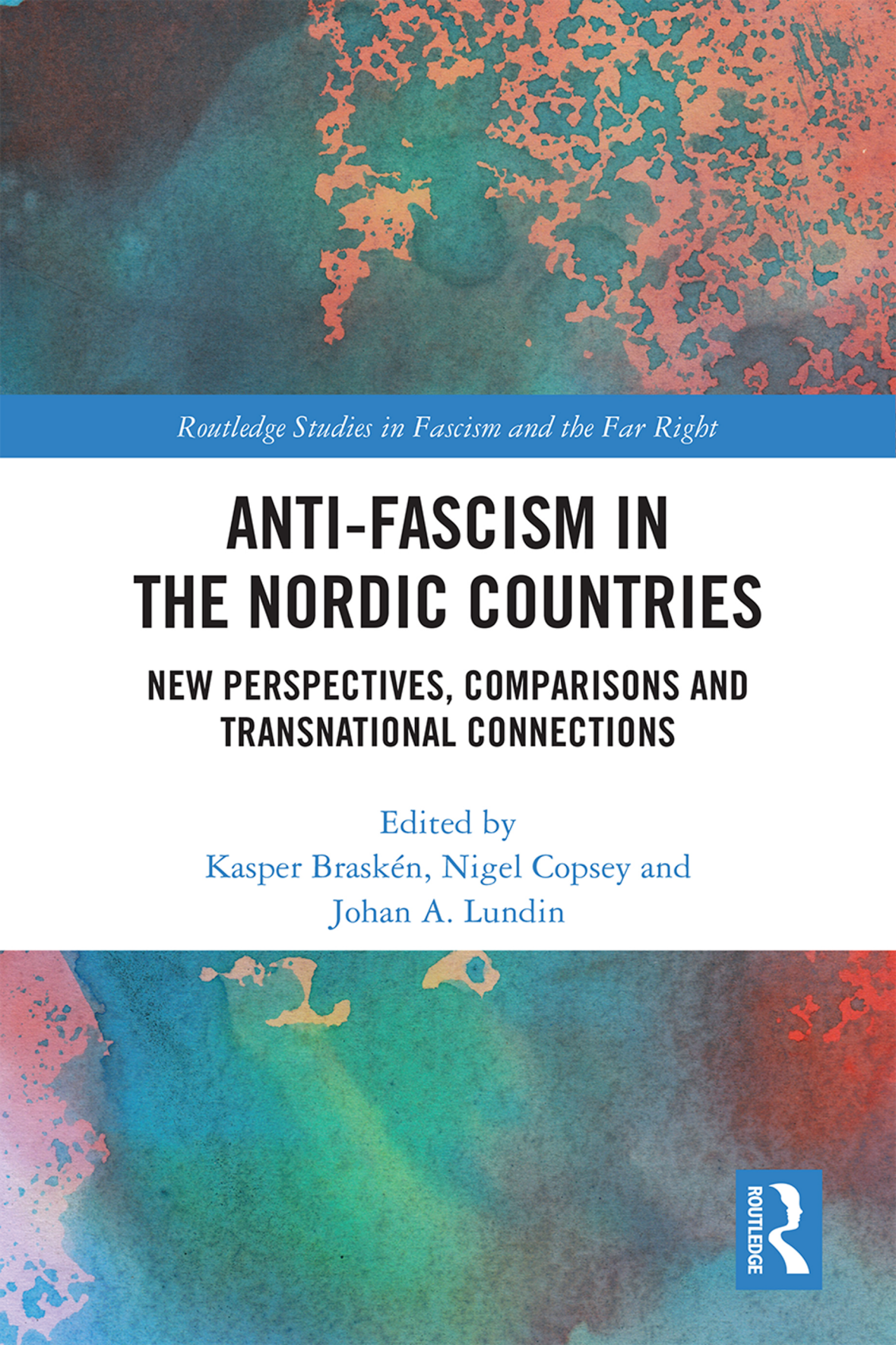




Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right

ANTI-FASCISM IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

**NEW PERSPECTIVES, COMPARISONS AND
TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS**

Edited by
Kasper Braskén, Nigel Copsey and
Johan A. Lundin



“This volume offers a balanced and many-sided look at a key region in the development of anti-fascist initiatives and policies in the interwar era, and a further proof of the globality, diversity and endurance of this movement.”

Hugo García is an Associate Professor of Modern World History at the Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, Spain, and co-editor of *Rethinking Antifascism. History, Memory and Politics, 1922 to the Present* (Berghahn Books, 2016).

“This volume offers a very welcome addition to the research of the anti-fascist mobilization in the interwar era. A field that that in many respects have been over looked as a research field. The volume offers new insights in the history of anti-fascism initiatives and politics.”

Heléne Lööw is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Uppsala, Sweden. She has written several books about the history of fascism in Sweden.



