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For the Sake of Democracy
Samarbetskommittén för demokratiskt uppbyggnadsarbete
and the Cultural Reconstruction of Post-World War II Europe

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Abbreviations

ABF	<i>Arbetarbildningsförbundet</i> (The Worker's Educational Association)
AMS	<i>Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen</i> (The National Labor Market Board)
GER	German Educational Reconstruction
IAL	<i>Internationella arbetslag</i> (Service Central International)
IKFF	<i>Internationella kvinnoförbundet för fred och frihet</i> (The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)
KF	<i>Kooperativa förbundet</i> (The Swedish Cooperative Union and Wholesale Society)
LO	<i>Landsorganisationen i Sverige</i> (The Swedish Trade Union Confederation)
RB	<i>Rädda Barnen</i> (Save the Children – Swedish Committee)
SAF	<i>Svenska arbetsgivareföreningen</i> (The Swedish Employer's Association)
SAH	<i>Svenska akademiska hjälpkommittén</i> (The Swedish Academic Relief Committee)
SAK	<i>Statens arbetsmarknadskommisionen</i> (The National Labour Commission)
SAP	<i>Socialdemokratiska Arbetarepartiet</i> (The Social Democratic Labor Party)
SDU	<i>Samarbetskommittén för demokratiskt uppbyggnadsarbete</i> (The Swedish Joint Committee for Democratic Reconstruction)
SF	<i>Stiftelsen Fredhögskolan</i> (Peace College Foundation)
SEH	<i>Svenska Europahjälpen</i> (Swedish European Relief)
SI	<i>Svenska institutet</i> (The Swedish Institute)
SIH	<i>Svenska kommittén för internationellt hjälpverksamhet</i> (The Swedish Committee for International Relief)
SISU	<i>Samfundet för internationellt samhällstudium och uppbyggnadsarbete</i> (The Association for International Societal Studies and Reconstruction Efforts)
SOS	<i>Socialstyrelsen</i> (The National Board of Health and Welfare)
SÖ	<i>Skolöverstyrelsen</i> (The National School Board)
SRK	<i>Röda Korset</i> (The Swedish Red Cross)
SSKF	<i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbund</i> (The National Federation of Social Democratic Women in Sweden)
SÅ	<i>Statens återuppbyggnadsnämnden</i> (The National Reconstruction Board)
UD	<i>Utrikesdepartementet</i> (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
UN	The United Nations
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNRRA	The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
USCER	The United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction
VF	<i>Världssamling för fred – Svenska kommittén</i> (World Peace Campaign – The Swedish Committee)

1. Introduction

Post-World War II Europe was marked by devastation. Cities were destroyed, infrastructure obliterated and populations left physically, mentally and emotionally lost. National Socialist ideology transformed the minds and landscapes of Europe quickly and brutally. By the end of World War II, Europeans were left trying to put back the pieces of a world they no longer understood.

By 1945, post-war planning had been running for almost two years in Sweden. As early as the summer of 1942, rumors began circulating in the Swedish press about the devastating intentions of Nazi plans, but it was not until December 1942 when the Riegner Report became public that the true nature of the Final Solution was elucidated. From this point, a growing sense of responsibility developed in Europe and the United States to address the laundry list of inevitable problems facing the world at war's end. When governmental planning for European reconstruction began in Sweden, focus revolved primarily around the organization of economic and humanitarian relief to the affected countries in the short-term and less widely to social and cultural aid in the long term.¹

A little known organization, *Samarbetskommittén för demokratiskt uppbyggnadsarbete* (The Swedish Joint Committee for Democratic Reconstruction) or SDU was established to deal specifically with post-war cultural reconstruction on June 21, 1943. Though it would not officially be active until January 4, 1944, the passion to make a small difference in the coming crises led to a frenzy of preparatory work before the war ended.² Unfortunately, the shadows of large humanitarian organizations such as the Swedish Red Cross and Save the Children as well as efforts in Britain and the United States have left this organization virtually unstudied.

The establishment of SDU began as a cooperative idea by members in the education and peace organizations, *Världssamling för fred – Svenska kommittén* (World Peace Campaign – The Swedish Committee, VF)³ and *Stiftelsen Fredshögskolan* (Peace College Foundation, SF)⁴ to create a self-termed “reeducation committee” to combat the cultural, democratic, and spiritual deficits in the lands affected by the war.⁵ Einar Tegen, a member in SF, and Alva Myrdal, a member in VF, be-

¹ Jörg Lindner, *Den svenska Tysklands-hjälpen 1945-1954*. (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988), 13.

² Scharp, KB (Stockholm, SE) L136:139: SDU Konst. Sammanträder 1943: Protokoll 21 juni 1943.

³ In 1944, *Världssamling för fred* (est. 1938) was combined with *Den nordiska föreningen Mellanfolkligt för fred* (est. 1929), and *Svenska föreningen för ett nytt folkens förbund* (est. 1940) to create *Svenska Föreningen Mellanfolkligt för fred* (FMS). In 1947, this organization connected itself with the United Nations to become *FN-Föreningen Mellanfolkligt Samarbete* which in 1957 became *Svenska FN-förbundet*. Retrieved from: <http://svenskuppplagsbok.se> and <http://www.fn.se/om-oss/fn-forbundets-historia/> on June 1, 2011.

⁴ This organization was established in 1939 by Karin Boye, Anna-Lenah Elgström, Oscar Olsson, Fredrick Ström, and Greta Engkvist. The purpose was to create a new disposition through educational means among Swedes and abroad through cooperation and collaboration. This organization was active until the end of the 1990s. Retrieved from: <http://svenskuppplagsbok.se> as well as Greta Engkvist, *Att se tillbaka vid 94: minnen från ett liv för freden* (Stockholm: Prisma, 1988), 139.

⁵Tegen, UUB (Uppsala, SE): Efterlevningsbeskrivning, nr. 108, 93 (herein referred to as Tegen, UUB: Lev).

came the respective president and vice president of SDU, and many members were drawn from these organizations or from connections made through other involvements. SDU became also known for its cooperation with a variety of organizations including educational organizations as well as women's, political, and labor organizations. SDU's establishment as this "organization for organizations," enabled them to utilize contacts effectively and spread their passion for democratic reconstruction for quick action after the war.

1.1. Research Issues

The purpose of this work is to analyze the broad context of European reconstruction efforts after World War II. To illuminate the specific Swedish contribution to the European cultural reconstruction effort and its development of the modern project of Sweden, this work will focus particularly on the organization *Samarbetskommittén för demokratiskt uppbyggnadsarbete* (SDU). As of yet this committee has not been thoroughly investigated, a severe oversight due to SDU's diverse operations within the post-war international aid scheme as well as the caliber and connectedness of its members within the Swedish political and educational realm.

The primary objects of focus in this thesis are the structure, particular projects and membership of SDU extending from the domestic and international events leading to SDU's creation in the spring of 1943 to the context of its cessation in 1951. Further examined will be the continuity and change in SDU during this operational period. Using these objects, this thesis aims to understand how both the structure and operation of this committee contributed to the larger modern project under development in Sweden during this time. This correlation is studied by tracing how SDU employed cooperation, research, and education to export their vision of a greater European future. In order to fulfill these aims, the main research questions are as follows:

- What was the international context of SDU's creation? How can this organization be compared to other active organizations during this time period?
- What kind of organization was SDU? And what kind of people did it attract?
- Why was it created? What were its objectives?
- Did the organization and the objectives change over time? If so, how and why?
- How is this organization connected to the creation of Swedish self-image at the time?
- Why did this committee disappear?

1.2. Sources

It is important to note that the original archive of the SDU previously stored at the travel agency of Nyman & Schultz in Stockholm has been lost, so a reconstruction of information has been made through an investigation of various archives and published material.⁶ Member and

⁶ The full list of the lost material, located in Vilhelm Scharp's archive L136 in Kungliga biblioteket (Stockholm, SE) and Helmut Müssener's archive #1122 in Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och biblioteket (Stockholm, SE), shows that six boxes of various SDU material including protocols, literature, correspondence as well as additional

organizational archival sources from Carolina Rediviva in the Uppsala University library system (UUB), the Royal Library in Stockholm (KB), the Labor Movement Archives in Stockholm (ARAB), and The National Library in Arninge (RA) as well as various material published by the SDU and its membership are the primary sources for this thesis.

In Carolina Rediviva (UUB), the archive of philosophy professor Einar Tegen, president of SDU, and his wife and author Gunhild Tegen was examined. This archive contained five separate boxes of material ranging from letters and newspaper clippings to manuscripts and surveys. There were also various unorganized PMs and protocols from the SDU, including a list of literature for translation as well as a description of the various sections of work which has been used to compile information on SDU structure in Chapter 4 and projects in Chapters 5 and 6. The most important piece was Einar Tegen's 200 page unpublished memoirs containing memories regarding his teaching career and work within Swedish organizations. These memoirs are particularly useful in tracing the informal relationships between committee members, especially with vice president Alva Myrdal and school teacher and SDU secretary Ture Casserberg (previously known as Ture Johansson) in Chapter 5 as well as deepening an understanding of Tegen's democratic vision as discussed in Chapter 7. The raw materials for *De dödsdömda vittna*⁷, a published account of concentration camp survivor experiences, including edited manuscripts and the entire collection of completed questionnaires, was also examined. These materials were important in uncovering how the process behind how this self-published book by Einar and Gunhild Tegen came to fruition, and how it fit within the context of SDU's other projects discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

SDU's own newspaper and mouth piece of the organization, *Via Suecia*⁸, was also examined at UUB. This newspaper, which ran every 14 days from September 4, 1945 until September 1946, then monthly until December 1946 contained a total number of 26 issues. Oriented specifically toward refugees in Sweden, *Via Suecia* was written in four different languages - German, Romanian, Hungarian, and Polish. The first edition on September 4, 1945 began with welcome to Sweden by Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson and an introduction to the newspaper by Alva Myrdal in all 4 languages. Intermittently, there were displaced person reports from the Red Cross titled "Kennen Sie jemanden von diesen Personen" starting October 30, 1945, as well as recurring articles on international affairs such as "Aus aller Welt" and "Die Juden in

office supplies and furniture were contained in this archive.

⁷ Müssener, ARAB (Stockholm, SE); Folder: Berättelser och Verksamhetsplaner 1944-1950 (herein referred to as Folder 2), Verksamhetsberättelse 1944-46, 47. This book was the first study in Sweden which systematically recorded the thoughts and experiences of concentration camp survivors from occupied areas after World War II. A copy of this book was even translated to German and sent to the ongoing Nuremberg Trials in Germany. A similar size study was conducted by Zygmunt Otto Roman Lakocinski within the *Utrikespolitiska Institutets Polska arbetsgrupp i Lund* (Swedish Institute of Foreign Affairs' Polish working party in Lund), with strictly Polish survivors, but this was never completed due to a termination of government funding. Retrieved from: Lunds universitetsbiblioteket, <http://www3.uu.se/ravensbruck/piz-eng-presentation.pdf> on June 1, 2011.

⁸ It is stated in *Via Suecia* edition nr.1 (Sept. 4, 1945) that this title is supposed to mean "Resa via Sverige" or "Sveriges väg" roughly translated to "Via Sweden" or "Sweden's way/The Way of/through Sweden."

Europa” and even a recurring article on fitness titled *Wir Turnen*” which were published in at least 2 of the four languages. In addition, there were articles written by or about public figures such as Swedish author, journalist and contributing editor to *Via Suecia* Elin Wägner, Russian author and politician Aleksandra Kollantaj, Swedish author Selma Lagerlöf, American UN delegate and former first lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and Polish author Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, among many others. As *Via Suecia* was published primarily in German, mainly these articles have been examined in addition to a select few Polish articles to discuss *Via Suecia*’s creation in Chapter 5 and analyze its role in forwarding SDU’s democratic visions in Chapter 7.

Brochures and pamphlets published by or in cooperation with SDU have also been studied. These include the *Kulturell Uppbyggnad* (Cultural Reconstruction) 5-part series published in cooperation with *Kooperativa Förbundet* (The Swedish Cooperative Union and Wholesale Society, KF) which were designed as *upplysningsbroschyrer*. This roughly translated means “enlightenment brochures” though it is important to note that *upplysning* in this context meant education and information with an additional moral element. *Upplysning* will be translated to “enlightenment” for the purposes of this thesis.⁹ This series begins with *Sverige och uppbyggnadsarbete* by headmistress Alva Myrdal, professor Einar Tegen, Erik Leijonhufvud, and author Arne Björnberg in which the authors discuss Swedish reconstruction in comparison to the efforts in Europe and the United States; the second pamphlet by school teacher Ture Casserberg, *Uppfostran och undervisning efter kriget*, gives a more focused picture on the efforts within cultural reconstruction specifically in goals for reconstruction of educational systems after the war. These first two booklets include information about international organizations such as the UNRRA, Save the Children, and Red Cross as well as large educational organizations such as the Joint Commission in Britain and the Liaison Committee for International Education (LCIE) in the United States, which are used to explain the international context of reconstruction according to SDU in Chapter 3 as well as information on SDU’s own point-of-view concerning European reconstruction which will be investigated in Chapter 7.

The third and fourth pamphlets by German author Kurt Stillschweig are titled *Nationalsocialistisk rättsuppfattning* and *Den nationalsocialistiska antisemitismen* respectively. These focus more on the National Socialist background of World War II and human rights trespasses, discussing how understanding the wrongs committed during the war could be helpful in developing the most fruitful democratic reeducation.¹⁰ These works are used to understand the viewpoints and the political context during the time period in both Chapter 3 and 6. The last and

⁹ In Nikolas Glover’s (2011) recently published dissertation *National Relations: Public Diplomacy, National Identity, and the Swedish Institute 1945 – 1970* he further discusses the various meanings and connotations that *upplysning* may contain in English, stating that the word *upplysning* was often correlated to with education and even propaganda in in the 1940s and 1950s, though over time this term became more closely aligned with the term “information” as the term “propaganda” fell into disrepute and disuse, 26.

¹⁰ Kurt Stillschweig, *Nationalsocialistisk rättsuppfattning* and *Den nationalsocialistiska antisemitismen*.

final pamphlet by author Greta Hedin named *Internationell kulturfront, UNESCO* was printed one year after the first four upon the establishment of The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).¹¹ In this booklet, Hedin discusses the creation of UNESCO which was an important initiative for Einar Tegen, Alva Myrdal, and others in SDU. This pamphlet includes a complete copy of UNESCO's constitution, and a short summary of its initiatives which will be discussed in the Chapter 3.

In addition, pamphlets, books, and articles written by members concerning European reconstruction or National Socialism have been used. One in particular, *Efterkrigsplanering* by Alva Myrdal, was extremely helpful in piecing together the entire Swedish aid picture. This pamphlet gives an explanation of potential economic, political, and educational issues as well as provides a focused look at the reconstruction needed within agriculture, transportation, food supplies, medicine, personnel and household economy and will be used throughout the thesis. In addition, contemporary literature by Austrian and German exiles within SDU has been utilized. These include *Tyskland efter Hitler* by Otto Fridén (pen name of Otto Friedländer), *Tysklands marsch mot öster* by Kurt Stechert, and *Det judiska minoritetsproblemet* by Kurt Stillschweig. The authors discuss how the takeover by Hitler changed the political and social landscape of Germany. Friedländer and Stechert particularly discuss the progression that slowly led to the takeover, including the change of the lost German state of mind, of which SDU is extremely interested in from the beginning of their operations as discussed in Chapter 4 and 5.

Within the Labor Movement Archives (ARAB) several archives were analyzed. First, historian Helmut Müssener's one-volume archive #1122 of collected SDU material was examined. This collection contained the material Müssener used to publish his dissertation, *Exil in Schweden, Politische und kulturelle Emigration nach 1933*, in 1974 which contained the first small-scale study of SDU's operations in relation to German intellectual refugees from 1933. Although Müssener's dissertation focused on German refugees, this archive provided a good portion of base material including SDU's annual reports from 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, and a combined report for 1948/49 and 1949/50 as well as an expense report totaling expenses from 1944-1949. These reports provide basic information concerning SDU's mission and completed projects, and finances examined in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. In addition, this archive contained protocols, circulars, PMs, various articles from *Via Suecia* and editions 6 and 7 of *Informationstjänst* (Information Service, a self-published news bulletin sent out monthly in 1945 and 1946), pamphlets, and information on section work. SDU's annual reports and material concerning section work were invaluable to understanding the progress of their operations through the years which is utilized throughout this thesis, especially in Chapters 4 - 7. Lastly, an interview with Helmut Müssener

¹¹ *Sweden and Reconstruction, SDU:s serie Nr. 1; Education and Training after the War, SDU:s serie Nr. 2; National Socialist Conception of Justice, SDU:s serie Nr. 3; National Socialist Anti-Semitism, SDU:s serie Nr. 4; International Culture Front UNESCO, SDU:s serie Nr. 5.*

was conducted in June 2011 in which he has provided supplementary information about how the organization functioned, which will be referred to especially in Chapter 7 and 9.

An additional Einar Tegen archive #6191 was located at ARAB totaling four volumes. The first box contained by far the most material including letters, PMs, and protocols as well as manuscripts from SDU conferences and lectures. Manuscripts from the SDU conference on June 3, 1944 were an exciting find, enabling a better understanding of what concepts and ideologies were emphasized within SDU's operations as well as how SDU conducted its first conferences. The second box contained additional material concerning section work, while the last two contained protocols and letters concerning Tegen's work as member and later president of *Stockholms Centralkommitté för flyktinghjälp* (The Stockholm Central Committee for Refugee Aid).¹² These volumes will be used to set up background and explain Tegen's connections in and SDU operations in Chapters 5 and 6.

The last archive examined in ARAB was Alva and Gunnar Myrdal's archive #405. Though there are over a thousand volumes, fifteen was chosen for investigation. Of these, only a few volumes provided helpful information, the most valuable being copies of Alva Myrdal's published works and documents in relation to her work as principal of *Socialpedagogiska seminariet* (Socio-pedagogic Seminary), member of the governmental *Skolkommision* (School Commission) in 1946 discussing education issues in Sweden, and head of the UN department for welfare policy¹³. Also included were various articles concerning post-war cultural reconstruction of Europe, educational policy, UNESCO, and refugee politics which are used sparsely in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Judging by only the small amount of material studied, Alva Myrdal was an extremely busy woman during this time period – she participated in several organizations concurrently while actively giving lectures and writing articles and books. Because of the sheer volume of the archive and the overwhelming amount of already published material, this archive has not been thoroughly investigated. Instead the author has elected to utilize this secondary published material as a complement to information on Alva Myrdal throughout this thesis.

At the Royal Library (KB), lecturer Wilhelm Scharp's archive L136 was examined. Not only was he a Swedish language lecturer in Berlin from 1928 – 1936, he was also actively engaged in the Swedish Institute during the 1940s.¹⁴ There were a total number of 8 boxes concerning the SDU operations out of a total of 161 volumes which spanned the period of 1917 to his death in

¹² Created in 1937, this committee functioned as a joint committee for refugee aid organizations. The main committee the *Centralkommitté för flyktinghjälp* was also the umbrella organization for all refugee organizations in Sweden. (See Tegen, UUB: Lev, 60).

¹³ Myrdal was key in the creation of *Socialpedagogiska seminariet* (The Socio-pedagogic Seminary) in 1936 under the lead of *Hyresgästernas Sparkasse- och Byggnadsförening* (The Savings and Construction Tenants Association or HSB) as well as one of the leading voices of *Skolkommisionen* (The School Commission) which were both oriented toward creating both democratic educators and education in Sweden. Retrieved from: <http://www.hsbumea.se/hsb/> on April 23, 2011.

¹⁴ Andreas Åkerlund, "Mellan akademi och kulturpolitik: Lektorat i svenska språket vid tyska universitet 1906-1945." (PhD diss. Uppsala University, 2011), 245. For more information, see Appendix III.

1978. This archive included diverse material such as protocols from the establishment of the committee, information on individual sections of work including specific project initiatives, as well as relevant newspaper clippings and letters between Vilhelm Scharp and Einar Tegen. In addition, the individual annual reports for 1947 and 1948 were found, complementing the previous annual reports found in Müssener's collected material. Nearly every of the 10 editions of *Informationstjänst* were also found within the archive as a complement to the 6th and 7th found in Müssener's archive. Scharp's archive was one of the richest sources of information on the SDU because it contained protocols from the creation of the organization within the minutes of VF and SF including minutes from SDU's first official meeting which will be utilized in discussing SDU's structure in Chapter 4 and in SDU's early projects in Chapter 5. Though many of the letters and documents in other archives tended to be repeated, information in Vilhelm Scharp's archive contained the most unique documentation, especially important were the letters between Scharp and Tegen as well as between Ture Casserberg, Rune Eriksson, and other members to Einar Tegen. Finally, there were various letters and copies of SDU's published material. These materials will primarily be used to follow the events in the beginning of SDU's operations as well as Vilhelm Scharp's involvement as a section leader and lecturer in Chapter 5 and 6. The goals professed in protocols and pamphlets will also be discussed in Chapter 7.

The last archive researched was Folke Bernadotte's archive 21.1 at the National Archive, Arninge (RA). There a total of 42 volumes in this archive covering mostly Bernadotte's correspondence within *Röda Korset* (The Swedish Red Cross, SRK), and one volume containing protocols from *Svenska kommittén för internationellt hjälpverksamhet* (The Swedish Committee for International Relief, SIH), the government funding committee for post-war relief. Included in this volume was information about Alva Myrdal's role as president of the non-Nordic relief committee as well as information concerning SDU funding. In addition, there was significant information concerning Myrdal's role in securing funding for cultural operations from the government through the connection to SIH. Information from this archive will be discussed in Chapters 3 – 6.

Finally, various reference materials have been investigated in order to reconstruct a social network of SDU members. These include encyclopedic material such as *Vem är vem?*, *Vem är det?*, *Svenska uppslagsbok* and *Svenska män och kvinnor* as well as biographies and memoirs written by members, their families, or historians including Einar Tegen's unpublished memoirs and *Einar and Gunbild Tegen: En krönika om deras liv och verk* collected by Martin Tegen located in UUB, *Alva: ett kvinnoliv* by Sissela Bok, *Att se tillbaka vid 94: minnen från ett liv för freden* by Greta Enkvist, and *Att förändra verkligheten: porträtt av Inga Thorsson* by Lars G. Lindskog. This information has been systematically collected into a series of spreadsheets marking the age, political affiliation, career, and organizational connections of each member as well as other pertinent information such as

international journeys, published works and spousal affiliations which affected SDU's operations. These databases helped trace the connections between the membership through educational, organizational, and political affiliations as well as how they communicated on a personal level. Additional information concerning this network has also been gathered from previously mentioned archival and literary sources such as letters between Einar Tegen and Vilhelm Scharp, Ture Casserberg, and Rune Eriksson as well as conference manuscripts from June 3, 1944 and meeting protocols. This information will be used throughout the thesis and especially in Chapter 5 and 6. These members are also listed in Appendix III.

1.3. Method

Using the above wealth of sources, the method employed in this thesis is four-fold. Firstly, context and purpose has been examined with a critical eye toward the ideological and organizational bias in SDU's membership towards their cause and whether this ideological stance remained consistent throughout operations. A volunteer organization such as SDU had little motivation to hide their thoughts and actions, oppositely they lay bare their intentions in an obviously biased way. This bias is present in the form of inflated importance and passion for democratic and cultural reconstruction in Europe, especially in the rhetoric used by members – in which they describe the vital importance and even the necessity of reconstruction.¹⁵ Therefore, an integral part of SDU published material is rhetoric, designed to inform and persuade the reader to take action in this cause. Though this can be seen as problematic, this bias through their language is analyzed and utilized in this thesis in order to understand SDU's motivation and purpose as well as how they perceived European reconstruction issues in Sweden and abroad.¹⁵

Secondly, archival and primary published sources have been studied for formal historical and organizational background in the creation and operation of the committee, its membership to understand the professed purpose and goals. In relation to historical background, the bias of SDU is seen as helpful in elucidating one part of the historical picture while additional previous research has been used to explain the larger picture for Chapter 3 as well as how this organization compared with other organizations. Annual reports have proved especially useful in creating a framework for SDU operations, and more detailed reports have been connected through databases in order to create a more informed and in-depth understanding of specific projects from start to finish outlined in Chapters 5 and 6. In these databases, the author has catalogued each SDU initiative by its operational date(s), the type of project (literature creation, course work, conferences, etc.), location, cooperating organizations, amount and type of other participants (especially in courses, conferences, and study circles), and relevant funding. Information revealed the extent of SDU's projects from 1943 – 1951 as well as how the types of

projects remained consistent or changed, allowing a comparison of SDU operations from year to year and start to finish. A condensed version covering study circles, conferences, and courses is included in Appendix V.

Thirdly, because the role of SDU's contact network was of particular importance in reaching the professed goals of the committee, individual members of the committee who contributed to the success of SDU as well as the intellectual refugees who became assets to the committee are examined. Using a social network analysis, these individuals have been examined to understand how the individuals came together, worked together, and accomplished tasks within the organization. Literary and archival sources described above have been mapped in a series of spreadsheets to create a reconstruction of educational, organizational, and political background for the connections between members and organizations. This prosopography includes specific information of individuals including: name, birth and death date, position in SDU, political affiliation, educational background, career/place(s) of employment, positions in other organizations, published works (if relevant), and travels (if relevant). Tracing these connections has been crucial to understand how informal relationships and connections as well as formal connections within SDU and other organizations created synergy between certain core members that allowed this committee to function. A condensed version of these member backgrounds is presented in Appendix III.

Fourthly, both archival and literary sources have been studied to understand how the rhetoric of this committee and its operations fit into the developing Swedish self-image in the post-World War II time period. The sources include the *Kulturell uppbyggnad* series, articles from *Via Suecia* and *Informationstjänst*, conference manuscripts and pamphlets. These documents are the largest pieces of literature created by SDU, designed to educate and inform the public. Documents have firstly been examined for the ideas and methods championed by the committee, and how they utilized these to export their version of Swedish democracy. Particularly within the self-named *Kulturell Uppbyggnad* "upplysningsbroschyrer," or enlightenment brochures, SDU's message is examined through the projected support in the concepts of democracy, modernity, and scientific research as well as whether other concepts became important during this time period. These ideas were subsequently examined in relation to the overall development of Swedish democracy and whether it was consistent with the general understanding of Swedish self-image at the time which has been analyzed through the previous research in Chapter 2.

It is important to note that as a foreigner the interpretation of sources may be different than that of a native Swedish-speaker, and although quotations have been translated carefully, there is always a possibility of misinterpretation or misunderstanding. In addition, there are some terms which do not sufficiently translate from Swedish into English. These terms will be explained throughout this thesis, some being kept in their original Swedish forms for clarity.

1.4. Theoretical Underpinnings

Because of SDU's close collaboration with political, women's, trade union, and educational organizations, it was known as an "organization for organizations." These collaborations increase the importance of examining not only SDU but the ways in which members were connected to this larger picture. SDU's further ambitions to create public opinion and subsequently reeducate those in war-torn lands will also be examined. Thus, this thesis will view SDU as an organizational network with an underlying ideological purpose connected to the ongoing development of Swedish identity in the 1940s. Combined, these filters will be used to understand how the connections were developed and utilized within the committee using SDU members' educational and political expertise. Further, it is of interest whether this structure and identity remained consistent or underwent change throughout its period of operations. This thesis benefits from several models and concepts as theoretical reference points, and it is the combination of these views that form a complete analysis.

1.4.1. As an Organizational Network

In order to be a successful coordinator of an organizational network, it is vital to have powerful members who are efficiently moved toward a meaningful goal. As a foundation for understanding how this membership operated within the Swedish context and the SDU, Lennart Lundquist's concepts will be utilized.

Lundquist discusses how the network of *fattigvårdsfolket* or "poor relief activists" during the period of 1900-1920 can be understood. This network consisted of a powerful collection of individuals that worked both within formal organizations and independently to spread the "self-help" philosophy of poor relief to the Swedish people. Lundquist grounds his analysis in a flexible actor-structure model to determine how the individual element affected the effectiveness of the message of these *fattigvårdsfolk*. In this thesis, the concentration on the individuals within SDU and organizational bodies who worked with SDU is considered important.

The utilization of Lundquist's actor-structure model is vital to this study. Firstly, he analyzes what an actor and a structure must contain. Actors, Lundquist states, "are individuals and collectives with some degree of autonomy" while structures whether they are physical, organic, or social, "can be divided into behavioral or ideological structures which have economic or political content."¹⁶ In this study, the actors are viewed as individuals constrained by both the societal and political elements as well as the formal constraints of the organization. Though, they are viewed as autonomous in their ability to be heard within the channel of the SDU and its cooperating organs. The content of SDU is seen as foremost ideological – the actors are motivated by expertise within their fields of education and politics to rebuild Europe

¹⁶Lennart Lundquist. *Fattigvårdsfolket: Ett nätverk i den sociala frågan 1900-1920* (Lund: University Press, 1997), 14 "kan indelas i beteende- eller idéstrukturer vilka ha socialt, ekonomiskt eller politiskt innehåll."

intellectually, culturally and democratically. Though there is no inherent political cause, the goals of SDU are seen to correspond with the international and domestic context including the contemporary construction of the Swedish welfare state.

