a decision of the Secretary General.

Furthermore, the Group agreed to allocate from the budgeted funds, without delay, the sum of SEK 17.5 million for project research grants. It was also essential to 'be aware of the need to cover high-priority research fields,' as the Group expressed it. If necessary, funds would be withheld and, instead, allocated through a 'directed' call for applications. The scientific criteria recommended stressed high scientific quality and originality, and laid great emphasis on renewal, in terms of theory and perspective, and also relevance in relation to the Programme. The criteria for handling applications were identical to those applied in the Programme Group for research on communist regimes.⁹ To the Group, Svegfors simultaneously emphasised the importance of being able to overview the various activities under way, and to distinguish projects with 'more of a political or opinion-moulding focus'.¹⁰

By the beginning of the application period 34 applications had been received, and these were sorted by means of the agreed handling procedure. Of the applicants, eight were women and 26 men. Their geographical locations were distributed evenly among Swedish higher education institutions (HEIs), and their projects reflected great breadth in terms of disciplines, with a leaning towards representation of the Humanities. Younger researchers were in a minority.

With reference to the limited funds, the need to take scientific aspects into account and the fact that, in the content of the Programme, an attempt had been made to attain the high level of ambition imposed in the Government assignment, the Group were obliged to admit that it would nonetheless be impossible to approve grants for many high-quality projects. The Programme Group then submitted its priority proposal to the Research Council's Scientific

⁹ The working documents left behind by the two documents are identical, with the same criteria reported. Moreover, the secretariat was the same for both groups at the time.

¹⁰ Memoranda, 17 August 2001, p. 7.

Council for Humanities and Social Sciences.¹¹ The latter Council then decided, on 15 November 2001, to approve the following project research grants:

- € Mattias Tydén, PhD, Department of History, Stockholm University, ref. 421-2001-5241: *Rashygien i omvandling. Det eugeniska projektet i Sverige under inre och yttre tryck, ca 1930-1950* ('Eugenics in Flux: Sweden's "Racial Hygiene" Project under Internal and External Pressure, circa 1930–50'). A total of SEK 1,300,000 was granted for 2002–04.¹²
- € Professor Anders Jarlert, Centre for Theology and Religious Studies (subdepartment: Church History), Lund University, *Nationalsocialistiska raslagar genom statliga anvisningar vid tillämpning inom Svenska kyrkan* ('The Application of the Nuremberg Laws in the Church of Sweden, 1935–1945'), ref. 421-2001-6026. A total of SEK 400,000 in grants was approved for 2002–04.¹³
- € Ester Pollack, PhD, Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK), Stockholm University (SU), *Pressfriheten och förintelsen. Svenska medier i skuggan av andra världskriget och rapporteringen om Europas judar* ('Press Freedom and the Holocaust. Swedish Media in the Shadow of the Second World War and Reporting about Europe's Jews'), ref. 421-2001-5229. The joint applicant was Göran Leth, PhD (JMK, SU), and a total of SEK 3,000,000 was granted for 2002–04.
- € Professor Charles Westin of the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO), Stockholm University, *Nationalsocialism i förändring. Ett omvärldsanalytiskt perspektiv* ('National Socialism in Flux. An Analytical World View'), ref. 421-2001-5237. The joint applicants were Associate Professor Mattias Gardell (SU), Helene Lööv, PhD (National Council for Crime Prevention, BRÅ) and Mats Deland, PhD (SU). A total of SEK 5m in grants was approved for 2002–05.
- € Associate Professor Birgit Karlsson, Economic History Department, Göteborg University (GU), *Handel och moral. Ett ekonomisk-historiskt perspektiv på relationerna mellan Sverige och Tyskland 1933–1950* ('Trade and Morality. A View of Relations between Sweden and Germany, 1933–50, in Terms of Economic History'), ref. 421-2001-5471. The joint applicants were Professor Emeritus Martin Fritz (GU), Ingela Karlsson, BA (GU) and Associate Professor Sven Nordlund (Umeå University). A total of SEK 3m was granted for 2002–04.

Another project was included in the Group's proposals but rejected by the Scientific Council. Instead, it delegated responsibility for deciding on the matter to the Secretary General, after the project had been reported in a 'revised form and within the framework of a total budget of SEK 4.6 million'.¹⁴ This, moreover, accorded with a decision by the

¹¹ Minutes of the meeting, on 24 October 2001, of the Programme Group for research on 'Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust'. The document is attached, as Appendix 4, to the minutes of the Scientific Council for Humanities and Social Sciences, 2001:6.

¹² Originally, there was another applicant at the time, Professor Anders Berge, because Mattias Tydén had not yet obtained his PhD. On doing so, he assumed sole responsibility for the project and, by the same token, the contract.

¹³ Jarlert's application related to a subproject in a joint application with Professor Ruth Franzén of the Department of Theology at Uppsala University as the primary applicant (ref. 421-2001-5228). However, the Scientific Council's decision relates to a grant for this subproject only.

¹⁴ Minutes No. 2001:6 of the meeting of the Scientific Council for Humanities and Social Sciences on 15–16 November, Section 8, including Appendix 4.

Secretary-General on 6 February 2002 to grant a total of SEK 4,548,000 to this project for 2002–05, as follows:

Professor Greger Andersson, Department of Art History and Musicology, Lund University, *Fruktan, Fascination och Frändskap. Det svenska kulturlivets och vetenskapssamhällets relation till Nazism och Fascism 1930-1950* ('Fear, Fascination and Affinity. Relations of Swedish Cultural Life and the Swedish Scientific Community with Nazism and Fascism, 1930–50', ref. 421-2002-444. Joint applicants were Professor Gunnar Broberg, History of Ideas (Lund University, LU), Lars M. Andersson, PhD, History (LU) and Professor Emeritus Sverker Oredsson, History (LU).

Summing up, the Swedish Research Council thus approved grants of SEK 17,248,000 altogether for the years 2002–05.

The Secretary General also decided (on 3 December 2001) to appoint Professor Klas Åmark as coordinator for the Programme during the period 2002–05. This meant that SEK 1,072,000 became available during these years for remuneration in the event of a 25% reduction in his working time, plus expenses. For three years, Åmark received 15% remuneration and in the following year the equivalent of 50%. In the last year, most of Åmark's work was devoted to the final report of the Programme. In 2005, moreover, the decision was taken to disburse an additional SEK 455,000 on Åmark's behalf. This was to be paid in the form of a fee for the work of publishing a synthesising final report from the Programme in 2007, in accordance with the requirements of the Government assignment, and to defray the costs of its publication.¹⁵ Previously, the Programme Group had already spent SEK 1,128,000 in its first two years. The outcome was that of the funds (SEK 20m) allocated for the Programme, a total of SEK 19,448,000 had already been spent by the beginning of 2002. Operating costs, including expenses for conferences connected with the research in the Programme, accounted for the remainder.

A financial report on the Programme as a whole is presented below, in a special Appendix.

6. Accessibility of secret documents for research

One of the projects, *Nationalsocialism i förändring* ('National Socialism in Flux') that is still in progress at Stockholm University (at the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, CEIFO) includes research by Mats Deland, PhD, on *Svenska myndigheters hanterande av andra världskrigets krigsförbrytare* ('Swedish Public Agencies' Treatment of War Criminals of the Second World War'). In spring 2003, Deland drew the Programme Group's attention to what he considered to be difficulties and obstacles to obtaining, for research purposes, classified documents concerning the Armed Forces that were stored in the Swedish National Archives. The Group dealt with this matter on two occasions, and charged its chairman Mats Svegfors, the County Governor, and Professor Klas Åmark to

¹⁵ See cases ref. 2001-6104 and 2005-8430. See also *Riktlinjer för uppdrag som koordinator...* ('Guidelines for Working as a Coordinator'), a written communication from K. Åmark to the Swedish Research Council on 26 November 2001. For the decision on additional funds, see the minutes of the Scientific Council for Humanities and Social Sciences meeting on 23 May 2005 (No. 2005:3).

cooperate in bringing the matter to the Government's attention. This was done in a written communication addressed to the Prime Minister on 23 November 2003.¹⁶

In this communication, Svegfors and Åmark pointed out that the difficulty applied not only to war criminals granted Swedish citizenship but also to other research in the Programme: on Swedish Nazism after 1945 and on Nazism in the Swedish officer corps, and desirable research on the police corps as well. Moreover, the communication stated that material from the National Defence Radio Centre (*Försvarets Radioanstalt*, FRA), too, 'should be made available for research'. The legislation, as Åmark and Svegfors went on to write, 'places severe obstacles in the way of this type of research, which is absolutely crucial to our knowledge of Sweden's attitudes towards the Holocaust. This has applied to research to date in the archives of both the security police and the military intelligence and secret service.' Long waiting times of six to 12 months were said to threaten the scope for 'implementing the Programme within the time limits laid down by the Government'.

On behalf of Programme Group, it was also emphasised that a legal amendment was necessary, to make documents from the military intelligence service subject to the same rules that applied to the archives of the Swedish Security Service (Säpo). Accompanying the communication was, moreover, a request that the FRA archives should become accessible to research and that the time limit for the archives of the Swedish Security Service Commission should be reduced. In the Programme Group's view its request has not been met by the Government, and this view was also cited by Deland in a written communication addressed to the Swedish Research Council on 8 March 2006.¹⁷

7. Scientific coordination of the Programme

Since July 2002, the Programme has had a scientific coordinator: Professor Klas Åmark of the Department of History, Stockholm University. Åmark has not only been a driving force in the scientific production and the holding of conferences and seminars in the Programme; he has also contributed his experience and broad network of contacts in the relevant research community, both in Sweden and abroad. What is more, he has succeeded in bringing together researchers of different backgrounds, to collaborate and respect one another's divergent knowledge cultures. Åmark has also devoted extensive work to research on *refugee policy*, both through his own specific pieces of archive research and by supervising the writing of numerous dissertations at advanced Bachelor's (Level C, third-year) and Master's (Level D, fourth-year) level; and, through and outside the Programme, he has worked to establish contacts with current refugee research (see the 'Digression', below). Åmark is also currently working on a summary report that will serve as a synthesis of research in the Programme, entitled *Bo granne med ondskan. Slutrapport från forskningsprogrammet Sveriges förhållande till Nazism, Nazi-Tyskland och Förintelsen* ('Living Next Door to Evil. Final Report from the Research Programme on Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust'). This report is expected to be published in 2007.

¹⁶ Memoranda from the Programme Group's meetings of 23 April 2003 and 10 October 2003; written communication to Prime Minister Göran Persson, Swedish Government Offices, 23 November 2003.

¹⁷ According to information received from Åmark on 9 February 2006, a reply addressed to Åmark at the Department of History, Stockholm University, was received on 1 December 2003. Lena Stymne at the Prime Minister's Office informed him in this reply that the matter had been passed on to the Ministry of Justice. See also Mats Deland's written communication to the Swedish Research Council of 8 March 2006.

Professor Åmark has also been a co-editor of the research overview, initiated by the Programme Group, which has been compiled and published in the first phase of the Programme. The article *Democracies in Struggle against Dictatorships* has, moreover, been published for German readers.¹⁸ Further contributions by Åmark are in press.¹⁹

8. Major conferences held in the Programme

In the work of devising the Programme, the Programme Group arranged an introductory research conference in Sigtuna on 10–11 January 2001. This dealt with the current status of research, and with possible research perspectives, conclusions, etc of an inventory of existing knowledge that had been developed in various fields under Stig Ekman's leadership.

The 2001 conference was followed up with an international research conference in Stockholm on 14–15 March 2002, on the theme of **European Research on Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust — State of Research and New Perspectives**. The arrangers were the Swedish Research Council and the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, which also contributed SEK 150,000.

The purpose was to let current Swedish research in the Programme be enriched through confrontation with researchers working internationally and by commentaries and criticism from leading experts in these thematic areas. The conference brought some 50 researchers together. The main speakers at the conference were Professor *Yehuda Bauer*, Jerusalem, who gave an overview of the research field. Eminent researchers in and outside the Nordic region headed the various sessions of the conference. A number of high-level researchers attended. German research, in particular, was well represented and all the researchers in the Programme attended. The focus was strictly intra-disciplinary, but there was a concluding, outreach part that attracted some 50 interested members of the public. The conference was the only one of its kind to take place.

In the documents issued before the conference, *documentation* was enclosed that comprised summaries of the Swedish projects and copies of the speeches made, with the exception of Professor Bauer's. The documentation proper consisted of an anthology edited by Stig Ekman and Klas Åmark, entitled *Sweden's relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. A Survey of Research*.

9. Working conferences and work in progress

¹⁸ See Åmark's article in *Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. A Survey of Research*, edited by Stig Ekman and Klas Åmark. Stockholm Studies in History No. 66, Almqvist & Wiksell International, Edsbruk 2003. Article in German: see Åmark, K., 2001, *Demokratien in Kampf gegen Diktaturen*, in: *Nordeuropaforum* No. 2, 2001.

¹⁹ 1) 'Demokratin, neutraliteten och moralen. Sverige under andra världskriget' ('Democracy, Neutrality and Morality. Sweden during the Second World War'), in: Tydén, M. & Andersson, L.M. (eds.), *Rätt eller fel? Om att i efterhand bedöma den svenska neutralitetspolitiken, flyktingpolitiken och relationen till Nazism 1933-1945* ('Right or Wrong? A Retrospective Assessment of the Swedish Neutrality, Refugee Policy and Relations with Nazism, 1933–45'), to be published during 2006); 2) the article 'Flyktingforskningens problematik' ('Problems in Refugee Research'), forthcoming, in *Arbetarhistoria* ('Workers' History'), issued by the Swedish Labour Movement Archives and Library (ARAB).

The Programme Group has deemed it important to lay the foundations for convening, in creative contexts, the various researchers in the projects. The aim is that, in these get-togethers, they should exchange ideas, criticism and viewpoints concerning one another's papers, on problems relating to theories and methods relevant to the research, and also discuss the handling of practical and ethical research issues.

A working conference of this kind was arranged in Lund on 10–11 April 2003. The 35 delegates included a few Danish researchers, who presented Danish research on Nazism. In addition, there were discussions concerning the contents of four papers that were presented.

