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Exporting visions and saving children – the Swedish Save the children Fund

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For Lina Felicity Amy Pickford

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I will end this by quoting Lina as a three-year-old when the goodie-bag was emptied.

"Oh dear, finished now!"

Bagarmossen August 2009

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Chapter I

Introduction

The present study is about the Swedish Save the Children Fund, Räd­da Barnen. Räd­da Barnen performs good deeds; few people would disagree with that state­ment, and organizations such as Räd­da Barnen are often seen as the bearers of humanitarian work and ideologies. The purpose of this study is to see how the performance of good deeds by Räd­da Barnen is forwarded in history in relation to the ambition to aid exposed and vulnerable children. During the period of time covered here, 1938-1956, Räd­da Barnen grew into an organization of both national and international importance. This position enabled the organization not only to provide help on a large scale; it also implied more and more complex decision-making processes in respect to where and to whom help should be provided. Against this background, it is interesting to explore the rationale behind the decisions. Furthermore, to reach this position the organization had to gain the trust of authorities, as well as obtain donors and financial support. Concurrently with such achievements, the organization also needed to create its space in relation to other organizations, both nationally and internationally. Moreover, Räd­da Barnen had to adjust to changing social and cultural conditions during the period in question, such as the situation during WWII and the developing Swedish welfare state after the war. How did factors as these form and influence the processes that shaped the Swedish Save the Children Fund, Räd­da Barnen? In the following I will outline the structure of my study and define my scholarly quest. Let me begin by presenting the background in Sweden, where Räd­da Barnen developed and carried out its activities.

Background

Rädda Barnen has existed and performed relief work both in Sweden and abroad since the first part of the last century. We will start here by looking at from where and under what circumstances the original branch, the Save the Children Fund, was established. Only a few months afterwards, the Swedish branch, Rädda Barnen, was founded, and the circumstances surrounding this will also be accounted for. We will also see how Rädda Barnen expanded during 1938-1956 and what the political situation in Sweden was during this period. However, let us start by considering the origins of Save the Children Fund.

The Save the Children Fund originated from the anti-war movement that emerged in Britain prior to WWI. One result of this movement was the establishment of one organization, The Union of Democratic Control, which was founded only a few hours after the outbreak of WWI.¹ It is from this organization one can trace the origins of the Save the Children Fund. The Union of Democratic Control was critical of how the British Government was conducting its foreign politics and argued that the decision to join WWI had been taken without the support of the British people. The Union of Democratic Control wanted to prevent this from ever happening again and wanted a peace treaty created and outlined that would prevent any feelings of revenge. It was a radical and provocative organization, and the British Government felt a need to defend its decisions owing to the critique put forward. The members of The Union of Democratic Control were accused of being traitors, and the organization was on one occasion called “The Union of Dirty Snakes and Traitors”. When its leader and founder, Edmund Morel, was imprisoned, accused of spreading propaganda that threatened the national security, another organization, Fight the Famine Council, was created by the two sisters Dorothy Buxton and Eglantyne Jebb, among others. Some of The Union of Democratic Control members, for instance Dorothy Buxton’s husband, Charles Roden Buxton, Labour MP, joined the Fight the Famine Council. The purpose of this organization was to try to persuade the British Government to dissolve the blockade against the enemy countries, because it affected innocent people, many of whom were children. In a book of poems written

¹ Swartz Marvin, *The Union of Democratic Control in British Politics during the First World War*, London 1971. Passim

by Eglantyne Jebb, she calls one of her poems “The Massacre of the innocents”, meaning the children who suffered during the blockade.² However, the two sisters did not think it was enough to try to persuade the British Government to break up the blockade, they thought more direct help was needed, especially for the children. On Dorothy Buxton’s initiative, but with Eglantyne Jebb realizing the plan, the Save the Children Fund was established in 1919.³