Although the relationship between actors and structures are complex, Lundquist organizes the “realities” an actor confronts while working within a structure. The four realities he believes most relevant are: “reality as it is, reality as believed by the actor, reality as claimed by other actors, and reality as claimed by the actor himself.”¹⁷ In addition, there are realities that affect the actor through specific socialization of which the actor may not be aware. These interactions with “reality” can affect the way action within a structure is forwarded by actors and how it is perceived by those within the structure as well as outside of it. These realities are seen to inform the actions of actors within SDU’s network based on the particularity of their backgrounds within education and politics – these backgrounds allow them to view themselves as experts within these fields and therefore knowledgeable on the way forward in the cultural reconstruction of Europe.

In order to target the most influential members within SDU, this thesis will also consider Lundquist’s categorization of core members in relation to semi-periphery to periphery members. Core members are considered elite in different political, social, or economic channels within society, and this prominence allows them more power as an actor while semi-periphery or periphery actors provide support through a wider channel support for individual initiatives but are not necessarily vital to every operation. Though in this case actors are considered through their individual contributions before they are considered within the wider political, social, and economic context, these broad connections may affect action and communication between actors within the structure of SDU. Therefore, careful study of the databases and spreadsheets on SDU members and projects as well as literature written by SDU members has revealed the most active individuals within this organization. From this analysis, the members who contributed the most ideological and intellectual power to the organization can be uncovered as well as whether this activity relates to social and political prominence in Sweden and abroad.

Lundquist concentrates on how organizational networks function within formal organizations. Positions within formal organizations help individual actors gain legitimacy and formal channels in which to act. In this thesis, the key points rest on how individuals use these connections and the legitimacy of their positions in SDU and other channels to make decisions and create meaningful projects. In addition, it is of interest which members were most active and influential within these operations. Analysis through spreadsheets and databases has aided in discovering the levels of decision-making by the specific actors within the structure of the committee, and what level of freedom or restriction they had to forward their agenda within the

¹⁷ Ibid., 15. “verkligheten som den faktiskt är, verkligheten som aktören tror att den är, verkligheten som andra aktörer påstår att den är och verkligheten som aktören själv påstår att den är.”

channel of SDU.

1.4.2. Using a Swedish Identity

In addition to understanding organizational factors, this thesis is concerned with the self-image of SDU members and how this image informed operations. By the 1940s, the international image of Sweden had rapidly changed from a small, poor country on the fringes of Northern Europe into one of the most forward-thinking democracies in the world. Much of this acclaim was due to the repeated publishing of Marquis Childs book *Sweden: The Middle Way* beginning in 1936 which highlighted the novelty of Sweden's emerging cooperative democracy.¹⁸ This altogether new level of prominence as the "democratic showplace" of Europe carried a burden of responsibility for Sweden to embody the values of modern democracy in order to show the world that it was the path to a more peaceful future.¹⁹

The "nationalization of the masses" which in turn created a particular form of welfare nationalism in Sweden by the outbreak of World War II was increasingly coupled with modernity, democracy, and citizenship according to the authors of *Försvenskningen av Sverige*.²⁰ In this context, a new Swede or "a good Swede should be a modern, forward-thinking Swede who did not drag their feet behind them."²¹ The whole society participated in this change, and in "this construction of identity being modern became increasingly central."²² Those who were traditional and conservative, who wanted to cling to class privileges were seen as ignorant to the blessings of the new generation of thought.²³

Many authors highlight the importance of this modern self-image, including Alf. W. Johansson who states,

"Swedish national identity has been attached to our *modernity*. It has been linked to the present, with a sense of belonging to the vanguard, the most modern. Just as a fashionable man or woman feels themselves to be one with times, the Swede felt proud to belong to the elite among the world's progress-oriented nations: technology, design, science, social planning, development aid, environmental protection, equality, opportunity, *you name it*; Sweden has been at the top. We have seen ourselves as the darling children of the enlightenment project, by which other states needed to measure themselves."²⁴

¹⁸ Glover (2011), 65.

¹⁹ Sheri Berman, *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge, 2006), 186; *Ibid.*, 181

²⁰ Billy Ehn, Jonas Frykman, and Orvar Löfgren. *Försvenskningen av Sverige: det nationellas förvandlingar*. (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1993), 58. "massornas nationalisering" For more information on the development of welfare nationalism during the Inter-war period see: Niels Kayser Nielsen, "Demokrati og kulturel nationalisme i Norden i mellemkrigstiden – en realpolitisk høgredning?" *Historisk tidskrift* 124, 4 (2004)

²¹ *Ibid.*, 54; "en god svensk måste vara en modern svensk med fast framtidsblick, en som inte släpade benen efter sig."

²² *Ibid.*, detta identitetsbygge blev vikten av att vara modärn central."

²³ *Ibid.*, 54-55.

²⁴ Alf W. Johansson, *Vad är Sverige?: röster om svensk nationell identitet* (Stockholm, Prisma, 2001), 8. "Nej, svensk nationell identitet har varit knuten till vår *modernitet*. Det har varit förbunden med nuet, med känslan att tillhöra avantgardet, det mest moderna. På samma sätt som en moderiktig man eller kvinna känner sig vara ett

Although the self-assuredness in modernity displayed in the quote was not developed fully by the 1940s, it shows the solidarity felt by those growing up in this newly developing Swedish system.

In addition, the turmoil in Europe during the 1930s and 1940s, including the rise of National Socialism and communism only served to speed up the progress of modernity in Sweden and further separate the Swedish brand of democracy from the political chaos elsewhere. According to Alf W. Johansson not only was the most modern, but “one can discuss the dominant Swedish liberal consensus culture after World War II. Sweden sought to shape themselves opposed to all that fascism and Nazism stood for. Sweden became the world’s most anti-fascist nation.”²⁵ In trying to separate itself from the values of fascism and Nazism, not only modernity but democracy became the keystones to continuing this transformation.

Democracy became a means and an end, the ultimate test being its ability to continuously prosper in the increasingly complex political and social landscape of a Europe ravished by two world wars. This combination of modern and democratic ideas which had become stronghold in Sweden, and Sweden’s new label as “the social democratic standard-bearer” affected surrounding Europe with its assuredness.²⁶ It is important to note that the earlier acclaim of Sweden in 1930s resulted in backlash from surrounding countries and Sweden’s neutrality and isolation during World War II caused additional problems for Swedish foreign relations after World War II. In turn, this critique developed a need for Sweden to regain its previous acclaim through charitable action, spreading the gifts of their own democracy and modernity to the surrounding nations.

Even from the late 1800s, democratization started to filter both from the top-down from politicians but also from the bottom-up. Combined with the political rhetoric from above through the power of such political icons as Per Albin Hansson and his famous “people’s home” rhetoric, as well as through public school education from below, Swedes began to understand themselves in new terms: modern, democratic, and communitarian and sometimes even superior.

Just as politicians became ideological warriors for Swedish modernity and democracy so did public school teachers. In this vein, the notion of traditional war heroes and kings as idols was discarded; Swedes increasingly began to associate politicians and intellectuals with their cultural heritage. In fact, “Modernization also referred to the anachronistic cultural heritage. New Sweden had other stories and other heroes than those punch patriotism had created. It became important to transform history into a story about the modern triumph of democracy.”²⁷ Even as

med tiden, har svensken känt stolthet över att tillhöra eliten bland världens framstegsriktade nationer: teknik, design, vetenskap, social planering, u-landsstöd, miljövård, jämlikhet, jämställdhet, *you name it*, Sverige har legat i topp. Vi har sett oss som upplysningsprojektets älsklingbarn, som andra stater haft att mäta sig med.”

²⁵ Ibid., 11. “Man kan tala om en förhärskade svensk socialliberal konsensuskultur efter andra världskriget. Sverige har sökt forma sig till motsatsen till allt vad fascism och nazism stått för. Sverige blev världens mest antifascistiska nation.”

²⁶ Berman, 207.

²⁷ Ehn, 55. “Moderniseringen gällde även det otidsenliga kulturarvet. Det nya Sverige behövde andra historier och andra hjältar än dem som punschpatriotismen skapat. Det blir viktigt att förvandla historieskrivningen till en

early as the 1800s, the self-image of Swedish public school teachers was idealized, and, “the ideal public school teacher stood for civic educational ideal. In contrast with a more aristocratic ideal of the conservative upper class, they stressed formal education and new humanism.”²⁸

In the 1800s and 1900s, school teachers even became “a driving force in reform work and progress became an increasingly stronger motive in the identity of teachers. The development of public school was linked to the democratization process within the society.”²⁹ This theme was consistent throughout the many volumes of public school teachers from the 1800s and 1900s, which included the idea that

...without public school teachers and their civic education, democracy could never have been implemented in Sweden. Public school teachers were admittedly glorified, but there was also a realistic and detailed picture that emerged. The public school teacher was portrayed as a stubborn individualist who fought for their school against conservative farmers and representatives of the church. It was an industrious and idealized work with scarce resources.³⁰

Teachers and their understanding of the importance for democracy’s victory paved the way for their idealization by the masses as well as this picture of the individual fighting for the future.³¹ In this way, “The public school was altered and then altered the Swedish society from below.”³²

In this thesis, Sweden’s path of toward a Swedish identity is especially important in understanding the motivation of the SDU. Because the membership of SDU consisted primarily of educators and politicians, by tracing how cooperated under modernity and democracy, it can be understood why SDU members felt so passionate about making a cultural contribution to Europe. In the operations of the SDU, we can see this process at work, both how the system formed the SDU arguments of SDU as well as how SDU became a part of furthering these beliefs and trust in their burgeoning system other countries. Through this filter, this thesis will answer the question of SDU’s place in creating this identity by showing “how during the 1930s, 40s, and 50s Swedes *made themselves* Swedish rather than *were made*”³³

Utilizing the actor-structure model and the developing Swedish self-image based on modernity and democracy, this thesis will view actors as individuals with political and educational

berättelse om den moderna demokratins seger.”

²⁸ Per Højeberg, “Utmanad av ondskan: Den svenska lärarkåren och nazismen 1933-1945” (Licentiate diss., Lund University, 2011), 34. “Det ideal folkskollärarna stod för var ett medborgarbildningsideal, i motsats till ett mer bildningsaristokratiskt ideal hos den konservativa över- klassen, som mer betonade formalt utbildning och nyhumanism.”

²⁹ Ibid., 34; For more information on reform work in the 1800s, see: Torkel Jansson, *Adertonhundatalens associationer: forskning och problem kring ett sprängfullt tomrum eller sammanslutningsprinciper och föreningsformerna mellan två samhällsformationer c:a 1800 – 1870*. (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1985)

³⁰ Ibid. “Utan folkskollärarna och deras medborgarfostran skulle demokratin aldrig ha kunnat genomföras i Sverige. Folkskollärarna glorifierades visserligen, men det var även en realistisk och detaljerad bild som växte fram. Folkskolläraren framställdes som en envis individualist som kämpade för sin skola mot konservativa bönder och kyrkliga företrädare. Det var ett idogt och idealiserat arbete med knappa resurser.”

³¹ Ibid., 36. “the victory of democracy”

³² Ibid. “Folkskolan förändrades och förändrade det svenska samhället nedifrån.”³²

³³ Ehn, 58; “hur folk under 1930-, 40-, och 50-talen *gjorde sig* svenska snarare än *gjordes*.”

expertise using SDU as a structure to forward a cultural agenda to Swedes and foreigners alike.

1.5. Structure

This thesis is structured both chronologically and thematically in order to fully study both the timeline of SDU's operations as well as the context and purpose of these operations. Chapter 2 begins with an overview of relevant previous research, analyzing the academic discourse on World War II including the political importance of social democracy and National Socialism as well as how international and domestic aid has been studied previously in order to understand SDU's place within previously understood knowledge.

Chapter 3 utilizes both source material and previous research to discuss the organizations and initiatives created during World War II in Great Britain, the United States, and Sweden to answer how SDU fit within this aid picture. By using both source material and previous research, this section seeks to offer new information about international relief and educational initiatives in Great Britain and the United States as well as how Sweden, and SDU, cooperated with and learned from these initiatives.

Chapter 4 addresses SDU's ideological and organizational structure by describing the ideology on which projects were planned and financed from 1943 – 1951, including an overview of the purposes of each structural body. Chapters 5 and 6 dive deeper into the operations of SDU, discussing the various courses, conferences, and literature created by SDU as well as who was involved in these projects. Firstly, Chapter 5 discusses the work from 1943 – July 1947, when operations were divided in sections covering research, literature, education and training, as well as contact with refugees. Secondly, Chapter 6 will discuss how when the sections broke, operations were run by individual directives, which increasingly focused on Swedish educational institutions. The purpose of these chapters is to provide empirical information on SDU operations in order to understand which members were involved and the expressed ideology translated into action.

Chapter 7 discusses the higher purpose of SDU to spread Swedish democracy to both refugees in Sweden and Central Europeans as well as how they intended to accomplish this lofty goal. Chapter 8 focuses on the political, social, and economic context as well as the internal issues which led to SDU's cessation in 1951. This chapter discusses the implications of the Cold War, the European financial crisis, and competing Swedish and international organizations. Finally, Chapter 9 will offer the results of this summary, providing a clear explanation of the circumstances which led to the creation and cessation of SDU.

2. Previous Research

Since World War II was one of the most significant events in the 20th century, the time period before, during, after this event has been heavily researched, especially concerning political and social context, foreign policy, and European reconstruction. Equally rich is the literature discussing Sweden's neutrality and isolation amidst the destruction in other parts of Europe. Though this research mainly concerns Swedish social democracy, foreign policy, and reconstruction issues, there is also scattered research available concerning organizations and individuals involved in cultural and democratic reconstruction. This thesis will use selected works concerning the social, political, and economic context of Europe and the United States, the historical context of Sweden, and particularly the organizations which worked with relief and cultural aid before, during, and after World War II.

In order to understand the development of political ideology throughout Europe and especially in Germany and Sweden, contemporary literature has provided information on National Socialism and social democracy. Works by Austrian author Otto Friedländer, and German authors Kurt Stechert and Kurt Stillschweig have been used primarily as sources, but these works also provide an intimate picture of post-Nazi Germany and Austria through educated and native eyes. Additional works by historians Alf W. Johansson and Johan Östling have provided a picture of the pervasiveness of National Socialism in European society and even within Sweden. These authors paint National Socialism as an inescapable ideology, which gained many followers before the outbreak of World War II, but by the end of war was a threat to the values of liberalism, socialism, and democracy, even the "antithesis of civilization."³⁴ Because of the stigma of National Socialism, it forced Europe to take a stand. Though the policies and opinions in Sweden wavered during World War II, by the end of the war Sweden had taken a decisive stand against Nazism and a giant leap into social democracy.

Since social democracy developed extensively after World War II, many have studied this process within Europe and especially within Sweden. Political scientist Sheri Berman adopts a more general picture of social democracy within Europe, stating that the post war order based on social solidarity and national unity was evidence of the triumph of social democracy despite the Nazism and fascism of previous decades.³⁵ She highlights the successful transformation of Sweden, labeling this success "The Swedish Exception."³⁶ An even richer source of literature concerns the Sweden case, and there are several textbooks, books, dissertations, and articles on this subject. Historians Klaus Misgeld, Karl Molin, and Klas Åmark discuss how the Swedish

³⁴ Alf Johansson, *Den nazistiska utmaningen: Aspekter på andra världskriget*. (Stockholm: Prisma, 2006); Johan Östling, *Nazismens sensmoral: Svensk erfarenheter i andra världskrigets efterdyning*. (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2008), 297.

³⁵ Berman, 188, 198.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 203.

model developed in the 20th century from the humble beginnings of the SAP in 1889. Their in-depth analysis covers how the government and its institutions gradually reformed society, by helping every citizen reach middle-class and providing the social security for continued prosperity. On the other hand, historian Yvonne Hirdman focuses on the ideological foundations for this change, stressing the role of Scandinavian socialism which helped separate Sweden from communist and more extreme socialist ideologies.³⁷ Though Hirdman highlights the importance Swedish social architects which include Alva and Gunnar Myrdal, political scientist Bo Rothstein questions the idealism of Hirdman's argument, stating that the real architects were those directly involved in government, such as prominent Social Democrat Gustav Möller.³⁸ Because Alva Myrdal was an influential member of SDU, this debate is important within the context of this thesis. Myrdal is seen as an important social figure, her power within the governmental sphere is seen both ideologically and politically persuasive.

The transformation of Swedish society throughout the 20th century developed a welfare nationalism among Swedish citizens, tied to the progressiveness of the welfare state. Several authors have studied the pride Swedish citizens felt toward the budding welfare state and its foundation on modern, democratic ideas as well as how their increased trust and faith for the future of Sweden was tied to these ideas. This pride and faith only increased under the political chaos of World War II, historian Bo Stråth stating that "World War II created an internal cohesion and strengthened the creation of national identity."³⁹ This national identity constituted a socially liberal consensus opposed to Nazism and fascism with an eye toward the future.⁴⁰ A more in-depth discussion of the state of Swedish identity has already been addressed under the theoretical section (1.4.2).

Moreover, particular information on the Swedish political stance and actions during and after the war has been utilized. Although the victory of the Allies succeeded in greater national cohesion in Sweden, there was much political chaos in Sweden during the war caused by Sweden's neutrality policies and its isolation. Using documentation from contemporary published articles, speeches, and governmental debates to trace actions made by the Swedish government during the war, ethnologist Ingvar Svanberg and historian Matthias Tydén trace the discussion in the press concerning refugee politics, international aid, and the attempt in Sweden to understand the changing political face of Europe. In March 1943, when an article about German planning called "Ren utrotning är nu målet," or "Extermination is now the goal" came out, this created an

³⁷ Yvonne Hirdman. *Att lägga livet till rätta*. (Stockholm: Carlssons, 2000), 10-11.

³⁸ Björkman, Jenny. *Vård för samhällets bästa: Debatten om tvångsvård i svensk lagstiftning 1850 – 1970*. (Stockholm: Carlssons, 2001), 18.

³⁹ Bo Stråth, *Folkhemmet mot Europa: ett historiskt perspektiv på 90-talet* (Stockholm: Tiden, 1993), 132.

⁴⁰ "Andra världskriget skapade inre sammanhållning och förstärkte nationellt identitetsbyggande."

⁴⁰ Johansson, 11.

urge among intellectuals to become involved in the issues which were inevitable after the war.⁴¹

In addition, historian Wilhelm Carlgren follows the political debate through Swedish foreign policy decisions during and after the war and how this related to this larger context of Europe. The foreign policy decisions made in Sweden walked a fine line between neutrality and protection by cooperating with the Nazis.⁴² This cooperation was highly debated, causing bad press for Sweden after the war, which increased the need for Sweden to formulate a successful international aid plan to address post-war issues. At first, government aid was dominated by relief to Nordic countries. Historian David Ellwood further discusses the Swedish plans in Sweden to rebuild Europe, including how a small country such as Sweden fought to make a contribution among the international aid picture dominated by the Allies, eventually giving a generous amount of aid to the whole of Europe. Ellwood states that the majority of aid from the Allies and Sweden was used to reconstruct the political and economic institutions in Europe, with particular attention toward Germany.⁴³

Political scientist Cay Sevón further cites Sweden's extreme willingness to participate in this reconstruction because of the protection and economic prosperity gained from neutrality. Sevón also gives a background of the important organizations involved in reconstruction including the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), which provided billions of dollars toward reconstruction after World War II as well as the Swedish governmental committee *Svenska kommittén för internationellt hjälpverksamhet* (The Swedish Committee for International Relief, SIH). This work provides step-by-step information on the planned operations by the Allies, private organizations, and national governments, which will be discussed further in Chapter 3.⁴⁴

Beyond these broad works there is scarce literature discussing the particularities of international aid, especially cultural reconstruction in Sweden. This literature consists mostly of PhD dissertations from an organizational perspective. Particularly useful were child researcher Ann Nehlin's dissertation on Save the Children and historian Nikolas Glover's dissertation on *Svenska Institutet* (The Swedish Institute, SI). Nehlin analyzes the fight for funding between the Swedish Red Cross, Save the Children, and other organizations as well as the circumstances surrounding the creation of SIH in Sweden. Although Save the Children provided relief to children, they fought for the same funding which SDU needed. Glover, on the other hand, analyzes the work of SI from its creation in 1945 to 1970, in order to understand how this semi-

⁴¹ Ingvar Svanberg and Matthias Tydén. *Sverige och förintelsen: Debatt och dokument om Europas judar 1933-1945* (Stockholm: Bokförlaget Arena, 1997), 283.

⁴² Wilhelm Carlgren, *Swedish Foreign Policy During the Second World War* (London: Ernest Behm Limited, 1977)

⁴³ David W. Ellwood, *Rebuilding Europe: Western Europe, America, and Postwar Reconstruction* (London: Longman, 1992),

⁴⁴ Cay Sevón, *Visionen om Europa: Svensk neutralitet och europeisk återuppbyggnad 1945-1948* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1995), 303.

governmental institution was able to survive under the competition for funding with committees purely focused on relief work.

In addition to these works, the largest pieces of literature particularly addressing SDU are historian Helmut Müssener's dissertation, *Exil in Schweden: Politische und Kulturelle Emigration nach 1933*, historian Jörg Lindner's *Den svenska tysklands-hjälpen: 1945-1954*, and historian Rune Bokholm's *Före...Under...Efter*. The first two books concentrate on the reconstruction plans for Germany by Swedish and German actors, while Bokholm offers a Swedish perspective on the youth education organization *Samfundet för internationellt samhällstudium och uppbyggnadsarbete* (The Association for International Societal Studies and Reconstruction Efforts, SISU) and its work in cooperation with SDU.

In Müssener's dissertation, which concerns German intellectual exiles after 1933, he discusses SDU as being strongly connected to Otto Friedländer, Willy Brandt, Kurt Stechert, and Franz Mockrauer, among others. According to Müssener, SDU utilized these thinkers as valuable resources, aiming to instill a sense of Swedish democracy in the refugees from the war and participate in the reconstruction of Germany.⁴⁵ Müssener describes how the SDU was actually an exercise of constant coordination with organizations and contacts in an effort to fully understand how they could provide meaningful help for cultural reconstruction. Work was distributed among members to determine how other organizations were functioned and to find where the SDU would be most needed. Faith was placed increasingly in the hands of German exiles to direct action in fruitful directions.⁴⁶ Müssener stated that although he has described a portion of SDU's contributions, there is a need to create a larger work in order to understand the full scope of their operations. In an interview conducted with the author, he stated that SDU could be considered one of the first large NGOs in Sweden --- in the same vain as the SRK.⁴⁷

Though Müssener's dissertation was published in 1974, the next work to directly discuss the SDU, Jörg Lindner's dissertation, was not published until 1988. While Müssener focuses more on structure and member connections to Germany, Lindner provides a more in-depth discussion the particular projects of SDU in Germany within the wider Swedish and international context as well as how SDU, SRK, RB, and other large organizations were funded. Lindner's more financial analysis of the Swedish aid picture complements Müssener's focus on the intellectual and cultural power of SDU. Though, both Müssener and Lindner direct their attention to the contributions to Germany by SDU, which paints an unclear picture of the projects in other parts of Central Europe as well as the work in Sweden with refugee education, literature donation, and SDU's place in the creation of Swedish identity after World War II.

Rune Bokholm's book, published in 2007, is a historical overview of the organization

⁴⁵ Helmut Müssener, *Exil in Schweden, Politische und kulturelle Emigration nach 1933*. (München: Carl Hanser, 1974), 263.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 264-265.

⁴⁷ Helmut Müssener (historian) in discussion with author, June 2011.

SISU which worked directly with SDU. Because SISU was designed to prepare youth for cultural contributions after the war, it shared goals with SDU, even created a combined off-shoot committee in Lund together. Bokholm discusses how these two organizations worked together to create conferences and courses and even shared members throughout the duration of SDU's operation.⁴⁸ This book was also helpful in tracing a wider communication network between members of SDU, SISU, and other similar organizations.⁴⁹

Furthermore, SDU published literature during its operations. Although most of this literature is utilized as sources, the book *De dödsdömda vittna* by professor Einar and author Gunhild Tegen as well as its follow up book *De dödsdömda vittnar- 60 år senare* by author Pia-Kristina Garde will be utilized as previous research. Both works are built around questionnaires made by the SDU to study the experiences of concentration camp survivors in Sweden refugee camps. These questionnaires, which are still located in Einar and Gunhild Tegen's archive in Carolina Rediviva, helped SDU and its members understand both the mental and physical damage caused to concentration camp survivors and increased their interest in the study of *folkpsykologi*, or the study of how living within a collective of people can develop a sense of comradeship and national character among these individuals. Studying the evolution of National Socialism and German mentality as well as the support for creating a new kind of democracy in Europe was an important goal for SDU from the beginning of its operations, and it continued to serve as an ideological foundation in later years.

A recreation of the general political and social atmosphere during and after World War II has been organized from these works as well as a particular understanding of the Swedish context. The increased importance of both social democracy and National Socialism during this time period informed not only the international political, social, and economic situation but also informed actions within Sweden. Using this broad context, tracing the development of international aid within Sweden as well as abroad has helped to shape the understanding of how SDU fit within the cultural reconstruction wrapped in the larger European reconstruction. This framework has been enhanced by the further specialty knowledge of Müssener, Lindner, and the Tegens.

⁴⁸ Rune Bokholm, *Före...Under...Efter: Motstånd mot nazismen och hjälp till dess offer*. (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2007), 396 – 399.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

3. The Organization of European Reconstruction

As World War II continued to rage, it became increasingly clear to politicians, intellectuals, and educators that a massive reconstruction initiative for Europe would be necessary after the war. The British government became involved in these issues as early as 1940, establishing various private and public organizations to address the material and educational reconstruction of Europe. In the United States, the private initiative was strong by 1943, while governmental support arrived in the form of the UNRRA in late 1943. The Swedish government, on the other hand, struggled with how to place themselves within this international aid picture, instead focusing on the needs of Nordic countries. Though private organizations in Sweden were involved in European reconstruction as early as 1942, the government did not become involved until early 1944.

This section will provide a brief history of reconstruction committees in Great Britain, the United States, and Sweden using largely SDU's own enlightenment brochures and selected previous research. Though SDU literature may present a bias, this chapter will show that because the SDU was comprised of primarily of educators, they were extremely knowledgeable on reconstruction issues in Europe and the United States.

3.1. Relief Initiatives: Great Britain and the United States

Though there was great cooperation by the Allies in the early years of the war, the British government was the first entity to actively create organizations addressing European reconstruction. According to author Arne Björnberg in SDU's *Kulturell Uppbyggnad 1*, in 1940 a governmental reconstruction committee headed by Sir Frederick Leith-Ross created initiatives for material aid. Subsequently, several advisory committees were established to address specific material needs such as agriculture, healthcare, transportation, and refugee issues. Their goals included sending "between 45 and 50 million tons of food, seeds, fuel, raw materials, machinery, and medicine to nine European countries during the first six months after their liberation." Although this committee invited participants from other countries, it was largely a British committee. Arne Björnberg also states that there was an unnamed American committee with the same goal, but due to competition with the Leith-Ross Commission, it fell to the wayside.⁵⁰

By 1943, it was clear that this commission alone would not be able to fulfill the massive need for material relief in Europe, and a series of conferences were held in the United States to discuss the creation of a large international relief organization. At one such conference in Hot

⁵⁰ Einar Tegen, Alva Myrdal, Erik Leijonhufvud, and Anne Björnberg, *Sverige och uppbyggnadsarbetet, Kulturell Uppbyggnad nr. 1* (Stockholm: KF, 1945), 11. (herein referred to as KU1) "mellan 45 och 50 miljoner ton livsmedel, utsäde, bränsle, kläder, råvaror, maskiner, och läkemedel behövas i nio europeiska länder under det första halvåret efter deras befrielse."

Springs, Arkansas in the summer of 1943, participants “set up an organizing committee for the planning of a major international relief organization” which eventually led to the creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA).⁵¹ Though it was not until a later conference in Atlantic City, New Jersey on November 9, 1943, that UNRRA was officially established. The Atlantic City conference brought together representatives from 44 allied nations, including the four largest powers: United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China.⁵² It is important to note that although the United Nations was not officially created until 1945, from 1943 unofficial organizations were created under the United Nations heading, which were later officially connected.