Another conference was arranged in Gothenburg on 4–5 March 2004 with 26 delegates. This time, some of them were Norwegian researchers working in the field, who had been invited to contribute papers and lectures. The conference reflected the current state of activities in the Programme, the research findings to date and the Norwegian research. Another five papers focused on such topics as war criminals in Sweden, cultural life and the 'Aryanisation' policy that Nazi Germany attempted to foist on neutral countries like Sweden and Switzerland as well, for the purpose of eliminating Jews from the employment sector and thereby depriving them of their livelihood and social rights.

Yet another working conference was arranged in Sigtuna on 27–28 May 2004. This was common to the two Swedish Research Council programmes, 'Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust' and 'Communist Regimes'. Here, the common theme was *Stalinism and Nazism*. Stephen Kotkin of Princeton University, USA, made a comparative analysis of Nazism and Stalinism. The British historian Richard Overy also took part and discussed the limitations of comparisons, while Nicolas Werth from Paris, the author of *The Black Book of Communism*, cited the latest research results from the Great Terror of the 1930s in the Soviet Union. Here, among themselves, participants were able to directly compare and criticise one another's research results. The occasion also gave other Swedish researchers an opportunity to take part and present their own research. The organisers wished, in this way, to provide scope for interactive learning and cross-fertilising exchange of ideas between researchers in the two programmes.

On 24–25 October 2005, in Stockholm, a last working conference was held for the researchers in the Programme. A number of doctoral students associated with the work also took part. The main matters presented and discussed were the new findings and research results from the various research projects. The publication plans of the various projects were also announced. Finally, on 15 November 2005, another conference was arranged by the Programme Group (through the agency of Åmark and Pär Frohnert) and the Swedish Labour Movement Archives and Library (ARAB) jointly. This conference, about refugee research, was aimed at exploring the scope of current research.

10. Doctoral students' conference

Within the framework of the Programme, the Programme Group has also defrayed the costs of a conference aimed at inducing young researchers engaged in doctoral studies to carry out research in the various thematic areas of the Programme.

On 23–24 January 2004, a doctoral students' course was held with the assistance of a number of active researchers. Seventeen doctoral students took part. This also strengthened the interface within a broad group of researchers who had close ties with research in the Programme, and this has subsequently been followed up in various ways.

11. Cooperation with the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation

The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation's Research Director, Associate Professor Mats Rolén, has been a self-evident member of the Programme Group right from the start. Through his assistance, the work of the Programme Group has been enriched with overviews and research networks within the relevant research that has been under way, with the Foundation's support, both in and outside Sweden. The Foundation has also generously contributed financial support for publication, and also for conferences and other initiatives. Altogether, the funds made available by the Foundation for the Programme during the years of its existence amount to SEK 350,000.

12. The Swedish Research Council's experience and assessment of work in the Programme

The Government assignment to HSFR and the Swedish Research Council was specified with what was, for a research context, a striking degree of detail. The Programme Group appointed — well aware of the degree of difficulty of the assignment, and in view of the short time available — chose to adopt a selective attitude towards this specification. The research programme on Sweden's relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust was developed with great success by the Programme Group, which afforded a perspective and an interpretation that were academically relevant to the Government's knowledge interest in the formulation of the assignment.

The Programme Group's work shows that research initiatives of this type require thorough preparation. One distinct problem, when it comes to taking special initiatives at short notice to elicit new research, is the difficulty of adapting such initiatives to reasonable expectations that the research system will contain, at the time, spare capacity that is ready for use in delivering high-quality academic research. Moreover, research is time-consuming and must be allowed to take time. Accordingly, several of the projects begun in 2002 are still in progress.

There is also reason to point out that researchers who, in their research, have been dependent on access to classified documents have encountered major obstacles and difficulties in obtaining access to documents relating to the archives of the military intelligence and security service, and also documents derived from the activities of Säpo and FRA. In its written communication to the Prime Minister, on 23 November 2003, the Programme Group therefore pointed out this difficulty and requested a legal amendment. The Swedish Research Council's implementation of its assignment has thus, in this respect, been counteracted and delayed by administrative routines for the public agencies' processing of the handling of secret documents. It is therefore the Council's opinion that these routines, like the relevant sections of the law, must be made more research-friendly in the future.

The Swedish Research Council also considers that the Programme has opened up an urgent research field that has encouraged not only renewal, but also rejuvenation, of Swedish research in Humanities and Social Sciences. The initiative has also helped to attract large-scale interest in this field, in a broad sense, in the Swedish research community. Several researchers in the Programme have come forward and presented papers, at international as well as Nordic conferences and elsewhere. In many cases, an international presence is combined with visibility through publication in journals outside Sweden. Several researchers, such as Klas Åmark and Martin Fritz, also figure prominently in the international research community.

In the Research Council's estimation, too, the Programme has proved unexpectedly successful. It has attracted researchers from various subject areas, inducing them to cooperate on joint problems and issues of great relevance, and not only in scientific terms. Their findings deviate markedly from the conventional wisdom about relations with and views of Nazism and its victims in various social spheres. The *Appendix* below contains a more substantial account of research findings from the projects included in the Programme. Moreover, a *Digression* is included: this covers current research that has more or less come to the fore thanks to the Programme inputs to date.

Knowledge production in the form of monographs and articles in anthologies is considerable, and extensive publication is planned and expected to become available over the next two years. The research findings that it has been possible to overview to date suggest that the news value of this material is substantial. The research has paid attention to parts of a Swedish past relating to Sweden's relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust that, in the public sphere, have hitherto been characterised by concealment, silence or mendacity.

The Council also considers that adequate preparations, and scientific coordination and supervision of projects included in Programme initiatives of this kind, are also needed. This is shown by experience of a previous initiative, a programme of research on the Swedish military intelligence and security service (MUST). It was thus felicitous foresight on the part of the Programme Group to engage a highly qualified scientific coordinator who, with his experience, has been able to ensure cohesion of the diverse projects in the Programme, and also move the research work forward. Accordingly, the prospects of producing a work of synthesis, comprising the research conducted within the Programme and also the research previously funded by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, have been favourable.

There are, however, some aspects that remain to be clarified by further research. Areas that may be pinpointed include *the information that reached Swedish society* about the situation in Nazi Germany — with its terror, persecution of the Jews and Holocaust — and what was going on in the regions occupied by Nazi Germany. This applies to information collected by the military intelligence service and facts that reached the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs through diplomats' and attachés' dispatches; and it also applies to facts that became public knowledge through the media, as well as those that reached companies through their business contacts. Despite the vigorous inputs made within the framework of the Programme, and by other researchers in the field, more research is also needed on *the workings of Swedish democracy* and on *refugee policy* and the full extent of *Swedish relief work* in other countries.

Certain general issues can, with advantage, form the basis for a broad discussion in terms of democratic theory, with empirical illustrations. This may be a matter of clarifying questions of the following type in the light of the constitution, international law or citizens' values. What responsibility does, in fact, a neutral state bear in relation to warring states and to dictatorships in the outside world? Does the neutral state have special obligations in humanitarian or refugee-policy terms? Here, there are several central problems and issues for research to focus further on. They not only concern the situation in the Second World War: their relevance reaches far into the Sweden of the present day and its relations with the rest of the world. New, special initiatives are therefore needed to establish strong research environments with a capacity for long-term accumulation of competence.

Moreover, disseminating to a broader public the new knowledge attained, in cooperation with public agencies, organisations and other actors in society, is a major task. It is vital that both research and research information entail and strengthen democratic practice based on openness and tolerance, defence of the institutions of civil society, and citizens' control of the state. Swedish research in the humanities, along with the social sciences, has a key social function in terms of critically examining problems and risks in the development of society and predicting outcomes of measures that have a bearing on the prevailing social order.

Appendix 1

Research findings and reports from the projects included in the Programme

Research in the ‘Sweden’s Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust’ Programme is very extensive, and it is at a stage in which the results are being published in the form of either monographs or articles in anthologies or scientific journals in Sweden or abroad, or in other contexts. Much of the planned production is in press. In many cases, further publication is expected to take place over the next two years. This is entirely normal in the research context, since research takes time, from the application for a project grant to completion of the research and publication of the findings. This is the research system’s way of autonomously safeguarding the quality inspection and assessment of results. The participating researchers have also presented their findings in a number of lectures at scientific conferences and in articles that are subsequently published. The research results, publications, etc of the projects are presented below.

Nationalsocialistiska raslagar genom statliga anvisningar vid tillämpning inom Svenska kyrkan (**‘National Socialist Race Laws through State Instructions on Application in the Church of Sweden’**), *Professor Anders Jarlert*, Centre for Theology and Religious Studies, Lund University.

The welfare policy that was introduced in Sweden in the 1930s did not intend to leave anyone in the cold. Helpfulness, consideration and equality of opportunity were meant to characterise the construction of the good welfare state for the whole population — ‘the people’s home’ (*folkhemmet*), as it was called. Anders Jarlert’s research shows that exclusion of citizens nonetheless occurred in the Swedish welfare state.

From 1935 until the end of the Second World War, the ‘Nuremberg Laws’ were applied by the clergy of the Church of Sweden in their state function of announcing marriage banns and considering impediments to marriage. These laws prohibited marriage between Germans of ‘Aryan’ descent and Germans or foreigners of Jewish extraction. Sweden’s application of the legislation took place in accordance with a Hague Convention of 1902. From September 1937, Swedes wishing to marry a German of ‘Aryan’ descent had to sign an assurance that none of their grandparents on either side had belonged to the Jewish race or religion. This was based on a strong recommendation from the legal department of the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, but lacked historical and democratic legitimacy and was, moreover, alien to the Swedish sense of justice.

In 1940, for example, Sweden recognised a judgment in the German *Landesgericht* court in Berlin annulling a current marriage between a German ‘Aryan’ and a Swedish citizen of Jewish descent, who was thus declared an unmarried mother, while the couple’s son was retroactively classified as illegitimate. Although the Ministry for Foreign Affairs admitted that it lacked authority to interpret Swedish law, its instructions came in practice to have the effect that a German judgment was observed in Sweden. Another, similar case of annulment of marriage on the German legation’s request affected a married couple who were summoned to appear before the Kolbäck district court, in the Snevringe rural court district, and describe the circumstances of their marriage in the United Kingdom. Thus, this court showed considerably greater alacrity in following the German legation’s request than the Ministry’s somewhat more sluggish legal department. However, the annulment decision was never recorded in Sweden, probably because of the clergy’s refusal.

Neither members of the Riksdag (Swedish Parliament), the Minister of Justice nor the courts behaved in line with their counterparts in the Netherlands, where all mention of Dutch ‘Aryans’ or ‘Jews’ was rejected on the grounds that the country’s inhabitants was classified only as Dutch citizens. Nor were the German forms rejected by the Swedes, as sometimes happened in the Netherlands since they were not based on the legislation concerning civil law that both countries had undertaken to comply with but, rather, had only been sanctioned by the application regulations of public law. Comparisons with the situation in Switzerland show that open discussion took place there, as in the Netherlands,

but that the outcome varied — sometimes between the cantonal and national levels and sometimes also within a single level.

In November 1941, German legislation rendered stateless all Germans of Jewish descent who were residing abroad. This was a relief for Sweden, since impediments to their marriages could then be reviewed in the same way as for Swedish citizens. German ‘Aryan’ men, too, could become stateless under special decisions when they refused to enter military service. For German ‘Aryan’ women outside Germany, on the other hand, it was harder to become stateless. But those who were opponents of National Socialism and anti-Semitism might nonetheless concur with the racial paradigm based on the idea of connections between ‘races’ and behaviour — such ‘truths’ being also confirmed by the supposed scientific and moral nature of Swedish eugenic research.

The reluctance shown by officials at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs or clergy in the Church of Sweden may be interpreted either as ‘bureaucratic resistance’ or as ‘bureaucratic refusal’. Resistance involved a higher degree of activity, but refusal might entail greater risks for the official concerned. However, there was also ‘bureaucratic acceptance’ and sometimes ‘bureaucratic enthusiasm’.

Publication of project results

Monographs and articles:

- € Jarlert, A., 2006, *Judisk "ras" som äktenskapshinder i Sverige. Effekten av Nürnberglagarna i Svenska kyrkans statliga funktion som lysningsförrättare 1935-1945* (‘Jewish “Race” as an Impediment to Marriage in Sweden. The Effect of the Nuremberg Laws in the Church of Sweden’s State Function of Announcing Banns 1935–45’). Malmö.
- € Jarlert, A., 2001, ‘Die Anwendung der Nürnberger Gesetze in der Schwedischen Kirche 1935–1945’ (‘Use of the Nuremberg Laws in the Church of Sweden, 1935–45’), in: *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, Heft 1/2001.
- € Jarlert, A., 2005, ‘Nygren, Aulén och nationalsocialismen – omvärderingar av historiska positioner’ (‘Nygren, Aulén and National Socialism — Reassessments of Historical Positions’), in: Rubenson, S., Jarlert, A., *Kyrkohistoriska omvärderingar* (‘Reassessments in Church History’). *Meddelanden från Kyrkohistoriska arkivet i Lund* (‘Announcements from the Church History Archive in Lund’). NF 7). Lund.

Other publications:

- € Paper presented at the conference on *Tysklandsrelaterad forskning vid Södertörns högskola* (‘Germany-related Research at Södertörn University College’), 22 November 2003.
- € Participation with Sinikka Neuhaus at the *CTR-dagarna i Lund* (Centre for Theology and Religious Studies workshop, Lund University), 6 March 2004.
- € Paper presented at *Historikerdagarna i Uppsala* (History workshop in Uppsala), 24 April 2005.
- € Paper at joint research seminars on church history, migration research and legal history at *Lund University*.

Guest lectures:

- € Guest lecture at the Faculty of Theology at Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg (the University of Heidelberg), 24 July 2000.
- € Guest lecture at the Finnish Society of Ecclesiastical History in Helsinki, 6 March 2001.
- € Lecture at the ‘Law, Religion and Politics’ symposium, dedicated to Magnus Sjöberg of the Department of Legal History Research, Uppsala University, 24 October 2003 (in press, in a volume from Legal History Department).
- € Lecture at the Royal Society of Letters at Lund (*Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet*), 11 November 2003.
- € Lecture at the 50th anniversary of Karlstads stiftshistoriska sällskap (‘Karlstad Diocese Historical Society’) on 22 November 2005 (in press, in a report from the Society).

Pressfriheten och Förintelsen. Svenska medier i skuggan av andra världskriget och rapporteringen om Europas judar ('Press Freedom and the Holocaust. Swedish Media in the Shadow of the Second World War and Reporting about Europe's Jews')

Ester Pollack, PhD and Göran Leth, PhD, of the Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK), Stockholm University.