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Anti-fascism in the Nordic Countries

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Kasper Braskén, PhD, Åbo Akademi University, Finland

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Johan A. Lundin**

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Introduction

Kasper Braskén and Johan A. Lundin

The history of anti-fascism in the Nordic countries remains an underexplored area of research.¹ Before we discuss the little research that does exist, we should first explain our choice of ‘Nordic countries’ as opposed to ‘Scandinavia’. The term ‘Scandinavia’ is problematic, because while it obviously includes Denmark, Norway and Sweden, extending it to Finland and Iceland carries some uncertainty. We have therefore opted for the more pertinent term ‘*nordisk*’ (Nordic). The term ‘Nordic’ came into active use in high politics in the late 1930s when Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden attempted to demonstrate their unity at the outbreak of the Second World War. It was only after the war that Nordic institutions, such as the Nordic Council, were established and this led to the formalisation of Nordic cooperation (Hilson, 2008a: 11–2; Österberg, 2017: 237–57). The writing of ‘Nordic’ history has a longer and more complex history, which today underlines the importance of a Nordic *transnational* history that reveals the social, political and cultural interconnections within the Nordic sphere and beyond (Haapala, Jalava, & Larsson, 2017).²

Research on anti-fascism in Europe has completely overlooked the Nordic countries (Horn, 1996; Droz, 2001; Kirk & McElligott, 2007; García et al., 2016). Yet recent volumes such as *Rethinking Antifascism* (2016) have opened up the field to new research questions, approaches and perspectives that can be applied to Nordic cases. As the transnational perspective shows, Nordic anti-fascist articulations were deeply entangled within European networks and movements (García, 2016), although it remains unclear how this was played out in relation to different Nordic movements and political contexts.

Research on fascism and Nazism in the Nordic countries is, in contrast, much more extensive. A further disparity is to be noted here: studies treating Nordic relations with Italian fascism are limited in comparison to the research dealing with the Third Reich and the Nazis. Very rarely do studies on fascism or Nazism in the Nordic countries relate to anti-fascism. This is apparent, for example, in Klas Åmark’s standard work on Sweden’s relations with Nazi Germany titled *Att bo granne med ondskan* (Living next door to evil) (Åmark, 2016; see also Johansson 2014), where there is no

section dedicated to anti-fascism in Sweden. The chronological and geographical focus of these studies on European fascism in general, or Nazism in particular, concerns Germany after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. For the Nordic countries, Sweden has traditionally occupied most attention, where the research programme on Sweden and the Holocaust commissioned by the Social Democratic Prime Minister Göran Persson in 2000 resulted in substantial output. The major synthesis was Åmark's monograph (which was originally published in 2011; thereafter, a significantly revised and updated edition was published in 2016).

With the focus explicitly on Nazism after 1933 and not fascism in general, significant aspects of fascism as a transnational movement in 20th-century Europe are overlooked (Durham & Power, 2011; Mammone, 2015; Bauerkämper & Rossoliński-Liebe, 2017). The preceding decade, when Italian fascism formed the major inspiration for the European far right, is largely disconnected from this history. Only recent studies on fascism in Finland, for example, have properly acknowledged the far-reaching influences of Italian fascism and Nazism in the 1920s (Silvennoinen, Tikka, & Roselius, 2016). Earlier works on Finnish fascism and Nazism include path-breaking works by Lauri Karvonen (1988) and Henrik Ekberg (1991). In Sweden, works by Eric Wärenstamoch (1970), Heléne Löw (Löw, 1990, 2016) as well as Lena Berggren (2002) have been groundbreaking in their treatment of the early formation of Nazi organisations in Sweden. Studies on Norwegian Nazism include, for example, the work of Hans Olaf Brevig and Ivo de Figueiredo (2002) and Rolf Danielsen Stein Ugelvik Larsen (1976), while the Danish field has been defined by research from scholars such as John T. Lauridsen (2002) and Henning Poulsen (1970).

However, as the chapters in the volume show, there is little previous research on anti-fascism on the national level let alone the transnational. For sure, there are studies on the Nordic labour movements, social democracy or communism (Brandal, Bratberg, & Thorsen, 2013; Egge & Rybner, 2015; Hilson, Neunsinger, & Vyff, 2017), but none of these have shown particular interest in the study of anti-fascism. For Sweden, a notable exception is research on the anti-fascist seafarers (Estvall, 2009) and the work by Johan A. Lundin and Victor Lundberg (Lundberg & Lundin, 2014, 2017; and Chapter 6 by Lundin in this volume). For Norway, Knut Dørum has contributed one of the first overviews of the Norwegian communist and social democratic response to the rise of Nazi Germany during the 1930s (Dørum, 2017), while recent research by Charlie Krautwald provides us with new perspectives on the Danish research field (Krautwald, 2017; see also Krautwald's Chapter 5 in this volume). Nonetheless, little progress has been made since Karl Christian Lammers' work on 'fascism interpretations' in the interwar Scandinavian workers' movement, which, in any case, is mostly limited to the Danish Social Democrats (Lammers, 1990: 221–34).