Similar to the Leith-Ross Committee, operations fell into the categories of: relief supplies, relief services, rehabilitation supplies, and rehabilitation of public utilities and supplies which would be distributed on a non-discriminatory basis on race, personal beliefs, or political affiliation. Foremost, Herbert Lehman, president of the UNRRA, aimed to work with a “help for self-help” philosophy, as to not make those receiving aid dependent on this help. Though these projects were funded through governmental contributions by each participating country, based on a percentage of their overall GDP, the majority of contributions came from the United States.⁵³

According to Arne Björnberg, the Leith-Ross Committee and the UNRRA were successful in their ability to connect diverse countries under a joint mission. Though as historian David Ellwood states, the sheer size and operational complexity of these committees as well as the military and political issues in previously occupied lands after the war made concrete initiatives difficult once the war had ended.⁵⁴ The UNRRA was established as the large, though temporary, hub for international relief but due to governmental issues, this organization was even shorter-lived than expected.⁵⁵

There were also issues on an international stage, as UNRRA was developed mainly to provide for countries in desperate need, there was heated debate within the Swedish government about whether to become a member of the UNRRA or to create a governmental relief organization. Though several advocates in Sweden, including SDU member Alva Myrdal vowed to cooperate with UNRRA because of its international influence, Sweden never became an official member of the organization.⁵⁶ This decision not to join was largely based on disapproval of the way UNRRA organized its relief organizations. Cay Sevón implies that the UNRRA,

⁵¹ Ibid., 12. “tillsatte an organisationskommitté för planläggning av en stor internationell hjälporganisation.”

⁵² Ibid., 13.

⁵³ Ibid., 17.

⁵⁴ Ellwood, 35; Sevón, 53.

⁵⁵ Ibid.; Charles Dorn, “‘The World’s School Master’: Educational Reconstruction, Grayson Kefauver and the Founding of UNESCO, 1942-1946.” *History of Education* 35, no.3 (2006), 311.

⁵⁶ KU1, 13.

despite claiming no partisan bias, used these operations as political weapons for Allied policies. Though there was discussion of fruitful cooperation between them, the Swedish government was reluctant to subordinate themselves to any organization that could lead to political conflict, especially because of the lingering bad press concerning their neutrality and isolation during the war.⁵⁷

In fact, by 1946 even “the United States decided to withdraw its support for the activities UNRRA had undertaken during the war. UNRRA had previously supported all countries affected by the war, irrespective of politics,” but despite the large amount of money flowing through UNRRA, many initiatives poorly accomplished.⁵⁸ Governmental financial support quickly turned from the UNRRA to supporting the massive European Recovery Program, more popularly known as the Marshall Plan, which was created at a meeting in June 5, 1947, though it was not into operation until April 1948.⁵⁹ More discussion of the Marshall and its post-war implications for Swedish international aid will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Despite the problems in coordinating the relief efforts in Britain and the United States, the amount of money collected and donated to these efforts was immense. Though the exact contributions of the Leith-Ross commission could not be calculated, the UNRRA raised an amazing amount of money. By July 1947, when the UNRRA's operations were largely replaced by the Marshall Plan, it had contributed 3.9 billion US dollars to European relief, the United States contributing 2.7 billion and Britain 625 million of those dollars.⁶⁰

3.2. Educational Reconstruction: Great Britain and the United States

Amidst ongoing discussions about material aid, there was a small though lively discourse on educational reconstruction in the United States and Great Britain. In 1941, the Council for Education in World Citizenship was founded in Britain. This council, representing teachers and school officials, was designed “with the task of investigating the issue of reconstruction and democratic education in Europe.”⁶¹ A similar committee, The London International Assembly, was created by the British government around the same time and included participants from the soon to be formed United Nations. Later, these committees combined to create the Joint Commission which began operations in February 1942.⁶² The sheer size of this organization, over 56 members, required the work to be broken up into smaller sections decided upon by the

⁵⁷ Sevón, 67 – 68; Nehlin, 47.

⁵⁸ Nehlin, 82

⁵⁹ Ellwood, 154.

⁶⁰ William I. Hitchcock, *The Bitter Road to Freedom: A New History of the Liberation of Europe* (New York, Free Press, 2008), 220.

⁶¹ Ture Casserberg, *Uppfostran och undervisning, Kulturell Uppbyggnad nr. 2* (Stockholm: KF, 1945), 8-9 (herein referred to as KU2) “med uppgift att utreda frågan om återuppbyggnad av den demokratiska uppfostran i Europa.”; Lindner, 155-156.

⁶² KU2, 9.

membership, with a final report concerning its operations coming out in early 1943. Because this commission was semi-governmental, representing both educators and political advocates, it cast a large net in Britain.

According to school teacher Ture Casserberg in *Kulturell Uppbyggnad 2*, this cooperation within the Joint Commission between members from Allied lands as well as occupied lands “allowed access to valuable expertise on the circumstances in Europe. At the same time the commission’s work was naturally marked with an international element.”⁶³ Their main issues included “adjustment of the education in Axis-occupied countries and the democratization of Germany,” but they were also concerned with “future international cooperation in the arena of education and training.”⁶⁴

This commission was also vital in starting the London “Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education (CAME) in 1943, which included representatives from Allied countries and future members of the United Nations.”⁶⁵ These conferences also led to the Books Commission under the Inter-Allied Bureau of Education and German Educational Reconstruction (GER) joining the educational reconstruction discussion. The Books Commission, which was designed to aid in “postwar library rehabilitation,” created a list of the 1000 best British books which were sent to 40 university libraries in Europe.⁶⁶ GER was also eager to send books and periodicals abroad even as late as 1947. In a bulletin published by the Oxford University Press GER’s chairman, S.H. Wood, states that “Germany has been culturally isolated for the past 14 years, and many valuable books have been destroyed in libraries and private houses by the Nazis and by acts of war.” He iterates that because of these acts, “The need for books and periodicals is desperate, particularly those dealing with educational, technical, political, and economic subjects.”⁶⁷ The donation of books and periodicals became a way for many in Britain to participate in the material and educational reconstruction of Germany as well as other previously occupied nations.

Ture Casserberg states further states that British investment in the reconstruction issues was meaningful but did not degrade the contributions of the United States. In fact, he states, “This does not mean that the interest in the cultural and educational reconstruction issues is less in America than in other allied countries. On the contrary, the discussion has been extremely

⁶³ Ibid. “fick den tillgång till värdefull sakkunskap om förhållandena i Europa. Samtidigt kom hela kommissions arbete naturligtvis att i ganska hög grad präglas av det internationella inslaget...”

⁶⁴ Ibid., 10. “omställandet av undervisningen i de axellockuperade länderna och demokratiseringen av Tyskland.” “framtida internationellt samarbete på uppfostrans område.”

⁶⁵ Dorn, 308.

⁶⁶ Carl M. White and P.S.J. Welford “The Inter-allied Book Centre in London” *The Library Quarterly*, Vol. 16, 4 (1946), 57.

⁶⁷ S.H. Wood and Erich Hirsch “Correspondence” *Music and Letters*, Vol. 28, no. 2 (1947), 206.

lively there and even more public than in England.”⁶⁸

By same time the Joint Commission released its report in 1943 and the London conference was taking place, commissions in the United States with interest in the European educational reconstruction were becoming more public. Though educational organizations such as Educational Policies Commission (EPC) created in December 1935 and the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction (USCER) created in August 1940 had been operational for several years, the discourse on educational reconstruction did not become strong until after the first CAME conference.⁶⁹

The EPC, like the British Council for Education in World Citizenship, had a membership of teachers and school administrators, but unlike the combined Joint Commission, their views were not as affected by international contributions. In 1935, their primary tasks focused on education in the United States, and they did not become engaged in international education until World War II.⁷⁰ On the other hand, the USCER was strongly affected by its ties with the teachers in future United Nations member states and occupied lands. It even established a daughter committee, the World Education Service Council (WESC) specifically for the creation realistic programs for educational reconstruction in the occupied lands.⁷¹ In fact, by the summer of 1943, “The Commission on International Exchanges and Scholarships” had already earmarked funds for the education of 1,500 students from war-torn lands in the United States. Correspondence with this Commission even led to the goal for SDU to educate 150 students in Sweden.⁷²

Because there were many other organizations that became involved international educational issues, there was a need to organize them under one cooperative organ. A committee of educational ministers headed by the dean of the Education department at Stanford University, Grayson N. Kefauver, was established, becoming the precursor for the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).⁷³ Similar the Joint Commission, this committee worked with future United Nations members and educational officials in various countries to address pedagogic issues. As well as Kefauver’s participation in the CAME conference and his series of published articles about educational issues, there were conferences held under his direction in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia in September 1943 and in Hood College, Maryland in June 1944 addressing educational issues.⁷⁴ According to Ture

⁶⁸ Ibid., 11. “Detta innebär nu inte, att intresset för de kulturella och pedagogiska återuppbyggnadsproblem är mindre i Amerika än i de övriga allierade länderna. Tvärtom har diskussion varit synnerligen livlig där och framför allt mera offentlig än i England.”

⁶⁹ Dorn, 310.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 12.

⁷¹ Ibid., 14.

⁷² Scharp, KB 139; Folder: Samarbete med andra organisationer 1943 -1944: Brev till Einar Tegen från USCER.

⁷³ Dorn, 310.

⁷⁴ Grayson Kefauver was active in educational reconstruction issues until his unfortunate death in 1945. A sampling of his published articles include: “The Challenge to Educational Leadership in The Phi Delta Kappan

Casserberg, these conferences were important because they led to more cooperation between the state departments in the United States and Britain as well as cooperation between various countries and the UNRRA.⁷⁵

The massive efforts within both public interests in Great Britain and the mixture of public and private efforts in the United States positively affected the interest in educational reconstruction in Sweden. In the midst of these conferences in the Britain and the United States, there were also reports and articles in academic journals printed in the United States about the progress of these actions. Swedish educators and politicians, many of whom were members of SDU, began to take notice, and Ture Casserberg even states that SDU was influenced by the passion in these countries to take action.⁷⁶

3.3. The Case of Sweden

As material and educational reconstruction efforts in the United States and Great Britain gained momentum in 1943, private and public initiatives began to organize in Sweden as well. Although the ambivalence on whether the government should utilize the UNRRA or create a governmental committee in Sweden was apparent in the lack of action until 1944 when SIH was created. In the early years, this committee focused primarily on aid to Nordic countries but gradually expanded these actions to the whole of Central Europe.⁷⁷

SIH was officially established in January 1944. The task of SIH was “to coordinate individual forces which...did humanitarian work...and make sure that the available state funds were used to support this work.”⁷⁸ This committee organized over 40 organizations including well-known committees like *Röda Korset* (The Swedish Red Cross, SRK) and *Rädda Barnen* (Save the Children, RB) distributing over 100 million crowns of government funding to various international relief projects.⁷⁹ In order to organize this funding, SIH sent out questionnaires to each organization. Some of the largest organizations were even members of the committee and helped determine how the distribution could be handled in the most efficient way. A committee for purely material aid was also established and named *Statens återuppbyggnadsnämnd* (The National Reconstruction Board, SÅ). This committee focused on “state lending and licensing of goods

in April 1935 and “Education :an Important Factor in Achieving an Enduring Peace” in *The School Review* in January 1944.

⁷⁵ KU2, 13.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 16; These articles included: “Educational Reconstruction of Europe” by Feliks Gross printed in the *American Sociological Review* in October 1943, “Some Considerations in Postwar Educational Reconstruction” by Charles I. Glickberg in *The School Review* in May 1944, and an entire volume of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science* devoted to “Frontiers of Education in September 1944.

⁷⁷ Nehlin, 48.

⁷⁸ Knut von Horn, “Svenska hjälp- och återuppbyggnadsleverenser” in *Axel von Gjöres: till Alex Gjöres på sextioårsdagen 11 november 1949* (Stockholm, 1949), 114, quoted in Lindner, 2. “att samordna de enskilda krafter, som...utförde humanitär verksamhet... samt att medelst av staten till förfogande ställda medel understödja detta arbete.”

⁷⁹ Nehlin, 44.

deliveries in connection with Sweden's participation in Europe's economic reconstruction," while SIH was also involved in supporting education and relief for children in Europe.⁸⁰

Though there had been some participation in European reconstruction efforts as early as 1940, these efforts were concentrated on material aid to Finland, Norway and Denmark as well as helping refugees who fled to Sweden from these countries. Early in the debates on whether or not to expand international aid, rhetoric began to form on the "Nordic prerogative" and the importance of "taking care of your own." In fact, this would come to characterize the Swedish governmental involvement in the relief efforts in Europe.⁸¹

International attention regarding international aid to non-Nordic countries did not truly begin until the release of a confidential document by Folke Bernadotte in September 1943 in which he stated his intention to expand SRK's humanitarian relief to foreign countries. Bernadotte stressed that although the Nordic countries should come first, the Baltic countries and lastly Germany should also receive contributions. He believed that the best way to develop goodwill for Sweden as well as develop the SRK as whole was to expand these operations. The failure to accomplish this goal could severely damage the reputation of both Sweden and the SRK.⁸² According to Ann Nehlin, it was of no concern to Bernadotte and the SRK whether or not the government supported this transition. SRK would not only expand their relief internationally, but they would lead the charge in this arena.⁸³

Even after the establishment of SIH, Folke Bernadotte made it clear that the SRK would coordinate but certainly not subordinate to SIH, requiring complete freedom to carry out its work, citing that their work "was more important than that of other relief organizations."⁸⁴ SRK wanted to be involved in order to share responsibility in how relief would be carried out as well as obtain some of the funds allocated to relief work. The SRK did not wish to embroil itself in the politics and lose organizational freedom.⁸⁵ Power politics became one of the trends within the relief efforts in Sweden and the obstacle in coordinating with other countries.

Representatives for SRK, RB, and organizations including SDU became deciding members of the SIH. Alva Myrdal as leader of the section for non-Nordic relief was even responsible for mediating conflict in discussions over aid to non-Nordic countries.⁸⁶ Though, early on there were problems between SRK and Alva Myrdal. As stated in her "principle

⁸⁰ Lindner, 16. "statlig kreditgivning och tillstånd för varuleverenser i samband med Sveriges deltagande i Europas ekonomiska rekonstruktion."

⁸¹ Nehlin, 174; Lindner, 16; See also: Mikael Byström and Karin Kvist Geverts, "Från en aktivism till en annan. Hur ska Sveriges agerande i flyktingfrågan under andra världskriget förklaras?" in Mattias Tydén and Lars M. Andersson *Sverige och Nazityskland* (Stockholm: Dialogos, 2007).

⁸² *Ibid.*, 41.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 57, 62.

viewpoints” December 1944, Myrdal did not agree with the way the SRK wanted to direct aid, believing that SRK was pulling Sweden into the past by only offering charitable donations instead of the means for a real European reconstruction.⁸⁷ In addition, she felt that no one organization should be in charge but that work should be delegated to non-governmental organizations with the government as the overseer⁸⁸

Despite these early pitfalls, representatives were soon assigned to posts and funding was released from the government by December 1946, due largely to Alva Myrdal’s consistent pleading to the government. Included in the 100 million crowns for European reconstruction, there was a total of 2 million crowns given to cultural and pedagogic projects for non-Nordic countries. The task of utilizing this money was given to those in *folkbildning* organizations which included SDU, SI, and *Statens Arbetsmarknadskommision* (The National Labor Commission, SAK).⁸⁹ The word *folkbildning* in this context refers to “popular education.” Other terms such as *folkbildningsmän* and *folkbildare* will be used throughout this thesis to describe those involved in bringing the philosophies of popular education to the peoples of Sweden and abroad.⁹⁰

Another committee of importance, *Svenska Eurohjälpen* (The Swedish Aid to Europe SEH), was created by a collection of non-governmental organizations on February 15, 1946 to address humanitarian problems.⁹¹ According to its annual report, this committee was created from “a spontaneous will to help.”⁹² A committee in much the same vein as SDU, SEH was a coordinating organ for Sweden’s national economic, trade union, and non-profit organizations including SRK and RB. They wished to help children with whatever would be needed after the war using the far-reaching connections already in place within SRK and RB. By 1946, there were 34 organizations under its heading, and it had raised 24 million Swedish crowns by the end of the year.⁹³ When the SIH was eventually disbanded, this committee took over the task of funding aid efforts in Sweden.

In Sweden, there was never an organized governmental effort for educational reconstruction as in Britain and the United States, but although the international relief effort to non-Nordic countries beginning later than in these Allied countries it was strong and well-funded. It is important to note that for a small country like Sweden, there was still a massive

⁸⁷ Lindner, 17; Nehlin, 69

⁸⁸ Nehlin, 63.

⁸⁹ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944-46, 47.

⁹⁰ It is important to note that there is a certain level of prominence connoted in this term, those who were *folkbildare* were highly-ranked in educational circles.

⁹¹ Nehlin, 74; Sevón, 303.

⁹² KU1, 16. “en spontan hjälpvilja.”

⁹³ Not all of these organizations were for relief. Also represented were political associations such as Sweden’s Communist Youth Association, the Liberal Party’s Women’s Association and Sweden’s Social Democrat Youth Association. Religious associations included The Free Churches Co-operation Association, as well as organizations representing occupational groups, students, unions and the Swedish Employers’ Confederation. This unlikely cooperation between various political and religious association shows how united Swedes felt at the end of World War II.; Nehlin, 75.

amount of funding given, a larger percentage than most other countries in Europe. This was due to Sweden's fortunate financial situation directly after the war, but there was also a feeling of responsibility among Swedes.⁹⁴ Though the cultural reconstruction effort was in many ways seen as a secondary effort, many, especially members of SDU, fought for its place within European reconstruction.

4. The Making of *Samarbetskommittén för Demokratiskt Uppbyggnadsarbete*

Amidst this complex background of international aid, SDU was established. This chapter will offer an overview of the ideological foundations of this organization as well as its formal structure and financing from 1943 – 1951. This chapter will act as foundation for understanding how SDU initiatives were organized and financed during these years.

4.1. From “Reeducation” to Reconstruction

The original idea of creating SDU came from a series of lectures held by Austrian refugee Dr. Ludvig Schnabl beginning in on January 27, 1943. These lectures, primarily concerning youth in dictatorships and educational opportunities in world reconstruction woke interest among the members of *Stiftelsen Fredhögskolan* (SF) and *Världssamling för fred – Svenska kommittén* (VF) which subsequently held a meeting discussing the creation on a “reeducation committee” on May 20, 1943. Present at this meeting were Professor Einar Tegen, Principal Alva Myrdal, and plus several members of *Internationella kvinnoförbundet för fred och frihet* (The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, IKFF), though no official relationship was found in source material.⁹⁵ As SF and VF committees had previously engaged in “reeducation” work in Europe, this was a mission close to their hearts. Most notably, in 1942 SF had taken initiative by educating Austrian children in Sweden with the help of Dr. Ludvig Schnabl. The successes of these actions led to the desire for further help in this arena, especially in the arena of refugee education in Sweden and abroad.⁹⁶ At this same meeting, member of SF, Einar Tegen, and Member of VF, Alva Myrdal, were made respective president and vice president of SDU while others within these organizations became the original members in SDU's Central Committee.⁹⁷

Though the original working name, *Samarbetskommittén för pedagogiskt återuppbyggnadsarbete*, or The Swedish Joint Committee for Pedagogic Reconstruction (SPÅ) was established on May 31, 1943 at a joint meeting between SF and VF, but it was changed in favor of *Samarbetskommittén för demokratiskt uppbyggnadsarbete*, or The Swedish Joint Committee for

⁹⁴ Sevón, 302-303.

⁹⁵ Scharp, KB 139; Folder: SDU Konst. Sammanträder 1943 (herein referred to as Sammanträder): Protokoll 20 maj 1943; Tegen, UUB: Lev, 93.

⁹⁶ Ibid.; Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

Democratic Reconstruction (SDU), on June 21, 1943 to encompass the wider berth of their anticipated operations including education but also training, public opinion creation, and refugee aid in form of literature donation and vocational education. Though the first official meeting of SDU was not held until January 4, 1944, much of the structure and operational guidelines were created during the meetings in 1943.⁹⁸ By the time of this first meeting, the word “reeducation” had been replaced by reconstruction, the members discussing primarily to reconstruction Europe intellectually, democratically, and culturally. There were also several important individuals and organizations working with SDU by 1944, including historian Torgny Segerstedt and *folkbildningsmän* Gunnar Hirdman as well as representatives of KF, *Landsorganisationen i Sverige* (The Swedish Trade Union Confederation, LO), *Svenska arbetsgivareföreningen* (The Swedish Employer’s Association, SAF), and *Arbetarbildningsförbundet* (The Worker’s Educational Association, ABF). These organizations supplied much of the financial support and connections for the committee during the flurry of activity in the first years.⁹⁹

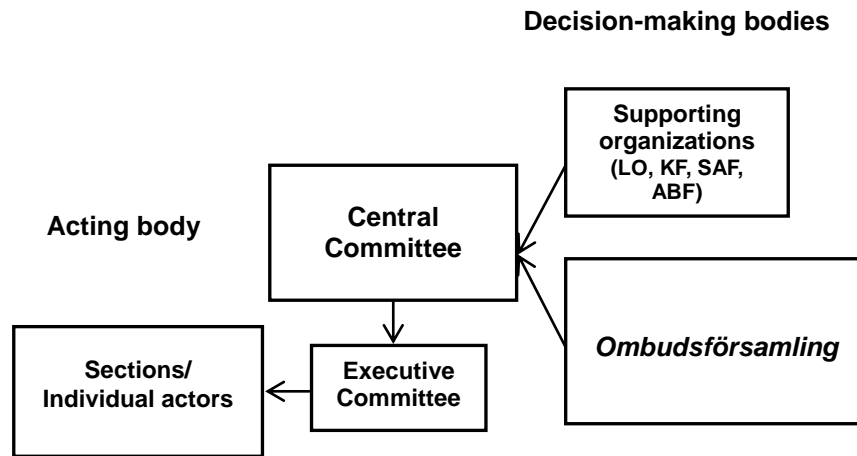
4.2. Structure

Though the structure of the SDU changed over time, there were two formal organs in 1943: the Central Committee and the operational sections. In 1944, it was decided that an additional *ombuds församling*, or a representative assembly, would be created in order to represent the many organizations that cooperated with SDU. This formal organization was most important at the beginning while SDU was in the preparatory phase before the end of World War II. This design allowed all members and organizations to participate in whatever ways and with whatever means they could – giving all participating organizations a say within the *ombuds församling*, while the most active members were placed within the highest-decision making body, the Central Committee, which in turn selected members for the Executive Committee. The *ombuds församling*, Central Committee, and Executive Committee were responsible to making decisions and overseeing projects while the sections were designed to carry out these plans. Before the official disbandment of the sections on July 10, 1947, the respective president and secretary of the operational sections were also members of the Central Committee, most being members of the Executive Committee as well which represented the core of SDU’s operations.¹⁰⁰ After this point, the Central Committee decided on the direction of operations which were carried out by individual actors in cooperation with cooperating organizations.

⁹⁸ Ibid., Protokoll 20 maj, 31 maj, 8 juni, 21 juni, 6 augusti, 3 september, 23 september, 28 december 1943 and 4 januari 1944.

⁹⁹ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelser 1944 – 1950 (herein referred to as Folder 2): Verksamhetsberättelse 1944 and 1945

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1944, 1944-46, 1948/49-1949/50.



This illustration is designed to show not only the size of each separate structure but emphasize the mixed hierarchy of SDU's structure. Those who participated financially received more priority in decisions, being automatically elected to the Central, while the other organizations provided feedback and ideas for operations in the *ombudsförsamling* are considered periphery members. A full list of members in each of these bodies can be viewed in Appendix I.

4.2.1. Central Committee

The Central Committee was SDU's highest-level decision making body, consisting of an 11 member committee with a smaller 6 member executive offshoot. Members included representatives from supporting organizations KF, LO, ABF, and later SAF as well as the president and secretary from each working section. Additional members were chosen from the *ombudsförsamling*.¹⁰¹

According to the meeting protocol on January 4, 1944, the Central Committee was responsible for:

1. drawing up and approving guidelines for SDU operations, dividing work between the sections, and selecting the Executive Committee,
2. acting as the deciding organ on questions of fundamental importance as well as regarding public statements, appeals, and petitions to authorities,
3. meeting to discuss financial issues, which would happen:
 - a) by creating a budget for operations within the committee, i.e. the different sections, which would procure money from the Central Committee.
 - b) by considering any case of operational expansion or change, which would result in increased expenditure in excess of the set budget,
4. ensuring that an adequate and valid audit is conducted according to the guidelines in point 3.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1944.

¹⁰² Scharp, KB 139; Folder Sammanträder: Protokoll 4 jan 1944; "1) att uppdraga och godkänna riktlinjer för SDU's verksamhet och fördela arbetet på lampligt antal sektioner samt att utse arbetsutskott, 2) "att vara beslutande organ i fråga om ärenden av större vikt och av principiell betydelse samt beträffande offentliga uttalanden, utprop och framställningar till myndigheter," 3) "att träffa avgörande i finansiella frågor. Detta skall ske a) genom att fastställa budget för den verksamhet inom kommittén resp. de olika sektionerna, vartill medel

Since the president and secretary of the sections were automatically assigned to the Central Committee, section presidents had a high level of control over the scope of their projects and how they were carried out. The members selected by the *ombudsförsamling* often worked in support for their respective organization.¹⁰³

In 1943, the Central Committee consisted primarily of members from SF and VF, plus representatives from the supporting organizations including LO, KF, and ABF. These included Einar Tegen, freedom activist Greta Engkvist, and author Henry Peter Matthis from SF as well as Alva Myrdal and teacher and wife of finance minister Ernst Wigforss, Eva Wigforss from VF. From the supporting organizations were ABF's study director Gunnar Hirdman, LO's study director Torvald Karlbom, and head of KF's organization department Mauritz Bonow (KF).¹⁰⁴

By 1944, the Central Committee had changed, replacing many members from SF and VF with others met through preparatory work including conferences. In 1944, the committee consisted of President Einar Tegen, vice president Alva Myrdal, Editor Nils Thedin, Professor Vilhelm Scharp, and secretary and former Tegen student Rune Eriksson. Supporting representatives remained nearly the same, the only change being the replacement of Mauritz Bonow of KF with Editor Nils Thedin who also became the head of the 3rd section.

In 1945, there were two more additions that were important to the Central Committee: school teacher Ture Casserberg, who also became a secretary for SDU, and a new supporting representative from SAF, Mats Larsson; though the position would later turn over to business leader and economist Curt Steffan-Giesecke by 1949.¹⁰⁵

The most significant change within the Central Committee happened in the last recorded annual report for 1949 – 1950. Including the change from Larsson to Giesecke, new members included politician and women's activist Inga Thorsson, docent Uno Willers, and *folkbildningsmän* Ragnar Lund.¹⁰⁶ Other well-known figures floated in and out the Central Committee, and a full list of these members can be found in Appendix I.

4.2.2. Executive Committee

A smaller Executive Committee, elected by the Central Committee, consisted of the key members of SDU. In the early years, this committee consisted of six members, nearly all from the working sections, but in the later years when members were decided exclusively by the

anskaffas genom Centralkommittén, b) genom ur finansiella synpunkter pröva varje sådan fråga om verksamhetens utvidgning eller förändring, som innebär ökade utgifter i förhållande till det enligt a) fastställda budgetförslaget,”⁴) “att ansvara för att betryggande och sakkunnig revision äger rum av den ekonomiska verksamheten enligt punkt 3.”

¹⁰³ Tegen, UUB: Lev, 96.

¹⁰⁴ Scharp, KB 139: Folder: Sammanträder: Protokoll 28 december 1943

¹⁰⁵ Müssener, ARAB: Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1948/49-1949/50.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

Central Committee, and this number varied from 6 to 8 members. The Executive Committee was responsible for:

1. carefully preparing all questions which would be submitted to the Central Committee,
2. executing the decisions of the Central Committee,
3. ensuring that the work conducted by the sections followed the agreed guidelines and budget set forth by the Central Committee,
4. providing detailed instructions for section officials authorizing their work if necessary,
5. selecting a person or persons, for the Executive Committee or the sections respectively, to certify expenditures or make payments on the Central Committee's behalf.¹⁰⁷

This committee was extremely important for the everyday activities of SDU, meeting frequently in the early years of operations, including 17 times in 1944 and 14 times in 1945.¹⁰⁸

The Executive Committee remained relatively unchanged in the early years of operation. In 1944 and 1945, the Executive Committee consisted of Einar Tegen, Alva Myrdal, Editor Nils Thedin, Arne Brundell, Ture Casserberg, and secretary Rune Eriksson. In 1945, school official and politician Stig Lundgren was added as a substitute.¹⁰⁹ By 1946, Stig Lundgren had replaced Nils Thedin.¹¹⁰

The largest change in the Executive Committee occurred when Alva Myrdal began to lessen her responsibilities in the organization. In 1947, LO-ombudsman Nils Goude replaced her as both vice president of SDU as well as member of the Executive Committee. Though Tegen, Casserberg, and Lundgren remained, new members included Eva Wigforss, Sigvard Wolontis, and as adjunct member, Principal Allan Degerman.¹¹¹ In 1948, Vilhelm Scharp was also elected to the committee.¹¹²

By the time the last annual report was published the Executive Committee consisted of Einar Tegen, Nils Goude, Ture Casserberg, Allan Degerman, Ragnar Lund, Stig Lundgren, Vilhelm Scharp, and Nils Thedin.¹¹³

Secretariat

¹⁰⁷ Scharp, KB 139; Folder Sammanträder: Protokoll 4 jan 1944. "1) att noggrant bereda alla frågor, som skola föreläggas Centralkommittén" 2) "att verkställa av Centralkommittén fattade beslut" 3) "att tillse, att sektionens arbete bedrivs i överstämmelse med de inom Centralkommittén överenskomna riktlinjerna och inom budgeterade finansiella ramen." (they should closely follow the section work), 4) "att i mån av behov fastställa närmare instruktioner för sektionfunktionärernas befogenheter i arbetet" 5) "att utse den eller de personer, som för Arbetsutskottet resp. de olika sektionerna äga att å Centralkommitténs vägnar attestera utgifter och verkställa utbetalningar."