This project is due to continue until 2007. The topics being studied within it are both press freedom in Sweden in the shadow of the Second World War and how the Holocaust was dealt with in the Swedish media. The overriding research issue concerns the repercussions of press policy on the mediation in Sweden of news about the Holocaust. The survey of press policy treats four main issues: control of the media; censorship, self-censorship and defiance; consideration of Germany; and press ideology before, during and after the war. The survey of the Holocaust raises the following two questions: what information did the Swedish public receive about the historical background, course, nature and scale of the Holocaust, and what can this information have meant to them in an interplay with other contemporary discourses?

Somewhat unexpectedly, the control of how information was mediated has proved *not* to be something the Government unilaterally imposed on the media. The idea of state control of information and propaganda in conjunction with a state of war arose back in the aftermath of the First World War, and in 1940 this control was transferred to a heavily centralised agency, *Statens informationsstyrelse* (SIS, the 'State Information Board'). Initially, the press was tied to SIS through an advisory press council, which later came to play a more active role as *Pressnämnden* (the 'Press Council'). A high proportion of German complaints against the Swedish press were mediated directly through the Press Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Central control was characterised by the fact that a restricted circle of leading representatives of public life in Sweden came to act in consensus. Influential journalists had themselves taken part in creating the forms of this control.

The Germans systematically monitored what was printed or otherwise made public in Sweden. From Berlin and Stockholm, the Swedish press — metropolitan and rural, including peripheral journals — was monitored long before the war. The reporting was continuously accompanied by protests. The successful German conduct of the war created acquiescence in the Swedish response. This applied to public agencies and media representatives alike. As a rule, the complaints had two main reasons: first, deviations often occurred among Swedish journalists, and secondly Swedes found it difficult to foresee what might prompt German complaints. Adjustment therefore often took place retroactively. With the downturn in German fortunes in the war, however, no dramatic change in the Swedish attitude took place: the majority of newspapers, as well as the radio and the Swedish News Agency (*Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå*, TT) were long urged to show great caution and much tacit acceptance. The Swedish envoy in Berlin, Arvid Richert, was long the mouthpiece of German criticism of Swedish newspapers.

Contradictory, critical voices were, however, heard alongside the more malleable majority. Such exceptions to the rule included, for example, *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* (*GHT*), *Eskilstuna-Kuriren*, *Arbetaren* and the Communist press. Direct censorship was a matter of transport unions and confiscation, but these state sanctions were seldom used. One possible interpretation of this is that the Government, and the state with it, sought to safeguard the principle of press freedom. During the war, moreover, the Swedish press developed a strong culture of consensus that came to change liberal press ideology, and large parts of the press increasingly identified themselves with a homogeneous state interest.

When it came to the persecution of the Jews and the Holocaust, information in the media was scanty before 1941. Leading representatives of the press, radio and TT may, to a varying extent, have received news of large-scale oppression but chose not to pass it on. Surely, then, such decisions required direct instructions concerning a ban on publication? It is likely that a consensus prevailed on what should and should not be published. When facts about oppression and violence were later reported, this was not always because of sympathy with the Jewish victims. With the reports of the terror, in fact, Swedish media very often assumed a Nazi, anti-Jewish discourse. When it comes to the fate of the Jews, *GHT* distinguished itself by publishing a great deal of material that did not appear in other publications.

Publication of project results

Articles:

- € Leth, G., 2002, 'Reporting the Night of Broken Glass. The Swedish Press and the Final Rehearsal before the Holocaust'. In: *Nordicom-Review*.
- € Leth, G., 2005, 'Svensk pressfrihet i skuggan av andra världskriget' ('Swedish Press Freedom in the Shadow of the Second World War'), in: Charlotta Brylla et al. (eds.), *Bilder i kontrast. Interkulturella processer i Sverige/Tyskland i skuggan av Nazism 1933–1945* ('Contrasting Images. Intercultural processes in Sweden and Germany in the Shadow of Nazism, 1933–45'), *Skriften des Centers für deutsch-dänischen Kulturtransfer* No. 9. Aalborg.
- € Leth, G., 2005, *Konstruktionen av en likgiltighet. 'Kristallnatten' i svenska dagstidningar* ('The Structure of Indifference. *Kristallnacht*, the Night of Broken Glass'). In: Living History Forum, Article series 1. Stockholm.

Other publications:

- € Leth, G., 'Svensk offentlighet inför Nazitysklands påtryckningar' ('Swedish Public Life under Pressure from Nazi Germany'). Paper at the final conference for the Swedish Research Council's *Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust* Programme, Södergarn, Lidingö, 24–25 October 2005.
- € Leth, G., 'The Construction of Indifference. The Swedish Press and the "Reichskristallnacht"'. Paper presented at *Communication: Questioning the Dialogue*, the 55th Annual Conference of the International Communication Association (ICA), 26–30 May 2005, Sheraton New York.
- € Leth, G., 'Svensk pressfrihet i skuggan av andra världskriget' ('Swedish Press Freedom in the Shadow of the Second World War'). Presentation at the conference *Bilder i kontrast. Interkulturella processer i Sverige/Tyskland i skuggan av Nazism 1933–1945* ('Contrasting Images. Intercultural processes in Sweden and Germany in the Shadow of Nazism, 1933–45'). 3–5 February 2005. Foresta hotel and conference centre, Lidingö, Sweden.
- € Leth, G., 'Bystanding media? The Swedish Press and Soviet and Nazi crimes against humanity'. Paper presented at the conference *Stalinism and Nazism*, Sigtuna, Sweden, 27–28 May 2004.
- € Leth, G., 'Den svenska pressen och Kristallnatten' ('The Swedish Press and *Kristallnacht*'). *SVENAZ Programme Conference*, 4–5 March 2004, Ågrenska Villan, Gothenburg, Sweden.
- € Leth, G., 'The Construction of Indifference to the Persecutions of Jews. The Swedish Press and the Radicalisation of Nazi Anti-Semitism'. *Den okände (?) grannen. Tysklandsrelaterad forskning i Sverige* ('The Unknown Neighbour. Germany-Related Research in Sweden'), 21–22 November 2003. Centre for German Studies. Södertörn University College.
- € Leth, G., 'The Origins of Neutrality to the Holocaust? The Swedish Press and the Radicalisation of Nazi Anti-Semitism.' Paper presented at the *ESF Workshop, Team 6: The Gentiles' Attitudes towards the Persecution of Jews and Jewish Actions and Reactions*. Budapest, 21–24 November 2002.
- € Leth, G., 'Reporting the Night of Broken Glass. The Swedish Press and the Prelude to the Holocaust.' Paper for the *15th Nordic Conference for Media and Communication Research*, Reykjavik, 11–13 August 2001.
- € Leth, G., Pollack, E. et al., 'The Media and the Second World War. A Research Plan'. *Conference with the International Reference Group at JMK*, Stockholm University, 19–20 April 2001.

Planned publications:

- € Within the project, publication of another couple of articles in 2006 is planned. Negotiations are also under way with publishers on an anthology with a final report on the project to be issued, according to the preliminary plan, during 2007. During 2006, Ester Pollack is drafting a monograph relating to Leth's research and to a study of Jewish publications, as well as to scholarly debate during the period.
- € In addition, the scope for publishing articles in the *Journal of Language and Politics* and in the English-language journal of Nordic criminology, the *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention*, is being explored.

Popularisation of research

Göran Leth:

- € Lecture at and participation in the teachers' seminar on Sweden and the Holocaust, Malmö, 1 November 2005.
- € Lecture about the Norwegian and Danish Jews in the Swedish Press, at the Jewish Museum, Stockholm, 8 November 2005.
- € Participation in the reference group for the project 'Sweden and the Holocaust' for the Living History Forum, 2005.
- € Three lectures about Swedish newspapers and *Kristallnacht*, at the Jewish Museum, Stockholm, September–October 2000.
- € Presentation of the research project at JMK, Stockholm University, Researchers' Workshop (with E. Pollack) to all newly admitted students in February 2002, 2003, 2004 and 2005.

Ester Pollack:

- € Presentation of the project (with the main focus on the theme of historical legal proceedings as drama) at the *International Conference in Theatre Studies*, Helsinki University, Finland, March 2004.

'Nationalsocialism i förändring. Ett omvärldsanalytiskt perspektiv' ('Changing National Socialism. An Analytical World View'), Professor Charles Westin, Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO), Stockholm University.

During the 1990s, Sweden suffered from a political movement with neo-Nazi tendencies. This project seeks to identify its historical context, and its context in relation to the contemporary world. Based on various disciplines and theoretical perspectives, and using a variety of empirical materials and scientific methods, the project is aimed at clarifying processes and conditions that made possible the establishment of Nazi groups in Sweden. The focus is on the mediation of ideas from one generation to another; the climate of politics and ideas in Sweden; and the part played by historical and contemporary international trends. The project comprises four different, but mutual cooperating and complementary subprojects:

- € *Swedish Public Agencies' Treatment of War Criminals in the Second World War*
- € *Swedish National Socialism and Militant Racial Ideology — Threat and Reality*
- € *National Socialism in the Welfare State*
- € *The Third Position and its Connection with the Left and Radical Islam.*

These four subprojects touch on many of the same points, and the whole project is aimed at achieving multidisciplinary and cross-disciplinary collaboration on common problems and issues. Synergic gains are thereby also expected to arise.

Subproject 1: 'Swedish Public Agencies' Treatment of War Criminals in the Second World War'

Mats Deland, PhD, Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO), Stockholm University, is researching how Swedish agencies treated war criminals within the framework of the Programme. This project will continue until 2007. Preliminary results provide evidence that the Allies were well informed about the war crimes committed by the Germans and their allies, including the machinery of Nazi power as well as the police and the regular armed forces.

At an early stage, bringing the guilty to justice became a war aim. Although nearly 150,000 people arrived in Sweden as refugees in the final stage of the war, no organised cooperation with the international legal bodies that dealt with war criminals appears to have begun. Sweden's part in this process was, in all essentials, that of a spectator. Deland's research is a matter of investigating both how many former war criminals arrived in Sweden and how they came here, and also what treatment they received. It provides material for a balanced valuation of the Government's and Swedish public agencies' handling of the issue, with its links to the present day.

In April 2003, Deland informed the Programme Group that, in his research, he incurred long waiting times and other difficulties when, as a researcher, he expressed the wish to study secret material in the following archives:

- ∄ the archives of the Swedish Security Service (Säpo), kept either at the National Police Board or the National Archives
- ∄ the Swedish military intelligence and security service (MUST) archive, kept by the Swedish Defence Staff
- ∄ the archive of the National Aliens Commission, which is mainly kept at the National Archives like the archives of the National Board of Health and Welfare and many ministries.
- ∄ the archive of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which is still largely kept in Arvfurstens palats, the building that houses the Ministry.

The difficulties that had arisen were thought to depend on the archive authorities' application of the Secrecy Act and other statutes.²⁰

In a written communication to the Prime Minister on 23 November 2003, the Programme Group's chairman, County Governor Mats Svegfors, and Professor Klas Åmark referred to these difficulties and requested that the Government take measures aimed at amending the Secrecy Act to make Säpo's, MUST's, FRA's and the Security Service Commission's material subject to the same 40-year rule that applies to foreign and defence policy (Secrecy Act, Chapter 2). In addition, they asked for reduced inspection times and for special exemption from the provisions of the Secrecy Act to be granted to Mats Deland, PhD. The difficulties they described persist, and have severely delayed Deland's work, while the communication to the Prime Minister has remained unanswered. Mats Deland also points this out in a written communication to the Swedish Research Council and the Government on 8 March 2006.

Subproject 2: 'Swedish National Socialism and Militant Racial Ideology — Threat and Reality'

The person responsible for this project is Helène Lööw, PhD, at the Living History Forum, Stockholm.

Her research is about Nazism in Sweden in 1924–79, and is a basic survey of Swedish National Socialism describing the people and organisations involved and relevant events. Support for the far right was strongest in West Sweden and Skåne. While some adherents were from the upper class, most were members of the lower middle class, workers or farmers. Nazi Germany was often the model, but the movements also had to draw a tactical line depending on Germany's reputation in various phases. Some parties gained admittance to municipal councils, but none attained a parliamentary base.

The origin of these movements was to be found in the anti-Semitic organisations that were formed in Sweden at the end of the 19th century, on which the first Nazi party, the Swedish National Socialist Freedom League (*Svenska Nationalsocialistiska Frihetsförbundet*), founded by Birger Furugård in 1924, was based. Soon, however, the movement split up and the secessionists, led by Sven-Olov Lindholm, survived right up to 1950. Of these, the best-known for a long time was Per Engdahl, the leader of the New Swedish Movement (*Nysvenska rörelsen*), which was active right up to the 1990s, and Assar and Vera Oredsson who headed the neo-Nazi *Nordiska Rikspartiet* (variously referred to in English as the Nordic People's Party, the Nordic Reich Party and the Nordic National Party), which was founded in 1956 and has served as the link to present-day groups that espouse racial ideology. After the war and the collapse of Nazi Germany, most people expected Nazism to disappear. But against all odds, diverse small and fragmented Nazi and extreme rightwing groups nonetheless succeeded in surviving. Lööw clarifies the organisations and individuals involved and explains to the reader how, over the decades, the legacy of Nazi and extreme nationalism has been passed on.

Subproject 3: 'National Socialism in the Welfare State'

²⁰ Corresponding problems are analysed and discussed by Christer Jönsson in his book about experience from the MUST research programme (*Sanning och konsekvens? Erfarenheter från forskningsprogrammet om militär underrättelse- och säkerhetstjänst*), in the *Brytpunkt* ('Breakpoint') series of publications from the Swedish Council for Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR). Stockholm 2000.

Research in this project is being carried out by Professor Charles Westin at the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO), Stockholm University. Westin tackles the research questions of how the National Socialism in the Sweden of the 1990s was possible, and how it could attract so many supporters. His approach to the research is structural, rather than historical: he seeks to survey the structural conditions that shaped the development of Swedish National Socialism. The analysis focuses on unclear points in Sweden's immigration policy. Data collection and processing have taken place in a cross-sectional survey based on questionnaire responses concerning parameters that can answer questions about political values, knowledge of the Holocaust, attitudes to immigration and multiculturalism. The time series comprises the years 1969, 1981, 1993 och 2005.