At least at the outset, the British Save the Children Fund seems to have been influenced by the radical movement. In a recollection of the time, Anna-Lenah Elgström, one of the co-founders of the Swedish branch of Rädde Barnen, points out that the first time she heard of Eglantyne Jebb and the Save the Children Fund was during a conference held by the International Women’s Association for Peace and Freedom⁴ in Zurich in 1919. It was reported via telegram to the members of the conference that Eglantyne Jebb had been arrested in England for distributing pictures of starving Austrian children.⁵ Just as members of The Union of Democratic Control had been, Save the Children Fund members in Britain were at first considered disloyal to the country owing to their mission to also help the children of the enemy.⁶ The campaigns to obtain funds were also performed in a far more aggressive way by the British organization than by the Swedish.⁷ As we can see, the original organization tried to get attention by being radical and deliberately provocative. Anna-Lenah Elgström did not think this would be possible in Sweden, but she was impressed by the efficiency of the British organization.⁸

Only a few months after establishment of the Save the Children Fund in England, a branch was established in Sweden: Rädde Barnen. The Save the Children Fund expanded rapidly in other countries and a need to co-ordinate the different member countries’ work was recognized by Eglantyne Jebb. This resulted in the establishment of Union International de Secours aux Enfants, UISE, also in 1920. For Eglantyne Jebb, it was important that international co-operation be performed, as she believed that children were the common responsibility of everyone. The welfare of children was a universal responsibility. Yet the international

² Jebb Eglantyne, *The Real enemy*, London 1928, pp 28.

³ Wilson Francesca M, *Rebel Daughter of a Country House: Founder of the Save the Children Fund*, London 1967, pp 173.

⁴ Internationella kvinnoförbundet för fred och frihet.

⁵ Rädde Barnen, Annual report no 6, 15th of June 1920, article by Anna-Lenah Elgström

⁶ Jebb Eglantyne, *Save this Child!* London 1929, p 28

⁷ Rädde Barnens Medlemsblad no 6, 15th of June 1920

⁸ Ibidem

union was also established for practical reasons, to ensure that the different member countries did not overlap in their work.⁹ The organization had most of its supporters from the Labour party, but also from different religious groups such as the Quakers and theosophists.

The relief work carried out by the Swedish branch, Rädde Barnen was mostly directed to Austria and Germany, but to some extent to Russia and Hungary as well. However, in 1924, the Swedish organization decided to withdraw from international relief work due to a lack of funds.¹⁰ During the interwar years, most of the activities were carried out in Sweden. At the outbreak of WWII, Rädde Barnen began increasing its activities, and the organization grew significantly, both in size and influence.

By the end of 1937, Rädde Barnen had 260 members which by 1941 had increased to 904. During 1943, this figure increased to 11, 250 members, and by the end of 1944, the organization had 15,000 members.¹¹ As we can see, a significant raise in the number of members took place towards the end of the war. A possible explanation could be that as the war progressed, information about the circumstances children lived under became increasingly available. After the war, up until 1947, the largest increase in memberships took place, and by 1947 the number of members had reached 47,000.¹² The post war years brought information about the plight of children in Europe. The Swedish Government also began taking an interest in relief work, which may have contributed to the augmented interest in providing relief for children.

In 1948, the number of members declined somewhat, and the organization lost 2000 of its members. From 1948 to 1952, the number of members decreased from 45,000 to 39,000. From 1953-1956, there are no record of the number of members in the organization's annual reports.¹³ It was not only in terms of number of members that Rädde Barnen expanded, the organization also expanded geographically. In 1939, the organization established 4 local branches, which by 1946 had increased to 150, and these covered most parts of Sweden. By this time, local branches had also been established by Swedish people living in Finland and Norway.¹⁴

⁹ The Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnens medlemsblad, no 8, 1920-08-15

¹⁰ The Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen medlemsblad 1924

¹¹ The Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Annual reports 1937-1944

¹² Ibidem

¹³ The Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Annual reports 1937-1956