¹⁰⁸ Müssener, ARAB: Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1945.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1944.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1944-46.

¹¹¹ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1947.

¹¹² Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1948.

¹¹³ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1948/49 and 1949/50.

Another important part of the organization of SDU was the Secretariat. This Secretariat consisted of one paid full-time secretary and occasionally an additional part-time paid secretary. Throughout the duration of SDU's operations, the secretaries were the only full-time paid employees for the SDU and were responsible for much of the everyday support of the organization. Without this position, many of the day-to-day tasks and coordination would not have been accomplished.¹¹⁴

There were two main secretaries from the beginning, Ture Casserberg, who later moved from secretarial work to section and Central Committee work. Rune Eriksson worked as the main secretary from 1944 until 1949, when he left the organization to become president of the newly-formed UNESCO council. He was extremely active as secretary of sectional work, in the Central and Executive Committee as well as a representative for SDU in various capacities. When Eriksson left organization, the Secretariat was floated between three people: Tord Bentzen, Rolf Sollin, and Ernst Behm until 1950. Tord Bentzen and Ernst Behm had worked as translators for the committee before their work as secretaries.¹¹⁵

For additional support, the secretariat also included archive worker/office assistant hired through SAK. These included several of the intellectual refugees, including Austrian author Otto Friedländer, and German lecturer Franz Mockrauer who helped mostly with the translation of literature and archival work at ARAB as well as German author Nelly Sachs who worked as a translator.¹¹⁶ Other temporary workers were employed, particularly in connection with the operations for *repatriandi* or refugees who would later return to their home countries especially during the years between 1944 and 1947.¹¹⁷ In the duration of SDU, there were between 15 – 18 total archive workers and/or translators working for SDU, most of whom remain unnamed.¹¹⁸ A list of the named workers can be viewed in Appendix II.

The secretariat remained a strong part of the organization from 1948 – 1950, especially in relation to funding, organizing, and closing the remaining projects.

4.2.3. Sections

On May 31, 1943, it was decided that to maximize the effectiveness of their operations and spread their power evenly, work should be separated into sections. The sections were extremely particular because members felt that their contribution would be limited, and they did not desire to step on other's toes in the process. This decision led to the creation of the following five sections on June 8, 1943:

¹¹⁴ Helmut Müssener (historian) in discussion with the author, June 2011.

¹¹⁵ See Appendix I for more information.

¹¹⁶ Tegen, ARAB Vol.1; Brev till Statens Arbetsmarknadskommissionen 10 mars 1945.

¹¹⁷ Müssener, ARAB; Verksamhetsberättelse 1945.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1944, 45, 1944-46, 47, etc. KB, Scharp 140: Folder: Handlingar 1947: Verksamhetsberättelse 1947,1948.

- **Section 1:** for educational and social psychological studies and research especially in the understanding of the nature of democracy and dictatorship,
- **Section 2:** for translation of relevant literature and the donation of literature to destroyed libraries as well as collaboration with American and British organizations,
- **Section 3:** for making and maintaining contacts within the Swedish public and organizations as well as with Germans in order to encourage their participation in operations after the war. This section also wanted to invite Germans to Sweden after the war, especially teachers and youth leaders,
- **Section 4:** for making and maintaining contacts with refugees after the war in order to create collaboration between refugee organizations with the goal of creating courses,
- **Section 5:** for preparatory work after the war, including the organization of specialists such as doctors, lawyers engineers, and those working within material and refugee organizations in order to help both materially and culturally.¹¹⁹

When the sections were reduced to three at the end of the war, some of the tasks were shifted between the sections. These sections developed into what was called simply,

- **Section 1:** the research section
- **Section 2:** the literature section
- **Section 3:** the education and training section

Each section had a president, vice president, and a secretary, and 2 of these members automatically entered into the Central Committee. Also, contacts which were made during and after the war were utilized to create the projects within these specific sections. On July 10, 1947, the sections were eliminated altogether when it became possible to directly work with Germans and Austrians, though they provided the necessary framework for projects in the early years.¹²⁰

After the elimination of the section work, activities were created through individual directives. These directives as well as the projects of the sections will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.¹²¹

4.2.4. *Ombudsförsamling*

The *ombudsförsamling* was the SDU organ consisting of the largest number of members. These members included interested individuals as well as official representatives of “popular, non-profit, and cultural organizations.”¹²² Originally created at a conference on June 3, 1944, it was decided at a conference for educational leaders on August 22, 1944, that the *ombudsförsamling* would be enlarged so organizations who were interested in SDU’s activities could meet at least once a year in an official capacity to discuss the guidelines for work in the following year.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Scharp, KB 139; Folder Sammanträder protokoll 30 maj and 8 juni 1943.

¹²⁰ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhets berättelse 1948/49 and 1949/50; Tegen, UUB: Lev, 96.

¹²¹ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1945.

¹²² Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1944-46; “folkliga, ideella, och kulturella organisationer.”

¹²³ Scharp, KB 143; Folder:Manuskript, Uppfostran och kulturkontakt. Kring SDU:s konferens augusti 1944

At the August 1944 *ombudsförsamling*, 44 delegates participated, 17 as authorized representatives from the invited organizations. Representatives also presented the proposed organizational plans and elected 11 individuals for the Central Committee, though the president and the secretary of each section as well as the financially contributing organizations automatically entered into to the Central Committee.¹²⁴

Because of the chaos inherent at the end of the war as well as an international conference centering on international cultural and pedagogic problems in London in November 1945, the *ombudsförsamling* originally scheduled for August 1945, did not meet until December 2, 1945.¹²⁵ In this meeting 43 delegates from 34 organizations participated including various “various trade union associations, *Kooperativa Förbundet*, Swedish temperance organizations, political and other youth and women’s organizations, popular education organizations, ecclesiastical education associations, organizations which worked for peace and international ties as well as a number of popular, non-profit and cultural organizations.”¹²⁶ The most complete list of the representatives at this meeting can be viewed in Appendix II. The increase from 17 authorized representatives to 34 correlates the furious marketing of SDU in the public sphere as well as the further connection of contacts through further SDU conferences as well as the CAME conferences in London before the end of the war.¹²⁷

By 1947, when it was decided that the earlier sectioning would be suspended, instead of only a portion of the Central Committee being chosen by the *ombudsförsamling*, all members were chosen by the *ombudsförsamling*. This structural change gave more power the *ombudsförsamling* over the direction of the work, which may be responsible for the individual directives at this stage in SDU’s activities.¹²⁸ This new-found power also helped those in the periphery of operations to rise to a position of leadership within SDU.

By the end of the 1940s the types of organizations represented in the *ombudsförsamling* were essentially the same as in the beginning, though the individual members of these organizations can only be traced through those elected to the Central Committee. At the last recorded meeting on March 22, 1949, representatives gathered from KF, LO, SAF, as well as “educational and teacher’s organizations, political and other youth organizations, women’s organizations, and organizations who work for peace and international relations, as well as a few organizations in the popular movement.” This continued operational support helped extend

¹²⁴ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944.

¹²⁵ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1945.

¹²⁶ Ibid.; “olika fackförbund, Kooperativa Förbundet, svenska nykterhetsorganisationer, politiska och andra ungdoms- och kvinnoorganisationer, folkbildningsorganisationer, kyrkliga bildningsorganisationer, organisationer som arbeta för fred och internationella förbindelser samt ett flertal andra folkliga, ideella, och kulturella organisationer.”

¹²⁷ Ibid. Verksamhetsberättelse 1944, 1945

¹²⁸ Ibid. Verksamhetsberättelse 1948/49 – 1949/50.

operations until 1951.¹²⁹

4.3. Financing

During the original planning stages of the SDU in 1943, there were no organized avenues for governmental reconstruction funding in Sweden and no widespread support for European cultural reconstruction in Europe. This funding struggle initially turned SDU toward private organizations and other means for financial support. In 1943, SDU received its starting contributions of 10,000 Swedish crowns each from KF and LO to operationalize their plans. This was supplemented by an additional 6,000 crowns each in 1944. LO stipulated that their second contribution should be earmarked for creating education and training courses. This led to the contribution of another 6,000 crowns from SAF with the same stipulation.

Fortunately, by the time of SDU's official establishment on Jan 4, 1944, the SIH had been designated governmental funding organ for European reconstruction operations and SDU anticipated additional support from this committee.¹³⁰ Despite this, SDU did not receive substantial funding from SIH until 1946, government support before this point was provided through directly from the *Kungl. Maj:t*, a government agency created in the Swedish king's name, in this case the *Socialstyrelsen* (The Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare), and SAK. At this stage, the government was as of yet not the main funding institution.¹³¹

In 1944, the small state contributions received from SIH were used for stipends for those participating in study leader conferences in Stockholm (1,000 crowns), a training course for Polish seamen (3,000 crowns), and toward the costs of creating a social welfare course for Polish refugees (4,000 crowns). Though SDU applied directly to the *Kungl. Maj:t*, many of these queries were forwarded to SIH which in turn allotted these funds.¹³² In total, the recorded income in 1944 was 56,397 crowns though expenditures only reached 45,533.20 crowns. This surplus allowed the committee additional funding for the next year. Even at this early stage, two-thirds of these expenditures financed educational and training course expenses such as salaries, stipends, fees, etc. while the remaining third was spent on various day-to-day office materials, printing costs, and repairs.¹³³

In the 1945 annual report, the level of funding and the expenditures remained nearly the same. Projects funded through stipulated government contributions included specific courses for Polish refugees, teacher aides (7,000 crowns), military refugees (5,550 crowns), as well as toward secretarial costs including salaries (9,000 crowns), and an additional 1,000 crowns toward special

¹²⁹ Ibid. ”...folkbildnings- och lärareorganisationer, politiska och andra ungdomsorganisationer, kvinnoorganisationer, organisationer som arbeta för fred och internationella förbindelser, samt ett fler tal andra folkrörelseorganisationer.”

¹³⁰ Müssener, ARAB, Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944.

¹³¹ Bernadotte, RA v.38; Folder: Protokoll SIH 1944 – 1947, protokoll 27 september 1944

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Müssener, ARAB, Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944.

courses.¹³⁴ These were once again filed through *Kungl. Maj:t* and SIH. The driving force of this organization remained its focus on education and training specifically in this year for the *repatriandi* who were rapidly arrived via Folke Bernadotte's White Busses.¹³⁵ In addition, SDU was able to secure funds from such organizations as RB and the American War Refugee Board, who were active in programs concerning the rescue, transportation, and maintenance of refugees. Contributions of 5,000 crowns each were to be designated toward the creation of additional educational and training courses for refugees in Sweden.¹³⁶

In cooperation with SDU's activities in preparing book donations, which consisted mostly of translation work, SAK also provided income for archive workers, especially from 1944-1947. These jobs were saved for intellectual refugees with little experience in physical labor. Both Dr. Franz Mockrauer and Dr. Otto Friedländer were paid stipends by state to work at ARAB part-time as well as others.¹³⁷ Though archive workers operated mainly as translators of material for the literature section, they also helped the archive with various filing and archiving of material. Also paid through SAK were the salaries for secretaries as well as a few of the study visits, conferences, and summer courses planned by SDU.¹³⁸ Additional secretarial salaries were paid directly by the *Kungl. Maj:t* in cooperation with SIH.¹³⁹

In 1946, the SDU's funding was nearly running out due the increased courses activities with training professionals and refugees.¹⁴⁰ Though by December 1946, thanks to the work of Alva Myrdal and others, many of the government funds designated for cultural reconstruction by SIH were due to be released by the government. SIH released over 2 million crowns for cultural reconstruction work, of the 100 million crowns designated to the overall reconstruction funds.¹⁴¹ Funding through SIH was earmarked for certain activities within cultural reconstruction and divided between SI, SAK, and SDU which will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

While no exact figure is given in the SIH meeting protocols of SDU's share of this money, the annual balance sheet for SDU shows an increase in funding from fiscal year 1947 until operations were closed in 1951. SDU was also responsible for financing traveling costs for lecturers speaking abroad while the state authorities or organizations receiving the lecturers paid for living costs. When SDU received visitors, they usually paid 2/3 of the costs associated while the remainder was covered by other organizations or private individuals, though the exact costs

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, Verksamhetsberättelse 1945.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Tegen, ARAB Box 1; Brev till Statens arbetsmarknadskommisionen 10 mars 1945, Brev från Statens arbetsmarknadskommision 28 mars 1945.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, Verksamhetsberättelser 1945, 1944-46; KU1, 73.

¹³⁹ Bernadotte, RA v.38; Folder Protokoll SIH 1944 – 1947, SIH protokoll 8 februari 1946.

¹⁴⁰ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelser 1945, 1944-46

¹⁴¹ Tegen, Lev, 99.

of these study visits were not stated in SDU's budget.¹⁴²

A small source of income was also collected through the sale of pamphlets and income from lectures. The charge for these was usually only a few crowns and designed to cover the costs of snacks for breaks or recoup printing costs. For example, the *Kulturell Uppbyggnad* series pamphlets and foreign language lexicons were sold for 1.50 Swedish crowns, returns from the sale of these published materials was over 2,000 crowns in 1945. Courses for experts were usually free, but they could cost the participants up to 5 crowns.

A particular course on cultural reconstruction issues in the spring of 1944 consisted of 9 lectures, and cost participants 3 crowns total.¹⁴³ In 1947, SDU also expanded its operations into providing education and job training concurrently, and many of these costs were covered by the individual companies for the exchange of labor from foreign students.¹⁴⁴

As the chart below shows, despite the ongoing budget crisis in Europe and the United States from 1946, SDU's operating budget continued to grow from the beginning of its operations. In 1944, there was only a recorded expenditure of 56,000 crowns which increased to 111,000 crowns by 1946, increasing to the highest amount of 218,000 crowns in the 1949 fiscal year. Of this amount, 141,000 crowns came from the state, and 10,000 crowns from KF and LO respectively. In 1947, when SDU expanded its operations into providing education and job training concurrently, many expenses were covered by the individual companies for the exchange of labor from foreign students.¹⁴⁵ This helped to preserve income for the following years.

FISCAL YEAR	INCOME	EXPENDITURES
1944	56,367.55	33,123.99
1945	62,535.93	55,009.08
1947	217,452.52	111,411.66
1948	278,010.86	169,041.87
1949	270,527.77	218,199.86
1950	143,568.01	99,482.78
1951	44,085.23	44,085.23

Note: Fiscal years extend from October 1 – September 30 of the given year. All figures presented in Swedish crowns, and all income includes surpluses from previous year.¹⁴⁶

In the 1950 fiscal year, there was an additional 73,000 crowns of state funding received with 5,000 crowns from KF, LO, and SAF. There is also a 3,240 crowns received from SEH, though there may have been other funds received from this committee, this is the only notation

¹⁴² Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelser 1948/49 & 1949/50

¹⁴³ Müssener, ARAB; Folder: Cirkulär 1944- 1950: KulturellUppbyggnad kurs

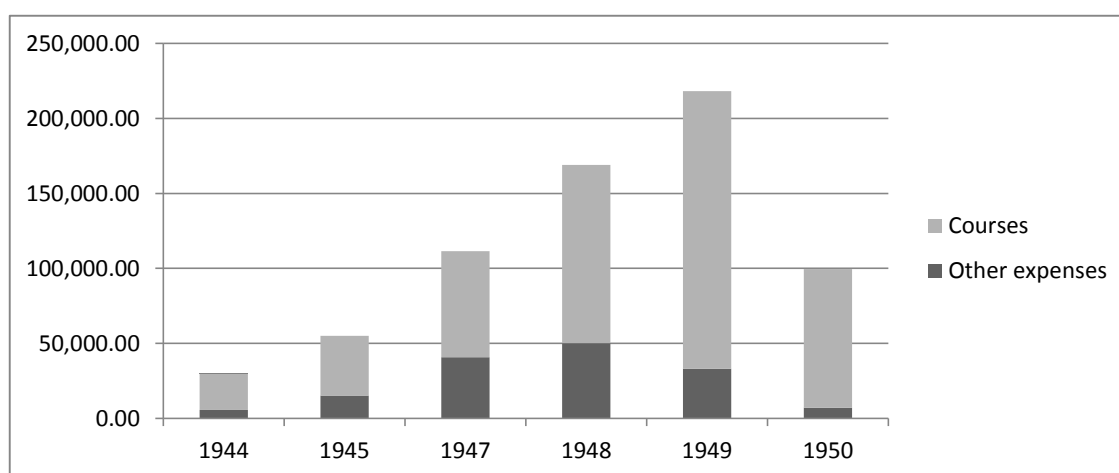
¹⁴⁴ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1947, 1948

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Calculated from Müssener, ARAB: Folder Verksamhetsberättelse 1944, 1945, 1944-46, 1948/49 and 1949/50 and Scharp, KB; Verksamhetsberättelse 1947, 1948

of their financial involvement.¹⁴⁷ Though, it is clear that KF, LO, and SAF were financial supporters throughout SDU operations. Their involvement not only in decision-making but in financial report was splashed across many of the annual reports and SDU literature throughout the years.¹⁴⁸

SDU always ran a surplus which made it possible to continue programs in 1951 when SDU's funding seems to have run out. The additional 45,000 crowns left at the end of 1950 was devoted to various projects including creating a course in the American zone in Germany, a course in Sweden as well as contributing 3000 crowns for an educational conference in the summer of 1951.¹⁴⁹ Because so much work was financed through the support of private organizations as well as through direct and indirect contributions from the state, it is difficult to judge the exact amount of money flowing through SDU. The most complete expense report for SDU shows the recorded total of expenses for SDU operations was 650,000 crowns as of 1949, though this total excluded the fiscal year 1944, 1949, and 1950.¹⁵⁰



There is no expense report for 1946, so figures could not be calculated for this year.

As the diagram above shows, the largest amount of spending was directed toward coursework and lectures, including the costs for travel, lecturer salaries, and coordination of courses. This equated to roughly 1/2 of all spending throughout SDU operations. Another large chunk of money was designated to the creation of *Via Suecia* in the years of 1945 and 1946, spending totaling 60,172 crowns.¹⁵¹ Though it is clear that the main driving force of this organization was education and training --- as evidenced by both the state funding stipulated for this cause, and the overwhelming use of voluntary funding for this cause, totaling roughly

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1947, 1948

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Müssener, ARAB, Folder: Sammanställning över utgifter 1944-1949

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

530,000 crowns. The total income of this organization as evidenced from annual reports and expense reports from October 1, 1943 until September 30, 1950 was over 1 million crowns.¹⁵²

5. One Section at a Time

In the first annual report in 1944, the expressed purpose of SDU was “to arouse interest and support an intellectual and cultural reconstruction in Central Europe after the war.”¹⁵³ This goal of informing and supporting the democratic, intellectual, and cultural reconstruction of Europe became an oft repeated phrase in SDU literature. Also emphasized was the need for constant cooperation; in fact, every piece of literature written by members of SDU discusses the need to collaborate with and support other organizations throughout the process of reconstruction. At a particular conference on June 3, 1944 discussing the massive reconstruction issues, Alva Myrdal asks, “What is SDU’s place in this context? What can SDU do?”¹⁵⁴ To this she answers:

There are strong organizations which have long worked in relief work, associations such as the Red Cross and Save the Children, Salvation Army and many others who have as of late concentrated on material aid. We are also at a point in our democratic development that it seems natural to do something for cultural operations or with pedagogic reconstruction. In our country we are able to give more than just material aid. We must portion our cultural reserve. These are the particular tasks which SDU has established for itself. We mean neither to preach nor police. We want simply to prepare ourselves in this country for such tasks which could be requested, which we could be invited to do, and to we would be welcomed. We do not wish to force ourselves on others nor do more than those receiving help ask of us.¹⁵⁵

It is clear from this statement Alva Myrdal believes Sweden not only capable of creating a more meaningful contribution to Europe than simply giving material aid but also that it is necessary to do so. Conditions on this help are made clear. No one should be forced to accept help or even too much help – SDU wants to simply help where needed but also where wanted.

Myrdal goes on to describe the five main ways that SDU plans on contributing in this

¹⁵² Calculated from Müssener, ARAB: Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944, 1945, 1944-46, 1948/49 and 1949/50 and Scharp, KB; Verksamhetsberättelse 1947, 1948

¹⁵³ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944; “att väcka intresse för och stödja ett andligt och kulturellt återuppbyggnadsarbete i Mellaneuropa efter kriget.”

¹⁵⁴ Tegen, ARAB (Stockholm, SE) Vol. 1; Folder: Konferensprotokoll: 3 juni, 1944; “Var är SDU:s plats i detta sammanhang? Vad kan SDU göra?”

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.; “Det finns starka organisationer, som sedan länge arbetat i hjälparbetet, föreningar som Röda Korset och Rädda Barnen, Frälsningsarmén och många andra som av gammalt varit inriktade på materiell hjälpverksamhet. Just nu äro vi så långt hunna i demokratisk utveckling att det ter sig naturligt att göra någonting för den kulturella verksamheten eller det pedagogiska uppbyggnadsarbetet. i vårt land skulle vi kunna göra mer än bara ge materiell hjälp. Vi måste dela oss av vårt kulturella reservat. Det är sådana uppgifter, som S.D.U. uppställt för sig. Vi menar varken att missionera eller att polisa. Vi ha velat förbereda oss här inom landet på sådana insatser, som kunna bli efterfrågade, som vi kunna bli inbjudna att göra och som vi kunna vara välkomna med. Vi vilja inte göra något försök att tränga oss på och göra mer än de mottagande folken begära av oss.”

arena: 1) by educating personnel, 2) helping refugees in Sweden for the end purpose of creating good relations and goodwill towards Sweden, 3) educating those from other countries, 4) exporting “cultural goods” through literature donations in other countries, and 5) developing and improving public opinion in Sweden and other countries.¹⁵⁶ As stated in SDU’s annual report in 1947, these tasks are to be performed always with a “help for self-help” philosophy.¹⁵⁷ SDU never wished to force those needing help dependent on it to survive – this non-material aid is meant to support and train individuals for success in the future. This philosophy focused SDU operations into making contacts between individuals and organizations in order to create collaborative projects.

An additional moral interest behind these contributions is made clear in *Kulturell Uppbyggnad 1*, in which Myrdal states:

We in our spared, peaceful, and free land have much to repay. Not that we need to have a bad conscience because we did not participate in the war, but because we have an obligation to those who fought for even our freedom. The vast resources that our country was able to save while others had to sacrifice theirs must be used to join together and pay for the war. Those who have already paid in blood should not need to also pay in money, goods, or services.¹⁵⁸

She makes very clear that this contribution will be limited to the means of a small country such as Sweden, but that SDU would attempt to make small contributions the whole of Central Europe, including Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Romania.

Not only were the contributions necessary to repay the human debt of others paid during the war, but they were embodied with a sense of necessity. In the task of interviewing concentration camp survivors for *De dödsdömda vittna* members felt especially passionate about the necessity of this cultural aid. Gunhild Tegen writing later in her memoirs that, “to take care of these human remnants from a world catastrophe, this became Sweden’s task, our blessed part of the world war.”¹⁵⁹ This “blessed” contribution bled into the other foundational task of understanding how a disaster of this magnitude could happen through research of the so-called German mentality. In fact, study circles and conferences were arranged in the first years to discuss this subject. Members within these circles, such as Einar Tegen and Alva Myrdal researched furiously to understand the psychological foundations of this mentality, drawing inspiration from the Frankfurt school. As Tegen states in *Kulturell Uppbyggnad 1*:

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1947; “hjälp till självhjälp”

¹⁵⁸ KU1, 68-69. “Vi i vårt sparda, fredliga, fria land har stor avbetalningar att göra. Inte så som skulle vi behöva ha dåligt samvete för att vi ej deltagit i kriget. Men väl så att vi ändå har en tacksamhetsskuld till dem som kämpat för även vår frihet...De som redan varit ensamma om att betala i blod skall inte behöva vara ensamma om att också betala i pengar, varor, och tjänster.”

¹⁵⁹ Tegen, UUB: *Einar och Gunhild Tegen: En krönika om deras liv och verk sammanställd av Martin Tegen*, 115 (herein referred to as Krönika; “Att ta hand om och vårda dessa människospillror från en världshistorisk katastrof, det blev Sveriges uppgift, vår välsignade del av världskriget.”

Behind it all, however, was as Erich Fromm and others have pointed out as an authoritarian attitude with the German people, which has its roots way back in history and who were attracted by Nazism's totalitarian and dictatorial claims. This subservient attitude sits deeply within this spirit. Under the Nazi regime this attitude has been strengthened. Particularly the youth have been shaped under this program, where blind obedience and submissiveness are the main virtues. Freedom and democracy have been trampled under their feet. And as a consequence of this development, the German culture has been starved. The best and freest streams in human history have been taken away from the German citizen and upbringing in the Nazi Reich is a caricature of western culture."¹⁶⁰

In this spirit, understanding the mentality of Germans imperative before any real work could be accomplished for cultural reconstruction. This research proved to inform the operations oriented toward German youth and military refugees within SDU, discussed later in this chapter.

These intellectual and moral aspects are combined throughout SDU operations. According to Myrdal, the work needed be organized rationally through proper research using the Swedish government and cooperating organizations to the advantage of their cause. Einar Tegen focused more on the emotional and cultural teachings, believing that the soul of Europe was broken and needed to be revived. Though the original ambitions of this organization can be seen as naïve and idealistic – the passion was real, and aided the support and expansion of this organization in the early years. Members of the SDU felt that participating in cultural reconstruction would be one small way to better the world through Swedish democracy – and to prevent a devastating event like World War II from ever happening again.

From the beginning of operations in 1943 to July 10, 1947, SDU operations were divided into sections. All work was divided first between the 5 sections, later into the three sections as discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter will investigate the work accomplished within these sections from 1943 – 1947. A full list of section presidents, vice presidents, and secretaries can be found in Appendix I.

5.1. Section 1: Research

As stated in Chapter 4, the research section was designed partly to “study special problems concerning political ideology and practice as well as social and psychological conditions for a cultural democratic reconstruction and partly to rally public opinion.”¹⁶¹ The members of this section were, “a circle of refugees and Swedes currently engaged in the

¹⁶⁰ KU1, 81 - 82.”Men bakom allt låg dock som Erich Fromm o.a. har framhållit en autoritär inställning hos det tyska folket, vilken har sin rot långt tillbaka i dess historia och som tilltalades av nazismens totalitära och diktatoriska anspråk. Den undersåtliga inställningen sitter djupt i dess själ. Under naziregimen har denna inställning förstärkts. Särskilt ungdomen har formatsefter ett visst schema, där blind lydnad och underkastelse är huvuddygerna. Frihet och demokrati trampas under fötterna. Och som en följd av hela utvecklingen har det tyska folket kulturellt sett blivit satt på svältkost. De bästa och friaste strömmarna i mänsklighetens historia undanhålls den tyska medborgaren och uppfostran i naziriket är en karikatyr av västerländsk kultur.”

¹⁶¹ Ibid.; “studera speciella problem rörande politisk ideologi och praktik samt sociala och psykologiska förutsättningar för ett kulturellt demokratiskt uppbyggnadsarbete och dels att verka opinionsbildande.”

discussion of international democratic issues”¹⁶² who wanted to create a better understanding of the post-war world and inform the public on the issues. These two tasks, research and the rallying of public opinion took place through study circles, conferences and individual research by members. In the beginning there was also an emphasis on making connections with individuals and organizations abroad that could help with this work, including relevant political, trade union, women’s and educational institutions. These ambitions were led by president and Professor Einar Tegen and *folkbildningsmän* Gunnar Hirdman as vice president until he was replaced on December 2, 1945 by lecturer Vilhelm Scharp. At this time, teacher Ture Casserberg replaced Scharp as secretary.¹⁶³

According to Alva Myrdal, in order to work efficiently there was a need “to acquire a better psychological foundation for the tasks of cultural reconstruction, of how de-democratization could have happened and what real democratization requires.”¹⁶⁴ This research was to be conducted by expert groups and study circles, starting in 1943 with a lecture series discussing special German problems.