This volume examines Nordic anti-fascism from the very beginning that, contrary to general assumptions, was not exclusively limited to reactions to

Nazism. One of the earliest anti-fascist initiatives exemplifies the richness of the Nordic case. Directly after Mussolini's rise to power in 1922, the Swedish communist, later prominent social democrat Zeth Höglund published the pamphlet *Fascismen kommer! Vad gör Sverges arbetare till sitt försvar?* (Fascism Is Coming! What Will Sweden's Workers Do in Their Defence?). Here, he defines fascism as an 'armed, reactionary league' that after its rise to power in Italy systematically destroyed the Italian labour movement. In other words, Höglund continues, fascism was a 'blood thirsty terror regime' directed against the working people. Höglund's example shows how anti-fascism was directly linked to the struggle of the working class in Sweden as he believed that, even in Sweden, there were forces aiming to form a fascist movement and stage a coup d'état – against the Swedish workers' movement. Thus, Höglund advised Swedes to follow developments in Italy as much as in Sweden. It would be a 'fatal mistake', Höglund continues, to interpret fascism as a specifically Italian phenomenon. From Höglund's perspective, in all places where national political and social conflicts had become increasingly sharp, fascist 'murder bands' had been organised. Not all carried the name of fascism, although they all had the same aims. His critique of Swedish society followed general European anti-fascist articulations, but it still represented something novel in its time: he criticises the bourgeoisie for sympathising with the fascists and applauding their anti-communist work; he attacks the social democrats for abandoning the immediate realisation of socialist goals; and accuses the military of preparing a coup against democracy. Looking closely at the developments in Italy, Höglund sees it as imperative that workers cooperate in a united front against fascism. For Höglund, the main danger came from the working class starting to believe in the illusion of peace between classes. From his perspective, this had been the fatal mistake of the Italians where the 'reformists' (i.e. social democrats) had lured the workers into supporting a bourgeois democratic framework, but which resulted in the loss of the fighting power at the crucial moment of fascist victory (Höglund, 1922: 2–8). Höglund's analysis plays well into the general ideas of early socialist and communist anti-fascism in Europe, and underlines the importance of striking down fascism in its infancy, before it grows too strong and powerful as in Italy (Braskén, 2016).

As Höglund's political biography shows, although he soon abandoned communism for social democracy, he never abandoned the anti-fascist cause (clearly illustrated by his intense activism during the Spanish Civil War). In other words, communism was not a prerequisite for anti-fascism, although for most communists, anti-fascism became a permanent part of their political identity (Whitney, 2009; Lewis, 2012; Pons, 2014: 80–1). Nevertheless, the myth of communist anti-fascism must be critically assessed. Nordic communists were in many cases more sectarian and hostile towards potential allies in a united or popular front. The most striking example of this was the communist usage of the concept of 'social fascism', which had catastrophic consequences in the struggle against the Nazis during Hitler's rise

to power in 1933. Moreover, as the chapters on communist-led anti-fascism in this volume show, in many cases, the Soviet Union was more interested in maintaining good foreign and trade relations with both Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, than supporting communist anti-fascism in the rest of the world (Payne, 2003; Bayerlein, 2009; Weiss in this volume). This betrayal of anti-fascism as a political cause became explicit in 1939 with the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact, which, due to the newfound cooperation between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, brought inter-war anti-fascism to a devastating end (Bayerlein, 2008).

Some might argue that the previous research on anti-fascism corresponds with the fact that there was no significant anti-fascist mobilisation in the Nordic countries. The Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Sweden and Norway) have traditionally understood themselves as unique spaces free of fascism and Nazism, deemed utterly foreign in spirit and mentality (Lindström, 1985). The history of Nordic neutrality and the idea of peaceful coexistence in the 'People's Home' (*folkhemmet*) has also partially overshadowed the history of anti-fascism. The social democratic idea of the People's Home has often been interpreted as crucial in this respect, managing to unite countryside with the urban working class and middle class with appeals to nationalism and national solidarity across class boundaries. Thus some have argued that the People's Home neutralised the fascist threat in Scandinavia by removing political space for a fascist-type of 'national socialism' (Berman, 2006: 162–75; Nielsen, 2009; Braskén, Kaihovirta, & Wickström, 2017). However, in recent years, Swedish historians have identified fissures and cracks in the image of the homogenous welfare state and 'rediscovered' a past filled with social conflicts and contentious politics (Nyzell, 2009; Flemming, Kjeldstadli, & Nyzell, 2017).