Data have also been processed from two Eurobarometer surveys (1997 and 2000) that were carried out in what were then the 15 EU countries, on behalf of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) in Vienna. The results have been reported in an article (2003). In the data analysis, clear differences emerge among the countries with respect to popular attitudes towards immigrant ethnic groups (especially those of non-European origin), integration policy and confidence in the political system.

Three distinct clusters of countries may be distinguished. One is the *Southern European and Catholic* group (which includes Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland), with a low degree of racism and assimilation policy, where immigration is a relatively new phenomenon. Here, there is also marked distrust of political institutions. Secondly, there is a *Central European* cluster comprising Germany, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Austria (Catholic countries) with a pronounced assimilation policy, high scores for racism, a previous 'guest-worker' policy, a history of extensive and prolonged immigration and, in three of the five countries, major election successes of populist parties critical of immigration. Thirdly, there is a *Northern European and Protestant* cluster (the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Denmark, Finland and Sweden) where integration policy is pursued, immigration has long taken place (except to Finland) and there is also reasonable trust in the political system, but with simultaneously marked racism. In terms of the Eurobarometer findings, the countries in the Northern European cluster may seem to have less racist attitudes than those in Central Europe. However, the fact is that public opinion has been divided and it has long been politically incorrect to express negative opinions about immigrants in the countries of Northern Europe.

Subproject 4: 'The Third Position and its Connection with the Left and Radical Islam'

Mattias Gardell, PhD, is responsible for this project, which deals with anti-Semitic notions among Muslims and Arabs, since they can be a gateway to underground networks linking Nazis/Fascists and Islamists. Some Swedish research indicates that anti-Semitism among Muslims and Arabs in Sweden is growing rapidly. Using field studies and collected data, Gardell seeks to adopt a critical attitude to this assertion.

Publication of project results

Monographs:

- € Gardell, M., 2003, *Rasrisk: rasister, separatister och amerikanska kulturkonflikter* ('Racial Risk: Racists, Separatists and American Cultural Conflicts'), Stockholm.
- € Gardell, M., 2005, *Bin Ladin i våra hjärtan [elektronisk resurs]: globaliseringen och framväxten av politisk islam* ('Bin Ladin in our Hearts [electronic resource]: Globalisation and the Emergence of Political Islam'). Stockholm.
- € Lööw, H., 2004, *Nazism i Sverige 1924–1979. Pionjärerna, partierna, propagandan* ('Nazism in Sweden, 1924–79. Pioneers, Parties and Propaganda'). Stockholm.

Articles:

- € Deland, M., 2004, 'The Swedish–Latvian Relief Committee, German–Baltic and Swedish Intelligence and Impact on the Reception of War Criminals in Sweden'. Published in *Latvijas Vesturnieku Komisijas Raksti* 11. sejums, Riga. (The article had previously, in July 2003, been presented as a paper at the *Annual Conference of the Historians' Commission* in Riga.)

- € Gardell, M., 2005, 'White racist religions in the United States', in: Lewis, J. R., Aagard-Petersen, J., *Controversial New Religions*. New York.
- € Westin, C., 2003, 'Racism and the Political Right', in: Merkl, P.H. & Weinberg, L. (ed.), *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-first Century*. London.

Other publications:

- € Deland, M., 'The Swedish-Latvian Relief Committee, German-Baltic and Swedish Intelligence and Impact on the Reception of War Criminals in Sweden'. Paper presented at *the Annual Conference of the Historians' Commission of Latvia* in Riga, July 2003.
- € Deland, M., Essay on Giorgio Agamben's concept of a state of emergency and settling accounts with war criminals, at the *European Social Science History Conference* in Amsterdam, 24 March 2006.
- € Westin, C., 2002, *Neo-nazism in a welfare state: the example of Sweden*. Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations. (Occasional papers of the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, Stockholm University.)

Planned publications:

- € Deland, M., 'Undantagets undantag. Sverige och andra världskrigets förbrytare' ('Exception to the Exception. Sweden and the War Criminals of the Second World War'), in: Fredriksson, J. & Larsson, E. (eds.), *Vidgade perspektiv, 10 uppsatser om Foucault, makt och frihet* ('Broadened Perspectives. Ten Essays about Foucault, Power and Freedom'). Uppsala, 2006.
- € Deland, M., 'Gjorde polisen rätt eller fel i jakten på krigsförbrytarna?' ('Were the Police Right or Wrong in Hunting Down the War Criminals?'), working title) in: Andersson, L.M. & Tydén, M. (eds.), *Rätt eller fel? Om att i efterhand bedöma den svenska neutralitetspolitiken, flyktingpolitiken och relationen till Nazism 1933-1945* ('Right or Wrong? A Retrospective Assessment of Swedish Neutrality, Refugee Policy and Relations with Nazism, 1933-45'). Stockholm, 2006.
- € Gardell, M., *Blodets Gudar* ('The Gods of Blood'), Natur och Kultur. Stockholm, to be published in 2007.
- € Westin, C.: report on a subproject, to be published within the framework of the Living History Forum publication series.
- € Another subproject report is expected to be published as an article in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* or the *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies*.
- € Further publications will include an anthology edited by Mats Deland and Charles Westin and a monograph, along with several other articles, that are expected to be ready for publication by year-end 2007.
- € A final report in Swedish is expected to be issued by a publisher or in the CEIFO report series.

Popularisation of research

On 1 December 2005 Deland took part in a public discussion about Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, focusing on Baltic war criminals in Sweden, with the science journalist John Crispinsson, in connection with the Living History Forum's Holocaust exhibition. Deland was also an expert member of the reference group associated with the initiation of the exhibition.

Fruktan, fascination och frändskap. Det svenska kulturlivets och vetenskapssamhällets relation till nazism och fascism 1930-1950 ('Fear, Fascination and Affinity. The Relations with Nazism and Fascism of Swedish Cultural Life and the Swedish Scientific Community, 1930–50'). Professor Greger Andersson, Department of Art History and Musicology, Lund University.

Greger Andersson has been responsible for the academic leadership of the project, which is an example of how many researchers from different disciplines in the humanities have fruitfully collaborated on common problems and issues that are also connected with modern transnational research in the field.

'Fear', 'fascination' and 'affinity' are summarising labels for the reactions that arose in the world of music and the scientific community, as well as in the Church of Sweden and cultural life, in connection with the emergence of German National Socialism in the 1930s. These reactions, like the contacts that Swedish composers, musicians and music writers had with colleagues and institutions in Nazi Germany, are the main themes of the research results of this project recently presented. The results are a key contribution to knowledge about 'Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust'.

Ever since the 19th century, Germany's reputation as a cultural nation has been based on its prominent position in music and musical life. Many of the foremost figures of the history of music, such as Johann Sebastian Bach, Ludwig van Beethoven, Johannes Brahms, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann and Richard Wagner, belonged in the German–Austrian cultural sphere. In Germany, the world of music flourished: there were numerous operas and orchestras, world-famous conductors and soloists, and outstanding music conservatories that exerted an attraction far beyond the country's borders. Obviously, Sweden too was influenced by Germany as a musical nation: indeed, the majority of international contacts in Swedish musical life were with Germany.

With the 1930s and Nazism, a brutal reshaping of the arts took place. It encompassed everything from aesthetic ideas to who was allowed to play and listen. One of the cornerstones of this transformation was the doctrine of racial ideology. Aesthetics in a broad sense was central in Nazism, and played a key role in the shaping of society and individuals alike. Society was transformed into a theatre, with such events as minutely directed mass meetings at which music, in various guises, were an active concrete means of incarnating what was known as the *Volksgemeinschaft* ('people's community'). This also characterised indoctrination in the public education system, Music and politics belonged together to the utmost degree. Art, literature, music and other aesthetic expressions deemed not to fit into the 'new Germany' were condemned as degenerate and banned. Given Sweden's considerable and lasting musical connections with Germany in the early 1930s, there are pressing reasons for analysing the relations between Sweden's musical life and that of the 'new Germany' in the years 1933–45.

The notions of 'national socialism' and 'Nazism' are also analysed in a way that is relevant to a study in musicology by Lars M. Andersson, PhD²¹ and Henrik Bachner, PhD in a joint article, *Nationalsocialismen – en begreppsdefinition* ('National Socialism — A Definition'). Greger Andersson provides a musicological overview of how the Nazi machinery of power took control of German musical life, and also clarifies the contexts in which, at on whose initiative, Swedish music came to be played in Germany and how it was intended to be perceived. The fact that music and politics belonged together outside Germany as well is convincingly shown in Petra Garberding's research on *Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten*, an international

²¹ See also Andersson, L.M., 2000, *En jude är en jude är en jude: representationer av "juden" i svensk skämtpress omkring 1900–1930* ('A Jew is a Jew is a Jew: Representations of "the Jew" in the Swedish Humorous Press, 1900–30'), Lund.

composers' council initiated by the Nazi regime that existed between 1934 and 1944. The interplay between music and politics in the shadow of Nazism has now been uncovered by Garberding's analysis, focusing on the inputs in this council of the Swedish composer Kurt Atterberg at the time.

Ursula Geisler, PhD²² also explores the similarities and differences in views of music in Sweden and Germany, in the light of the tours made by the Swedish–Austrian couple Karl and Julie Sporr in Nazi Germany and the work of the German music and singing teacher Fritz Jöde at Siljansgården in Dalarna, Central Sweden, after 1934. Henrik Rosengren, in turn, has investigated the dual Jewish–Swedish identification of the composer and music writer Moses Pergament, who was born in Finland. This has been done through an analysis of how he came to relate to Richard Wagner's anti-Semitism as expressed in the latter's 1850 article *Das Judentum in der Musik* ('Jewishness in Music'). Boel Lindberg has drawn attention to listeners' letters containing reactions to the music played on Swedish radio during the war years. These contain examples of how the music could elicit both pro-Nazi and anti-Nazi feelings.

Within the project, the composer and music critic Wilhelm Peterson-Berger (1867–1942) has also been studied. According to *Henrik Karlsson*, he was one of Sweden's most influential cultural commentators during the 35 years of his employment at *Dagens Nyheter*. The German arts circle headed by Goethe, Nietzsche and Wagner dominated his imaginative world. This influence was at its strongest around 1900, and — like the other Swedish adherents of 'pan-Germanism' — he was fond of speculating about the superiority and special mission of the Teutonic peoples. But when the Nazis seized power in 1933, Peterson-Berger was the first member of the musical community to distance himself explicitly from their policy; and in private, too, he was an outspoken anti-Nazi.

Henrik Bachner, a historian of ideas, is also engaged in a survey within the framework of this project. In a perspective of history and the history of ideas, he is analysing the Swedish public debate about anti-Semitism in the 1930s. In so doing, he is focusing especially on conservative, socialist and Christian opinion. The source material comprises journals of a political, cultural and Christian nature. These include journals associated with political parties, dealing with ideas, and also monographs in the nature of debate contributions and analytical and travel reports. The purpose is to add depth to, and discuss the issues concerned in, various Swedish attitudes towards anti-Semitism as a general phenomenon and a component of Nazi ideology, in politics and, accordingly, also towards Jews as a category. Primary questions addressed are 'How was anti-Semitism described, understood and explained as a general phenomenon, and one in Nazi Germany and Sweden in particular?' 'Who were "the Jews" in the Swedish debate, and how were they described and characterised?' 'To what extent and in what manner does the anti-Semitic mindset colour Swedish debate about Nazism, anti-Semitism and the Jews?'

The study shows that such notions as 'pro-Nazism' and 'anti-Nazism' are too blunt and imprecise to be fully applicable to the attitudes shown in the conservative debate of the 1930s. This was characterised by ambivalence to a high degree: it was a wavering and ambiguous stance vis-à-vis both Nazism and Nazi Germany, on the one hand, and anti-Semitism and the Jews as a group on the other. In substantial conservative circles and among some Christian ones, but also in some of the socialist debate, the image of the Jews was influenced by traditional anti-Jewish stereotypes and myths. This had striking repercussions on how anti-Semitism, as a general phenomenon and in the ideology, propaganda and politics of Nazi Germany, was perceived and interpreted. Publication of the research is planned to take place successively over the next two years.

Within the project framework, Bachner is also presenting a separate study of the conservative debate, reflected in the attitude of Gunnar Heckscher²³ towards 'the Jewish question' and the reactions he encountered.²⁴

²² See also Geisler, U., 2001, *Gesang und nationale Gemeinschaft : zur kulturellen Konstruktion von schwedischem "folksång" und deutscher "Nationalhymne"*. Nomos.

²³ *Translator's note*. Gunnar Heckscher (1909–87) was a Swedish political scientist and leader of the Right-Wing Party (*Högerpartiet*), which later became the Moderate Party (*Moderaterna*).

²⁴ Bachner's research has been noted in a recent editorial in *Dagens Nyheter* (10 February 2006) and in the television programme *Wolodarski* on TV8 (21 February 2006). His doctoral thesis was entitled *Återkomsten. Antisemitism i Sverige efter 1945* ('Resurgence: anti-Semitism in Sweden after 1945'). Lund, 1999 (paperback edition, 2004).

The thesis written by Henrik Johansson, a historian of ideas, in the project deals with a group in Swedish academic and scientific organisations during the period 1918–50 and their contacts with Germany, as well as the UK and USA, in terms of ideology, finances and organisation. This perspective also includes the advent of the state research councils. Accordingly, it paves the way for revealing what may be classified as elements of continuity and what may be seen as new departures.

In the same genre, Professor Gunnar Broberg and Jan-Eric Olsén, PhD are working on a study of the situation in the Royal Swedish Academy of Engineering Sciences in the years 1933–50. This research focus is connected with a general, larger problem area: the silence about world political events that characterised this group.

The project also includes a study by *Lars I. Andersson*, PhD, of Sweden's 'Russian Mission' (*Rysslandsmissionen*) in the interwar years. When the organisation was formed in 1903, its purpose was to assist Russian Evangelist congregations in their endeavour of setting up an Evangelist Church in Russia in the long term; but the Communist Revolution changed their scope for working there. One distinct phenomenon was the organisation's closeness to, and dependence on, German views. It maintained a strict anti-Bolshevik stance, which brought it close to National Socialism during the Second World War. Its members also, perhaps, held partially anti-Semitic values, which were generally present in Swedish Christianity, but these came to be bolstered by contemporary talk of 'Jewish Bolshevism'.