¹⁴ Ibidem

The declining number of members was apparently a cause of concern within the organization. In 1950 and 1956, the declining number of members was discussed within Rädga Barnen. One reason for declining membership was probably, that in 1950, the Swedish European Relief, which had been established by non-governmental organizations in Sweden in 1946, was undergoing liquidation. The purpose of this organization had been to co-ordinate and collect money for the non-governmental organizations' relief work. The Swedish European Relief never carried out any relief actions on its own, the association was set up to handle collections and distribute these amongst non-governmental organizations in Sweden. When this organization was liquidated, non-governmental organizations such as Rädga Barnen were left to fend for themselves. This meant taking over their own publicity and gathering their own funds.¹⁵

Rädga Barnen's expansion took place under the leadership of Margit Levinson. In biographical lexica, she is described as having a strong and forceful personality. Under her leadership, Rädga Barnen developed into an association with many international activities.¹⁶ Apart from being the chairwoman of Rädga Barnen, she was also a member of the board of the Swedish Committee for International Relief, established by the Swedish Government in 1944, with the purpose of co-ordinating and supporting Swedish relief work. She was a member of the board of Central Aid for Finland,¹⁷ which was established by the Government to deal with relief work directed towards Finland. She also became the chairwoman of the Swedish European Relief, which as mentioned was established by non-governmental organizations and other associations in Sweden in 1946. During this period, she also became one of the Deputy Secretary generals for Rädga Barnen's international union, the International Union for Child Welfare, IUCW (previously UISE).

As we have seen, the organization grew rapidly and local branches were established in many parts of Sweden. An annual meeting was held every year, where for instance members of the central board were chosen. No record of these meetings has been found, but brief accounts are given in Rädga Barnen's annual reports. The local branches seem to have been represented at these meetings and

¹⁵ The Swedish National Archives Rädga Barnen, Enclosure to Minutes no 1 20/1-1950.

¹⁶ The information is obtained from *Svenskt Biografiskt lexikon*, band 22. Stockholm 1977-79 and *Svenska Män och Kvinnor*, Stockholm 1954.

¹⁷ Centrala Finlandshjälpen

the representatives participated in conferences, where different matters concerning the outlining of the organization's work were brought up. These conferences appear to have been held in conjunction with the annual meetings. To what extent the local branches could influence the outlining of the organization's work is not clear, but given that a large number of branches attended, it is likely that some kind of referendum system was in place. During the whole period of time covered in the present study, Margit Levinson's position as chairwoman never seem to have been challenged. Another sign of the organization's expansion was the apparent need to increase the number of members of the board. During this period, the board of the organization also expanded; in 1940 it had 13 members, which by 1946 had increased to 17 board members and 2 accountants. In addition, in 1946 the board also had 8 deputy members and 2 deputy accountants.¹⁸

The board was dominated by women, even though approximately one third of the board members were men. The members seem to have been drawn mostly from the Swedish political elite, upper class and intellectual class. Examples of members are the ex foreign minister's wife, Maja Sandler, a county governor's wife, Göta Hansen, the baroness and author Marika Stiernstedt, Capten Olof Segerfeldt and the senior accountant of the Bank of Sweden, Ebbe Wallenborg; in 1948, teacher Aina Erlander, the Swedish Prime Minister Tage Erlander's wife, also became a member of the board. Two women, Mrs Greta Strömbom and Mrs Agnes Söderquist, were also members of the board.¹⁹

The rapid expansion did lead to criticism of Rädde Barnen, and during the war, for instance, the Swedish Teachers Association and some Swedish newspapers accused the organization of making charity into an industry. Doubts were expressed that the organization really had humanitarianism as its main goal, and the organization was also accused of having too high expenditures. Margit Levinson defended Rädde Barnen, stating that the expenditures were reasonable considering the kind of activities the organization performed.²⁰ Whatever the case may have been in these matters, Rädde Barnen had grown rapidly in Sweden during the war years, but even more so after the war. This new position enabled the organization to have an influence on various issues concerning children, during

¹⁸ Rädde Barnen's annual reports...the examples are taken from 1940, 1946 and 1948.