There is also a substantial field of research in the Nordic countries dealing with the often ambiguous and sympathetic relations between Nordic state actors and the Third Reich (Whitehead, 1985, 1998; Hyytiä, 2012; Åmark, 2016). The position of 'neutrality' meant, in practice, that Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland were also far more tolerant, accepting and conciliatory towards Nazi Germany than is commonly remembered. Likewise, the strong currents of Nordic and European anti-communism played a significant role in this context. The anti-communism of fascist and Nazi movements and regimes drew some sympathy. The prevailing mood of anti-communism undermined anti-fascist responses that challenged the position of neutrality with reports on terror and oppression. The authorities often deemed such reports to be 'atrocities propaganda' instead of accepting them as part of public debate (Åmark, 2016). During the Cold War, if the Eastern Bloc took on anti-fascism as a central theme in state propaganda, the trajectories of anti-communism remained strong in the Nordic Countries (Ruotsila, 2001). Even so, as Anders Dalsager reveals in Chapter 13, Nordic anti-fascism could find a purpose in the Cold War context, particularly when it came to continuing the struggle against Franco's Spain.

This edited volume aims to bring to light a number of overlooked anti-fascist actors, campaigns and organisations, which will significantly broaden our understanding of the Nordic responses to fascism and Nazism during the interwar and post-war periods. It remains a shame that anti-fascism is still something mostly associated with Soviet communism (García et al., 2016). Anti-fascism thus stands out (incorrectly) as a way to divert and subvert the ‘healthy’ traditions of Western liberal democracies or the ideals of the Nordic countries, rather than being perceived as a means through which these very same values might be defended. The Cold War period also stands out for its capacity to produce black-and-white interpretations, when totalitarian perspectives made it even more difficult to approach anti-fascism as an historical concept.

In the first place, this volume will therefore show that the history of anti-fascism in the Nordic countries goes far beyond the limits of the far left. As with the path-breaking study on varieties of anti-fascism in Britain in the interwar period by Nigel Copsey and Andrej Olechnowicz (2010), the aim here is to show the heterogeneity of voices behind critical responses and resistance to fascism and Nazism in the Nordic countries. Second, this volume follows a line of German literature on anti-fascism and resistance in the Third Reich, where there has been an extensive discussion on the various forms of political, religious and military resistance. This literature includes case studies on the history of communist, social democratic, liberal and conservative forms of resistance. Other major case studies have covered Protestant and Catholic resistance in the Third Reich; with others examining resistance by women, youth movements, Jews and ethnic minorities (Benz & Pehle, 2001; Steinbach & Tuchel, 2004; Kirk & McElligott, 2007; Coppi & Heinz, 2012; Nicosia & Stokes, 2015). There has also been a separate field of research focussing on the anti-fascist exile, which has a more direct connection to the Nordic countries (Hoffmann, 1980: 309–506; Peters, 1984; Scholz, 2000; Palmier, 2006).

The field of exile studies makes a strong case for the relevance of a transnational perspective in analysing how ideas and articulations of anti-fascism were transferred from continental Europe to the Nordic countries. Yet as Bernhard H. Bayerlein shows in his contribution to this volume, despite the fact that German exiles formed important transnational links, they were in many cases continuing old internal political divisions in their new Nordic setting (communists, social democrats, liberals, etc.). Still they were able to form contacts with significant elements within the Nordic intellectual and political elite. German-speaking exiles started their own anti-fascist publications and utilised their close links with Germany in order to get news on the Third Reich, including reports on political oppression, terror, paramilitary violence and the suppression of key rights and liberties (Palmier, 2006). An example of the Nordic interconnectedness to the general European anti-fascist exile and its struggle against Nazi Germany was the publication of *The Brown Book of the Reichstag Fire and Hitler Terror*.

During 1933–1934, this book was circulated in German, English, Swedish and Finnish (Sohl, 1980: 289–327).

We have refrained from using a rigid definition of fascism and its relation to other far-right parties and groups. The aim has been to place the analytical focus on the groups and individuals who were actively taking a stand against fascism and who resisted its spread in Europe and the Nordic Countries. How did these various political actors interpret the development of domestic fascist sympathisers and movements, and what kind of critical responses did the interwar far-right surge in Nordic societies trigger? Anti-fascism is often understood as merely encompassing ‘active’ collective action, but as this volume shows, there is no need to make any rigid analytical distinction between ‘active’ or ‘passive’ forms of anti-fascism. What matters is a contextual analysis of the various forms and shapes of opposition and resistance. Even the act of theorising fascism can be made in a very anti-fascist way, and these critical interpretations of the fascist movement have had a long-lasting influence on our understanding of fascism (Stone, 2010: 183–4; Stone, 2012: 6).

What is Nordic anti-fascism? We understand anti-fascism as a field of contentious activity taking place in various places and spaces. Anti-fascism could be articulated on an intellectual level, for example, and this includes public criticism and condemnation of fascism in textual or visual forms. But these forms of anti-fascist political education, critical theoretical discussion and propaganda should not be artificially separated from street politics, rallies, demonstrations, organisational initiatives and individual activism. After all, anti-fascist street politics were based on both specific and general ‘enemy images’ and critical understandings of the fascist ‘other’. Moreover, the history of anti-fascism must include the realm of cultural politics, theatre, the arts and literature. These forms were of paramount importance for the analysis of the fascist movement and for forming emotional and cultural resistance to it.