In 1944, this work sped up with 3 study circles on Nazi ideology and practices, democratic issues, and democratic issues specifically within education. The study circle discussing Nazi ideology and practice started with 8 weekly lectures on February 7, 1944 with then section 1 vice president and SDU secretary Ture Casserberg in which he discussed “Review of proposals from English and American committees and experts on educational reconstruction in Europe.” Other lecturers included Sweden’s first female theology candidate, Emilia Fogelklou-Norlind with a lecture on “Practical and psychological experience from humanitarian post-war planning,” teacher and Finance minister’s wife Eva Wigforss with “Socialization in different cultures,” lecturer and member of SI, Vilhelm Scharp with “An orientation of the emergence and origin of Nazism” and professor Gunnar Boalt with “The importance of racial differences in character formation and education of different cultures.” The last meeting on April 3, 1944 summarized the course with a later discussion of the place of Sweden within cultural reconstruction, acting as a foundation for further study circles.¹⁶⁵

The study circle in the fall of 1944 discussed democratic issues with a special emphasis on dictatorships and democracy. In the circular describing this study circle, it was made clear that the participants wanted to figure out the issues, learn from the collective expertise of the group,

¹⁶² Ibid. “en cirkel av flyktingar och svenskar f.n. är sysselsatt med att diskutera den internationella demokratis problem”

¹⁶³ Müssener, ARAB: Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944, 1945

¹⁶⁴ KU1, 69; “skaffa oss själva en bättre grundval i psykologisk förståelse av den kulturella återuppbyggnadens uppgifter, av hur en avdemokratisering har kunnat ske och vad en verklig demokratisering fordrar.”

¹⁶⁵ Müssener, ARAB; Folder: Cirkulär 1944 – 1951, Kulturell Uppbyggnad “Redogörelse för engelska och amerikanska kommitté- och expert förslag till pedagogiskt uppbyggnadsarbete i Europa.” “Praktiska och psykologiska erfarenheter från humanitärt efterkrigsplanering,” “Den sociala fostran inom olika kulturer,” “En orientering över nazisms uppkomst och ursprung,” “Rasolikheternas betydelse i karaktärsbildning och utbildningen av olika kulturer.”

and use these discussions as a foundation for further discussion. The participants wanted to know: if totalitarian tendencies limited democracy, how societal institutions shape citizens specifically with schools, the press, radio, and film, the power of cultural traditions over people, and the impact of socio-economic societal structures on people.

In addition, there were two study leader conferences on June 3, 1944 and August 20 -22, 1944 respectively. Both conferences were created to discuss Swedish contributions within cultural reconstruction. The first conference, held on June 3, 1944 at Stockholm University College, proved to be an intense ground for discussion as well as a meeting place for future members. In the resolution taken after the conference, it states that a large number of organizations attended the conference with the same goal of making a positive contribution to cultural reconstruction. Lecturers included vice president Alva Myrdal who discussed SDU's place within cultural reconstruction as described in the introduction of this chapter, German refugee and author Kurt Stechert, and Austrian politician Dr. Bruno Kreisky¹⁶⁶ as well as speakers from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia who discuss the educational issues within their countries. Stechert especially argued the point that although it seemed an enormous task, Germans could relearn democracy. Myrdal ended the conference by stating that hatred built upon ignorance is the culprit of many faulty opinions, adding "we plainly need demolition work more than we need enlightenment work." As a closing statement, she declares that through continued rationality and international cooperation, this goal can be accomplished – and it will be easier than one would assume.¹⁶⁷

The second conference, held on August 20 – 22, 1944 was a joint conference and *ombudsförsamling*. The first two days consisted of lectures with the topics: "The goal of democratic education and training, Social psychological views on education and character formation, International plans for pedagogic-cultural reconstruction, Swedish economic post-war planning, Swedish contributions in international humanitarian relief, A report from the International Labor conference on post-war issues, Co-operation and the economic order of the future, and What is National Socialism?"¹⁶⁸ These conferences combined with various other lectures discussing reconstruction issues and the intense work with contacts from American and British organizations, was designed to create this psychological foundation.

Myrdal further states in *Kulturell Uppbyggnad 1* that,

¹⁶⁶ Bruno Kreisky would become the Foreign Minister of Austria for 1959 – 1966, and eventually the Chancellor from 1970 – 1983. Retrieved from www.ne.se/ (herein referred to as NE online) on June 1, 2011.

¹⁶⁷ Müssener, ARAB; Folder:Konferensprotokoll "Vi behöva ett ganska stort nedrivningsarbete helt enkelt, mer än sagda upplysningsarbete."

¹⁶⁸ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944. "Den demokratiska uppfostrans mål - Socialpsykologiska synpunkter på uppfostran och karaktärsbildning --- Internationella planer på pedagogisk-kulturellt återuppbyggnadsarbete -- Svensk ekonomisk efterkrigsplanering -- Sveriges insats i internationell humanitär hjälpverksamhet -- Redogörelse från internationella arbetskonferensen om efterkrigsproblem -- Kooperationen och framtidens ekonomiska ordning -- Vad är nationalsocialism?."

First against a background of deepened knowledge can we evaluate what other countries – and what we ourselves – really need from cultural (re)construction. First, when this knowledge is spread and when we really succeed in *internationalizing opinion* can we hope that Sweden shall be able to contribute in post-war operations, in both the humanitarian as well as the cultural, with suitable power.¹⁶⁹

Understanding the issues at a foundational level and building on this was the only way to attain the appropriate strength in operations -- the most important goal was to be purposeful. There was “a registration of lecturers willing to undertake journeys” in order to spread this message across the Swedish border.¹⁷⁰ This list was sent to educational organizations that needed manpower after the war.

It was not until 1945 that this section began expanding its operations through media outlets, with the creation of *Informationstjänst*, as well as conducting research for and publishing *De dödsdömda vittna* and the first three *Kulturell Uppbyggnad* pamphlets.¹⁷¹

In *De dödsdömda vittna*, the experiences of concentration camp survivors from Germany and Poland were traced through interviews with survivors. The interviewers, Dr. Valdemar Fellinius, one of Sweden’s first specialists in witness psychology,¹⁷² and Mrs. Dory Engströmer, a politically active woman skilled in languages, sent out questionnaires to survivors or interviewed survivors themselves – within refugee camps or universities. All information for this book was collected furiously over the summer and fall of 1945, in time for the publishing of the book in late 1945. A total of 600 questionnaires were received, and these revealed the horrible atrocities within concentration camps. This was the first study of this type, and copy of this book was even translated into German and sent to the ongoing Nuremburg trials in Germany.¹⁷³

The stenciled *Informationstjänst* was created to discuss “international, cultural och pedagogic problems with short notices and summaries of foreign magazines and books, which are not readily available in Sweden.”¹⁷⁴ It was published from May 1945 as a “newsletter in 10 editions with announcements and short articles for the press regarding cultural and educational reconstruction problems.”¹⁷⁵ SDU also used *Informationstjänst* as a way to spread word about their

¹⁶⁹ KU1., 70 – 71; “Först mot bakgrunden av en fördjupad kunskap kan vi nämligen bedöma vad andra länder – och vad vi själva – verkligen behöver av kulturell återuppbyggnad eller kulturell uppbyggnad. Först när denna kunskap blir spridd och när vi verkligen lyckats *internationalisera folkmeningen* kan vi hoppas att Sverige skall kunna ge sitt efterkrigsarbete, det humanitära likaväl som det kulturella den tillbörliga kraften.”

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 70; “en registrering av föreläsare villiga att företa resor.”

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 69.

¹⁷² This type of psychology, called “vittnespsykologi” in Swedish, is primarily aimed at studying testimonies for the judiciary. Dr. Fellinius wrote a book on the subject called *Kompendium i vittnespsykologi jämte karakterologi* in 1952.

¹⁷³ Müssener, ARAB: Folder SDU’s informationstjänst: SDU’s informationstjänst nr. 7, november 1945.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944-46, 47. “internationella, kulturella och pedagogiska problem med korta notiser och sammanställningar från utländska tidskrifter och böcker, som icke funnits att allmänt tillgå i Sverige.”

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., “totalt nummer av ett informationsblad med notiser och mindre artiklar för pressen angående kulturella och pedagogiska återuppbyggnadsproblem, m.m.”

initiatives. In the 2nd edition in June 1945, there was an article inviting people to donate books in different languages to Dickinska library to be sent to refugees in camps in Sweden and the 3rd edition announced the courses planned for military refugees in the summer of 1945. The 6th and 7th editions include articles varying from the problems with child refugees, school breakfasts in Italy, to the state of school systems in various parts of Europe. There is even information regarding the SDU conference which would take place on December 1-2, 1945 in cooperation with the yearly *ombudsförsamling*. In the seventh issue, there was also an introduction written for the readers, who were “individuals but mainly professional journals and cultural periodicals who would potentially be interested in such problems.”¹⁷⁶ The aim of this introduction was to find out if the readers felt there was sufficient and significant information and whether they had any ideas on improving *Informationstjänst*. It is clear that SDU felt this leaflet was providing new and different information than the usual published press material, but they wanted to be certain that this information was valuable to its readership.

In addition, the first four enlightenment brochures, the *Kulturell Uppbyggnad* series, were published in 1945. As stated in the sources section, the first two revolved around the context of international aid in Europe, the first one concentrating a world picture, while the second by Ture Casserberg focused on the educational picture. The third and fourth were authored by Kurt Stillschweig and discussed the psychological circumstances and understanding of National Socialist ideology. The fifth, written by author Greta Hedin was published after the establishment of UNESCO in November 1945 and served to inform the public on this committee. These were some of the many brochures and pamphlets published by SDU or in cooperation with them that were designed to be educational for the general public. Written by members such as Einar Tegen, Alva Myrdal, and Ture Casserberg, they served as one way to spread knowledge about SDU's mission and its importance with the entire post-war aid scheme to the general public.

The last conference organized by this section was originally for August 19 – 20, 1945 was postponed due to the November conference in London discussing the creation of UNESCO. The conference took place instead on December 1 - 2, 1945 at Stockholm University College in cooperation with the *ombudsförsamling* on the subject of enlightenment and the newly formed UNESCO committee.¹⁷⁷ The topics of this conference included, “Man in the post-war world – mentality and upbringing; UNESCO, The new international organization for culture and educational issues; Current research data within the interest of SDU; Literature requirements in post-war Europe; Education and cultural activities among refugees and *repatriandi* from Central Europe.” There were also separate meetings for all three sections, in which new presidents, vice

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.: Folder: SDU's informationstjänst, SDU:s informationstjänst Nr 7, november 1945; “enskilda personer samt främst facktidskrifter och kulturella tidskrifter som kunna tänkas intresserade av dylika problem.”

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.: Folder: Cirkulär 1944 – 1951, brev till SDU-medlemmar 24 juli 1945 and november 1945

presidents, and secretaries were elected. The *ombudsförsamling*, which met on the afternoon December 2, discussed future operations and financing. At this meeting, there were 44 representatives from political, trade union, women's, religious, journalist, athletic, and temperance organizations listed in Appendix II. Many of these organizations were also directly involved in refugee affairs, in which SDU was heavily engaged in during these early years.¹⁷⁸

Integrated into these conferences, lectures, and published materials was the mission to learn, inform, and rally public opinion. As stated by Alva Myrdal, this section had "the task to raise awareness of these proposals and prepare Swedish public opinion and especially professional pedagogic circles for participation in international cooperation."¹⁷⁹ The conferences and *Informationstjänst* were designed to engage educated individuals while *De dödsdömda vittna* and the enlightenment brochures were designed to give the public an informed view of the issues facing Europe and SDU's solutions to these issues. Gaining a foundation of research these first years allowed SDU not only to make valuable contacts but also to spread what they learned to the public.

5.2. Section 2: Literature

The second section began and ended foremost as a literature donation section though SDU also worked diligently to create informative pamphlets, a newspaper, *Via Suecia* and even radio shows. In the early years SDU members worked with various authors, translators, and organizations to gather and translate materials for donation to libraries in Central Europe. The goal was limited in its scope because other organizations had already taken on the task of donating to university libraries, including the aforementioned British books commission.¹⁸⁰ Instead, SDU concentrated on donating literature to public and teacher libraries in Central Europe as well as refugee camps in Sweden.¹⁸¹ From the beginning, this section was headed by Alva Myrdal, then principal of *Socialpedagogiska Seminariet*. Vice president was Tage Lindblom and secretary, Editor Henry Peter Matthis. After an election in 1945, Henry Peter Matthis moved up as vice president and Gustav Mattsson became the secretary.

From the beginning Alva Myrdal made it clear that the aim of this section was to "export cultural goods" by sending well-translated and informative literature to refugees and libraries abroad.¹⁸² In meeting on June 22, 1944, it was decided that certain members of section 2 would

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1945 "Människan i efterkrigets världen -- mentalitet och fostran...den nya internationella organisationen för kultur- och uppfostringsfrågor...Aktuella studieuppgifter inom SDU:s intressesfär...Litteraturbehovet i efterkrigstidens Europa...Utbildnings- och kulturell verksamhet bland flyktingar och *repatriandi* från Mellaneuropa"

¹⁷⁹ KU1, 70. "en uppgift att sprida kännedom om dessa förslag och förbereda den svenska opinionen och framför allt de yrkespedagogiska kretserna för deltagande i internationellt samarbete."

¹⁸⁰ White, 57.

¹⁸¹ Tegen, ARAB Box 1: Konzept till brev till författare 1944 från Einar Tegen och Alva Myrdal.

¹⁸² KU1, 71 "exportera kulturgods"

conduct research on the best types of books for donations. Alva Myrdal was assigned the task of searching for informative books on social politics; Henry Peter Matthis, Nordic culture; author and philosopher Alf Ahlberg, popular science literature, Ture Casserberg, pedagogic literature, and Gunnar Boalt, racial doctrine.¹⁸³ After this initial research to decide which types of literature would be most valuable, this section decided to donate literature of the “popular science type, translated into respective native languages...which will to some extent be instructive och give relatively robust representations of certain subject areas, from which teachers and especially those interested in popular education could learn and in turn spread this knowledge.”¹⁸⁴ In addition, Myrdal and Matthis insisted that literature be from “world culture” and especially “Anglo-Saxon literature produced in the last decade, but certain Scandinavian works and even of Swedish origin will be included.”¹⁸⁵

In order to fulfill this task, translators were needed. From 1944 to 1945 alone SDU hired, with financial support from SAK, 14 archive workers to translate materials from Swedish and English into various languages.¹⁸⁶ Of note are intellectuals Otto Friedländer and Franz Mockrauer. The most material was translated into German for German and Austrian readers, but certain books were also translated into Polish and Hungarian. The literature translated to German broached various topics including religion, education, child-rearing, sexuality, Swedish and Scandinavian society, National Socialism, even including a few fiction novels. Of note is *Kallocain* by Karin Boye as well as *Ut med blondinerna* by author Olle Hedberg. Hedberg’s short novel provided a satirical look at Nazism and anti-Semitism by casting the “blondes” as the suppressed population. In addition, SDU’s own enlightenment brochures *Kulturell Uppbyggnad 1 and 2* were translated in German and Hungarian, furthering their vision to educate those abroad as well as at home.¹⁸⁷ It is interesting to note that books translated into Polish and Hungarian mainly concerned “childcare, home furnishing, and hygiene” though there was also literature concerning racial issues, state reconstruction, sexuality, and Scandinavian society published in Hungarian. Despite the large number of Polish refugees in Sweden, there were only a few books translated into Polish, including *Våra Barn* by Urban Hjärne, *Sexuell Upplysning* by Folke Borg, and *Barn i vardagslivet* by Åse Gruda Skard, which were the only books translated into all three languages. Though this may seem an oversight, the lack of qualified Polish translators hindered

¹⁸³ Tegen, ARAB Box 1: Protokoll fort vid SDU:s 2:a sektionens sammanträde, torsdagen den 22 juni 1944.

¹⁸⁴ KU1., 71. “populärvetenskaplig typ, översatta till resp. hemlands språk, ... kommer de att ha i viss mån handledningskaraktär och ge relativt fylliga framställningar av vissa ämnesområden, ur vilka lärare och särskilt folkbildningsintresserade kan hämta kunskap att i sin tur sprida i vidare kretsar.”

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 72. “den anglosaxiska litteratur som under det sista decenniet producerats, men vissa verk av skandinaviskt och då närmast svenskt ursprung kommer även att ingå.”

¹⁸⁶ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, Folder: Litteratursektionen 1944 – 45, 1948, Litteratursektionen. Preliminära planer, november 1944; Förslag till böcker att ev. ingå i gåva till folk- och lärarbibliotek.

the possibility to accomplish more within the time period.¹⁸⁸ A full list of translated literature can be found in Appendix IV.

By the end of 1945, SDU had either collected or translated and published a massive amount of literature. According to the annual report in 1945: “140 book deliveries containing a total of 10,059 books, of which 4,230 were German, 2,500 English, 1,978 French, and 41 in Russian” were to be sent abroad and smaller numbers of books in Polish, Hungarian, Czech were to be sent to the refugee camps in Sweden. In addition, there was “literature in English, German, French, etc. for *repatriandi*. The collection gathered approximately 15,000 books, which were sent to *repatriandi* in the form of wandering libraries.” These books were taken care of by Mrs. L. Stahlgren at Dickinska library in Gothenburg, due to its close proximity to refugee camps.¹⁸⁹ An additional donation of 3000 German language children’s books was sent to refugees in Denmark in 1946.¹⁹⁰ Due to these collections being voluntary, SDU had little control of which books would be donated but were grateful for any books given.

In addition, a number of pamphlets were written and translated to various languages “for *repatriandi*: *Der zweite Weltkrieg*, 5000 copies (a historical-political overview of World War II); *Was jeder wissen muss!*, 5000 copies (enlightenment on sexual questions); *Den svenska kvinnan*, 2000 copies in Polish (an orientation of the position of the Swedish woman); and 2 brochures about Sweden, 6000 copies in Polish and 2000 copies in Hungarian.”¹⁹¹ These were created to complement of the voluntary collections, so SDU membership had more control over the character of literature being given to refugees and libraries abroad.

The distribution of various newspapers to camps was also an important initiative for SDU’s second section, requiring tremendous effort in order to coordinate contacts with different outlets, but this hard work paid off. By the summer of 1945, 500 weekly newspapers were being delivered to refugee camps.¹⁹² Alva Myrdal even successfully coordinated a radio show to be broadcast once a week for one hour each in German and Polish starting July 9, 1945. A radio show also began on July 9, 1945, coordinated by Alva Myrdal and SI. These radio shows in Polish and German were aired regularly in the summer and fall of 1945 for one hour per week, designed to inform refugees on Swedish and world news.¹⁹³

SDU’s 2nd section worked diligently to help deliver weekly newspapers and broadcast

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1945, 1944-46. “barnavård, bostadsinredning, hygien”

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. “140 bokinsändningar omfattande ialles 10,059 böcker, därav 4230 tyska, 2500 engelska, 1978 franska, 41 ryska” “litteratur på engelska, tyska, franska m.fl språk för *repatriandi*. Insamlingen gav c:a 15000 böcker, vilkas utsändande till *repatriandi* i form av vandringsbibliotek, omhänderhafts av fru L. Stahlgren, Dickinska biblioteket, Göteborg.”

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1944-46.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. “för *repatriandi*: *Der zweite Weltkrieg*, 5000 ex. (historisk-politisk översikt över det andra världskriget); *Was jeder wissen muss!*, 5000 ex. (upplysning i sexualfrågor); *Den svenska kvinnan*, 2000 ex på polska (orientering över den svenska kvinnans ställning m.m.); samt 2 broschyrer om Sverige, på polska 6000 ex. och på ungerska 2000 ex.”

¹⁹² Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1945.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

radio shows for refugees in camps in order to keep *repatriandi* up-to-date on world affairs. This resulted both in the delivery of various different newspapers to camps as well as the creation of its very own newspaper, which became the mouthpiece for SDU.

Via Suecia

In *Via Suecia*, which was published in four languages, refugees could read about international issues, entertainment news and displaced persons. This newspaper proved to be a lifeline for the thousands of displaced persons living in Swedish refugee camps. Though the main language was German due to the overwhelming number of German-speaking refugees, articles were also published in Romanian, Czech, and Polish. The first published edition came out on September 4, 1945, and it began with an introduction of purpose as well as a description of the members of SDU. On the first page of *Via Suecia*, there was an article from Per Albin Hansson welcoming readers to Sweden. He states,

In the last period of the war, we took part in a humanitarian relief which brought you, the readers of this magazine, as guests to our land. We hope that during this rest, with healthy nutrition and a proper care, you will soon regain your strength and balance, so that you can consequently help restore power in your own homeland. We also wish that during your stay and especially through this newspaper, you will make many contacts in Sweden and Swedes, and through this understand that peace, freedom and democracy are moral obligations of our nation and government. What we wish for ourselves is the same as what we wish for other nations. We would be happy if, once you travel back to restore your countries, you took with you a conviction that here, in this Swedish democracy, you have friends who want to preserve, defend and improve the democratic order, increase the social achievement, create jobs for everyone and maintain strong bounds with other nations despite the borders. If we all strive for the same, I believe it will be the best way to remove the danger of violence, persecution and destruction once and for all.¹⁹⁴

This first article set the tone for the rest of *Via Suecia*'s life span, the focus being to inform readers on world affairs but also Swedish democracy and its institutions. This was one of the many ways in which SDU planned on reeducating refugees and especially the German people.

Recurring themes throughout *Via Suecia* include the discussions of the modern public schools in Sweden, the state of Europe after the war, as well as articles by well-known Swedish, German, Russian, and Hungarian intellectuals. The most interesting aspect of this newspaper was also the inclusion of news on movie stars and fashion mixed in between articles on the reconstruction of Europe and modern schooling methods. Jörg Lindner also states that throughout *Via Suecia*, "the democratic education of Germans in a democratic is a recurring theme."¹⁹⁵ Despite this, Lindner believes there to be no outright political leaning or any overt anti-communism or anti-Germanism. In addition, this newspaper received a great following because of its intermittent displaced person reports, which listed stateless persons looking for

¹⁹⁴ UUB, *Via Suecia* nr.1, 4 september 1945

¹⁹⁵ Lindner, 41 "tyskarnas fostran i demokratisk riktning ett återkommande tema."

family.¹⁹⁶

Throughout Via Suecia's life span from September 4, 1945 – December 1946 there was a constant editing team headed by author David Brick and, Per Albin Hansson's daughter and film critic, Elsa Brita Marcussen. In addition, there was an editing committee including Alva Myrdal, lawyer Ivar Philipson, journalist Greta Bolin, and women's activist and journalist Elin Wägner. In some issues authors Tordis Jungstedt and Gunilla Röhl also helped to edit the newspaper.¹⁹⁷

The activities of section 2, including the creation and donation of literature as well as coordination of various media outlets was seen as one possible way to create good will for Sweden, by spreading its democratic gifts to those who most needed it. As stated by Alva Myrdal, through it was "particularly natural for us in this land of popular education to donate the cultural goods necessary for popular education."¹⁹⁸ In addition, Helmut Müssener stated that SDU felt these literature donations would be a salvation to the German people.¹⁹⁹ Though this goal may seem overly idealistic and naïve, members in SDU were educators and intellectuals, and for them knowledge was the ultimate promise for a better future and literature was one very important way to gain this knowledge.

5.3. Section 3: Education and Training

The third section, designed for education and training was by far the most active section throughout SDU's operations. Preparations for courses as well as ongoing courses were constant even upon the upheaval of the sections. From the beginning, this section was headed by Mauritz Bonow with Torvald Karlbom as vice president and Ture Casserberg as secretary. In 1944, this changed when Nils Thedin became president and Rune Eriksson replaced Casserberg as secretary.²⁰⁰

This section required the most resources and most cooperation of all the sections in order to create courses, and was also the source of the most unrecorded financial support. Using the research conducted by conferences, lectures, and study circles, this section created and used connections to make a variety of courses. They also used the literature that was created and translated by the 2nd section. In the early years, these courses were training based, designed to prepare *repatriandi*, or those refugees in Sweden who repatriate to their home countries, and Swedish citizens for reconstruction work and careers abroad. This specialized education was seen as a way to increase productive employment to rebuild the shattered economies and job markets

¹⁹⁶ UUB, *Via Suecia* nr.1 – no. 9 1945, no.1 – no. 17 1946

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.; NE online

¹⁹⁸ KU1, 71. "räddning av kulturgodset." "Det vore också särskilt naturligt för vårt folkbildningsland att just skänka det kulturgods som är nödvändigt för folkbildningen."

¹⁹⁹ Helmut Müssener (historian) in discussion with author, June 2011.

²⁰⁰ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944, 1945

in Central Europe.

It seems the inspiration to educate as many refugees as possible came from the USCER “International Exchanges and Scholarships” commission. They vowed to educate 1500 students from war-torn lands in the United States after the war. Once Einar Tegen made contact with this organization, he used their suggestion of a smaller goal, educating 150 refugees in Sweden, to attempt to secure support and cooperation from LO, KF, SAF, and ABF.²⁰¹

Planning for courses with *repatriandi* began even before the war had ended, over the summer of 1944, when SDU conducted a large registration of refugees to understand their status and position in Sweden. This questionnaire was created by SISU member Astrid Regnell, *folkbildare* and principal of Birkagården *folkbögskola*, Gillis Hammar, Alva Myrdal, Einar Tegen, and Kerstin Hellner.²⁰² These questionnaires included questions on name, birthdate, and country of origin as well as questions concerning previous education and work experience, plans for after the war, if they desired education or training, and finally whether they planned on staying in Sweden. In total, SDU sent out 4000 questionnaires through official channels such as refugee organizations and governmental organizations and received 1000 back with the necessary information to beginning planning training courses in 1944 and 1945.²⁰³ Though education was needed by children and adults alike, creating outlets for vocational education was the most critical gap which SDU intended to fill.²⁰⁴

As early as the summer of 1944, courses were also created concerning international relief and international issues as well as training courses for Polish sailors with financial support from *Polska socialministeriet* (The Polish Ministry of Social Affairs), female textile cutters, journalists and *folkbildning* activists, as well as educational courses in the Swedish language and cooperative issues. These courses consisted of between 10 – 60 participants depending both on interest and funding and usually lasted between 1 – 2 months. In total, there were over 300 students educated in these and other courses in 1944 alone.²⁰⁵

In addition, this section created two lexicons and phrase books to ease communication between refugees in refugee camps. In order to reach as many refugees as possible, these were published in all six languages: Swedish, German, Polish, Finnish, Lithuanian, and Latvian. Another lexicon was printed in Swedish, German, French, Hungarian, and Polish. These lexicons could be used to learn counting words, seasons of the year, simple grammar words, and even simple conversations. These simple conversations were oriented toward refugees:

²⁰¹ Scharp, KB 145: Folder: US Committee on Educational Reconstruction, Letter from E.George Payne to Einar Tegen, 16 February 1944.

²⁰² Though no significant information was found concerning Hellner, she did write a book titled *De landsflyktiga och Sverige* (1952) concerning immigrants in Sweden.

²⁰³ Müssener, ARAB; Folder: Besvarade frågeformulär

²⁰⁴ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944, 1944-46

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

1. Good morning, good day, good evening
2. My name is <blank>. I am a refugee.
3. Where are you from?
4. I come from Germany (Finland, Poland, France, and Czechoslovakia).

These were complemented by simple conversations with authorities, at the post office, stores, restaurants, and doctors' offices in each language.²⁰⁶ Though there is some confusion as to the exact number of copies printed, it is stated in annual reports that this number is between 22,000 and 26,000 copies.²⁰⁷

In 1945, there were several additional training courses created in cooperation with various organizations. These included an evening course for teacher aides for 43 German-speaking workers and for social workers in cooperation with *Polska socialministeriet* and *Socialinstitutet* (The Institution for Social Work) for 20 Poles in the spring and fall of 1945, for 21 gymnastic and sports coaches in the fall of 1945 and even 34 welders, 20 car mechanics, and 12 chauffeurs in the fall of 1945 and spring of 1946. SDU also collected money from the government for students to attend technical schools as well as for education in the fields of childcare, agriculture, and other areas vital for reconstruction work.²⁰⁸

German deserters

In addition, there were courses for German deserters in the fall of 1944 and spring of 1945 which proved to be important for SDU because of their failures as much as their successes. The first course which took place October 16 – 22, 1944 at Marieborgs *folkhögskola*, started out as an idea of German Dr. Max Hodann in cooperation *Fria-tyska förbundet* (The Free German Association). This was the first *folkhögskola*, or “folk high school” course conducted by SDU in Sweden, a trend that would continue throughout SDU operations.²⁰⁹ This course with 12 German deserters “consisted of lectures and discussions on the trade union system, democracy, historiography, democratic education, etc. They were also shown a number of short films.”²¹⁰ Because of the short duration of the course and complaints by participants of the Dr. Hodann felt it necessary to lengthen the course in 1945 to a full six weeks.