Associate Professor Jesper Svartvik is also engaged in the project. His research takes as its starting point theologically motivated anti-Jewish teaching. This has been a necessary condition for the inception and development of anti-Semitism in the West. Svartvik reveals and categorises Christian anti-Jewish discourse and tackles the question of how Jewishness and Judaism were presented in various Christian contexts during the period in question. Which theological traditions in Sweden showed relatively more and less strength of resistance to anti-Semitism and, by the same token, to Nazi ideology and policy regarding the Jews? Svartvik's work has included showing the attitudes taken by the Swedish daily press towards the Church passion plays staged in Bavaria in 1930 and 1934 (i.e. before and after Hitler's 'takeover', *die Machtübernahme*). How, then, did Swedish arts writers comment on the obvious Nazification of the Passion story and its unconstrained anti-Semitism? The survey will be included in a planned monograph, *Bibeltolkningens bakgator* ('The Back Streets of Bible Interpretation', 2007). A closely related subproject deals with how Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, in the 1930s and '40s, gave expression to theological stereotypes of Judaism and Jewishness. This investigation is reported in article form in an anthology issued by Stockholm University.

Svartvik also explores the circumstances surrounding the publication of what was the single most influential book about Judaism at the time of Jesus to appear in Sweden during the 20th century: *Fariséism och kristendom* ('Pharisaism and Christianity'). Its author Hugo Odeberg, a Professor of Exegetic Theology in Lund from 1933 to 1963, was particularly known for his interest in Jewish texts. This research sheds new light on Odeberg's relations with Nazism and also to the sources used by Odeberg in writing the book. The research findings are reported both in a forthcoming article in *Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia* and in the above-mentioned forthcoming monograph (2007).²⁵

It should also be mentioned that, over the next four years, the Swedish Research Council will be funding Svartvik's research in a new project, entitled *Kristologi ansikte mot ansikte med ett korsfäst och uppståndet folk* ('Christology Face to Face with a Crucified and Resurrected People'). The central research questions addressed here are inn what way Christians' notions of Jesus of Nazareth have helped to foment Christians' distrust of and contempt for the Jewish people, and what supplementary 'Christological' models are available?

Art historian Ludvig Qvarnström's very interesting inventory work on the currents of opinion in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts is another part of the project. He has applied a perspective of conflict and continuity to activities in the Academy, and his work comprises both a bibliographical inventory

²⁵ Jesper Svartvik has published interim results concerning Hugo Odeberg in an article, 'Odebergs fariseiska falsarium' ('Odeberg's Pharisaic Falsification') in a Church of Sweden magazine, *Kyrkans Tidning* (No. 38, 2005). He replied to criticism in the same publication (No. 41, 2005).

and archive studies. The former has entailed a review of how Nazism and anti-Semitism have been treated in Swedish manuals and overviews of art history. Some monographs and memoirs have been added to the sources, and the archive studies have culminated in an overview inventory of the type of material found in the Academy's archives, and its extent. However, an in-depth study of specific points remains to be completed after Qvarnström takes up a doctoral student position in Uppsala.

The project has also engaged two doctoral students: *Petra Garberding* of Södertörn University College and *Henrik Rosengren* of the National Research School in History, Lund University, who are receiving funding from other sources. In addition, there are two researchers who already have their doctorates: *Tomas Block*, PhD, of the Department of Musicology, Uppsala University, and Associate Professor *Henrik Karlsson*.

Publication of project results

Monographs:

- € Karlsson, H., 2005, *Det fruktade märket. Wilhelm Peterson-Berger, antisemitismen och antiNazism* ('The Dreaded Label. Wilhelm Peterson-Berger, Anti-Semitism and Anti-Nazism'). Malmö.
- € Andersson, L. I., 2005, *Mellan Katyn och Auschwitz. Rysslandsmissionen och reaktionerna på bolsjevismen och nationalsocialismen 1919–1945* ('Between Katyn and Auschwitz. Sweden's Russian Mission and Swedish Reactions to Bolshevism and National Socialism, 1919–45'). Malmö.

Articles:

- € Andersson, G. & Geisler U., (eds.), 2006, *Fruktan, Fascination och frändskap. Det svenska musiklivet och Nazism* ('Fear, Fascination and Affinity. The Relations with Nazism and Fascism of Swedish Cultural Life and the Swedish Scientific Community, 1930–50'). Malmö.
- € Garberding, P., 2005, 'Kurt Atterberg och den förvånade propagandaministern' ('Kurt Atterberg and the Astonished Minister of Propaganda'), in: Brylla, C., Almgren, B. & Kirsch, F-M. (eds.), *Bilder i kontrast. Interkulturella processer Sverige/Tyskland i skuggan av Nazism 1933-1945* ('Contrasting Images. Intercultural processes in Sweden and Germany in the Shadow of Nazism, 1933–45'). *Schriften des Centers für deutsch-dänischen Kulturtransfer*: 9, pp. 295–318. Aalborg.
- € Garberding, P., 2003, 'Musik und Politik. Die Diskursanalyse in der Erforschung von Musik als kulturpolitische Komponente', in: Almgren, B. & Kirsch, F-M. (eds.), *Sprache und Politik im skandinavischen und deutschen Kontext 1933–1945*. *Schriften des Centers für deutsch-dänischen Kulturtransfer*: 5 pp. 239–262. Aalborg.
- € Geisler, U., 2003 "'...was an Musik des Nordens nur nordisch maskiert ist.'" Konstruktion und Rezeption "nordischer" Musik im deutschsprachigen Musikdiskurs', in: Almgren, B. & Kirsch, F-M., (eds.), *Sprache und Politik im skandinavischen und deutschen Kontext 1933–1945*. *Schriften des Centers für deutschdänischen Kulturtransfer*: 5. Aalborg, pp. 223–238.
- € Rosengren, H., 'Moses Pergament och den judiska identifikationens ambivalens' ('Moses Pergament and the Ambivalence of Jewish Identification'), in *Finsk tidskrift* 7/2003.
- € Rosengren, H., 2005, 'Musikreception som historisk källa eller "Din Beethoven är inte min Beethoven"' ('Musical Reception as a Historical Source, or "Your Beethoven is not my Beethoven"'), in: *Scandia* 1/2005.
- € Svartvik, J., 2004, 'Teologi på andra sidan Hippos stadsmur' ('Theology on the other side of Hippo's city wall'). *Svensk exegetisk årsbok* 69, pp. 51–70.
- € Svartvik, J., 2003, 'Denmark During the Second World War: *Exceptio Probat Regulam?*'. *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 16, pp. 169–184.

Other publications:

- € Geisler, U., *Nationalsozialismus und Musik*. Eine Bibliographie hauptsächlich deutschsprachiger Forschungsliteratur und Quellen der 1930/40er Jahre. Enthält die wissenschaftlichen Prüfungsarbeiten der Staatlichen Akademischen Hochschule für Musik in Berlin-Charlottenburg ~1932–1945. Unpublished Programme paper, 2002.

- € Geisler, U., *Music and Nazism. An Annotated Bibliography 1945–2005*. Unpublished Programme paper, 2005.
- € Svartvik, J., 'Hitler's Passion for the Christ in Oberammergau'. *Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature* in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19 November 2005.
- € Svartvik, J., 'Reassessing Established Christological Models in the Presence of a Crucified and Resurrected People'. *French–Swedish colloquium, Paris, 12–15 October 2005*.
- € Svartvik, J., 'Forging an Incarnational Theology Two Score Years after Nostra Aetate'. *Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 25–28 September 2005*.
- € Svartvik, J., "'Thou Call'dst me Dog before Thou Hadst a Cause": Teologiska perspektiv på *The Merchant of Venice*' ("Thou Call'dst me Dog before Thou Hadst a Cause". Theological Perspectives on *The Merchant of Venice*') *Stockholm University, 10 September 2005*.
- € Svartvik, J., 'Christological and Soteriological Reflections in the Wake of Half a Century of Intense and Improved Jewish-Christian Relations.' Consultation on Jewish-Christian relations initiated and arranged by the International Council of Christians and Jews, Cardinal Joseph Bernardin Center at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago and the Centre for the Study of Jewish-Christian Relations in Cambridge and in London, 9–10 December 2004. (In: *Current Dialogue*, Geneva.).
- € Svartvik, J., 'Respons på Thorsten Wagners *paper* "Christian Teachings about Jews in Denmark: An Exception?"' ('Response to Thorsten Wagner's *paper* "Christian Teachings about Jews in Denmark: An Exception?"') at an *International Conference on Christian Teachings about Jews: National Comparisons in the Shadow of the Holocaust*, *Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, 26–29 September 2002*. Published in: *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*. 16. 2003.
- € Svartvik, J., 'Mark and Mission: The *Wirkungsgeschichte* of Mk 7:1–23 in Jewish and Christian Tradition.' *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, Durham, UK, 6–10 August 2002*.

Planned publications:

- € Andersson, G. et al., a study of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences in the war years. This is a planned cross-disciplinary anthology with contributions from the Department of Art History and Musicology in Lund, and relates to the history of ideas and learning and, in particular, the general problems of research in connection with the issue addressed. (Authors: Greger Andersson, Gunnar Broberg/Jan Eric Olsén and Torsten Weimarck.)
- € Bachner, H., 'Den konservativa ambivalensen: Gunnar Heckscher och "judefrågan"' ('Conservative Ambivalence: Gunnar Heckscher and the "Jewish Question"'), in: Andersson, L.M. & Kvist Geverts, K. (eds.), *Judarna som problem* ('The Jews as a Problem', working title). Forthcoming, in *Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia*, 2006.
- € Bachner, H., 'Svensk debatt om antisemitism under 1930-talet' ('Swedish debate about anti-Semitism in the 1930s'). Forthcoming monograph, 2007.
- € Garberding, P., Musik och politik i skuggan av Nazism: studier i Kurt Atterbergs arkivmaterial ('Music and Politics in the Shadow of Nazism: Studies in Kurt Atterberg's Archive Material'), working title of dissertation planned for 2007.
- € Geisler, U., "'Männerchor" und "gemischter Chor" in den Musikanschauungen Felix Sauls in Schweden 1918–1938', in: *Meeskoor ja meestelaul (Männerchor und Männergesang)*. Eesti muusikaloo toimetised. Publications in Estonian Music History 8, Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, Tallinn 2006.
- € Geisler, U., 'Die kulturelle Konstruktion von Gesangsgemeinschaften. Fritz Jöde in Schweden', in: *XIII Internationaler Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Weimar, Conference Report*, 2006.
- € Geisler, U., *Das singende Volk. Schwedische Musikpädagogik und Nationalsozialismus*. A monograph, planned for 2007, on the notion of 'the people' under Nazi influence, how it changed and its connections with ideas about musical education in Sweden. The text is based on a cross-disciplinary and transnational perspective.
- € Johansson, H., 'Teoretiska aspekter på vetenskapligt samarbete under perioden 1870–1914' ('Theoretical aspects of scientific collaboration during the period 1870–1914'), *Centre for European Studies*, Lund University, 2005.

- € Johansson, H., *Svensk vetenskap i brytningstiden mellan tyskt och anglosaxiskt inflytande* ('Swedish science in the watershed between German and Anglo-Saxon influence'), working title of dissertation planned for 2007, 300 pp.
- € Karlsson, H., Bengtsson, J., *Protektionism och naivitet. Kungl. Musikaliska Akademien och Tyskland 1920–50* ('Protectionism and Naivety. The Royal Swedish Academy of Music and Germany, 1920–50'), a report about the activities of the Academy during the period concerned.
- € Qvarnström, L., *Nazism, fascism och andra världskriget i den svenska konsthistorieskrivningen* ('Nazism, Fascism and the Second World War in Swedish Art Historiography', preliminary title).
- € Rosengren, H., *Ett oväntat möte? Moses Pergament och Fritz Jöde mellan nyhumanism och folkhem* ('An unexpected encounter? Moses Pergament and Fritz Jöde: between neohumanism and the welfare state'). To be published in 2006. National Research School in History, Lund University.
- € Rosengren, H., *I stridsvimlet. Moses Pergament och den nationella identifikationens dilemma* ('In the thick of battle. Moses Pergament and the dilemma of national identification'), working title of dissertation planned for 2007.
- € Svartvik, J., 'Vad har Tredje riket och andra världskriget med första århundradets fariséer att göra? En analys av Hugo Odebergs bok *Fariséism och kristendom* med särskild vikt lagd vid dess tillkomst- och tolkningshistoria' ('What do the Third Reich and the Second World War have to do with the Pharisees of the first century AD? An analysis of Hugo Odeberg's book *Pharisaism and Christianity*'), in: Andersson, L.M. & Kvist Geverts, K. (eds.), *Judarna som problem* ('The Jews as a Problem'), working title, *Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia*. To be published in 2006.
- € Svartvik, J., "'Thou Call'dst me Dog before Thou Hadst a Cause': Teologiska perspektiv på *Köpmannen i Venedig*", *Shylock* ('Theological Perspectives on *The Merchant of Venice*, Shylock') in Sauter, W. & Feiler, Y. (eds.). Stockholm, to be published in 2006.
- € Svartvik, J., *Bibeltolkningens bakgator* ('The Back Streets of Bible Interpretation'), forthcoming monograph. Stockholm: Verbum, 2007.

Popularisation of research

The members of the project have all, in various contexts, taken part in diverse forums and media, contributing lectures, discussions, interviews and articles in the daily press. They have also all participated in presentations of their research within the scope of the work at the *Living History Forum*. See also their website, www.skma.se.

Rashygien i omvandling. Det eugeniska projektet i Sverige under inre och yttre tryck ('Eugenics in Flux: Sweden's "Racial Hygiene" Project under Internal and External Pressure, circa 1930–50').

Mattias Tydén, PhD, at the Department of History, Stockholm University/Institute for Future Studies, Stockholm.

This research project is about Swedish eugenics, from the 1910s to the 1950s. Topics studied include the objectives researchers and politicians had when they became involved in, or supported, 'race biology' and eugenics, and how these objectives changed over time. The subject is Swedish eugenics, its aspirations and political support for the same, with the emphasis on the 1930s and 1940s and with some attention paid to the period before and after. But the project is also about Swedish eugenicists' self-view in the light of developments in Nazi Germany. Did they continue with their work on an unchanged basis, or did the practical and scientific preconditions for it change? Empirical base material has been collected on a broad front. The central source material consists of the archives of the State Institute for Race Biology, and there is also material from the Government Offices in the National Archives.