When comparing the Nordic responses to fascism, it is important to highlight that historical and political contexts could be very different even within Northern Europe. In January 1918, for example, a month after Finland’s formal declaration of independence from the newly established Soviet Russia, Finland was thrown into a brutal civil war fought between the ‘Reds’ and the ‘Whites’. A new ‘White’ Finland emerged, triggering a wave of retribution against the ‘Reds’ (Haapala & Tikka, 2012; Tepora & Roselius, 2014; Lindholm, 2017). None of the other Nordic countries had such a devastating start to the interwar period. Norway had been a part of Sweden until 1905. Thereafter, it gained independence. Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland had all been neutral countries during the First World War and so escaped the terror of the battlefields, while soldiers from the Grand Duchy of Finland did not serve on the frontlines. After 1918, all Nordic countries were liberal democracies. Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland (autonomous but until 1944 under the rule of the Danish crown) were parliamentary monarchies,

while Finland introduced a form of parliamentary system that was combined with strong presidential powers. What further united the Nordic countries was the establishment of strong social democratic parties (founded in Denmark 1871, Norway 1887, Sweden 1889, Finland 1905 and Iceland 1916) and a radical implementation of voting rights for men and women (in Finland 1906, Norway 1913, Denmark with Iceland 1915 and Sweden 1919). Nordic social democratic parties were represented in government during the 1930s, generally receiving over 40 per cent of the votes in parliamentary elections. Another common trait was that all social democratic parties (except Iceland) transformed their parties from industrial working-class parties to broader ‘people’s parties’. They all also embraced national alliances with farmers’ parties that enabled support for agricultural subsidies, on the one hand, and social democratic welfare reforms, on the other (Hilson et al., 2017: 16). The Nordic Cooperation Committee of the Labour Movement (Arbejderbevægelsens nordiske samarbejdskommitté [SAMAK]), which established a Nordic forum to discuss the labour question between the social democratic parties also considered ways to stand up to the threat posed by fascism (Österberg, 2017: 237–57). During the interwar period, the principal fascist threat in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Iceland was international, rather than domestic (Hilson, 2008b: 28).

This situation changed radically with the outbreak of the Second World War, with Denmark and Norway occupied by Germany (1940–1945). Anti-fascist resistance continued in Denmark (Kirchhoff, 2000; Lammers, 2011) and Norway (Moland, 2000; Levsen, 2011), which has been acknowledged in the general research on European resistance movements (Foot, 1976: 271–85; Moore, 2000; Ueberschär & Steinkamp, 2011). Finland was the one first drawn into war, first during the Winter War, 1939–1940, fought against the Soviet Union and, second, when Finland joined the Third Reich in the battle against the Soviet Union in Operation Barbarossa, 1941–1944. Finland made a separate peace agreement with the Soviet Union that required it to expel all remaining German troops stationed in Finland, and this opened up a new front in the Lapland War, 1944–1945. During the Winter War, there were no traces of resistance in Finland, but during the alliance with Nazi Germany, youth resistance groups did carry out successful sabotage actions, but after a while, they were brutally repressed by Finnish police and surveillance agencies (Rentola, 1998: 602; Selin, 2011).

Although sometimes perceived as an isolated corner of Europe and the world, the Nordic countries were, like the rest of the world, influenced and affected by international developments. During the interwar period, this was not only evident in the responses to Nazi Germany, but also in relation to the Spanish Civil War, which has generated a substantial volume of popular books and research volumes focussing on the Nordic volunteers who went to Spain to fight for the republican side (Heiberg, 2014). However, most of these have mainly been limited to country-specific studies where the Nordic context as a whole has been excluded (Lundvik, 1980;

Lundgreen-Nielsen, 2001; Juusela, 2003; Moen & Sæther, 2009; Koivisto & Parikka, 2015). The examples and cases above show that anti-fascism in the Nordic countries was directed against both international fascism and domestic fascism. Events in Italy, Germany, Spain and elsewhere could inspire intense anti-fascist responses at times. Although domestic fascist movements in the Nordic countries would remain marginal, it was not clear at the time that this would necessarily remain so. For example, the Finnish case, with the rapid rise of the far-right Lapua movement in 1930 and its fascist successor *Isänmaallinen Kansanliike* (Patriotic People's Movement), clearly showed that even the Nordic countries were not immune to fascism (Silvennoinen, 2015). Anti-fascism was then, as it is today, often about calling out potential fascist tendencies. There was, in other words, no automatic correlation between the actual level of the domestic fascist menace and the will to act against it. The following outline of the volume highlights some of these anti-fascist articulations, although it is by no means an exhaustive account. Much work still remains to be done in the field of anti-fascist studies and its history in the Nordic countries.