Planning for this second course began early. On January 8, 1945, Einar Tegen received a response from R.P. Hinks, one of the leaders of the British zone in Germany, concerning SDU's

²⁰⁶ *Ordlista: svensk, tysk, fransk-ungersk, polsk med kört parlör* (Stockholm: Nordstedts, 1945), 1 – 4; “1. God morgon, god dag, god afton., 2. Jag heter N. Jag är flykting. 3. Var kommer ni ifrån? 4. Jag kommer från Tyskland (Finland, Polen, Frankrike, Ungern, Tzechoslovakian).”

²⁰⁷ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1944, 1944-46

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Verksamhetsberättelse 1945, 1944-46

²⁰⁹ *Folkhögskolor* are considered in this thesis to be a special form of education in Sweden. These schools usually are less rigidly controlled than universities, providing a variety of educational options including vocational training and adult education. As there is no proper translation to English, these will be called plural: *folkhögskolor*, and singular: *folkhögskola* throughout the text.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, “upptog i övrigt föredrag och diskussioner om fackföreningsväsen, demokrati, historieskrivning, demokratisk uppfostran, m.m. Dessutom visades ett antal kortfilmer.”

interest in creating this course. He invites SDU to use these deserters because:

We have no desire to use these deserters as a source of intelligence, for indeed they are quite unsuited, and we are also uninterested in them as propaganda targets. They are of value to us only as specimens of the kind of German with whom we expect to be confronted in large numbers at a not very distant date, and we are therefore concerned to know what sort of human material we shall deal with.²¹¹

This letter set the tone for a rocky second course, though the participants for this second round were picked especially by Einar Tegen. Before the course began, participants were asked to fill in a questionnaire starting with their name, birthdate, work and military experience, educational background and even their connections to Nazism. In addition, there were questions designed to understand the background knowledge of the deserters, including: “Who was Martin Luther? What do you know about the French Revolution? Who was Bismarck? What roll has Weimar played in German history? How did World War II begin? What do you think about the position of Germany after World War II? What you wish for the future of Germany?”²¹² From these questionnaires as well as the experiences from the course, principal and course leader Allan Degerman became discouraged not only by the lack of historical understanding of Germany’s place in World War II but their close-mindedness to the Swedish system. To the course leaders, the students seemed passive, stoic, and even apathetic. Lindner states that this disappointment was a consequence of the “general value judgments placed on democracy and newer epistemological insights on methods for rearing democratically minded people” which were against anything remotely Nazi or totalitarian.²¹³

Additional courses for German military refugees and additional courses for welders planned in 1946, these were cancelled in large part to many *repatriandi* returning to their countries during 1945 and 1946. This type of schooling continued in 1946 with a special focus on vocational training for the refugees that remained. By 1947, when the sections were abandoned and SDU received a large share of government funds through SDU, courses remained the largest focus in SDU. Though from 1947, these courses longer-range consisting of both education and job training simultaneously. In addition, SDU members began to emphasize the importance of bringing students and specialists from war-torn lands for conferences, lectures, and courses in Sweden.

²¹¹ Tegen, ARAB Box 1: Letter from R.P. Hinks to Professor Tegen on January 8, 1945.

²¹² Tegen, ARAB; Folder: Österrikare och tyskar, Förslag till anmälningsformulär för militärflyktingar: “Vem var Martin Luther? Vad vet ni om franska revolution? Vem var Bismarck? Vilken roll har Weimar spelat i tysk historia? Hur började det andra världskriget? Vad tror Ni om Tysklands ställning efter det andra världskriget? Hur skulle Ni själv önska Er Tysklands framtid?”

²¹³ Lindner, 163. “allmänna värdeomdomen om demokrati och nyare kunskapsteoretiska insikter om metoder för fostran av demokratiskt sinnade människor”

5.4. Sections 4 & 5: Refugee Contact and Post-War preparations

The fourth and fifth sections were only active within SDU from June 1943 to the beginning of 1944, and there was no official date for their closing. The original ideas were for the fourth and fifth sections to be “for contact with refugees in Sweden” and “for contact with student work and expert training” respectively.²¹⁴

By September 3, 1943, when the sections began to report back in general meetings, Kerstin Hellner was the head of the fourth section. She reported at this meeting that there were plans in place to create a refugee club as well as create a questionnaire for refugees in order to discover their educational needs, though this project was incorporated into section 3 by 1944. Dag Trotzig, member of SDU and SISU also reported that there had been several “cultural-historic demonstrations at Skansen” as well as outlined the future study circles and courses designed for refugees. In addition, two English courses, a course in psychology, and several lectures on literature had taken place.²¹⁵

At a meeting on January 4, 1944, it was decided that SISU would take over many parts of section 5's operations, while section 4 was slowly integrated into the work of the preceding three sections. These sections never appeared on SDU's official annual reports.

The fifth section began as a section to create contacts for student work and training of experts, though many of its activities were taken over early by SISU. Astrid Regnell, joint member of SDU and SISU, used her connections to make contacts for the betterment of both organizations. At the September 3rd meeting she reported that many connections had been made at the previous conference at Viggbyholm including key contacts with *Medicinalstyrelsen* (The Swedish Medical Board) which planned to create several training courses, though these were addressed in the future by the 3rd section.²¹⁶

Summary

SDU operations in these early years were marked by the effort to spread their goal of a better educated and more democratic world to as many people as possible with the help of several key individuals, including Alva Myrdal, Einar Tegen, and Nils Thedin and many educational organizations. The first section used conferences, study circles, and enlightenment literature to understand German mentality and the psychological circumstances that led to war as well as spread knowledge both to educators, refugees, and the Swedish public. In order to further this message, the second section translated literature on Swedish democracy, child-rearing, sexuality, National Socialism, etc. into German, Hungarian, and Polish to be placed in teacher

²¹⁴ Scharp, KB 139: Folder Sammanträder: protokoll 8 June 1943. “för kontakter med flyktingar i Sverige” “för kontakt med studentarbetet och expertträning”

²¹⁵ Ibid.: protokoll 3 september 1943. “kulturhistoriska demonstrationer på Skansen”

²¹⁶ Ibid.

and public libraries across Europe as well as for use by *repatriandi* in Swedish refugee camps, even broadcasting this message via the radio. The third section focused on education and training, listening directly to the needs of refugees through the creation of vocational education as well as theoretical courses on cultural reconstruction and Swedish democracy. The combined efforts of SDU through conferences, study circles, literature, media, and courses helped to spread SDU's message not only through rhetoric but also through cooperation and education which would continue into the next era of SDU operations.

6. Individual Directives

In 1947, when the borders became more open between Germany and the rest of the world as well as when most of the refugees in Sweden had returned to their home countries, the initiatives set by the SDU began to change. In addition, due to the intense work of Alva Myrdal SIH doled out 2 million crowns for cultural reconstruction in Europe in December 1946. The stipulations for this money were:

- “1. Food assistance to students and academic teachers as well as students and teachers at seminaries and *folkhögskolor*. Contributions have been pledged and given by *Europahjälpen*.
2. Deliveries of school supplies, laboratory equipment and literature.
3. Invitations to Sweden of individuals, whose activities are of major importance for the reconstruction effort, both for individual study visits and for participation in specially arranged courses.”²¹⁷

The lands of focus included Yugoslavia, Poland, Germany, Hungary, and Austria, and since SIH had no official committee to work with cultural issues, these activities were split between SDU, SI, and SAK. SDU was responsible “for help within popular education activities” while SI would be responsible for “invitations to academics” and SAK for the “purchase of materials in Sweden.” Rune Eriksson also communicated with Gunnar Granberg of SI, in order to coordinate the activities handled by each organization because the line between SDU's work and their own was so similar.²¹⁸

Between 1947 and 1951, the focus became less on refugee training, and became more oriented on inviting specialists and researchers to Sweden or sending specialists abroad for lectures and conferences. In addition, the openness of the borders allowed SDU to invite more

²¹⁷ Scharp, KB; Verksamhetsberättelser, 1944-46, 1947; “1. Bispisningshjälp till studenter och akademiska lärare samt till elever och lärare vid seminarier och *folkhögskolor*. Bidrag härför utlovades och har även lämnats från Europahjälpen. 2. Leverenser av skolmaterial, laboratorieutrustningar och litteratur. 3. Inbjudan till Sverige av personer, vilkas verksamhet är av ny särskild vikt för det återuppbyggnadsarbetet, dels för enskilda studiebesök och dels för deltagande i särskilt anordnade kurser.”

²¹⁸ Ibid. “för hjälp till den folkliga bildningsverksamheten” “inbjudningar av akademiker” the “inköp av material i Sverige.”

youths from Austria and Germany to Sweden for vocational education and coursework over an extended period of time.

6.1. 1947 & 1948: To Educate the Educated

In 1947, SDU extended its operations, participating in the coordination of food contributions to German school children, surveying which school material was needed in these schools as well as continuing to donate literature to libraries in Germany, Austria, and Poland. These donations were to “include books with instructive character concerning education, the popular education system, childcare, social welfare, cooperation, trade unions and other areas of particular importance to cultural reconstruction.”²¹⁹ Though, the main thrust of operations in 1947 was invitations of educational professionals and active youths to Sweden for study visits, mixed conference and research courses, and courses for experts in *folkbildning*. Individual study visits to Swedish schools, *folkbögsolor*, and other educational institutions by Germans and Hungarians during 1947 were constant during this year and continued in 1948 with invitation of organizational representatives. SDU also began sending lecturers to schools in Germany and Austria in these years..

Study visits in 1947 and 1948 were headed by Swedish educational experts, whose goal was to show visitors how the Swedish system functioned. In 1947, these visitors consisted of 140 Hungarian and Germany educational experts In order to encourage other organizations to contribute to cultural reconstruction, SDU also created stipends which were given out through Swedish and foreign organizations for active youths from war-torn lands to visit and study in Sweden. In 1948, 25 individuals from different organizations came to Sweden from Germany and Austria, including representatives of women’s, trade union, industry, and welfare organizations.²²⁰

These visits for educational experts and organizational representatives lasted between two to seven weeks beginning with trips to Swedish schools, *folkbögsolor*, *folkbildning* and social institutions followed in some cases by a practical period spent at these institutions. Participants were engaged in making contacts with Swedish experts throughout the trip as well as participating in lectures about Swedish democracy. Many of these visits were even funded by the authorities of the participating countries, and further visits were planned for 6 Polish and 3 Czechoslovakian educators for the next year. One comment made by Hungarian professor K. Ujzásy after his visit is recorded in the 1947 annual report. He describes how surprised he was by the high-level organization, cooperation, and discussion between schools and libraries, stating

²¹⁹ Ibid. “omfatta böcker av handledningskaraktär berörande uppfostran, folkbildningsväsen, barna- och socialvård, Kooperation, fackföreningsväsen och andra samhällsområden av särskild betydelse för det kulturella återuppbyggnadsarbetet.”

²²⁰ Ibid. Verksamhetsberättelse 1948

“Despite all of the social and historical differences between our two peoples, the experiences I gained in Alfta were inspiration for my work at home.”²²¹

In addition, SDU’s first mixed conference and research course held May 28 – June 26, 1947 was designed for 48 Austrians, including: “6 students, 5 teachers, 5 *folkbildningsmän*, 4 agricultural representatives, 5 local politicians, 6 youth organization representatives, 4 journalists, 2 representatives from employment agencies, 1 representative of the Educational ministry and 1 representative of the public school board in Vienna.”²²² These participants arrived at Marieborgs *folkhögskola* led by Principal Robert Myrdal on the 28th of May and began discussions over general democratic issues, about rebuilding democratic institutions and organizations especially from a Swedish standpoint. After these introductory discussions, from June 8 – June 26, 1947, the participants visited schools, factories, and the Swedish parliament in Stockholm. The second part was designed to be more practical, but there were also lectures held every morning to discuss future contact with organizations or special interests of participants.²²³ The overall reception of the course was great according to an evaluation completed by participants. One such participant, Dr. Bruno Kreisky of the Austrian Legation in Stockholm states, “the intellectual relations between Sweden and Austria deepened intensely, especially within population groups which normally do not participate in international cultural exchange.”²²⁴

Stipends were also given to Germans active in youth and educational work, which included 10 German female youth leaders for participation in summer course at Sigtuna *folkhögskola* in 1947. Half of these costs were covered by Sigtuna, where these females received training in youth leadership especially in relation to the German problems.²²⁵

In addition, there was a course for German *folkbildningsmän* which took place in cooperation with *Svenska folkhögskolläraförbundet* (The Swedish folkhögskola Teachers Association). This course, starting on September 8, 1947 and designed to end in March 1948 included 53 German *folkbildningsmän*, 30 from the British zone and 23 from the American zone. Although invitations were sent to all four occupation zones, only British and American authorities responded. The course began with a preparatory portion from September 8 – October 12, 1947 at Åsa *folkhögskola* headed by its principal Allan Degerman, who had also previously headed the 1945 course with German deserters. This course was designed to orient participants with Swedish society and its educational institutions as well as introduce them to the

²²¹ Ibid. Verksamhetsberättelse 1947 “Ty trots alla sociala och historiska olikheter mellan de båda folken komma de erfarenheter jag gjorde i Alfta att bli inspirerande för mitt arbete hemma.”

²²² Ibid. “6 studenter, 5 lärare, 5 folkbildningsmän, 4 jordbruksrepresentanter, 5 kommunalmän, 6 ungdomsorganisationsrepresentanter, 3 kvinno- organisationsrepresentanter, 4 journalister, 2 arbetsgivarrepresentanter, 1 representant för undervisningsministriet och 1 representant för Wiens folkskoldirektion.”

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid. “de andliga förbindelserna mellan Sverige och Österrike fördjupats på ett mycket intensivt sätt, framför allt inom befolkningsgrupper, som i regel inte delta i det internationella kulturutbytet.”

²²⁵ Ibid.

Swedish language. After this initial preparation, participants were sent to various *folkbögskolor* around Sweden to work directly with teachers and students. Twelve of the participants returned before this part began, while the remaining participants worked in these schools until the end of the course. In March, the participants re-rallied at Åsa *folkbögskola* to discuss their experiences within the Swedish school system.

The last initiative in 1947 was in the form of invitations sent to the four occupation zones for visits in Sweden. The American, British, and French zones accepted these invitations and sent two delegates each to Sweden for a two-week study visit in November. The delegates traveled around Swedish schools, libraries, factories, and organizations to view the Swedish system. The visits included *Skolöverstyrelsen* (The National School Board, SÖ), KF and its conference center *Vår Gård*, ABF, Folkuniversitet (University extension), and more.²²⁶

Activities in 1948 followed similar lines, SDU continued to work with educating the educated in Sweden, but they also begin sending Swedish lecturers abroad to Germany and Austria and bringing young German and Austrian workers for combined training and education, which continued into the years of 1949 and 1950.

In this year, a delegated course, for organizational representatives was held from October to November 1948. There were a total of 40 Germans invited including, “teachers, members of the cooperative movement, trade union representatives, representatives for women’s organizations, journalists, agriculturalists and public servants.”²²⁷ Of those, 32 participated in the 4-week course held in the first two weeks at Torpa Pensionat in Södertälje in which they received instruction on the Swedish educational and organizational system through literature, lectures, and discussions. The last half of the course was held in Stockholm, where participants made contact with Swedish teachers, corporations, trade union representatives, social workers, industry officials, and others.²²⁸

Courses for social welfare personnel and youths also took place. A course for 13 German social welfare workers was created with support of Stiftelsen Birkagården and its principal Gillis Hammar over seven week period from September 1948 – November 1948. The course was designed to be part recreation and part research in the Swedish society. The youth course, held partly at the Birkagården summer home and partly at Birkagården in Stockholm consisted of theoretical lectures and practical placements at *folkbögskolor* for 24 youth leaders. Both courses were headed by Margit Norell, representative from Birkagården settlement, and her husband Pastor Norell. In addition, another course similar to one designed for German educators in 1947 was conducted from October 1948 – April 1949 for 30 active youths, 25 from Germany and 5

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Scharp, KB; Verksamhetsberättelse 1948; “lärare, kooperatörer, fackföreningsrepresentanter, representanter för kvinnoorganisationer, journalister, jordbrukare och kommunaltjänstemän.”

²²⁸ Ibid.

from Austria. This course followed much of the same lines as the previous course, beginning with a short introductory course followed by a long period of practical work in schools, which began to inform the operations of SDU from this time.

Lastly, a combined vocational period and evening course for German youths was set in Gislaved-Nissafors from October 1948 –April 1949. This course was designed for “38 young German workers between 20 and 30 years of age.”²²⁹ German author Kurt Stechert was designated at the course leader, the plan being for young workers to work concurrently at Gislaved Rubber Factory while taking evening classes. In exchange for room, board, and education, these youths worked for free in the factory. The students worked 48 hours a week with schooling happened in the evening or weekends, usually 3 – 4 evenings per week and every other weekend. The course began with classes in Swedish language, followed by lectures on the Weimar Republic by Kurt Stechert, The Swedish folkhögskola by an unknown lecturer, as well as Sven Söderquist who spoke on the world economy and Allan Degerman on Nordic cooperation.²³⁰ This first course was designed as an experiment, which had many problems due to the pessimism of Kurt Stechert as well as the intense workload placed on the students.²³¹ Lindner discusses how Stechert became increasingly pessimistic when after a series of lectures he asked the workers to write down their thoughts on living and working in Sweden, and no one wrote down a thing. In turn, the workers became less engaged over time, on which Stechert blames a National Socialist mentality strongly embedded in German youth. In order to prevent these problems in the future, he undertook a journey to Germany to choose students for the following course starting April 1949.

In addition to developing courses in Sweden, SDU also sent lecturers to abroad in 1948 to teach Germans and Austrians about the Swedish educational and political system. These lecturers were sent on two – seven weeks on lecture tours, including Rector Robert Myrdal and his wife from Marieborg *folkhögskola*, and Sven Söderquist from Önnestads *folkhögskola*, as well as German lecturer Franz Mockrauer. They even visited Payerbach in Austria, a Scandinavian style folkhögskola supported by SDU and *Hjælp Östriges Demokrati* (Help Austrian democracy), at which Robert Myrdal conducted two courses. In addition, Sven Söderquist conducted a course from August 23 – September 4, 1948 in Görde, Germany for 64 young Germans. Because of the successes of these experiences, it was planned to continue this program into the next year – and SDU even invited 25 participants of Sven Söderquist’s course for further education in Sweden in 1949.²³²

Lastly, SDU continued to support literature and paper donation during this time period.

²²⁹ Ibid.; “38 unga tyska arbetare i åldern 20 – 30 år.”

²³⁰ Lindner, 175

²³¹ Müssener, ARAB; Verksamhetsberättelse 1948/49 and 1949/50.

²³² Scharp, KB; Verksamhetsberättelse 1948

Foremost, SDU provided financial support for the publishing of literature as well as the paper for educational literature. These paper donations led to the printing of *Tankelivets frigörelse* by Alf Ahlberg, *Köoperativa spörsmål* and *Svensk folkhögskola under 75 år* by Herman Stolpe, and *Svensk fackföreningsrörelse* by Tage Lindbom.²³³

6.2. 1949 & 1950: Educating the Educated

Operations in 1949 & 1950 focused around the following seven points:

- “1) organization of training seminars for representatives of different professional groups and organizations from German and Austria,
- 2) invitation of persons active in social and cultural fields from different professions for study visits in Sweden,
- 3) promotion of other Swedish organizations according to the above, through support of invitations to study groups and individuals,
- 4) contributions for Swedish lecturers in Germany and Austria,
- 5) mediation of Swedish participation in German and Austrian conferences and international meetings,
- 6) acquisition of literature for popular education activities in Germany and Austria,
- 7) continued assistance for the maintenance of an Austrian *folkhögskola* with Scandinavian methods (Payerbach).”²³⁴

It is clear that courses and lectures remained the pulling force 1949 and 1950, including continued invitations to Sweden as well as sending lecturers abroad. This was also the second year that SDU conducted delegated courses, which had been received well in the previous year.

SDU continued with the delegated course concept, based on the previous one held at Torpa Pensionat, for the purposes of research and establishing contact between associations and labor representatives. Several courses were organized within SDU, and approximately 30 individuals participated “representing teacher’s organizations, trade unions, women’s associations, cooperatives, journalists, local government and agricultural organizations.” In general, 25 of these places were designated for Germans and 5 for Austrians, though a few individuals from other countries also participated in later courses. The courses were organized primarily with a 10-day course at a *folkhögskola*, where discussions and lectures were conducted concerning

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1948/49 and 1949/50; “1) anordnande av kurser för representanter för skilda yrkesgrupper och organisationer från Tyskland och Österrike, 2) inbjudan av socialt och kulturellt verksamma personer från skilda yrken till enskild studievistelse i Sverige, 3) främjande av andra svenska organisationers verksamhet enligt ovanstående genom bidrag till inbjudan av studiegrupper och enskilda personer, 4) bidrag till svenska föreläsares föredragsverksamhet i Tyskland och Österrike, 5) förmedling av svenskt deltagande vid tyska och österrikiska organisationers konferenser och internationella möten, 6) anskaffning av litteratur för folkbildningsverksamheten i Tyskland och Österrike, 7) fortsatt hjälp till underhåll av en österrikiskt *folkhögskola* av skandinavisk typ (Payerbach).”

“Swedish social, political and cultural circumstances and general democratic issues.” After a critique that the course in 1948 was overly Sweden-centered, the following courses focused more on a general democratic theme instead of concentrating primarily on Swedish circumstances.²³⁵

There were a total of 4 research and contact courses conducted over 1948 – 1950, including the course for 32 individuals in October – November 1948. The later courses included a course for 31 participants in June 1949, 29 participants from September – October 1949, and 17 participants from May – June 1950. The first course was headed by secretary Rune Eriksson, while the later courses were headed by journalist and teacher Anna-Lisa Kälvesten once Eriksson had left SDU.²³⁶ Despite this being one of the only years that SDU conducted delegated courses, Tegen called these SDU’s most important contribution because it was an exercise of intense cooperation with officials in Germany and Austria.²³⁷

SDU also organized a psychotherapy conference from May – June 1950 for 11 German and Austrian therapists parallel with the delegated courses. The purpose of the conference was “to give participants the opportunity for new information regarding international findings in the field of psychotherapy and for the exchange of experiences and discussion with Swedish colleagues.”²³⁸ This conference brought together qualified officials including therapists, psychiatrists, and doctors from Germany, Austria, and Sweden and was headed by Norwegian psychiatrist Dr. Nic Waal.²³⁹

There were also 5 courses organized in 1949 and 1950 for a total of 53 German and Austrian teachers in various subjects. The goal with these courses was to “through study of general social, economic, political and cultural circumstances in Sweden convey new views on the work in schools, teacher organizations, and popular education in its entirety” as well as enable contact between Swedish teacher’s organizations and individual Swedish colleagues. The course began with a one-week visit to a boarding school outside of Stockholm at which there were lectures and discussion on the general circumstances in Sweden. The second week consisted of study visits to schools and social institutions. Participants were then separated among various institutions to observe the functioning of Swedish schools. The fourth and final week was used for specialty studies, ending with a summative discussion about participant experiences. This course was created at a special time in Sweden, as there was an ongoing school reform, and these

²³⁵ Ibid. “representerande lärarorganisationer, fackföreningar, kvinnoorganisationer, kooperativ, journalister, kommunalförvaltning och jordbruksorganisationer.” “svenska sociala, ekonomiska, politiska och kulturella förhållanden och demokratins allmänna problem.”

²³⁶ Ibid.; Tegen, UUB, 99.

²³⁷ Tegen, UUB: Lev, 105.

²³⁸ Müssener, ARAB; Folder 2: Verksamhetsberättelse 1948/49 and 1949/50; “att ge deltagarna tillfälle till information angående nya internationella rön på psykoterapiens områden och till utbyta av erfarenheter och diskussion med sina svenska kollegor.”

²³⁹ Ibid.

participants were seen as valuable experts and consultants to this work.²⁴⁰

In cooperation with *Svenska folkhögskolans lärareförening*, SDU also organized *folkhögskola* courses and a conference in this time period. There were a total of 3 courses, a 3-month course in the summer of 1949 for 14 individuals and two 6-month courses in the winter of 1949/50 and 1950/51 for 15 and 11 individuals respectively. The only requirement for participants was that they were active in various education fields and would in turn contribute to the development of educational systems in Germany and Austria. These courses began with a general orientation of Sweden and the Swedish *folkhögskola* followed by an individual practical period at a *folkhögskola*. They were then gathered together again for a concluding course at the end of the period.

The conference, held in September 1950 at Åsa *folkhögskola*, was designed for 10 German and Swedish lecturers from *folkhögskolor*. It is noted in the annual report that “the conference has yielded very good results in the form of pedagogic discussions and improved contact between German and Swedish folkhögskolor.”²⁴¹

An additional youth leader course was also created in 1949 along the same lines as in 1948. There were 25 participants who started with a 5-week visit in Birkagården summer house, in which they rested and also participated in “theoretical lectures and discussions on youth psychology and philosophical issues.” They were also taken to Stockholm in the last portion of the course to follow the work of various youth organizations and institutions.²⁴²

An additional work and study course was created in cooperation with the Gislaved Rubber Factory despite the initial difficulties of the course in 1948. Kurt Stechert remained the course leader of these two courses which ran concurrently for 40 participants from March to December 1950, after which they shut down due to a decreased need of extra workers. There was also a course for female workers and students in Jönköping running at the same time. This course, for 15 participants at Swedish Match, was held much in the same way as the course above. It is noted in the annual report that these courses “has proven to be of great importance for the mental health of youths.”²⁴³

In this year, SDU also continued to send Swedish lecturers to Germany as well as SDU representatives to Austria for international conferences. There were several conferences held during 1949 – 1950 including an UNESCO conference in Paris in February 1949, an international teacher conference in Sonnenburg and Lüne in 1950, and a youth leader conference in Vlotho in 1949 just to name a few.

SDU continued to support other organizations and projects through financial means.

²⁴⁰ Ibid. “genom studier av allmänna sociala, ekonomiska, politiska och kulturella förhållanden i Sverige förmedla nya synpunkter på arbetet i skolan, lärarorganisationer och folkbildningen i dess helhet”

²⁴¹ Ibid. “konferensen har givit mycket goda resultat i form av pedagogiska diskussioner och förbättrad kontakt mellan tyska och svenska folkhögskolor.”

²⁴² Ibid. “teoretiska föreläsningar och diskussioner i ungdomspsykologi och livsåskådningsfrågor.”

²⁴³ Ibid. courses “har visat sig vara av stor betydelse bl.a. för den mentala omvårdnaden av ungdomarna.”

They continued to provide financial support for organizations such as IKFF, KFUM, and SF to invite Germans and Austrians to Sweden as well as inviting individuals themselves. SDU also invited 30 individuals from these countries for a 4-week or longer study visit in Sweden during 1949 and 1950. Finally, SDU continued to support literature donations through providing manuscripts and paper for printing, and even continued to support Payerbach *folkbögskola* in Austria.²⁴⁴

6.4. The Final Year: 1951

Though there was no official date of SDU's cessation, there were a few closing remarks at the end of the annual report from 1948/49 – 1949/50. In this note, it was stated that:

“SDU operations are expected to close in 1951. The remaining funds will, according to the decision of the Executive Committee be used for the following purposes:

- 1) implementation of a *folkbögskola* course for 11 students from the American zone in Germany.
- 2) a delegated course for approx. 20 individuals from Germany and Austria in April 1951.
- 3) a contribution of 3,000 crowns for the invitation of German pedagogues to a public school conference in Sweden during the summer of 1951.”²⁴⁵

The final annual report which was approved at the final meetings on March 24, 1951, members also planned the final delegated course run by SDU. This course, for “journalists, social workers, pedagogues trade union representatives, and members of the cooperative movement from Germany and Austria” took place in three parts: April 1 – 14, 1951 was spent at Breviksgården for theoretical discussions and lectures, and April 14 – 24 in Stockholm and Lidingö, where participants visited various institutions around the city, and April 24 – 28 at the Gymnastic *folkbögskola* Lillsved for final discussions and impressions of the course.²⁴⁶

This final course discussed many of the same issues as the previous delegated courses, with lectures on “The Swedish school system” by secretary Ernst Behm, “History of the modern world” by Allan Degerman, “The problems with Swedish youths” by Anna-Lisa Kälvesten. These were complimented by the later visits in Stockholm to schools and social institutions as well as the Swedish parliament and even the Winter Palace. The final discussions,

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. “SDU:s verksamhet beräknas avslutas 1951. Nu återstående medel skall enligt arbetutskottets beslut användas för följande ändamål: 1) genomförande av ovan omnämnda folkbögskolekurs för 11 elever från den amerikanska zonen i Tyskland, 2) en delegeradekurs för ca. 20 personer från Tyskland och Österrike under april – månad 1951, 3) bidrag å 3000 kronor för inbjudan av tyska pedagoger till en försöksskole-konferens i Sverige under sommaren 1951.”