Also under way in the project is a joint study with Nordic researchers to compare Swedish, Danish and Norwegian sterilisation policies. Clearly, there is a need to identify and further clarify the content and objectives of eugenics, to attain a picture that is sharper and more subtle than the

stereotyped image. There is much evidence for a possible division of the field into such categories as *anthropological race biology and eugenics*, *psychiatrically oriented eugenics* and *general medical eugenics*. The former two categories relate to threats addressed at the 'human material', in terms of deterioration and degeneration, and an offensive policy to counteract this tendency by means of immigration and sterilisation policy. There are also parallels with current medical genetics and various abortion-related methods. Periodically, the various categories appear to exist simultaneously and in parallel, both in the public debate and in the research community. There are also sharp contrasts between researchers in various camps.

The notion of race continued to be the subject of dispute and debate. No simple connection may be discerned between political affiliation and attitude towards eugenics. Several of the most eminent eugenicists were, for example, also active anti-Nazis. The Race Biology Institute also broke off its contacts with Germany in the mid-1930s, and a scientific shift away from Nazi racial research took place. Further financial efforts from politicians may be regarded as moderate. But it was only in the 1950s that the real distancing from the original terminology took place, owing to its previous connotations. Accordingly, it is also imperative to analyse in historical terms research traditions associated with behaviourism, which has long been dominant as a scientific paradigm in social sciences research. It sheds light on the 'culturalist' antithesis of this biologism. When it comes to assessing the status of culturalism, it has been underestimated in importance in Swedish research.

Within the framework of the project, Tydén has also cooperated with Lars M. Andersson, PhD (Department of History, Uppsala University) in editing an anthology of contributions from eminent researchers both within and outside the Programme. These contributions pose the question of how we of the present day — retrospectively — assess Swedish conduct vis-à-vis the Nazi terror regime and during the Second World War. It is a matter of bringing to the fore the various debates that have taken place concerning Sweden's attitude, and about morality and guilt.

Publication of project results

Planned publication

Tydén, M. & Andersson, L.M. (eds.), *Rätt eller fel? Om att i efterhand bedöma den svenska neutralitetspolitiken, flyktingpolitiken och relationen till Nazism 1933-1945* ('Right or Wrong? A Retrospective Assessment of Swedish Neutrality, Refugee Policy and Relations with Nazism, 1933–45'). To be published during 2006.

Tydén, M., 'Historikerna och moralfrågorna. Inledning' ('The Historians and the Moral Issues. Introduction'), in: Tydén, M. & Andersson, L.M. (eds.), *Rätt eller fel? Om att i efterhand bedöma den svenska neutralitetspolitiken, flyktingpolitiken och relationen till Nazism 1933-1945* ('Right or Wrong? A Retrospective Assessment of Swedish Neutrality, Refugee Policy and Relations with Nazism, 1933–45'). To be published during 2006.

Tydén, M., 'Medicinska äktenskapshinder. Om rashygienens etablering i svensk politik under 1910-talet' ('Medical Impediments to Marriage. On the Entrenchment of "Racial Hygiene" in Swedish Politics in the 1910s'), in: Hedin, M., Lundberg, U., Rydström, J., Tydén, M., *Samhället som vän eller fiende? Studier i svensk socialpolitik under 1900-talet* ('Society as Friend or Foe? Studies in Swedish Social Policy during the 20th Century'). Publication planned in 2006.

Tydén, M., 'Staten och generna' ('The State and Genes'), in: Torbjörn Lundqvist (ed.), *Den samtida statens styrningsformer* ('Forms of Government of the Contemporary State'). Publication planned in 2006.

Tydén, M., 'Nordic Eugenics: Sterilisation and Welfare Policy' (manuscript for planned article)

Tydén, M., *Eugenikens omvandlingar. Ras- och arvsygien i svensk forskning och politik fram till 1960* ('The Transformations of Eugenics. "Racial Hygiene" and "Hereditary Hygiene" in Swedish Research and Politics up to 1960'). Planned monograph.

'Handel och moral. Sveriges ekonomiska relationer till Nazi-Tyskland 1930–1950' ('Trade and Morality. Sweden's Economic Relations with Nazi Germany, 1930–50').

Associate Professor Birgit Karlsson, Economic History Department, Göteborg University.

This research has been conducted since 2002, under her direction, in *four subprojects*.

Subproject 1, 'Den svenska skogsindustrins relationer till Nazi-Tyskland' ('The Swedish Forest Industry's Relations with Nazi Germany')

Birgit Karlsson is conducting research on the forest industry's relations with Nazi Germany, which were fairly limited in the 1930s since Germany was not a major importing nation. The Swedish forest industry had long been oriented towards exporting to the United Kingdom and Germany. In Europe, however, there were numerous efforts to achieve sector cooperation for the purpose of regulating production and prices, to generate greater stability in the economy. The 'Skagerack blockade', as it was called, meant that Swedish forest exports came to be concentrated on Germany and German-occupied Europe. Swedish companies had no compunction about selling their products to Germany, since the primary need was seen as corporate survival and keeping the workforce busy. On the German side, there were attempts to use sector cooperation in the 1930s to administer and regulate supply and demand in the forest industry, and to do so within the framework of the German policy aim of *Grosswirtschaftsraum* ('greater economic sphere'), which included Sweden as well. The Swedish Government and the Swedish sector organisations agreed, if reluctantly, to join in this cooperation, which comprised international cartels for the pulp and paper industry and also a newly created 'wood products standing committee'.

Subproject 2: Ariseringspolitiken i Sverige 1933–1943 ('Sweden's Aryanisation Policy, 1933–43')

At the Department of Economic History, Umeå University, Associate Professor *Sven Nordlund* is engaged in research in a subproject dealing with the Nazi '*Aryanisation policy*' in Sweden in 1933–43.

This is commonly associated with the Nazi attempts to eliminate Jewish influence on and involvement in business, which could take the form of ownership and shareholdings in companies, board membership and Jewish employees in various companies. This part of the Aryanisation was primarily directed at German-controlled companies in Sweden and secondarily at Swedish companies that had commercial ties with Germany. Measures were addressed directly at Swedish–Jewish companies, with attempted boycotts and other discriminatory measures against these companies and business leaders. Even 'pure' Swedish companies that had ties with Swedish–Jewish companies could suffer. But the Aryanisation plans also covered other areas, since the intention was to eliminate Jews from the Swedish world of work, thereby seeking to deprive them of their livelihood and rights in society. The research issue of the project is the extent to which Swedish public agencies, companies and business leaders, the business sector and the various occupational organisations, and also the media, the cultural sphere and public opinion, related to these Nazi pressures to implement the Aryanisation policy in neutral Sweden from 1933 to 1943.

Nevertheless, research findings show that with the odd exception Aryanisation in Sweden was, despite its well-known course in Nazi Germany, silently disregarded. Above all in the 1930s, and to some extent during the war years, attempts were made through diplomatic channels to induce the Germans to understand that Aryanisation was not something the Swedes wished to emulate.

During the first few years of the war, in 1940–42, however, German Aryanisation demands in Sweden became sharper and more brutal. Nonetheless, Sweden took no measures: instead, the demands were met with total silence. This was, however, interpreted as a manifestation of adaptability, fear or, above all, interest in avoiding a deterioration in trade-policy relations between the two countries.

Nor were there any official Swedish reactions to the Aryanisation of German subsidiaries, with its repercussions on Swedish companies that had close ties with them. The image of the Swedish attitude is, however, not only black and white. In many ways, it may be said to be characterised by malleability and passive silence, above all governed by the 'business as usual' principle.

Some Swedes clearly made use of Aryanisation for their own purposes, i.e. appropriated German–Jewish and/or Swedish–Jewish assets by meeting Nazi German demands. The scale of similar cases cannot be established. In this sense, Sweden's and the Swedes' role in Aryanisation was part of the course of events that resulted in the Holocaust. Nevertheless, the fact that it would culminate in the Holocaust was not something known at the time. This investigation also shows, on the one hand, that the Swedish attitude to Aryanisation in Sweden was often characterised by considerations of trade policy or fear of adverse consequences in this area. On the other, there was a silent disregard or passive resistance that sometimes showed itself in connection with the Swedish courts' use of the

'public-order principle' to protect German Jews who succeeded in fleeing to Sweden, escaping Aryanisation, and tried to keep track of their interests or subsidiaries in Sweden.

The Aryanisation policy was not a success. Instead, it created trade-policy problems not only for Swedes but also for Germany, as evinced by Nazi Germany's own reactions to the situation in Sweden. Reports contained complaints of the Swedes' lack of understanding for German racial policy, and in 1941–42 repeated suggestions were made that Berlin should postpone Aryanisation until the war was won. These circumstances appear to confirm a passive resistance against the Aryanisation measures for Sweden's part.

Another interesting finding is the very slight, or rather lack of, interest shown in Sweden from public agencies, the business sector and public opinion alike in terms of the true victims of Aryanisation in Sweden, i.e. Swedish Jews. In cases where such circumstances are mentioned, attempts are made in various ways to tone down or trivialise these aspects. Whether this was due to indifference, anti-Semitism or a general lack of empathy cannot be established.

Subproject 3: 'Trade relations with Norway'

At the Department of Economic History, Göteborg University, Ingela Karlsson has been working since 2003 on a subproject about trade with Norway during the occupation years. Central issues are whether, and if so to what extent, Swedish exports to Norway and Denmark were restructured according to German needs and wishes, and how far Sweden's trade and economic relations with neighbouring countries benefited Germany.

During the Second World War, trade between Sweden and its Nordic neighbours was relatively extensive, since the markets to the west were no longer accessible. Sweden became dependent on aluminium, molybdenum ore and chemical fertilisers from Norway, and also on machinery, chemicals and pharmaceutical preparations from Denmark. In Norway and Denmark, there was a great need for Swedish exports, including wood products. Norway also needed large-scale Swedish food supplies to feed its people.

The Norwegian and Danish economies were largely drained of resources by Germany during the years of occupation. Industry and the whole business sector functioned on German terms, and production was geared to German needs. Trade with Germany was, moreover, determined on the basis of German subsistence needs. Trade with a third country, i.e. other countries than Germany, was restricted to a few European countries to which Norway and Denmark were, broadly speaking, able to export only goods that the Germans did not need. Their economies and national food supply were, moreover, burdened by the occupying power's consumption. Portions of their domestic production and their imports from abroad were confiscated for the use of the occupation troops.

In general, the Norwegian and Danish business sectors came to follow a joint line vis-à-vis the occupying power. Major German efforts were made, above all in Norway, to incorporate production into the German economy. Norway and Denmark were given a role in the unified German war economy and would also, in the longer term, be integrated as part of Germany's *Grossraumwirtschaft*; and foreign trade was organised with Germany as the hub. Sweden's trade with Denmark, too, took place under German control. Trade with Norway can, more or less, be seen as indirect trade with Germany. Norwegian negotiations were dealt with by German delegations, and agreements were signed by German authorities.

Germany's interest in Norwegian industry coincided with Sweden's interest in sustaining the export of key commodities from Norway. Several Swedish companies had also firmly established ties with and/or financial interests in the Norwegian business sector. Accordingly, Sweden provided substantial financial assistance to the German expansion of the aluminium industry in Norway, and also to the reconstruction of molybdenum and fertiliser production, after these facilities had been bombed by the Allies.

The occupation was a tool in Germany's plans to incorporate Norway and Denmark in *Grossraumwirtschaft* and tie the Norwegian and Danish economies more closely to that of Germany. In practice, this meant that Sweden too, to some extent, came to form part of the new German–Norwegian and German–Danish economic systems. Germany was capable of exerting its influence

over the Norwegian and Danish economies to push Sweden, too, into economic and political concessions.

Subproject 4: Tyskägda företag i Sverige ('Germany-owned Companies in Sweden')

Professor Emeritus *Martin Fritz* is working on a subproject concerning a number of mines in Central Sweden that were owned by German steelworks in the Ruhr. This research clarifies the export situation, in terms of quality, quantity and prices, and also whether and how far the German owners intervened directly in operations. The survey covers the period from the crisis of the 1930s to the 1950s, thus making it possible to follow the fate of the mines after the collapse of the German war effort. The research concerns the extent to which German-owned mines in Sweden functioned differently from Swedish enterprises. Did they constitute the extended arm of Nazi Germany in Sweden?

Since about 1900, German steelworks had featured in Sweden as owners of various small mines, especially in Central Sweden. During the war, these German-owned companies supplied approximately a million tonnes of iron ore to Germany annually; this corresponded to 10 per cent of total Swedish exports. Nevertheless, distinct integration attempts on the Germans' part are few and far between, and there was no ruthless exploitation of these mines. As mining companies, they were Swedish limited companies under Swedish management, and formed part of the state system of trade negotiations in terms of quantities and prices. Instead, the major German investments in modernising the Swedish mines may be said, instead, to have resulted in major losses: no interest was paid on loans, and no dividends on shares were paid to the owners.

Publication of project results

Articles:

- € Fritz, M., *Stormaktstryck och småstatsrealism. Svensk-tyska ekonomiska förbindelser under andra världskriget* ('The Great Powers' Pressure and Small Nations' Realism. Swedish-German Ties during the Second World War'). Lecture at the ceremonial meeting of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences in Gothenburg on 24 January 2004, printed in the Society's Yearbook for 2004 (*KVVS årsbok 2004*).
- € Nordlund, S., 2005, "'Alkibiades eller Akilles'?" Ariseringen i Sverige och reaktionerna på denna' ("Alcibiades or Achilles"? Aryanisation and Reactions to it in Sweden'). In: *Historisk Tidskrift* 4, pp. 575–608.
- € Nordlund, S., 2005, "'Tyskarna själva gör ju ingen hemlighet av detta.'" Sverige och ariseringeen av tyskägda företag och dotterbolag' ("The Germans Make no Secret of it." Sweden and the Aryanisation of German Companies and Subsidiaries'). In: *Historisk Tidskrift* 4, 609–643.

Other publications:

- € Fritz, M., Paper: 'Different Levels of German Control — The Swedish Experience', presented at an international symposium with 35 delegates on *European Business under German Domination, 1939–1945 at the Copenhagen Business School*, 11–12 May 2002.
- € Karlsson, B., Paper: 'Om handeln mellan Sverige och Tyskland 1938–45 – Den svenska skogsindustrins problem' ('On Trade between Sweden and Germany, 1938–45 — the Problems of the Swedish Forest Industry'), at a *Research Conference in Lübeck*, 11–12 November 2005: 'Im Spannungsfeld von Diktatur und Demokratie – Affinitäten, Abgrenzungen und Arrangements in den deutsch-schwedischen Beziehungen 28 des 20. Jahrhunderts'. The delegates were eminent researchers from German and Swedish universities. (An anthology is expected to be published in 2007.)