The structure of the book

The case studies in the volume show important similarities and differences in the approach of left and liberal social movements, intellectuals, activists and politicians of social democratic, communist, liberal, the agrarian centre parties and even conservative actors. The aim therefore is to step away from state-centred approaches and refocus on Nordic civil society, social movements, activists and their transnational connections. Our intention is not to present country-by-country surveys, but instead the different case studies reveal the presence of a Nordic interconnectedness that also places the Nordic countries in a special relationship to the rest of Europe. We maintain that the study of interwar anti-fascism should not be contained by national boundaries. Anti-fascism needs to be understood from 'below' and *transnationally*, where national boundaries are not the primary concern for analysis.

There are four thematic sections to this book. The first one, *Anti-fascism beyond the far left*, brings together four chapters that illustrate the varieties of anti-fascism in the Nordic countries, including cases of both social democratic, liberal and conservative anti-fascism. The section begins with Chapter 1 on anti-fascist discourses, practices and confrontations in 1930s Iceland. Here, Ragnheiður Kristjánsdóttir and Pontus Järvstad explore how fascism was contested and resisted (even though the history of fascist organisations in interwar Iceland is short). There were no fascist mass movements and no fascists were elected as representatives to parliament or municipal governments. Nonetheless, fascism had a significant impact on Iceland's political landscape. Fascists were actively publishing journals, periodicals and pamphlets, involving themselves in student politics and marching and

fighting in the streets. The Nazi movement was still a force to be reckoned with (not least because of connections to the conservatives). The anti-fascist struggle in Iceland went well beyond taking on the relatively weak and eventually abortive Nazi movement. Even though the pro-Soviet communist movement was the main agent of anti-fascism and the main player in fascist/anti-fascist confrontations, Icelandic Nazis also met opposition from conservatives, liberals and, particularly, social democrats.

In Chapter 2, Jenni Karimäki discusses Finnish liberals and anti-fascism, 1922–1932. She elaborates on whether extreme-right or fascist ideals and actions were considered a serious threat or a passing infatuation in Finland. The progression from dismissing ‘fascist delusions’ during the 1920s to taking a strong anti-fascist stance at the beginning of the 1930s is the focus of her analysis. Due to the formative experience of the Finnish Civil War in 1918 and a tradition of integral nationalism, Finnish liberalism was nationalistic in nature and had a strong anti-communist tendency. In general, communism rather than fascism presented the ultimate threat to a united Finnish nation, and thus, anti-communism often outweighed opposition to fascism. Liberals pursued a united nation in spirit and mentality, but not a coerced acceptance of a single political ideology. This principle was applied to both extremes of the political spectrum. Karimäki shows how the liberals believed that Finland could and should sustain difference of opinion if the principles of constitutional parliamentary democracy and republicanism were to persist. Different political and societal opinions were an asset if they could be channelled for the good of the people.

Matias Kaihovirta and Mats Wickström then expand upon the complex Finnish case in Chapter 3. They consider whether the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland represented an ‘anti-fascist minority’. Their chapter explores the responses to fascism by the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, which constitutes an overlooked case in the historiography of fascism and anti-fascism. Empirically, their chapter focusses on the anti-fascism of two leading Swedish-speaking public intellectuals, the social democrat K. H. Wiik and the conservative Eirik Hornborg. As high-profile opponents to fascism in the only two formally Swedish-speaking parties in Finland (the unilingual Swedish People’s Party (SFP), and the bilingual Social Democratic Party (SDP) of Finland), Hornborg and Wiik are representative of both the anti-fascist right as well as the left wing of the Swedish-speaking minority. For Hornborg and the anti-fascists in the SFP, fascism threatened the Finnish bourgeois social order as well as the Finland-Swedes. For the Swedish-speaking social democrats represented by K. H. Wiik, fascism constituted a threat against both the socialist working class and the Swedish-speaking minority. Unlike the Finland-Swedes who had allied themselves with the fascists in hope of concessions in the language strife, or who acted in pure interests of class, Wiik and Hornborg asserted that the Swedish minority would be in grave peril if the fascists claimed power. As

Swedish-speaking anti-fascists, Wiik and Hornborg united in their criticism of Finland-Swedish high finance and its support for fascism.

In Chapter 4 on conservative fascist sympathies and anti-fascism in 1930s Norway, Knut Dørum discusses the impact that Hitler's seizure of power in 1933 had for the political direction of the Conservative Party (Høyre or 'The Right') in Norway. Major forces in this party were inclined to tie bonds and form alliances with the fascist party National Unity (*Nasjonal Samling*). Within the Conservative Party, there was profound sympathy towards fascism, especially in various grass-roots local organisations. Above all, the party's youth organisation came out as strong enthusiasts for Nazi Germany. In his chapter, Dørum analyses how key persons in the organisation managed to avoid an alliance and collaboration with National Unity, and gain a majority for a declaration condemning National Unity and fascism.