²⁴⁶ Müssener, ARAB; Folder: Österrikare och tyskar, Brev från Ernst Behm, 24 mars 1951 “journalister, socialarbetare, pedagoger, fackföreningsrepresentanter och kooperatörer från Tyskland och Österrike”

which took place at Lillsved, were also complimented by an additional tour of the facilities as well as meetings with the school officials.²⁴⁷

Summary

SDU operations from 1947 – 1951 were remarkably different than operations in 1943 – 1946. The furious and confusing rush of refugees and *repatriandi* in the years around the end of World War II was over, and many of these individuals returned home. SDU's original furious marketing to *repatriandi* slowed and eventually stopped, and members were forced to find new ways to contribute to cultural reconstruction without the immediate need of thousands of refugees.

Fortunately, when the government released 2 million crowns for cultural reconstruction, SDU was one of the three organizations responsible for utilizing this money. From the release of this money in December 1946 until SDU's cessation in 1951, SDU worked furiously with officials in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia in order to bring educators, social workers, organizational representatives, students, young workers, and more to Sweden. Members felt passionate about the impact Sweden could have on these individuals, how SDU could show them the power of the welfare state developing in Sweden through its schools, trade unions, government, and most of all, through the man power behind SDU, its educators.

These operations begin in 1947 with material donations of food and school materials, but the main thrust of SDU was always education. Through mixed conference and contact courses, delegated courses, study visits, and sending lecturers abroad, SDU continued to educate in whatever way possible. This shift from education of refugees to education of experts and active youths allowed SDU to spread its message further by giving knowledge to those in a position to use it. By 1951, SDU had succeeded in educating at least 1,343 people through study visits and courses, and even more through conferences, literature, and the media.

7. The Exportation of Swedish Visions

Einar Tegen states in his memoirs that “SDU had its true origins in SF and related circles. It was above all the driving force of SF, Mrs. Greta Engkvist, who in collaboration with VF, and perhaps IKFF, called the meeting in which Dr. Ludwig Schnabl...held a lecture with accompanying discussion on youth in dictatorships on the 27th of January 1943 and Educational opportunities in the reconstruction of the world on the 28th of February.”²⁴⁸ These lectures

²⁴⁷ Ibid., Delegiertenkurs 1.-28. April 1951 program “Das schwedische schulwesen” “Moderne Weltgeschichte” “Einiges über schwedische Jugendprobleme”

²⁴⁸ Tegen, UUB: Lev, 93. “SDU har sin egentliga upprinnelse från Fredhögskolan och närstående kretsar. Det var framför allt Fredhögskolans ledande kraft, fru Greta Engqvist, som i samarbete med personal från Fredhögskolan och Världssamling för Fred, kanske också Kvinnoförbundet Fred och Frihet, sammankallade de

inspired the members to create “reeducation committee” which met in joint format throughout the spring of 1943.

Even in these early protocols it is evident that a primary goal of SDU would be the “reeducation” of peoples from war-torn lands, and especially the German people. At a meeting on May 31, 1943, the discussion of how this would be accomplished began. Alva Myrdal believed it necessary to “re-democratize” parts of ravished Europe stating that especially “Germans should be exposed to a democratic environment.” Matthis added that “youths particularly should be shown Swedish democratic institutions” and especially *folkbögskolor* could contribute in establishing additional *folkbögskolor* in Central Europe.” Dr. Beskow also stated the necessity “that the respect for the ‘Nordic cultural consciousness’ used in the psychological and educational work in Germany has the proper authority and is effective.”²⁴⁹

These discussions, which took place two years before the end of World War II, highlight the need within SDU to create more democratic and moral individuals out of Germans as well as other Central Europeans through the lens of Swedish democracy. Though the projects of the SDU steered away from small children, Myrdal’s suggestion of exposing Germans to democratic environments became a particular project for SDU. Even Matthis’ suggestion to create Swedish-style *folkbögskolor* was taken to heart by SDU members, though this creation was never achieved, they did succeed in helping establish and support Payerbach *folkbögskola* in Austria as discussed in Chapter 6.

In SDU’s first informational pamphlet which was published early in 1944, it is clear that the suggestions of Myrdal, Matthis, and Beskow have been utilized to create a unified vision. The pamphlet states that “education for democracy, world citizenship and the feeling of solidarity between peoples is vital” in the post-war world, and they believe it necessary to participate in the process of this education, to be beneficial in the cultural and intellectual reconstruction of Europe.²⁵⁰

The message of reeducation is present throughout SDU operations, especially in the early years, though it is slowly replaced by rhetoric on cultural, democratic, and intellectual reconstruction. At a conference on June 3, 1944 concerning Swedish contributions in the cultural reconstruction of Europe, the mission of SDU is further laid bare. In her lecture Alva Myrdal

möten där doktor Ludwig Schnabl...höll föredrag med åtföljande diskussion om ungdom i dikturländerna (27 januari 1943) och om Uppfostringsmomentet i världens återuppbyggnad (28 februari 1943).”

²⁴⁹ Scharp, KB 139: Konferensprotokoll 1944: 20 maj och 31 maj 1943; Myrdal: “återdemokratisera” “tyskarna borde ‘exponeras för demokratisk miljö.’” Matthis: “särskilt ungdomen skulle visas svenska demokratiska institutioner.” “kunde bidra att grunda sådana i Mellaneuropa.” Beskow: “att respekten för det ’nordiska kulturmedvetandet utnyttjades vid det psykologiskt – pedagogiska arbetet i Tyskland för att få auktoritet och effektivitet.”

²⁵⁰ Müssener, ARAB; Information om SDU “en uppfostran till demokrati, världsmedborgareskap och känsla av samhörighet mellan folken blir nödvändig”

discusses how it is necessary for a land such as Sweden to “export cultural goods.”²⁵¹ But what does she mean by this? What cultural goods are particular to Sweden and how should they be exported? She further states, “It would be desirable to create radio programs, brochures, anything that can enliven our discussion and give us more insight into the great opportunities that exist. We want to have this great enlightenment information in place not only to raise awareness of Sweden’s efforts in the relief effort but to bring our people into a better kind of internationalism.”²⁵²

The intention to spread this message of democratic reconstruction, is a large part of SDU’s message in the early years. Myrdal even ends this first conferencing by saying, “you know, even our intellectual horizons need to be broadened. Nothing succeeds if we are unable to overcome our limited nationalism, and we do that best by starting to work with others.”²⁵³ Myrdal was definitely a strong rallying power in the early years, her rhetoric powerful and her presence constant. The cooperation she speaks of is also present throughout SDU operations, every project run by the SDU is organized in cooperation with various organizations, including trade unions, cooperatives, women’s, political, and youth organizations, and especially educational organizations.²⁵⁴

The conference in Stockholm on June 3, 1944 proved to be important for spreading SDU’s message. As they had only been officially created 6 months prior, this and other conferences were utilized as recruitment seminars.²⁵⁵ But it is not only Myrdal that contributed to this rhetoric. It is stated in the many meetings, pamphlets, and enlightenment brochures that SDU’s mission is to make a small contribution in the cultural, intellectual, and democratic reconstruction of Europe.

According to Einar Tegen in *Kulturell Uppbyggnad 1*, SDU needed to “alleviate the spiritual distress that has arisen in Axis ruled countries. We all know that extreme cultural devastation has taken place in most European countries, even if we perhaps cannot fathom how large the devastation really is. Let us openly see the problems with our eyes and not embellish the facts involved.”²⁵⁶ Additionally, Eric Leijonhufvud states, “It is of the greatest significance in which

²⁵¹ Müssener, ARAB: Konferensprotokoll 3 juni 1944; “exportera kulturgods”

²⁵² Ibid. “Önskvärt vore att få till stand radioprogram, broschyrer och allt som kan liva vår egen discussion och ge oss ökad insikt om de stora möjligheter som finnas. När vi vill ha en så stor upplysningspropaganda i gång, är det ju inte bara för att väcka intresset för Sveriges insatser i hjälparbetet utan för att väcka hela vårt folk till en bättre sorts internationalism.”

²⁵³ Ibid. “...veta du, att även våra andliga horisonter behöva vidgas. Ingenting lyckas, om vi inte kunna övertvinna den trånga nationalismen, och vi göra det bäst genom att börja arbeta för andra.”

²⁵⁴ Ibid., Verksamhetsberättelse 1944, 1945

²⁵⁵ Ibid.; Konferensprotokoll 3 juni 1944 “Önskvärt vore att få till stand radioprogram, broschyrer och allt som kan liva vår egen discussion och ge oss ökad insikt om de stora möjligheter som finnas. När vi vill ha en så stor upplysningspropaganda i gång, är det ju inte bara för att väcka intresset för Sveriges insatser i hjälparbetet utan för att väcka hela vårt folk till en bättre sorts internationalism.”

²⁵⁶ KU1, 80. “Iindra den andliga nöd som uppstått i de av axelmakterna behärskade länderna. Vi vet alla att en oerhörd kulturell ödeläggelse har ägt rum i de flesta europeiska länder, även om vi kanske inte riktigt med vårt förstånd kan fatta, hur stor denna ödeläggelse i själva verket är. Låt oss öppet se problemen i ögonen och icke

spirit relief work is carried out. A metropolitan newspaper wrote in an editorial that the Swedish contribution to reconstruction work should be given without either penitent or do-gooder behavior. It must be real. Swedish help should be given as a completely natural consequence of that we, who now want to be seen, escaped the wars direct depredation.”²⁵⁷

There are several key points present throughout SDU’s rhetoric on reeducation and cultural reconstruction: rationality, cooperation, research, education, and foremost democracy. SDU worked through every avenue available and especially through research, literature, and education to show refugees, Swedes, educational professionals, and youths how the Swedish system was an example of these principles, and indeed a system that should be learned from and appreciated.

Literature was created and courses were conducted from the very beginning to the very end of SDU’s operations for the express purpose of showing educational officials, organizational representatives, students, and anyone who would listen, how the Swedish system could be useful for them. Those involved in these courses always received knowledge from those most active in these movements – the representatives of SDU, who were experts in the Swedish educational system and closely connected to organizations and the government – in an attempt to give the best impression possible. It is clear from the very beginning of SDU’s operations in 1943 to their slow end in 1951, that the goal of spreading Swedish democracy was always present. Every class, lecture, study group, piece of literature, etc. that was created in connection with SDU had a self-awareness of how Sweden fit within the training and educating of European minds, and a deeper understanding of the importance of educating oneself before one can educate others.

8. The Slow Decline of SDU

In the early years after World War II the Swedish economy was booming. Neutrality and isolation during the war had helped preserve Sweden’s financial institutions, and there was a great willingness to participate in European reconstruction. Though, as the years wore on new international crises, including increased Soviet aggression and the European financial crisis began to drain the surplus money in Sweden. By the end of the 1940s, Sweden was no longer in the position to spend money on humanitarian relief or cultural reconstruction. In addition, other organizations were created, SI in 1945 and The Swedish branch of UNESCO in 1950, with similar initiatives to SDU and better priority to state funding. Though SDU’s operations lasted until 1951, funding slowed after the 2 million crowns earmarked for cultural reconstruction by SIH in December 1946, and previously planned operations began to shut down in 1950. Using

försköna föreliggande fakta.”

²⁵⁷ KUI, 50. “det är av största vikt, i vilken anda hjälparbetet utföres.”

previous research and SDU source material, this chapter will discuss how political and economic issues as well as organizational competition in a changing world were contributing factors in SDU's cessation.

8.1. New Crises on the Horizon

In the big picture, there were two major ways in which SDU was directly affected by developing Soviet aggression and the European financial crisis. Firstly, after the initial distribution of 2 million crowns by SIH in December 1946, no additional funds were designated for the cause of cultural reconstruction in Sweden due to lack of funding. Secondly, due to president Einar Tegen's ties to the Soviet Union through his presidency of *Svenska-ryska sällskapet* from 1943 – 1946, he was suspected of have communist leanings which damaged the reputation of SDU in the midst of Cold War politics.²⁵⁸

In the early years, after World War II, “the organization of Swedish humanitarian aid brought together government and private initiatives in the spirit of cooperation of wartime corporativism and the Swedish welfare state.” These initiatives were headed by both the governmental organ, SIH, and the private committee, SEH who efficiently cooperated with organizations in Sweden to distribute aid.²⁵⁹ In this way, Cay Sevón states:

In the big picture of the reconstruction of Europe, Sweden was different from any other country. Specifically Swedish was the high degree of willingness to participate in the reconstruction of Europe, in the spirit of the Swedish vision of a unified Europe as well as its own interest. This willingness was in the beginning matched with excellent feasibility. That changed quickly. In the fall of 1946 a currency crisis developed, which deepened in 1947. Sweden became economically dependent, on the USA directly, and indirectly on the recovery of Europe.²⁶⁰

This economic crisis combined with increased Soviet aggression saw a growth of Sweden's neutrality politics, and because government aid was a more sensitive issue, politically and diplomatically, than was private aid, it was progressively more difficult for SDU to receive funding directly as the money from SIH's disbursement began to run out.²⁶¹ In fact, Tegen states in his memoirs in 1947, “the previously intense work in SDU was about to peter out, the state money was running out, and new backing could not be found for this work.”²⁶² As evidenced by

²⁵⁸ Tegen, UUB: Lev, 190.

²⁵⁹ Sevón, 303.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 302- 303.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 303.

²⁶² Tegen, UUB: Lev, 104. “Det tidigare intensiva arbetet i SDU var på väg att ebba ut, statens pengar höll på att

the early date of this statement, it is surprising SDU continued to operate until 1951.

In addition, the controversial “billion crown loan” deal negotiated with the Soviets during the war damaged Sweden’s reputation internationally. This loan, which was forward over a 5-year period after the war, became a subject of increasing tension between Sweden and the rest of the world. And because of Sweden’s economic recession during this period and its reliance on Marshall aid in the late 1940s, this international image mattered more than ever. Sweden wanted to once again remove itself from any suspicion of communist sympathies.²⁶³ This national attitude in turn affected SDU because of Einar Tegen’s ties to the Soviet Union.

From 1943 – 1946, Einar Tegen was president of *Svenska-ryska sällskapet*, which was formed to strengthen relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union. As president, he wanted to utilize this committee “as a symbol for international work, as a means to strengthen the bonds between two peoples, as an intermediary between East and West.”²⁶⁴ Despite the fact that he arranged numerous meetings and lectures between Swedish and Soviet individuals, there were no real steps in creating meaningful relations between Sweden the Soviet Union. By 1946, he stated that the committee had instead become a “society for the celebration of Soviet holidays,” and he decided to leave the organization after the end of his three year post.²⁶⁵ In his memoirs, he even is astounded at himself, stating “It is surprising that one...could completely ignore the dangerous tendencies in Soviet and believe in communism as being democratic.”²⁶⁶

In an increasingly politically volatile world, neutrality politics were revived, and this Soviet tie did not help. Nehlin states that in these later years, Sweden showed a general unwillingness of the government to participate and fund international relief due to these neutrality principles, especially in the case of suspected anti-democratic ties.²⁶⁷ In 1949, Tegen could not enter the UNESCO-council because of his ties of America, Germany, and especially the Soviet Union. Even as late as 1952, Tegen was denied membership to an organization for the creation of Swedish and German relations because of this perceived “leftist position.”²⁶⁸

8.2 Competing Organizations

In the midst of this gradually more difficult political and economic situation which developed after World War II, Sweden was once again under scrutiny from world governments. This made it increasingly important for Sweden to create a more positive international image

ta slut och nya stöd ej få för sådant arbete.”

²⁶³ Sevón, 53.

²⁶⁴ Tegen, UUB: Lev, 114. “som en symbol för internationellt samarbete, som ett medel att närma två folk till varandra, som en förmedlande länk mellan öst och väst.”

²⁶⁵ I bid., 115. “Sällskap för firande av Sovjetunionens högtidsdagar,”

²⁶⁶ Ibid. “Det är förvånande, att man...så totalt kunde se bort från de farliga tendenserna i Sovjet och tro på kommunismen som en i demokratisk riktning.”

²⁶⁷ Nehlin, 56.

²⁶⁸ Tegen, UUB: Lev, 186. “folkdemokratisk inställning.”

while maintaining cautious neutrality, amidst suspicion of its Soviet connections. Although SDU worked diligently for this cause in the early years, through literature and education, the means to continue these initiatives began to dwindle in the late 1940s. In the end, SDU was reliant on funds from American and British authorities to continue functioning, but these funds were sparse and unreliable.

This lack of national support for SDU initiatives also corresponded to the need for Sweden to participate on the world stage by utilizing organizations with a world-wide presence. In January 1950, SDU joined UNESCO after several years of rallying by a minority of intellectuals in Sweden, including members of the SDU. Even before the creation of the original UNESCO committee on November 16, 1945, Alva Myrdal, Einar Tegen, and Ture Casserberg called for the need of an “international organization for education,”²⁶⁹ Tegen stating in *Kulturell Uppbyggnad 2*:

in SDU's leadership there is a strong emphasis on the importance of broad international views. We desire a world-wide organization after the war which can prevent war and work toward the material and cultural enhancement of various nations. We desire an organization that embraces all people and cultures, an organization where freedom replaces coerciveness and submission, and where collaboration and solidarity replace competition and willfulness. Such an organization must be built upon respect for other cultures, whether they are primitive or more advanced. We must replace national snobbery and “ethnocentrism” ...with cultural broad-mindedness and tolerance.²⁷⁰

In his memoirs, he reemphasizes this point by saying, “It warmed the hearts of SDU members to aid in the creation an UNESO committee in Sweden.”²⁷¹ This is evidenced by the several meetings which took place from 1946 – 1949 under SDU's heading for the cause of UNESCO. Several members of SDU's Central Committee participated in a particular conference on October 11, 1946 with the title “discussion meeting in Stockholm October 11, 1946 regarding the nature of a possible Swedish UNESCO committee.” These members included director of LO Torvald Karlbom, Einar Tegen, Rune Eriksson, Greta Hedin, politician Kerstin Hesselgren, Dr. Axel Höjer, Alva Myrdal, Vilhelm Scharp, and Eva Wigforss.²⁷²

Further meetings were even attended by members of SI from 1947, though Tegen recounts “Partially divergent interests represented by the Swedish Institute and its director, Gunnar Granberg, who was especially keen on focusing new activities to SI instead.”²⁷³ Tegen

²⁶⁹ KU2, 39. “Internationell organisation för uppfostran,”

²⁷⁰ KU1, 88.

²⁷¹ Tegen, UUB: Lev, 103. , “Det låg SDU varmt om hjärtat att hjälpa till med förberedandet av en Unesco-kommitté i Sverige.”²⁷¹

²⁷² KB, Scharp 142; Folder: SDU ang. Unesco-Kommission, protokoll 11 oktober 1946. diskussionsmöte i Stockholm den 11 oktober 1946 angående karaktären av en eventuell svensk UNESCO-kommission

²⁷³ Tegen, UUB: Lev, 104. Delvis avvikande intressen företräddes av Svenska institutet och dess chef Gunnar Granberg, framför allt var man angelägen koncentrera den nya verksamheten till detta institut

makes clear that Granberg was not against an UNESCO committee in Sweden, but he wanted only to be certain SI had a place in cultural activities upon its creation. Following these discussions an UNESCO council was created to officially deal with the process of entering into the organization, of which Rune Eriksson became president in 1949. Because of this post he left SDU. Around the same time, Alva Myrdal also left SDU to become head of UNESCO's social science section, becoming another ally in the cooperation with UNESCO in Sweden.²⁷⁴

Though, this cooperation was not fully realized until Sweden's official entrance into UNESCO in 1950. Lindner even states, that:

“UNESCO had many valuable ideas for programs and cooperation in the cultural reconstruction of Europe. The rich correspondence between Alva Myrdal, SIH, and the organization speaks for itself. Some of the intentions of UNESCO were realized by independent Swedish cultural aid to Germany. However, official cooperation was possible only after Sweden's accession to UNESCO in January 1950.”²⁷⁵

Though, the supporters of UNESCO were not the only ones fighting for organizational space in cultural reconstruction efforts. The Swedish Institute was a semi-governmental committee created in 1945, to “to promote Sweden's cultural, social, and economic relations with foreign countries through, among other things, enlightenment work and cultural exchange.”²⁷⁶ Many of their tasks coincided with SDU's operations, and as stated previously, SDU and SI were two of the three organizations responsible for utilizing the 2 million crowns in cultural reconstruction funds from SIH in 1946.

While SDU was responsible for popular education and SI focused on university and science, they conducted similar types of work which led to competition after the release of funds. Tegen confirms that “some competition between this institution and SDU probably followed. Though, cooperation has nevertheless been good.”²⁷⁷ Lindner also notes the cooperation between the organizations as well, stating, “The Swedish Institute (SI) ... partially cooperated with SDU. The specialty of SI was inviting individual scientists from different countries.”²⁷⁸ This included the invitation of guests in university circles from other countries for

²⁷⁴ Lindner, 73.

²⁷⁵ Ibid. “UNESCO hade många värdefulla idéer till program och samarbete rörande den kulturella återuppbyggnaden av Europa. Den rikhaltiga korrespondensen mellan Alva Myrdal, SIH, och organisationen talar här sitt tydliga språk. Några av UNESCO:s intentioner förverkligades av den självständiga svenska kulturell hjälpen i Tyskland. Ett officiellt samarbete blev emellertid möjligt först efter Sveriges inträde i UNESCO i januari 1950. Då tillfördes UNESCO för första gången den obligatoriska medlemsavgiften som för Sveriges del blev 940,000 kronor.”

²⁷⁶ Glover (2011), 53.

²⁷⁷ Tegen, UUB, Lev, 99. “en viss konkurrens ,mellan detta institut och SDU förekom nog. Men samarbetet har trots det varit gott.”

²⁷⁸ Lindner, 178 Svenska Institutet (SI) ... samarbetade delvis med SDU. Inom SI specialiserade man sig på att bjuda in enskilda vetenskapsmän från olika länder. Detta skedde efter tre principer: man bjöd in personer på 2 månader och betalade samtliga rese- och uppehållskostnader; man lämnade engångsbidrag till personer som var

study visits and stipends for trips given through other institutions and organizations. This does not mean that SI and other organizations did not struggle amongst the political and economic limitations in this period, fighting its own battle for organizational space with the Tourist Traffic Association in this time period. When SDU operations were officially shut down in 1951, the tasks of SDU were given to SI, and later in 1952 partly to Svenska-tyska sällskapet of which Vilhelm Scharp was president.²⁷⁹ SDU simply could not hold onto the organizational space which was being slowly taken away, partly through their own actions, in the creation of the Swedish UNESCO committee, and partly because of SI's more reciprocal exchange between countries, and especially Germany in the late 1940s.²⁸⁰

In closing, although SDU disappeared from the history books, this organization was able to prove Ann Nehlin's results for a short while, "that international aid tends to reflect national political positions but also that in some ways provides a neutral ground for international cooperation."²⁸¹ This neutral ground on which SDU cooperated, helped to provide a platform for other committees to develop and make a difference in cultural reconstruction, including UNESCO and SI. Plus, many members even became further involved in these committees. Alva Myrdal, Allan Degerman, and Ragnar Lund eventually became active within UNESCO, while Vilhelm Scharp and professor Gunnar Heckscher became members of SI, Heckscher even acting as SI's president from 1954 – 1957, so in this way the mission of SDU lived on through further cooperation in Sweden and abroad.

9. Conclusion

SDU was created in a world where democracy had been destroyed in Germany and in other parts of Europe, but there was still confidence and faith that it could be rebuilt through the power of education and informative literature. The Allies had prevailed over evil, and this victory instilled passion in the possibility of creating future democratic triumphs in Europe. Despite bad press due to Sweden's compromised neutrality politics during the war, the burgeoning welfare state in Sweden was intact and growing, and the Swedish economy remained largely unaffected in the first years after the end of World War II. In fact, Sweden was flourishing. The overall success story of Swedish neutrality supported the strong belief that a democratic and modern society could be built by the people and could prosper together.

It is clear that the mission of European reconstruction connected many people, and further the cultural aims of SDU caught the special interest of educators and intellectuals. SDU brought together a variety of individuals within its official organization and many more as

inbjudna av andra institutioner eller organisationer; man utfärdade em officiell inbjudan samt ordnade de yttre arrangemangen såsom "resor, formaliteter, bostäder, kontakter, etc."

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 181

²⁸¹ Nehlin, 206.

unofficial helpers, usually picked from the thousands of refugees in Sweden. As the message of SDU grew, SDU also welcomed intellectual refugees into their ranks as archive workers and course coordinators. These refugees provided an intimate connection between Swedes and the thousands of refugees in the Swedish refugee camps.

Especially present were representatives within the women's and trade union organizations, and this connection strengthened through the years. This network of individuals spread into all areas of humanitarian relief, education, women's issues, and political spheres. It was because of these connections and the maintenance of these relationships that allowed this group to achieve so much in the early years.

SDU was an organization inspired by the idea of making a positive difference in the midst of the overwhelming destruction during the war to create a newer and more evolved Europe, in order to be certain that an event of that magnitude would never happen again.

Though by 1947, the original zest for reconstruction was overshadowed by Allied initiatives to reconstruct Europe and increasingly strained relations with the Soviet Union redirected governmental funding to the Marshall Plan. Though governmental funding was only a supplement to the support by LO, SAF, KF, and ABF – these organizations also found other needs for their funding during these later years. The original passion for cultural reconstruction had dampened as the face of the world changed yet again.

It is clear that the political and social situation in Europe had already partially abandoned the clean-up of one tragedy to prepare for yet another international crisis, and the slow decline of the SDU became almost inevitable under these circumstances. This combined with the creation of a Swedish UNESCO committee and the competition between SI and SDU, made it increasingly difficult to fund projects in the end. This committee highlighted the effort behind long-term change in the democratic future of Europe by contributing a Swedish sensibility and faith in efficient, rational and most importantly modern democracy. SDU shows one small but unique contribution which was connected to a wider desire to democratize the world - starting with Central Europe and especially in Germany.

It was always the goal of SDU to make a small contribution, but it is clear that if more financial and social means were made available, this contribution could have been much larger. The most unique part of this committee is the fire ignited by faith in democratic education and how this work was viewed as their blessed contribution to post WWII problems. It is unfortunate that near the end of operation, Einar Tegen's democratic leanings were challenged due to his connection to the *Svenska-ryska sällskapet*. His memoirs show that this suspicion caused him much pain, especially, "after all the work [he] had put into SDU for cause of democracy."²⁸²

²⁸² Tegen, UUB: Lev, 190 "efter allt det arbete jag lagt ned i SDU för demokratiens sak."

Appendix I: Membership 1943 – 1950

This list is compiled from the annual reports from 1944 – 1950, protocols from May 20, 1943 to December 20, 1943 and a brochure published by SDU on December 28, 1943. The decision to create SDU's Central and Executive Committee and was not made until December 20, 1943, and the first list of its official members was not created until January 4, 1944, though there are several original members listed in 1943 meeting protocols. Therefore, members who were active in 1943 were unofficial but vital to SDU's original plans, and they will be listed here.