Planned publications:

- € Fritz, M., 'Egennyttan och samhällsnyttan' ('Self-interest and the Public Interest'). In: Andersson, L.M. & Tydén, M. (eds.), *Rätt eller fel? Om att i efterhand bedöma den svenska neutralitetspolitiken, flyktingpolitiken och relationen till Nazism 1933-1945* ('Right or Wrong? A Retrospective Assessment of Swedish Neutrality, Refugee Policy and Relations with Nazism, 1933–45'). Stockholm, 2006. (To be published during 2006.)

- ∄ Martin Fritz: 1) an article about the German mines in Sweden, for publication in the Living History Forum's monograph series (expected to be published during 2006); 2) manuscript for another article, 'Svenska eller tyska. Forskningsrapport om tyskgruvorna i Sverige' ('Swedish or German? Research Report on the German Mines in Sweden'), preliminary title (expected to be published during 2006).
- ∄ Birgit Karlsson: a manuscript, ready for publication, for a monograph on the Swedish forest industry and Nazi Germany, with an article about the Swedish forest industry and Nazi Germany (intended for publication in the Living History Forum's monograph series).
- ∄ Ingela Karlsson: a manuscript, ready for publication as a monograph, is expected to be completed during 2006. She also plans articles, for publication in the Living History Forum's publication series, on Sweden's trade relations, especially with Norway, during the Second World War.
- ∄ Sven Nordlund: 1) "'Efter"-Tankar kring ariseringen i Sverige' ("After"-thoughts about Aryanisation in Sweden'), in: Andersson L.M. & Tyden, M. (eds.), *Rätt eller fel? Om att i efterhand bedöma den svenska neutralitetspolitiken, flyktingpolitiken och relationen till Nazism 1933–1945* ('Right or Wrong? A Retrospective Assessment of Swedish Neutrality, Refugee Policy and Relations with Nazism, 1933–45'), to be published during 2006. 2) An article for publication in the Living History Forum's publication series (to be published during 2006). 3) Further work on Aryanisation is in preparation, for publication in English in the *Journal of Holocaust Studies*.

Popularisation of research results

Fritz, like the other researchers, has assisted in variously disseminating knowledge about Sweden's relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust by means of lectures and articles in the Swedish daily press. The Living History Forum has arranged special theme evenings, and these have attracted large audiences.

Account of current Swedish research connected with the Programme

The Swedish Research Council's assignment of implementing the 'Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust' Programme not only brought into the limelight an urgent research field that had long waited in the wings. In terms of repercussions, this initiative may be compared to a surge in the system of humanities research — one that has generated research both within the Programme and in connection with the theme areas of the Programme. It has induced many young researchers to take an interest in the field. That it would have been more difficult for parts of this research to come into being, or that they would have been less weighty, cannot be ruled out. Much of the research has, moreover, been funded by bodies other than the Swedish Research Council and, in particular, the universities' faculty funds and the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation.

This Programme has activated and strengthened existing researcher networks, thereby boosting contacts and collaboration among researchers both within and outside the Programme. This has also been a task in the scientific organisation and coordination of various activities in the Programme. Several of the project researchers in the Programme have, furthermore, helped to run special courses and actively supervised doctoral students. Accordingly, the Programme has yielded scientific added value in the form of greater knowledge and better information about previously concealed portions of Swedish public life. This prompts the inclusion of this excursus — a digression that, in brief, extends the scope of the report by presenting relevant research associated with the Programme whose results that are already available or may be expected to become so within a year or so.

Department of History, Stockholm University

Professor Klas Åmark is supervising *Mikael Byström*, a doctoral student engaged in writing a thesis about the public debate in Sweden about refugee policy and refugee reception in 1942–47. He is expected to defend his thesis publicly in autumn 2006. The title is *En broder, gäst och parasit. Uppfattningar och föreställningar om flyktingar och utlänningar i svensk offentlig debatt 1942–1947* ('Brother, Guest and Parasite. Perceptions and Notions of Refugees and Foreigners in Swedish Public Debate, 1942–47'). Byström is investigating one dominant view in research, which is that the primary reason why Sweden abandoned its previous restrictive refugee policy around 1942–43 was the change in German's war fortunes. Nevertheless, he shows that the explanation is that the incoming flows of refugees could be regarded as Nordic. The German occupation, as its grip hardened, caused greater flows of refugees from neighbouring countries than before. With the Nordic idea as a perspective, the idea of the Second World War as a turning-point for prewar xenophobia becomes more subtle. True, the war refugees brought about a more beneficent attitude towards other Scandinavians. But fear of foreigners and stereotyped perceptions continued to stick fast to other groups of foreigners, both during and after the war. The anti-Semitic tendency is one example; discussions about the incipient wave of labour immigration is another. (E-mail: mikael.bystrom@historia.su.se.)

Associate Professor *Pär Frohnert* is researching refugee aid organisations, especially the Swedish Labour Movement's assistance for refugees, with funds from Stockholm University and now the Swedish Research Council. His project is entitled *Flyktingkommittéer mellan statsmakt, flyktingar och det civila samhället 1933-1950* ('Refugee Committees among the Government, Refugees and Civil Society, 1933–50'). It deals with the refugee aid organisations that were active at the time, most of which were non-governmental organisations (NGOs). These played a central part in terms of both the actual refugee influx and immigration into Sweden and the refugees' reception and support. The organisations' contribution was particularly marked until a more generous refugee policy began to be applied in 1943, when the state assumed a growing responsibility. The aid organisations are, on the one hand, protagonists between the refugees, the Government and civil society in Sweden and, on the other, a support in links with other protagonists abroad. Ends and means alike were governed both by external circumstances — the course of foreign policy and the framework established by, for example, legislation and the unofficial refugee quotas — and by the established views of refugees as such, and the opposite parties both abroad and in Sweden that the organisation represented. Exemplary contrasts were, for example, the Labour Movement's assistance for refugees and a few

Christian aid organisations. The former had close links with the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP), and may be likened to an extended arm of the Government. The Confederation and the SAP, like many other NGOs, faced two very daunting tasks: obtaining funds for their activities and working for their 'own' refugees. (E-mail: par.frohnert@historia.su.se.)

Professor *Anu-Mai Köll* is conducting research on Baltic refugees at Södertörn University College, with funding from the Foundation for Baltic and East European Studies (the 'Baltic Foundation') within the project entitled *Agrar förändring och ideologisk formering: Kooperation och medborgarskap i Östersjöområdet 1880–1939* ('Agrarian Change and Ideological Formation: Cooperation and Citizenship in the Baltic Sea Region, 1880–1939'). (E-mail: Anu-Mai.Koll@historia.su.se.)

Department of History, Lund University

Under the direction of Professor Klas-Göran Karlsson, the project entitled *Förintelsen och den europeiska historiekulturen* ('The Holocaust and European Historical Culture') has been under way for a few years. This research is about how the Holocaust has been understood, contextualised and used in various European countries since the end of the Second World War, with the emphasis on the past decade. The intention is to study the roles played by the Holocaust in modernisation, cultural and ideological development, the emergence of national identities, and international relations. Both general features and variations among countries and social systems are studied. There is a certain geographical emphasis on Central and Eastern Europe, where the Holocaust has assumed great importance in connection with both the change of system and the process of EU enlargement. It is equally crucial to seek to interpret and understand why the Holocaust attracted such negligible interest during the Cold War. Since 2003, the publication *Echoes of the Holocaust. Historical Cultures in Contemporary Europe* has been available.

Sverker Oredsson, the Lund historian, carried out early groundbreaking work in his research on Nazism and is formally associated with this Programme. In 1996 he published his book, *Lunds universitet under andra världskriget: motsättningar, debatter och hjälpinsatser* ('Lund University during the Second World War: Antagonisms, Debates and Relief Measures'). In connection with one of the projects (*Fruktan, fascination och frändskap – Det svenska kulturlivets och vetenskapssamhällets relation till nazism och fascism 1930–1950* ['Fear, Fascination and Affinity. The Relations with Nazism and Fascism of Swedish Cultural Life and the Swedish Scientific Community, 1930–50']), Oredsson has also recently produced the book *Svensk rädsla: offentlig fruktan i Sverige under 1900-talets senare hälft* ('Swedish Trepidation Public Fear in the Second Half of the 20th Century'), in which he clarifies the public fear that existed in Sweden during the period. He bases his work on three dominant fears: fear of Russia, Nazism and political extremism, and foreigners.

Department of Historical Studies, Umeå University

In 1999 Professor Lena Berggren, a member of the Swedish Research Council's Programme Group, publicly defended her doctoral thesis *Nationell upplysning. Drag i den svenska antisemitismens idéhistoria* ('National Information. Features of the History of Swedish Anti-Semitism'). The thesis deals with anti-Semitism as evinced by Elof Eriksson and in the Manhem Society, with respect to the Swedish interwar period. She was also previously responsible for research in the project entitled *Mellan nationalsocialism och konservatism – Sveriges Nationella Förbund 1930–1990* ('Between National Socialism and Conservatism — the Swedish Nationalist Federation, 1930–1990'). At present, she holds a grant from the Swedish Research Council for another project: *Den svenska fascismen 1920–1950* ('Swedish Fascism, 1920–50'). This project involves the first scientific study of Swedish fascism during the interwar and war period as a whole. Swedish fascism in the interwar years has been scantily explored. Swedish fascism is characterised by a broad spectrum of ideological variants, which makes it an interesting topic of research in terms of ideological analysis as well as in an international perspective.

There are also three doctoral students working independently on thesis topics connected with the Programme on Sweden's relations with Nazism. One is Tora Byström, who is engaged in a project on *Antinazismens olika ansikten: En idéhistorisk studie över Samfundet Nordens Frihet* ('The

Various Faces of Anti-Nazism: A Historical Study of *Samfundet Nordens Frihet*, the “Society for Freedom of the Nordic Countries”). Her research is about anti-Nazism and ‘Nordism’ during the Second World War, and is a historical study of *Samfundet Nordens Frihet*. It is about who should be allowed to determine the meaning of ‘national’: domestic Nazis or democratic anti-Nazis, who also saw themselves as representing the nation. The disputed terms aroused contemporary debate and involved *Samfundet Nordens Frihet*. The notion of ‘the Nordic countries’ and the appellation ‘Nordic’, then, was ambiguous; they were thought to be possibly associated with ‘Nazism’ and ‘Nazi’. Even Swedes who were strongly committed to ‘the Nordic countries’ disagreed on the meaning of these terms. Or was it even so, perhaps, that this Nordic commitment was actually an expression of Swedishness, the ‘national’ spirit of this country? (E-mail: Tora.Bystrom@histstud.umu.se.)

Another researcher is *Anna Lindkvist*, who is researching on *Nationalföreningen mot emigrationen* (‘the National Association against Emigration’). The subject of her thesis is broader: *Familjen, Jorden och Nationen* (‘The Family, Earth and the Nation’). The project leader is Associate Professor Ann-Katrin Hatje at the Department of Historical Studies, Umeå University. (E-mail: Anna.Lindkvist@histstud.umu.se.)

Patrik Tornéus, a third doctoral student, is working on a thesis in comparative literature, entitled *Vägen Framåt, Per Engdahl och den fascistiska rösten: En studie av kulturens funktioner för den svenska fascismen 1932–1946* (‘The Way Forward, Per Engdahl and the Fascist Voice: a Study of the Functions of Culture in Swedish Fascism, 1932–46’). The purpose is, with the journal *Vägen Framåt* and Engdahl’s own lyrics as the points of departure, to investigate possible reasons why questions relating to culture and literature have had such a salient role in the history of Swedish fascism. (E-mail: Patrik.Torneus@littvet.umu.se.)

Department of History, Uppsala University

Professor Harald Runblom heads the research under way in another programme, entitled *Studier kring Förintelsen och folk mord* (‘Studies Relating to the Holocaust and Genocide’). This research comprises studies of specific genocides and the treatment of Jewish immigrants in Sweden. There are also studies of Oriental Jews’ immigration, women’s experiences of the Holocaust, the genocide in the Balkans, Jewish small-business owners, etc. Runblom is working on a book about Sweden and the Holocaust, which is an expansion of his contribution to the British research overview (eds. *Ekman och Åmark, 2003*), with contributions from the Living History Forum. (E-mail: Harald.Runblom@multietn.uu.se.)

One doctoral student, Karin Kvist Geverts, has as her thesis topic *Svensk flyktingpolitik under andra världskriget. En studie av svenska myndigheters attityder och agerande gentemot judiska flyktingar* (‘Swedish Refugee Policy during the Second World War. A Study of Swedish Government Agencies’ Attitudes and Action vis-à-vis Jewish Refugees’). This research is about how Swedish refugee policy was shaped during the Second World War through the case management of the National Board of Health and Welfare’s Aliens Bureau, which was responsible for refugee policy during the war. Several questions are addressed. Which perceptions and attitudes underlay both the Board’s and the Jewish Community’s refugee policy, and does the defined policy tally with actual conduct? How should we explain the attitudes, policy and practice of the National Board of Health and Welfare’s Aliens Bureau towards Jewish refugees in the period 1938–44? A practice emerged whereby the Bureau divided refugees into political and Jewish categories. The study of residence permits granted shows clear discrimination against Jewish refugees. (E-mail: karin.kvist@multietn.uu.se.)

Another doctoral student is Laura Palosuo, whose thesis subject is *Förintelsen och genus. Kvinnliga och manliga erfarenheter i Budapest c:a 1938-1945* (‘The Holocaust and Gender. Women’s and Men’s Experience in Budapest, circa 1938–45’). Here, the focus is on the Jewish gender-based power structure, and how the Holocaust in Hungary came to change the relationship between the sexes. There are contributions from Palosuo in a current publication, *Collaboration and Resistance during the Holocaust. Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania*, in: David Gaunt, Paul Levine & Laura Palosuo (eds.). Berne and Frankfurt am Main, 2004. (E-mail: laura.palosuo@multietn.uu.se.)