¹⁹ Rädde Barnen's annual reports...the examples are taken from 1940, 1946 and 1948.

²⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 15th of June 1942, Svensk Lärar tidning, no 23 1942

this period of time. Let us now take a brief look at the situation in Sweden during this period: 1938- 1956.

The situation in Sweden 1938-1956

At the outbreak of the war, the Swedish Government declared the country neutral, and a Coalition Government was established. After 1938, the Social Democrats were in the majority in the Swedish Parliament, which of course increased their influence. The desire to work in agreement was still present among the different parties during the war. This changed after the armistice, and according to historian Karl Molin, the debates between politicians in Sweden then became aggressive and blocs were created among the various parties.²¹ However, during the war, the Coalition Government decided that Sweden's independence and peace should be maintained via neutrality, military rearmament and "spiritual fellowship"/national identity.²²

Most of the Government members believed that the safest way for a small country to survive was to remain neutral. This was put to the test when the Russians attacked Finland during the winter of 1939-1940. Strong forces existed within the Government that felt a Swedish intervention was called for. One of these forces was the social democrat and ex foreign minister Rickard Sandler. However, the Swedish standpoint on Finland became the following: "no military intervention, but as much help as possible in the form of war material, financial loans and transit conveyances." Opinions about this differed among the Government members depending on how the actual threat was perceived and on what the Russians' intentions were considered to be. The question of whether or not a danger of attack on Sweden existed appears to have been the core of the problem in deciding what standpoint to take on the issue of supporting Finland.²³

With respect to whether or not Sweden should comply with German demands for concessions, no such confusion existed. If Sweden did not comply with German demands, the risk that Sweden would be attacked was considered to be

²¹ Ekman Stig red: *Stormaktstryck och småtstatspolitik: Aspekter på svensk politik under andra världskriget*. Stockholm 1986. Karl Molin, *Konflikt och samförstånd i svensk inrikespolitik under andra världskriget*, pp12

²² Ekman Stig red: *Stormaktstryck och småtstatspolitik: Aspekter på svensk politik under andra världskriget*. Stockholm 1986. Karl Molin, *Konflikt och samförstånd i svensk inrikespolitik under andra världskriget*, pp13

²³ Ibidem

overwhelming. However, uncertainty as to whether the general Swedish public would agree apparently existed within the Government. In the press release revealing that the Swedish Government had said “yes” to German transit convoys passing through the country, an attempt was made to extenuate the issue. Starting in 1940, two million German soldiers on leave and 100,000 railway-carriages containing German war material passed through Sweden during the duration of the three-year period. In 1941, the Germans were also allowed to let a fully armed division of soldiers pass through Sweden from Norway to Finland. This was not an uncomplicated issue, and it did create a crisis in Swedish domestic politics.²⁴ When the Allied Forces requested to pass through Sweden to Finland, this was declined by the Swedish Coalition Government. At this time, Sweden was somewhat humiliated after having complied with German demands and compromised its neutrality, and did not want a repetition of this and suspected that the chief motivation was the control of the industrial capacity in northern Sweden.²⁵ The Swedish Government wanted Sweden to keep its independence and neutrality, but as we have seen this was not an easy position to uphold. According to historian Stig Ekman, Sweden enforced foreign policies that took more consideration to powerful political realities than to stipulated regulations concerning neutrality.²⁶ Whatever the case may be, during 1941-1944 Sweden was surrounded by German military forces, and, according to Stig Ekman, the policies enforced were designed to give Germany as little reason to attack the country as possible.²⁷