Central Committee

Behm, Ernst (1950)	Lilliehöök, Eleonor (1944 – 1948)
Bentzen, Tord (1949)	Lindholm, Hilding (1945 – 1946)
Beskow, Börje (1947 – 1950)	Lindström, Ulla-Alm (1947 – 1950)
Bjelle, E. (1949 – 1950)	Lund, Ragnar (1949 – 1950)
Bonow, Mauritz (1943)	Lundgren, Stig (1944 – 1950)
Brundell, Arne (1944 – 1946)	Matthis, Henry Peter (1943 – 1944)
Casserberg, Ture (1944 – 1950)	Mattson, Gustaf (1945 – 1950)
Degerman, Allan (1947 – 1950)	Myrdal, Alva (1943 – 1949)
Engkvist, Greta (1943)	Olofsson, John (1943)
Eriksson, Rune (1944 – 1949)	Olsson, Gunnel (1944)
Giesecke, Curt-Steffan (1949 – 1950)	Olsson, Herbert (1944)
Goude, Nils (1947 – 1950)	Regnell, Astrid (1943 – 1944)
Harrie, Ivar (1945 – 1946)	Scharp, Vilhelm (1944 – 1950)
Heckscher, Gunnar (1945 – 1948)	Sohlberg, Hugo (1944)
Hedin, Greta (1945 – 1948)	Sundström, Erland (1944, 1949 – 1950)
Hellner, Kerstin (1943)	Tarschys, Karin (1947 – 1950)
Hesselgren, Kerstin (1944 – 1950)	Tegen, Einar (1943 – 1950)
Hirdman, Gunnar (1943 – 1950)	Thedin, Nils (1944 – 1950)
Höjer, Axel (1945 – 1946)	Thorsson, Inga (1949 – 1950)
Karlbom, Torvald (1943 – 1950)	Trotzig, Dag (1943)
Kärre, Bo (1949 – 1950)	Wanngård, Hanna (1944 – 1950)
Lagervall, Eva (1943)	Wigforss, Eva (1943 – 1948)
Larsson, Mats (1944 – 1948)	Willers, Uno (1949 – 1950)
Leander, Sigrid (1949 – 1950)	Wolontis, Sigvard (1947 – 1948)
Leopold, Olof (1943)	

Executive Committee

Brundell, Arne (1944 – 1945)	Goude, Nils (1947 – 1950)
Casserberg, Ture (1944 – 1950)	Lund, Ragnar (1949 – 1950)
Degerman, Allan (1947 – 1950)	Lundgren, Stig (1945 – 1950)
Eriksson, Rune (1944 – 1946)	Myrdal, Alva (1944 – 1946)
Scharp, Vilhelm (1948 – 1950)	
Tegen, Einar (1944 – 1950)	
Thedin, Nils (1944 – 1946)	
Wigforss, Eva (1947 – 1948)	
Wolontis, Sigvard (1947 – 1948)	

Official Secretariat

Behm, Ernst (from April 1, 1950) Eriksson, Rune (1944 – 1949)
Bentzen, Tord (1949, 1950) Sollin, Rolf (1949)
Casserberg, Ture (1943 – 1944)

Sections (active until July 10, 1947)

- Section 1* Einar Tegen, president (1943 – 1947)
Gunnar Hirdman, VP (1943 – 1945)
Vilhelm Scharp, secretary (1943 – 1945), VP (1945 – 1947)
Ture Casserberg, secretary (1945 – 1947)
- Section 2* Alva Myrdal, president (1943 – 1947)
Tage Lindbom, VP (1943 – 1945)
Henry Peter Matthis, secretary (1943 – 1945), VP (1945 – 1947)
Gustaf Mattson (1945 – 1947)
- Section 3* Mauritz Bonow, president (1943 – 1944)
Nils Thedin, president (1944 – 1947)
T. Karlbom, VP (1943 -1944)
Ture Casserberg, secretary (1943 – 1944)
Rune Eriksson, secretary (1945 – 1947)
- Section 4* Eva Lagervall, president (1943)
(active 1943) Kerstin Hellner, vice president (1943)
Astrid Regnell, secretary (1943)
- Section 5* Dag Trotzig, president (1943)
(active 1943) Emilia Fogelklou-Norlind, VP (1943)
John Olofsson, secretary (1943)

Listed Additional Workers

Though there were a stated number of 15 - 18 additional workers in SDU throughout the years, only a few have been listed or found within archival material. Since there is no material stating their exact dates of employment, so only their names and their job titles will be listed.

Backlund, Helga (office worker)
Friedländer, Otto (archive worker and translator)
Herz, Hanna (archive worker)
Mockrauer, Franz (archive worker and translator)
Ringmar, Torgil (office worker)
Sachs, Nelly (translator)²⁸³
Ståhlfors, Sonja (office worker)
Svensson, Göte (office worker)
Weber, Max (archive and office worker)²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Tegen, UUB: Krönika

²⁸⁴ Important note: This is not the German sociologist and political economist Max Weber.

Appendix II: Participants in *Ombudsförsamling* December 2, 1945

This is the only complete list of representatives in the *ombudsförsamling* found in archival material. The list is included to provide information of the individuals and types of organizations which coordinated with SDU.

Representative	Organization
Professor Einar Tegen	SDU
Principal Alva Myrdal	SDU
Public School Teacher Ture Casserberg	SDU
Secretary Rune Eriksson	SDU
Mrs. Eva Wigforss	<i>Socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundet</i>
Mr. Stig Lundgren	<i>Socialdemokratiska ungdomsförbundet</i>
Editor Nils Thedin	<i>Kooperativa Förbundet</i>
Mrs. Ina Möller	<i>Svenska kvinnors Medborgarförbund</i>
Mrs. Gurli Kollberg	<i>Folkpartiet</i>
Fil.kand. A. Westergren	<i>Folkpartiets kvinnoförbund</i>
Mrs. Inga Beskow	<i>Internationella kvinnoförbundet för fred och frihet</i>
Mrs. Greta Lamm	<i>Internationella kvinnoförbundet för fred och frihet</i>
Mrs. Signe Henschen	<i>Frederika-Bremer Förbundet</i>
Lecturer J. Julén	<i>Förbundet för Kristet Samhällsliv</i>
Editor Ivar Harrie	<i>Publicistklubben</i>
Teacher Elmer Turloch	<i>Svenska Frisksportförbundet</i>
Teacher Hanna Wanngård	<i>Svenska Folkskolläraryrkesförbund, Svenska Allmänna Folkskolläraryrkesförening</i>
Ms. Inga Kellerman	KFUK
Teacher Nils Göransson	KFUM
Adjunct Sigrid Wikfelt	<i>Svenska Kristliga Bildningsförbund, Frälsningsarmén</i>
Fil.mag. Greta Engkvist	<i>Stiftelsen Fredhögskolan</i>
Fil.lic. Karin Tarschys	<i>Akademiskt bildade kvinnors förening</i>
Editor Mauritz Enander	<i>Föreningen Mellanfolkligt Samarbete</i>
Fil.kand. Erik Ljungblom	<i>Föreningen Mellanfolkligt Samarbete</i>
Mr. D. Köpniwsky	<i>Mosaiska Församlingen</i>
Mr. Gunnar Holmkvist	<i>Nationaltemplarorden</i>
Mr. Arne G. Karlsson	<i>Nationaltemplarorden</i>
Mr. Viktor Johansson	<i>Nyktarbesorganisation Verdandi</i>
Major Hans L. Edgardh	<i>Svenska Riksidrottsförbundet, Samarbetskommitté</i>
Ms. Elsie Pettersson	<i>Internationella Arbetslag</i>
Typographer Ernst Schwartz	<i>Internationella Arbetslag, Ungdomens Fredsförbund</i>
Architect Gun Sjödin	<i>Svenska Arkitekters Riksförbund</i>
Ms. Kerstin Hesselgren	<i>Svenska Kvinnors Vänsterförbund</i>
Mrs. Greta Hedenborg	<i>Riksförbund Sveriges Lottakärer</i>
Fil.mag. Claes-Göran Rende	<i>Centralförbundet för Nyktarhetsundervisning</i>
Gymnastics director Tore Jonsson	<i>Svenska Gymnastikförbundet</i>
Secretary Eva Sandström	<i>Yrkeskvinnors Samarbetsförbund</i>
Ms. Agnes Lundgren	<i>Yrkeskvinnors Samarbetsförbund</i>
Mr. Ernst Säfvelin	<i>Telegraf- och Telefonmannaförbundet</i>
Mr. Edvin B Göthe	<i>Svenska Väg- och Vattenarbetareförbundet</i>
Customs officer Curt Andréé	<i>Svenska Tullmannaförbundet</i>
Director G.M. Fleetwood	<i>Skid- och Friluftsförbundet</i>

Appendix III: Selected biographical information

This is a compilation of members in SDU over the years of operation 1943 – 1951. They have been chosen due to their relative importance within both SDU and the larger Swedish and international context. Significant information on important members of SDU such as secretaries Rune Eriksson and Ture Casserberg could not be found, so they are not included in the list. Most death dates were retrieved from *Nationalencyklopedin* online, additional death dates were found within the cited literature.

Degerman, Allan (1901 - 1980): *Folkhögskola* teacher and founding member of VF from 1937 – 1943 as well as member of several educational organizations from the 1940s – 1960s. One of the voices for the modern freedom movement and UNESCO. Responsible for bringing the study of international affairs to *folkhögskolor* in Sweden.²⁸⁵

Engkvist, Greta (1893 – 1990): Active in the freedom and women's movements in the 1920s – 1940s. Long time member of IKFF, SF and SSKF. Won the Eldh-Ekblads fredspris in 1968.²⁸⁶

Fogelklou-Norlind, Emilia (1878 – 1972): Theologian, teacher and author. Sweden's first female theology candidate in 1909. Writing spanned many important issues such as history of religion, pedagogy, sociology, as well as freedom and women's issues. Friends with members of the Fogelstad group including Kerstin Hesselgren.²⁸⁷

Giesecke, Curt-Steffan (1921 -): Lawyer, economist, and business leader. Secretary for *Arbetsmarknadskommissionens kvinnoutredning* from 1948 – 1950. Worked for SAF, becoming CEO in 1966.²⁸⁸

Goude, Nils (1907 - unknown): Ombudsman in LO from 1941 – 1952 including the propaganda board. Member of EH in 1946, *Föreningen Nörden* from 1947 – 1956 and *Radionämnden*.²⁸⁹

Harrie, Ivar (1899 – 1973): Journalist and translator. Became culture editor of *Dagens Nyheter* from 1940 – 1944, chief editor of *Expressen* from 1944 – 1959.²⁹⁰

Heckscher, Gunnar (1909 – 1987). Professor, rightist politician and member of parliament. Political science professor at Uppsala University from 1933 – 1941 and later at Stockholm University College. Became rector of *Socialinstitutet* 1945 – 1954, president of *Högerns ungdomsförbund* from 1949 – 1952, head of *Svenska Institutet* from 1954 – 1957, and president of *Högerns riksorganisation* from 1961 – 1965.²⁹¹

Hesselgren, Kerstin (1872 – 1962): Labor inspector and social politician. Became first female labor inspector in 1912 and first female member of parliament in 1921. Deeply engaged in politics during the 1920s and 1930s. Member of *Svenska kvinnors vänsterförbund*, president of *Svenska kvinnors nationalförbund*, and part of the Fogelstad group which included *Via Suecia* editor Elin Wägner.²⁹²

Hirdman, Gunnar (1888 – 1963): *Folkbildare* and educator. Active in the Swedish labor movement and director of ABF, collaborated in the establishment of an international ABF

²⁸⁵ Retrieved from: <http://runeberg.org/vemardet/1957/> (herein referred to as VAD online) and NE online.

²⁸⁶ Engkvist, 61, 106, 139, 148-49, 154.

²⁸⁷ VAD online and NE online.

²⁸⁸ Ingeborg, Burling, *Vem är det: Svensk biografisk handbok 1957* (Stockholm: P.A. Nordstedt, 1957), 322 – 323. (herein referred to as VAD); NE online.

²⁸⁹ VAD, 328.

²⁹⁰ NE online; Åkerlund, 270.

²⁹¹ Nils Bohman and Torsten Dahl, ed. *Svenska män och kvinnor* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1955), 338. (herein referred to as SMK); NE online.

²⁹² SMK, 439 – 440; NE online.

federation. Member of *Radionämnden* and chief editor of the periodical *Folklig Kultur* from 1936 – 1945.²⁹³

Höjer, Axel (1890 – 1974): Doctor. General Director and Head of *Medicinalstyrelsen* from 1935 – 1952. Husband of freedom activist, nurse, and social politician Signe Höjer (1896 – 1988).²⁹⁴

Karlbom, Torvald (1901 - unknown): Rector of the LO- school. Vice president of ABF from 1938 – 1947, then president from 1948. Member of *Nordiska Institutets Sambällsvetenskapliga Forskningsråd* in 1943, *Radionämnden* in 1946, *Socialinstitutet* from 1947 and many other educational and trade union organizations.²⁹⁵

Leander, Sigfrid (1893 – 1981): Army Officer, museum official, and *folkbildningsmän*. President and head of *Blekinge läns föreläsningeförbundet* from 1934 – 1943, and secretary for *Föreläsningeförbundens riksorganisation*. Became director of Stockholms Arbetarinstitut from 1953 – 1980.²⁹⁶

Lilliehöök, Eleonor (1887 - 1977): Social activist. President of *Sveriges husmodernsföreningens riksförbundet* from 1928 – 1934 and *Nordens husmodernsförbundet* from 1941 – 1944. Member of *Radionämnden* from 1936 – 1943, vice president thereafter.²⁹⁷

Lindström (nee Alm), Ulla (1909 – 1999): Teacher and social democratic politician. Editor for *Svenska Folkskollärarinnornas* newspaper from 1934 – 1946 and HSB's *Vår bostad* from 1937 – 1946. City council member from 1942 – 1945, member of UN general assembly from 1947 – 1966, and expert in the Finance department in 1947. Active in women's and environmental issues through the 1950s and 1960s.²⁹⁸

Lund, Ragnar (1900 – 1992): Director of Education in KF from 1929 – 1947. Teacher at Vår Gård and rector of KF's brevskola until 1945. Member in *Folkberedskapens nämnd* from 1940 – 1945 within *Statens informationsstyrelsen*. Director of Education in *Skolöverstyrelsen* from 1945 – 1966. Affiliated with the International Organization of Good Templars from 1948 – 1955 and UNESCO from 1956 – 1968.²⁹⁹

Matthis, Henry Peter (1892 - 1988): Author, translator, and publicist. Traveled through Norway, Denmark, and Finland in the early 1930s for studies. Wrote many novels on industrial working conditions and Nordic culture.³⁰⁰

Mattson, Gustav (1898 – unknown): Rector and editor. Studied and worked in England and the United States. Participated in organizations such as *Målsmännens riksförbund* from 1945 – 1948 and president of *Föreningen för praktisk psykologi* from 1951 -1954.³⁰¹

Mockrauer, Franz (1889 – 1962) German lecturer and author. Worked in adult education associations until outbreak of World War II. Immigrated to Denmark and taught at several *folkbögsolor* in the 1930s. Immigrated to Sweden in 1937, worked as lecturer and adult educator.³⁰²

Myrdal, Alva (1902 – 1986): Pedagogue and social democratic politician. Co-creator and headmistress of *Socialpedagogiska seminariet* from 1936 – 1947. Member of the 1946 *Skolkommision*. Active in several other organizations including *Yrkeskvinnornas riksförbund*, *Kommittén för social upplysning*, and *Världsrådet för småbarnsuppfostran*. Became head of the UNESCO welfare policy

²⁹³ SMK, 464 – 465.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 613., Höjer, 99.

²⁹⁵ VAD online.

²⁹⁶ SMK, 499; NE online.

²⁹⁷ SMK, 593.

²⁹⁸ Flood, 345.

²⁹⁹ SMK, 86 – 87; NE online.

³⁰⁰ VAD, 665; NE online.

³⁰¹ VAD, 666.

³⁰² Retrieved from: http://www.die-bonn.de/service/bibliothek_archive/archiv_bio_franz_mockrauer.htm on June 1, 2011

department from 1949 and active within the UN until the 1973. Wife of economist and social democratic politician Gunnar Myrdal (1898 – 1987).³⁰³

Olsson, Gunnel (1906 – unknown): Public school teacher. Member of *kvinnoförbundetsstyrelse* (1944). Member of the Swedish parliament from 1945 – 1948. Also a member of SSKU and SSU in the 1920s and 1930s.³⁰⁴

Scharp, Vilhelm (1896-1978): Lecturer. Lecturer in Swedish language at the University of Berlin from 1928 – 1936 and teacher at *Norrmalms flickläroverk* in Stockholm from 1936 – 1938. Member of *Upplysningsnämnden* from 1936 – 1944, when renamed *Svenska Institutet* became member of lecturer committee from 1945 – 1950.³⁰⁵

Tegen, Einar (1884 – 1965): Professor. Philosophy professor at Lund University from 1931 – 1937 then Stockholm University College from 1937 – 1951. Member of *Fredhögskolan* and *Stockholms kommittén för flyktinghjälp*. President of *Sällskapet för främjande av kulturella och ekonomiska förbindelser mellan Sverige och Sovietunionen* (also called *Svenska-ryska sällskapet*), *Filosofi- och psykologilärarnas förening* and member of *Riksförbundet för sexuell upplysning* (RFSU). Husband of author and journalist Gunhild Tegen (1889 – 1970).³⁰⁶

Theдин, Nils (1911 – 1989): Editor and teacher. KF's secretary from 1940 – 1944. Teacher at *Vår Gård* from 1935 – 1937. Chief editor of *Vi* from 1945 – 1958. President of UNICEF and vice president of *Rädda Barnen* in the early 1940s.³⁰⁷

Thorsson (nee Bagger-Sjöbäck), Inga (1915 - 1994): Teacher and politician. Long-time member of *Sveriges socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbund* as president from 1952 – 1964 and its *Unga Kvinnornas Front* as well as and the 1941 *befolkningsutredning*. Active in health issues as a member of *Medicinalstyrelsens socialpsykiatriska nämnd* from 1947 – 1952.³⁰⁸

Wigforss, Eva (1888 – 1981): Teacher. Educated at *Högre lärarinneseminariet*, with a diploma from *Socialinstitutet*. Representative of SSKF and member of the periodical *Morgonbris* team. President of *Kvinnorganisationernas barnfilmkommitté* from 1948 – 1952 as well as active in creating projects with *Husmödersförbundet* and *Kooperativagillesförbundet*. Wife of Social democratic politician Ernst Wigforss (1881 – 1977).³⁰⁹

Willers, Uno (1911 – 1980): Librarian and professor. Received a docent in history from Stockholm University College in 1945. Secretary for *Svenska Akademiens nobelkommitté*. Worked at many libraries in Sweden including Riksbiblioteket, Nobelsbiblioteket, and the UD archives as well as participated in committees dealing with cultural and educational issues. National librarian of Sweden from 1952 – 1977.³¹⁰

³⁰³ SMK, 366-367; VAD, 686.

³⁰⁴ Flood, 345.

³⁰⁵ Åkerlund, 275; VAD, 854-855.

³⁰⁶ SMK, 465; VAD, 958; Tegen, UUB: Lev, 93.

³⁰⁷ VAD, 963.

³⁰⁸ Flood, 345; NE online.

³⁰⁹ Flood, 221, 365; NE online.

³¹⁰ SMK, 386-7; NE online.

Appendix IV: Translated Literature

In the course of SDU operations, there were several waves of literature donation. In June 1945, the largest collection of literature was made and translated by SDU members to be sent primarily to public libraries and refugee camps, though it is uncertain how many copies of these books were printed and sent abroad. This is a reproduction of the list found in Einar and Gunhild Tegen's archive in UUB as well as a compilation of additional literature sent later to various countries found in SDU's annual reports.

For translation into German:

England spelar upp by Greta Hedin

Individualism och föreningsrörelse i svenska bondevärlden by John Johansson

Kristendom och demokratisk kultur by Dr. Holmstrand

En krönikebok: den svenska konsumentkooperationens väg by Gunnar Westin Silverstope

Den svenska fackföreningsrörelsen by Sigrid Hansson

Den svenska folkbildningsväsen (article collection) by Tynell, Hjelmqvist, and Lundberg

Den svenska folkhögskolan (article collection) by Hedlund, Alf Ahlberg, and Brandell

Dolkstötslegenden by Uno Willers

Sexuell upplysning by Folke Borg

Tankelinets frigörelse by Alf Ahlberg (1934)

Svårhanterliga barn by Stina Palmborg (1935)

The Culture of Cities by Lewis Mumford (1938)

Välsignade ungar by Stina Palmborg (1938)

Denmark, a Social Laboratory by Peter Manniche and H.J. Fleure (1939)

Ut med blondinerna by Olle Hedberg (1939)

I amerikanska skolor by Ester Hermansson (1940)

Barn i vardagslivet: spädbarn-småbarn-skolbarn by Åse Gruda Skard (1940)

Kallocain by Karin Boye (1940)

Trägudars land by Jan Fridegård (1940)

De 7 syskonen på Lunde by Elsa Carlsson (1941)

Hur svenska folket lever by Erik Wästborg (1941)

Föräldrar och barn by Jakob Mauritz Billström (1942)

Race and Racism by Ruth Benedict (1942)

Nietzsche och tredje riket by Melker Johnsson (1943)

Svensk ordning och nyordning: en orientering by Gustaf Stridsberg, Herbert Tingsten, Alf Ahlberg, Axel Brunius, Mauritz Bonow and more (1943)

Det judiska folkets öde: forntid-nutid-framtid by Hugo Valentin (1944)

Det nytter by Helge Lind (1944)

Tidens kvinnor by Anna Lenah Elgström (1944)

Tysklands sammanbrott 1918 by Uno Willers (1944)

Sverige och uppbyggnadsarbete by Einar Tegen, Alva Myrdal, Erik Leijonhufvud, and Arne Björnberg (1945)

Sweden Speaks edited by Gustaf Witting (1945)
Uppfostran och undervisning by Ture Casserberg (1945)

For translation into Hungarian:

Sexuell upplysning by Folke Borg
Städernas återuppbyggnad by Fred Forbat
Svenska arbetarrörelsens efterkrigsprogram
Denmark, a Social Laboratory by Peter Manniche and H.J. Fleure (1939)
Arv och ras by Gunnar Dahlberg (1940)
Barn i vardagslivet: spädbarn-småbarn-skolbarn by Åse Gruda Skard (1940)
I amerikanska skolor by Ester Hermansson (1940)
Outlines of Sweden by Ernst Söderland (1940)
Bönder och arbetare i Danmark by Helmuth Jacoby (1941)
Hur svenska folket lever by Erik Wästborg (1941)
Sverige och uppbyggnadsarbete by Einar Tegen, Alva Myrdal, Erik Leijonhufvud, and Arne Björnberg (1945)
Den svenska livsformen (created by Informationsstyrelsen) (1942)
Våra Barn by Urban Hjärne (1944)
Sverige och uppbyggnadsarbete by Einar Tegen, Alva Myrdal, Erik Leijonhufvud, and Arne Björnberg (1945)

For translation into Polish:

Sexuell upplysning by Folke Borg
Den svenska kvinnan by Alva Myrdal
Varför anklagar man judarna? by Daniel Brick (1939)
Barn i vardagslivet: spädbarn-småbarn-skolbarn by Åse Gruda Skard (1940)
Outlines of Sweden by Ernst Söderland (1940)
Våra Barn by Urban Hjärne (1944)

Additional literature:

Kooperativa spörsmål by Herman Stolpe (1925)
Ordlista: Svensk-tysk-fransk-ungersk-polsk: med kort parlör created by SDU (1945)
Der zweite Weltkrieg: ein kurzer Überblick by Willy Brandt (1945)
Was jeder wissen muss! Einige Tatsachen aus dem Sexualleben by G. Lindström (1946)
Die schwedische Demokratie by Otto Friedländer (1948)
Gussformen der Gesellschaft by Otto Friedländer (1949)
Schweden gestern und heute by Tage Lindbom (1949)
Entwicklung und Wesen der schwedischen Volkshochschule by Karl Hedlund (1950)
Die schwedische Volkshochschule der Gegenwart by Franz Mockrauer (1950)

Appendix V: Various Projects from 1943 – 1951

This appendix will list the vast amount of courses, conferences and study circles created by SDU from 1943 – 1951. All information has been gathered from annual reports.

Study circles

DATE	SUBJECT	PARTICIPANTS
1943 & 1944	Issues specific to Germany	Swedes and foreign refugees
Spring 1944	Nazi – ideology and practice	Swedish and foreign professionals
Spring 1944	Democratic issues	<i>Folkbildning</i> professionals
Fall 1944	Democratic issues	Swedish and foreign professionals
Spring 1945	Reconstruction and reeducation issues in Sweden, Britain, and the US	Members of SDU, section 1

SDU Conferences

DATE	SUBJECT	PARTICIPANTS
Jun. 3, 1944	Swedish contributions within cultural reconstruction	71 representatives from 40 Swedish organizations
Aug. 20 – 22, 1944	Swedish contributions within cultural reconstruction	300 total participants from various trade union, non-profit, and refugee organizations
Dec. 1 – 2, 1945	Enlightenment conference on reconstruction issues and goals	Representatives within the <i>ombuds församling</i>
May – Jun. 1950	Psychotherapy	11 German and Austrian therapists, held for Swedish doctors, psychologists and pedagogues
Sept. 1950	International pedagogic issues	10 public school principals from Sweden, Germany and Austria

This list does not include conferences attended by SDU members, only the ones organized by SDU. After 1946, SDU mostly held conferences in a mixed conference and course format. See Coursework & Study Placements.

Coursework & Study Placements

DATE	SUBJECT	PARTICIPANTS
Spring/Fall 1944	International relief in cooperation with <i>Rädda Barnen</i> and SISU	31 Swedish and 33 foreign refugees
Jul. 15 – Oct. 16, 1944	Training: Polish sailors in cooperation with <i>Polska socialministeriet</i>	28 young Poles, 15 graduated
Fall 1944	Cooperative issues, 15 lectures	60 Swedish participants
Fall 1944	Cooperative issues, 25 lectures	25 Polish participants
Oct. – Dec. 1944	Training: Textile cutters	15 female refugees
Oct. 1944 – May 1945	Study placement: journalism and <i>folkbildning</i> work	4 young refugees
Oct. 16 – 22, 1944	Folkhögskola: trade union systems, democracy, history, democratic education and training	12 German deserters
1944 – 1945	Study placement: Stockholm Technical Institute	At least 30 refugees
1944 – 1945	Correspondence courses from Brevskolan, NKI, and Hermods	At least 20 refugees

1944 – 1945	Language courses in cooperation with Stockholm University College	Unknown number
1944 – 1945	Language courses in Örebro	25 refugees
Spring 1945	Training: Teacher aides (Schulhelfer)	43 German-speaking refugees, 31 graduated
Spring, Fall 1945	Training: Social welfare in cooperation with <i>Socialinstitutet</i> and <i>Polska socialministriet</i>	At least 20 young Poles
Spring 1945	Training: Sick-nurse in cooperation with <i>Röda Korset</i> (2 courses)	At least 40 refugees
Spring 1945	Swedish industry, social welfare, and organizations	34 refugees
Spring 1945	International post-war issues	An unknown number of foreign journalists
Spring 1945	Social democracy and Swedish social conditions	25 specially-chosen German deserters
Oct. 22 – Nov. 17, 1945	Training: Gymnastic and sport coaches (2 courses)	21 male <i>repatriandi</i> , 17 female <i>repatriandi</i> ,
Fall 1945	Training: Welders	14 <i>repatriandi</i>
Fall 1945	Training: Welders	20 <i>repatriandi</i>
Fall 1945	Training: Chauffeurs	12 <i>repatriandi</i>
Spring 1946	Training: Welders	20 <i>repatriandi</i>
Spring 1946	Training: Car mechanics	20 <i>repatriandi</i>
1947	Individual study visits to Swedish schools, <i>folkhögskolor</i> , <i>folkbildning</i> institutions, etc. with an internship	circa 140 foreign <i>folkbildare</i> , including Germans and Hungarians
May 8 – June 26, 1947	Democratic issues involved in state-building, democratic institutions and organizations from a Swedish perspective	48 Austrians, including students, teachers, <i>folkbildningsmän</i> , trade union representatives, etc.
Summer 1947	Training: Youth leaders with special emphasis on German conditions	10 female German youth leaders
Oct. 1947 – Mar. 1948	Educational system in Swedish society including work placements at <i>folkhögskolor</i> , in cooperation with <i>Svenska folkhögskolläraryöreningen</i>	53 German <i>folkbildningsmän</i> ; 30 from British zone and 23 from American zone in Germany
1948	Individual study visits to Swedish institutions (same as in 1947)	40 German teachers and <i>folkbildningsmän</i>
1948	Various coursework in Sweden, designed to make contacts	25 representatives of various organizations
1948	Folkhögskolor courses (2) in Payerbach, Austria	Unknown number of participants
Spring 1948	Youth psychology, philosophical issues	25 German youth leaders
Aug. 23 – Sept. 4, 1948	Enlightenment in Göhrde, Germany	64 young Germans, 25 later invited to work in Sweden
Sept. – Nov. 1948	Various subjects, plus recreation	13 German social workers
Oct. – Nov. 1948	Swedish conditions: economy, politics, culture as well as general democratic issues; designed to make contacts	27 German and 5 Austrian representatives of trade union, women's, agricultural, etc. organizations
Oct. 1948 – Apr. 1949	Education and training: evening <i>folkhögskola</i> course, combined with work placement at Gislaved Rubber Factory	38 young German workers between 20 and 30 years old

Oct. 1948 – Apr. 1949	Individual study visits (same as 1947 and 1948)	25 German and 5 Austrian youths
1949	Youth psychology, philosophical issues	25 German youth leaders
Apr. – Dec. 1949	Education and training: evening <i>folkbögskola</i> course, combined with work placement at Gislaved Rubber Factory	40 young German workers
Apr. – Dec. 1949	Education and training: evening <i>folkbögskola</i> course, combined with work placement at Swedish Match	17 female German workers
1949 and 1950	Swedish conditions: economy, politics, and culture as well as democratic issues (3 courses)	77 foreign representatives from trade unions and professional organizations
1949 and 1950	General social, economic, political, and cultural circumstances in relation to work within schools and teacher's organizations (5 courses)	53 German and Austrian teachers in total
1949 and 1950	Swedish language and society, internship included (3 courses)	40 German and Austrian participants
1951	Folkhögskola course	11 Germans from the American zone
April 1951	Swedish conditions: economy, politics, culture as well as general democratic issues	20 German and Austrian participants

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