Another doctoral student is Andreas Åkerlund, who writes about Swedish lecturers in the Third Reich (his Master's degree dissertation dealt with Åke Ohlmarks and his career in Hitler's Germany); see also his article 'Nationalsocialismen och naturvetenskaperna. *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft* och dess roll i Tredje riket' ('National Socialism and the Natural Sciences. *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft* and its role in the Third Reich'), in: *Historisk Tidskrift*. 2005:1. (E-mail: andreas.akerlund@hist.uu.se.)

Per Hammarström, another doctoral student, is working on Estonian Jews' immigration into Central Norrland and reactions to the same. (E-mail: per.hammarstrom@hist.uu.se.)

In 2003, Carl Henrik Carlsson, PhD, defended a thesis entitled *Medborgarskap och diskriminering. Östjudar och andra invandrare i Sverige 1860–1920* ('Citizenship and Discrimination. Oriental Jews and Other Immigrants to Sweden, 1860–1920'). His subject was the Jewish immigrants who obtained Swedish citizenship between 1860 and 1920. In Sweden before 1900, there were negative attitudes towards many ethnic minorities. This thesis shows that Oriental Jews, i.e. Jews from the Czarist Empire, were strongly discriminated against in citizenship applications. On the other hand, other groups — such as Western Jews, Catholics, Italians and Slavs — incurred no discrimination. (E-mail: carl-henrik.carlsson@hist.uu.se.)

Paul Levine, PhD, is writing a biography of Raoul Wallenberg and publishing articles about Sweden and the Holocaust. (E-mail: Paul.Levine@multietn.uu.se.)

Another member of this group is Associate Professor Lars M. Andersson, who is preparing extensive publication in collaboration with the Programme on Sweden's relations with Nazism. Formerly, he belonged to the cross-disciplinary research team at Lund University that is working jointly under the direction of Professor Greger Andersson. (E-mail: Lars.M.Andersson@hist.uu.se.)

In Uppsala there are two more researchers, Anders Gerdmar and Håkan Bengtsson of the Department of Theology, investigating Swedish and German theological reflection during the Nazi era in the project entitled *Judarna och frälsningen: teologiska karikatyrer av judar och judendom i nytestamentlig forskning* ('The Jews and Salvation: Theological Caricatures of Jews and Judaism in Research on the New Testament'). (E-mail: anders.gerdmar@teol.uu.se and hakan.bengtsson@teol.uu.se.)

Gerdmar assumes that it has long been known that Swedish and other Nordic theologians at the time of the Third Reich had Nazi sympathies and maintained dynamic ties with German theologians, notably by making frequent trips to various events. Examples of this are Hugo Odeberg, the Lund Professor in the exegetics of the New Testament, who took a clear stand for the German regime. But how did racist ideology that was dominant in Germany influence Swedish theology and church life?

According to Nazi German racial policy, theological legitimacy was required in a culture where church leaders and theologians were among the creators of society's norms. As part of this policy, the *Institute for Research into and Elimination of Jewish Influence in the German Church Life* was started in Germany. Its annual conferences were attended by a number of Nordic theologians and churchmen — including Odeberg — but also participants from Finland and Norway. Part of this research covers the Institute, its conferences and its principal areas of interest. The focus is on interest, motivated by racial ideology, in both 'Nordic' issues and Nordic participants. Gerdmar sheds light on this matter in a forthcoming book.²⁶

Håkan Bengtsson's research, too, deals with Hugo Odeberg and posthumous reputation as an authority on Judaism and a possible Nazi in his own time. His activities in the pro-Nazi academic National Association of Sweden–Germany are documented. For many people this stands out as a

²⁶ See <http://www-conference.slu.se/historiker2005/program/Histanv-forintelsen2/P9Gerdmar.pdf> and an essay by Gerdmar in *Dagens Nyheter* on 21 December 2003, *Ett nytt evangelium* ('A New Gospel'), further illustrating the research focus:

(<http://www.dn.se/DNet/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=1194&a=216883&previousRenderType=2>).

Gerdmar works with Håkan Bengtsson, and together they provided insights into their research at the 2005 History Workshop: see <http://www-conference.slu.se/historiker2005/program/Histanv-forintelsen2/P9Bengtsson.pdf>.

paradox, and in his research Bengtsson therefore focuses on the following set of questions: Should not a profound interest in Judaism exclude Nazi involvement, and vice versa? And how do we of the present day assess (and judge) involvement in a movement like German Nazism that is rightly disqualified, historically, politically and in humanitarian terms? Can we understand it, without making anachronistic or unfair assessments?

Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK), Stockholm University

At this department there are two doctoral students under the supervision of Leth och Pollack. One is Eva Kingsepp, who is researching in the area of TV and computer games, and has chosen as the subject of her thesis *Nazism för nöjes skull? Representation, reception och reproduktion av Tredje Riket inom dagens populärkultur* ('Nazism for Pleasure? Representation, Reception and Reproduction of the Third Reich in Present-Day Popular Culture'). (E-mail: kingsepp@jmk.su.se.)

The second, Merja Takala, is carrying out research on *De önskade och de oönskade i nationsbygget. Nationell identitet och de Andra i svensk press på 1930-talet* ('Desired and Undesired People in Nation-Building. National Identity and the Others in the Swedish Press of the 1930s'). (E-mail: takala@jmk.su.se.)

Södertörn University College, Stockholm

Birgitta Almgren, a professor of German, has been involved since 1998 in international networks and research projects concerning intercultural processes linking Sweden and Germany in the shadow of Nazism. She recently published *Drömmen om Norden. Nazistisk infiltration i Sverige 1933–1945* ('The Nordic Dream. Nazi Infiltration in Sweden, 1933–45') Stockholm, 2005. She shows how Sweden was a strategic objective of the Nazis' cultural policy, and the book is about Nazi influence at the Swedish universities in the 1940s. How, in fact, could teachers, researchers and people educated in the humanities place themselves at the service of Nazism? (E-mail: birgitta.almgren@sh.se.)

Charlotta Brylla, PhD, a linguistic researcher, is engaged in research on *Nazism och språket* ('Nazism and Language'). In cooperation with others, she has published the anthology *Bilder i kontrast: interkulturella processer Sverige/Tyskland i skuggan av Nazism 1933–1945* ('Contrasting Images. Intercultural processes in Sweden and Germany in the Shadow of Nazism, 1933–45'), eds.: Charlotta Brylla, Birgitta Almgren & Frank-Michael Kirsch. Aalborg (Institut für Sprache und internationale Kulturstudien, Univ. Schriften des Zentrums für deutsch-dänischen Kulturtransfer an der Universität Aalborg: 9), 2005. (E-mail: charlotta.brylla@sh.se.)

One of the book's editors, Franz-Michael Kirsch, is a principal for the project entitled *Bilder im Kontrast. Interkulturelle Prozesse Schweden-Deutschland in Schatten des Nazismus 1933–1945*, which has been financed by the Foundation for Baltic and East European Studies (the 'Baltic Foundation'). (E-mail: franz-michael.kirsch@sh.se.)

Department of History, Växjö University

Professor Lars Olsson has published an article about Polish immigrant women, 'A Labour Reserve in Commercial Agriculture in Sweden, in 1945. Polish Women Survivors from Ravensbrück', that is included in the anthology *Beyond Camps and Forced Labour. Current International Research on Survivors of Nazi Persecution*. Secolo, 2005, eds.: Johannes Dieter Steinert and Inge Weber. (E-mail: lars.olsson@vxu.se.)

At Växjö University in 2005, Malin Thor successfully defended her PhD thesis *Hechaluz – en rörelse i tid och rum. Tysk-judiska ungdomars exil i Sverige 1933–1943* ('Hechaluz — A Movement in Time and Space. German-Jewish Youth in Exile in Sweden, 1933–1943'). Her research is about one of the few refugee quotas (the *chaluz* quota) applied in Sweden in the 1930s, introduced to help Europe's persecuted Jews. This quota was administered in accordance with the regulations of the National Board of Health and Welfare. The immigrants were trained in farm work for 18 months, whereupon they proceeded to Palestine. Malin Thor also investigates the members' self-image and

how they perceived their own activities and lives in exile in Sweden. The thesis clarifies not only Swedish refugee policy in the 1930s, but also the Hechaluz youth group and the importance of the Zionist movement in rescuing Jews from Nazi-occupied Europe. (E-mail: Malin.Thor@vxu.se.)

Other research is represented by Martin Estvall, a doctoral student, whose thesis project is a comparative analysis of the Swedish social partners' attitude towards German Nazism, and the refugee policy pursued by Sweden, in 1932–39. By shifting the focus of investigation away from the coalition government's and pro-Nazi groups' behaviour, he finds himself in a position to question the notion of consensus in Swedish attitudes to the Nazi challenge. His investigation relates to the period before the outbreak of war — an era unaffected by consideration of the World War that Nazism was to bring about. The central source material is the journals of two organisations, the Swedish Seamen's Union and the Swedish Shipowners' Association. (E-mail: Martin.Estvall@vxu.se).

Wirginia Bogatic is a doctoral student in History. The subject of her thesis work is *Att återvända eller stanna i Sverige? Flyktingskap och tvångsarbete bland polska kvinnliga överlevande koncentrationslägerfångar 1945* ('To Return or Stay in Sweden? Refugee Status and Forced Labour among Female Polish Surviving Prisoners in Concentration Camps in 1945'). (E-mail: Wirginia.Bogatic@vxu.se).

In 2004, Attila Lajos successfully defended his PhD thesis entitled *Hjälten och Offren. Raoul Wallenberg och judarna i Budapest* ('Heroes and Victims. Raoul Wallenberg and the Jews in Budapest'). In it, he clarifies what Raoul Wallenberg actually did in Budapest, and the background to the heroic figure that Wallenberg subsequently became. To some extent, the question of how far the Jews were powerless to act, mere victims of unfavourable power structures created during the Second World War, is also dealt with. He is currently researching the Second World War and Swedish rescue actions during this period. (E-mail: Attila.Lajos@vxu.se).

Linköping University, Campus Norrköping

At the Department of Ethnic Studies, doctoral student Christina Johansson is conducting research. The subject of her thesis is *Svenska migrationspolitiska diskurser under 1900-talets andra hälft* ('Swedish Discourses on Migration Policy in the Second Half of the 20th Century'). It deals with the shift from refugee immigration to the labour immigration of the postwar period, and also the refugee immigration that has predominated since the 1980s. Johansson's research question is: 'What ethnic and cultural notions of the *Foreigner* have dominated the central actors in Swedish refugee and migration policy, over a long period?' State actors — the Government, ministries, Sida (the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency), the National Labour Market Board (AMS) and the Swedish Migration Board — exerted great influence over the formation of policy. Non-state actors with influence are, for example, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities, the trade-union movement, and various churches and NGOs. State actors contributed to a structure of ethnicity. But what varies over time is which groups are identified. The periods studied are the late 1960s, the era of regulation of labour immigration from non-Nordic countries, the late 1980s, with the regulation of refugee immigration; and the mid-1990s, when a Swedish praxis for repatriation was introduced. (E-mail: christina.johansson@ituf.liu.se).

Professor Emeritus Stig Ekman, a member of the Swedish Research Council's Programme Group, is engaged in research on *Officerskåren och Nazism* ('The Officer Corps and Nazism'). He works in Uppsala.

Department of History, Helsinki University

Here, Annette Forsén, PhD, is engaged in interesting research on *German Associations in Finland and Sweden in the period 1918–45*. (E-mail: aforsen@mappi.helsinki.fi).

Anticipated publications associated with the Programme

€ Mattias Tydén & Lars M Andersson (eds.), *Rätt eller fel? Om att i efterhand bedöma den svenska neutralitetspolitiken, flyktingpolitiken och relationen till Nazism 1933–1945* ('Right or

Wrong? A Retrospective Assessment of Swedish Neutrality, Refugee Policy and Relations with Nazism, 1933–45'). To be published during 2006. This anthology includes contributions dealing with Swedish conduct in the years 1933–45. Questions under discussion are whether one can and should evaluate Swedish conduct morally and, if so, on what grounds? Half the co-authors are engaged in the Programme.

- ∄ Karin Kvist Geverts & Lars M Andersson, (eds.), *Svensk antisemitism* ('Swedish Anti-Semitism', preliminary title). Contributors include Henrik Bachner, Jesper Svartvik, Carl Henrik Carlsson, Per Hammarström, Stéphane Bruchfeld, Henrik Widmark, Lars M Andersson and Henrik Edgren.
- ∄ Karin Kvist Geverts & Lars M Andersson (eds.), *Svensk flyktingpolitik 1930–1945* ('Swedish Refugee Policy, 1930–45', preliminary title). Contributors include Karin Kvist Geverts, Mikael Byström, Laura Palosou, Pär Frohnert, Ilona Treitel, Pontus Rudberg, Lena Andersson, Tobias Berggren and Lars M. Andersson. The anthology presents new research on delimited aspects of Swedish refugee policy.

Financial Report on the ‘Sweden’s Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust’ Programme

THE SWEDISH RESEARCH COUNCIL

(Figures in SEK)

	YEAR	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	TOTAL
A. TRANSFERS									
Andersson, Greger				1,634,000	1,070,000	706,000	1,138,000		4,548,000
Pollack, Ester				1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000			3,000,000
Westin, Charles				1,250,000	1,250,000	1,250,000	1,250,000		5,000,000
Tydén, Mattias				433,000	433,000	434,000			1,300,000
Karlsson, Birgit				1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000			3,000,000
Jarlert, Anders				133,000	133,000	134,000			400,000
Åmark, Klas				167,000	172,000	176,000	557,000		1,072,000
Åmark, Klas							305,000		305,000
Åmark, Klas							150,000		150,000
TOTAL TRANSFERS				5,617,000	5,058,000	4,700,000	3,400,000		18,775,000
B. OPERATING COSTS	338,000	789,771	244,851	120,766	135,184	73,318	5,464		1,707,354
TOTAL, A AND B	338,000	789,771	5,861,851	5,178,766	4,835,184	3,473,318	5,464		20,482,354

Notes:

The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation has provided grants for two conferences. The Foundation contributed SEK 150,000 to the conference on 14–16 March 2002 and SEK 68,185 to the final conference, held on 24–25 October 2005.

The grant from the Tercentenary Foundation in 2002 affects the operating costs listed above: actual costs were, in fact, SEK 244,851 plus 150,000, i.e. SEK 394,851. In the accounts, the income has thus reduced the burden on the grants. This does not apply to the grant for the conference in October 2005. Since the SEK 68,185 was granted recently, it has therefore not yet affected the grant burden.