During 1943, the situation changed and the Allies started putting more pressure on Sweden to, for instance, cut down on business dealings with Germany and stop allowing German transits via Sweden. The Swedish Government was hesitant about meeting the Allies’ demands, as doing so might compromise the credibility of Swedish neutrality. There was another side to this, of course: Swedish business and industry were dependent on German imports. If these were to be cut off, it would mean a lack of supplies in Sweden and a risk for increased un-

²⁴ Ibidem

²⁵ Ekman Stig red: *Stormaktstryck och småtstatspolitik: Aspekter på svensk politik under andra världskriget*. Stockholm 1986. Alf W Johansson, *Sverige och västmakterna*, p 74

²⁶ Ekman Stig red: *Stormaktstryck och småtstatspolitik: Aspekter på svensk politik under andra världskriget*. Stockholm 1986. Stig Ekman, *Beredskap och upprustning – svensk försvarspolitik under andra världskriget*, pp 39

²⁷ Ibidem

employment.²⁸ The Swedish Foreign Office seems to have been adamant about maintaining Sweden's independence in relation to the Allies.²⁹ We will see further examples of this here, but for now let us just establish that the Allies did put pressure on Sweden to cut down on its dealings with Germany during the war. The Americans started a campaign against Sweden in an attempt to stop the country from exporting of ball bearings to Germany. The argument forwarded was that the Allies could not allow neutral states to use their resources at the same time as such states contributed to the German war industry, which was responsible for the death of Allied soldiers. In 1944, Franklin Roosevelt notified Winston Churchill that maximum pressure should be put on Sweden to stop trading with Germany.³⁰

As has been demonstrated here, the Swedish Government's relationship with the Allies was complicated. How aware the Swedish general public was of these interactions and of the standpoints taken towards the Allies and Germans is of course difficult to determine with any certainty. Restrictions on the press were enforced during the war, and a law that allowed the Government to dissolve "associations that threatened Swedish society" was enforced, all with the aim of protecting national security.³¹ However, according to a survey conducted by the British in March 1943, 80% of the Swedish people were against the Germans and sympathized with the Allies.³² It is not revealed how this survey was conducted, and it is important to remember that this was made known during a time when the Allies were putting pressure on the Swedish Government to decrease its dealings with Germany to the greatest extent possible.

The coalition Government was dissolved in June 1945, and the Social Democrats remained in charge of governing the country under the leadership of Per Albin Hansson, who also had been Prime Minister of Sweden during the war. He died in 1946, and Tage Erlander, who had previously been Minister of Education and

²⁸ Ekman Stig red: *Stormaktstryck och småtstatspolitik: Aspekter på svensk politik under andra världskriget*. Stockholm 1986. Alf W Johansson, *Sverige och västmakterna*, pp 84

²⁹ *Ibidem*

³⁰ Ekman Stig red: *Stormaktstryck och småtstatspolitik: Aspekter på svensk politik under andra världskriget*. Stockholm 1986. Alf W Johansson, *Sverige och västmakterna*, pp 87

³¹ Ekman Stig red: *Stormaktstryck och småtstatspolitik: Aspekter på svensk politik under andra världskriget*. Stockholm 1986. Karl Molin, *Konflikt och samförstånd i svensk inrikespolitik under andra världskriget*, p 21

³² Ekman Stig red: *Stormaktstryck och småtstatspolitik: Aspekter på svensk politik under andra världskriget*. Stockholm 1986. Karl Molin, *Konflikt och samförstånd i svensk inrikespolitik under andra världskriget*, p 84

Ecclesiastical Affairs, was made his successor. As stated previously, his wife, Aina Erlander, was a member of the board of Rädga Barnen from 1948 onwards.³³

As has been shown, Sweden's relationship with the Allies, the British and the Americans had been complicated. During the Cold War, Sweden oriented towards America and the political threat was now considered to come from the east. After having had a relatively high status immediately after the war due to the victory over Germany, the Soviet Union began to be considered an increasing threat in Sweden. Stalin was being compared to Hitler at the same time as the Americans represented freedom.³⁴