The next thematic section of the book concerns *anti-fascist youth activism and militant resistance*. It opens with Charlie E. Krautwald's Chapter 5 on militant social democracy in Denmark during 1932–1934. The author shows how the rise of fascism during the 1930s and the Nazi seizure of power in neighbouring Germany spurred a radical anti-fascist sentiment among members of the Social Democratic Youth of Denmark (DSU). Strongly influenced by the militant *wehrhaftigkeit* or defensiveness of the closely connected German and Austrian labour movements, DSU rank-and-file engaged in militant activism against Danish fascism. By embracing and imitating the transnational trend of radical anti-fascism, they brought this militant political culture into a Nordic setting. However, the use of radical propaganda methods, uniformed fighting groups and violent confrontation provoked a fierce debate within the Danish labour movement. Militant activism did not sit well with the official party policy of the Danish social democrats, who were in government and wanted to utilise state power only in the preservation of democracy.

Johan A. Lundin's Chapter 6 reflects on social democratic youth and anti-fascism in Sweden, in the period 1929–1939. It takes, as its starting point, the fact that there has been no room for anti-fascist activities among party members in the historiography of the Swedish SDP. Instead, the economic crisis agreement the party made in the parliament is central to understandings of why fascism did not succeed in the country. Lundin goes beyond this well-versed story and calls attention to the varieties of anti-fascist strategies deployed by members of Social Democratic Youth associations. Unlike earlier research that focusses on party and parliamentary politics during this period, he shows how anti-fascism was expressed in campaigns, meetings, demonstrations and confrontations on the streets and squares.

These Danish and Swedish cases are then followed by Chapter 7 that examines Nordic militant anti-fascism in the context of International of Seamen and Harbour Workers (ISH) in Northern Europe during the first half of the 1930s. Here, Holger Weiss explores anti-fascist activities orchestrated

by the ISH. Anti-fascist activities and campaigns were first and foremost directed against militarist, right-wing and fascist countries, i.e. Italy, Japan and Germany. These activities included the establishment of anti-war committees in harbours during the Manchurian Crisis in 1931–1932; the intensification of agitation and propaganda work of the international seamen's clubs among German seamen; as well as the ISH's campaign to boycott ships carrying the Nazi German flag in 1933 and 1934.

Our third thematic section concerns cultural fronts and anti-fascist intellectuals. It starts with Chapter 8 on anti-fascist race biology by Martin Ericsson. This chapter explores what it meant to be a 'researcher of race' and an anti-fascist at the same time. Race biology, a scholarly discipline encompassing eugenics as well as racial anthropology, was influential in Swedish scientific and cultural debate in the 1930s. One of the leading researchers in the discipline was the physician and anti-fascist Gunnar Dahlberg, soon to be Director of the Swedish State Institute for Race Biology in Uppsala. In 1933, Dahlberg held a lecture in Stockholm, discussing and criticising the notion that the Swedish people was part of a superior 'Nordic race'. During the lecture, a gang of Swedish National Socialists violently attacked him. In this chapter, this incident is connected to a broader debate about how Swedish 'race biology' and racial anthropology did not necessarily lead to fascist positions.

We return to Finland in Tauno Saarela's contribution on Finnish socialist intellectuals in Chapter 9. This chapter discusses how Finnish socialist intellectuals within the *Akateeminen Sosialistiseura* (ASS) defined fascism as a means for capitalism to survive in the early 1930s. The concern was both of European and Finnish origin. Finnish socialist intellectuals closely followed the discussions of Central European socialists and, taking their cue, ASS intellectuals proposed the formation of a united front as a counterforce against fascism. This proposal did not point towards cooperation between communists and social democrats, but a programme of activity that would unite various social groups. ASS intellectuals viewed the potential for unity optimistically. The popular fronts in France and Spain kept this optimism strong in the mid-1930s. The ASS challenged the politics of the Finnish SDP; the SDP leadership responded in May 1937 with expulsion.

Ole Martin Rønning's Chapter 10 aptly titled 'Intellectuals ready to fight' examines the development of anti-fascist cultural fronts in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. It follows how intellectuals and artists engaged in a cultural struggle against a supposed underlying bias in the predominant 'bourgeois' culture that, in their opinion, subconsciously, and gradually, paved the way towards increasing acceptance of fascist ideas and principles. Rønning shows the different kinds of anti-fascist activities that the cultural fronts performed. Moreover, he brings to light the international and domestic factors that motivated the formation, and later dissolution of the Scandinavian cultural fronts, including the impact of Stalinism in the Soviet Union.