During the fifties, the Swedish Foreign Minister, Östen Undén, argued that Sweden was not able to exercise any impact in the conflicts between the great powers on the international arena. However, according to historian Sten Ottosson, contentment with and pride in the Swedish welfare state that was under construction existed among Swedish politicians. The Swedish system of welfare was considered by Swedish politicians to be a suitable role model for other countries. This was the image the Swedish Foreign Minister had, and he pointed out, for instance, that Sweden could be utilized as a role model for the Soviet Union. Sweden could also function as a role model and a forerunner for other democratic societies. This was also considered to be valuable from an international perspective. According to Sten Ottosson, some Swedish historians have argued that this was a way to portray Sweden as a model for a more peaceful world. If other politically democratic countries were to follow the Swedish model of society, it was believed that a confrontation between East and West could be avoided. As pointed out above, the Swedish Government claimed that the outlining of the Swedish system of welfare could work as a role model for other countries, which in turn would be a way to safeguard a peaceful world.³⁵

Above I have sketched a picture of the situation in Sweden. During the war, the Swedish Government proclaimed the country neutral, but felt it was forced to negotiate the meaning of neutrality in relation to the demands on Sweden and Swedish territory made by Germany and the Western powers. Under pressure,

³³ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Annual reports 1948-1956.

³⁴ Salomon Kim, *En femtiotalberättelse: Populärkulturens kalla krig i folkhemsSverige*, Malmö 2007. See for instance chapter 3 and 4.

³⁵ Ottosson Sten, Research Report 34 published by Utrikespolitiska Institutet, *Svensk självbild under kalla kriget: En studie av stats- och utrikesministrarnas bild av Sverige 1950-1989*. Stockholm 2003. pp 20

neutrality comes across as having been a negotiable condition, at least in some cases. In comparison to other countries, Sweden escaped the war fairly undamaged, but had an image problem. Next we will take a look at the previous research undertaken in this field that is relevant to the present study. I will begin by giving a brief account of the changing view of children and children's place in society during the first part of the 20th century.

Previous research

Research into the history of childhood has demonstrated that views on children changed during the first half of the 20th century. State authorities and non-governmental organizations started taking an interest in children's welfare and made themselves into interpreters of what was in the best interest of children and of how a good childhood should be constructed. Children were defined to be important in building the nations.³⁶

Rädda Barnen was one of the organizations that made itself into an interpreter of what was in the best interest for children which also signified the internationalization of child saving.³⁷ During the first half of the 20th century, children seem to have oscillated between being perceived as potential threats to society and being victims. This was also a time when a demarcation between the rights of childhood and those of adulthood became politically important and more visible.³⁸ Whatever the case, whether children were perceived as a potential danger to society or as victims, the need to care for children and to create a good childhood was identified. This was an arena in which philanthropic organizations found a field where their services could be applied. The activities of these organizations usually relied on private funding and initiative and were also carried out by laypersons, commonly from the Swedish upper class.³⁹ However this changed and philanthropic organizations formed a base among the experts who emerged

³⁶ See for instance Hendrick Harry, *Child Welfare England 1872-1989*, London 1994. Horn Margo, *Before It's Too Late: The Child Guidance Movement in the United States 1922-1945*. Philadelphia 1989. Zelizer Viviana A, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The changing social value of children*. New York 1985.

³⁷ Sandin Bengt, *Historisk tidskrift för Finland*, Medelklassen och barndomens internationalisering. No 85 år 2000. Recension av Monika Janfelts avhandling, *Stormakter i människokärlek, svensk och dansk krigsbarnshjälp 1917-1924*. Åbo 1998

³⁸ Sandin Bengt & Halldén Gunilla Ed: *Barnens bästa: En antologi om barndomens innebörder och välfärdens organisering*. Chapter 1 *Välfärdstatens omvandling och en ny barndom*. Stockholm 2003.