Mikko-Olavi Seppälä's contribution in Chapter 11 connects the cultural struggle against fascism to an analysis of the workers' stage in the context of the popular front and Spanish aid in Finland. The workers' stage was an amateur theatre based in Helsinki, which reached a high point when it co-operated with left-wing intellectuals during 1934–1939. Seppälä shows that it was an organic part of the popular front movement, and argues that the theatre was able to open up a counter-public sphere uniting intellectuals and workers. The performance of Elmer Rice's *Judgment Day* (1935) set the tone for the struggle for civil rights in Finland in the larger framework of the international struggle against fascism. During the Spanish Civil War, the socialist and pacifist American repertoire of theatre gave way to taking up arms against fascism. For the activist left-wing opposition, the theatre functioned as an extension of political journals, as a (counter-)public sphere and a vehicle for highlighting contemporary political problems, accelerating public discussion and engaging more people – workers and intellectuals alike – in fruitful interaction.

Transnational cooperation of anti-fascist intellectuals, artists and politicians is the topic of Bernhard H. Bayerlein's Chapter 12, which is focussed on the German exile weekly *Die Zukunft* and its networks in the Nordic countries. Founded in Paris in 1938 with the intention of galvanising opposition to the forthcoming war, the *Zukunft* functioned as a political and trans-cultural European paper with a special German-French focus. Bayerlein shows how, in the Nordic countries, some remarkable efforts for anti-fascist (and later anti-Stalinist) media coverage and campaigns were accomplished by the *Zukunft*. The centrality of Günter Dallmann as the *Zukunft*'s representative in the Nordic countries is highlighted in the chapter especially, and introduces him as an important, but overlooked mediator between Nordic and European anti-fascist intellectual networks.

The final thematic section of the volume looks beyond the interwar period and presents three case studies on *post-war anti-fascisms*. It begins with Anders Dalsager's Chapter 13 on how the Scandinavian influenced Socialist Youth International framed anti-fascism in relation to the Franco regime. During the period from 1945 to 1955, the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) organised numerous campaigns and protests against the dictatorship of Francisco Franco in Spain. These protests were, to a large extent, proposed and initiated by IUSY's influential Scandinavian member organisations and did not only target the brutality of the Franco regime, but also the Cold War strategy of the government of the United States, which looked to include Spain in the Western defence community. By employing an anti-fascist political frame, which referred to the Spanish Civil War and the threats from fascist dictatorships during the interwar years, the Scandinavian-influenced IUSY attempted to delegitimise the Cold War rationale that alliances with right-wing authoritarians were necessary in the defence against communism. In this way, the tradition of anti-fascism from the 1930s continued into the post-Second World War period.

Flemming Mikkelsen's Chapter 14 follows with an analysis of the radical-right movement and countermovement in Denmark. The Danish far right emerged from xenophobic subcultures as a reaction to increasing immigration during the 1980s and evolved into a social movement of nationalist associations, militant skinheads and neo-Nazis who attempted to conquer the streets. Mikkelsen shows how these attempts were met by an effective countermovement, which built up a coalition of left-wing anti-fascist militants and moderate political organisations. However, from 2001 onwards, national and international circumstances offered new opportunities for the Danish far right both in the streets and as a parliamentary force. This latest upsurge in far-right mobilisation has not been countered so effectively, but the influx of immigrants in 2015 did trigger a renewed emergence of refugee advocates among broad layers in the Danish population.

In the final case study in Chapter 15, Andrés Brink Pinto and Johan Pries analyse how fascist spatial claims have been challenged in southern Sweden since the 1980s. By looking at the specific struggle over the 30 November marches, they track how fascist street politics and the anti-fascist resistance have operated through the spatial claim-making. By studying the cumulative effects of struggles between anti-fascists and the far right in the Swedish city of Lund since the 1980s, they argue that fascist claims to urban space gave rise to distinct modes of anti-fascist response. The blockade was a way for anti-fascists to temporarily take control over a site on the far right's marching route; and then leverage this control in negotiations with authorities. Turf war emphasised the disruption of far-right claims to dominate space by direct, interpersonal violence. Disruption of space was often based on small mobile groups of activists. But each mode of anti-fascist challenge, shaped by particular historical experiences and historical relationships between fascists, anti-fascists and the police, came with inherent vulnerabilities.

Nigel Copsey's afterword then draws our volume to a close. Copsey locates the volume in the broader international field of anti-fascism research, identifies problems with current conceptual understandings and makes some suggestions as to the future direction of travel in what is becoming a global arena of 'anti-fascist' studies.

Notes

- 1 The first collection of peer-reviewed articles on anti-fascism in the Nordic countries was published as a special issue of *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* (1) 2017, edited by K. Braskén, M. Kaihovirta and M. Wickström. Three of these articles are to be found here as revised and extended versions in English.
- 2 The Nordic countries also include the autonomous areas Greenland, the Faroe Islands and the Åland Islands (between Sweden and Finland), although they are not separately treated in the volume.

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Three arrows against the swastika

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