³⁹ Sandin Bengt, *From different to similar: Childhood and welfare in Sweden, 1945 to 2000*. (unpublished ms) Linköping 2009 see also for instance Weiner Gena, *De räddade barnen: Om fattiga barn, mödrar och fäder och deras möte med filantropin i Hagalund 1900-1940*, Linköping 1995

within this field. Childhood changed and became more professionalized and institutionalized. Non-governmental organizations started to participate in the creation of what would become a modern welfare state.⁴⁰

Within the emerging Swedish welfare state, measures were taken to protect children and to ensure a good childhood. New legislation, expansion of schooling for all children, healthcare for children and mothers, etc., were all steps taken in order to safeguard a good childhood. The work that philanthropic organizations did for children was being taken over by Swedish state authorities.⁴¹ This was sometimes done in collaboration, but at other times in a situation of conflict between state authorities and non-governmental organizations, but also between the state and families. Studies on these phenomena form the background for the present study. Changes in the notions of childhood, as described in earlier research, run parallel to the reorganization of the welfare system and a significant strengthening of the responsibility of the Swedish Government.⁴² This forms an important background for analyses of the establishment and growth of a philanthropic organization oriented towards international aid during this very period and in parallel with the slow demise of philanthropic organizations in Sweden.

Relatively little research has touched upon the context in which Swedish Rädda Barnen was active with a couple of notable examples. One example of such research is the work of historian Monika Janfelt. In her work, which covers the period 1917-1924, she has depicted the impact both national and international politics had on the view of war children in the Scandinavian countries. These children were considered to be a potential danger to society, and a way to counteract this was to transport them to serene places. According to Monika Janfelt,

⁴⁰ Sandin Bengt & Halldén Gunilla Ed: *Barnens bästa: En antologi om barndomens innebörder och välfärdens organisering*. Chapter 1 *Välfärdstatens omvandling och en ny barndom*. Stockholm 2003.

⁴¹ See for instance the Swedish historian Weiner Gena *De räddade barnen: Om fattiga barn, mödrar och fäder och deras möte med filantropin i Hagalund 1900-1940*, Linköping 1995 historian Weiner Gena *De räddade barnen: Om fattiga barn, mödrar och fäder och deras möte med filantropin i Hagalund 1900-1940*, Linköping 1995

⁴² Examples of studies are for instance, Sundkvist Maria, *De vanartade barnen: Mötet mellan barn, föräldrar och Norrköpings barnavårdsnämnd 1903-1925*, Linköping 1994, Weiner Gena *De räddade barnen: Om fattiga barn, mödrar och fäder och deras möte med filantropin i Hagalund 1900-1940*, Linköping 1995, Söderlind Ingrid, *Barnhem för flickor: barn, familj och institutionsliv i Stockholm 1870-1920*. Linköping 1999, Jönsson Ulf, *Bråkiga, lösaktiga och nagelbitande barn: Om barn och barnproblem vid en rådgivningsbyrå i Stockholm 1933-1950*. Linköping 1997. Lindgren Anne-Li, "Att ha barn med är en god sak": barn, medier och medborgarskap under 1930-talet. Linköping 1999. Gullberg Eva, *Det väl-närda barnet: föreställningar och politik i skolmältidens historia*. Linköping 2004. Lind Judith, *Det sinneslöa skolbarnet: undervisning, tvång och medborgarskap 1925-1954*. Linköping 2000. Axelsson Thom, *Rätt elev i rätt klass: skola begåvning och styrning 1910-1950*, Linköping 2007. Qvarsebo Jonas, *Skolbarnets fostran: enhetsskolan, agan och politiken om barnet 1946-1962*, Linköping 2006

this was also a method used to export the Scandinavian model of society. She discusses the Swedish Red Cross's relationship with the authorities and establishes that the organization's activities were, to a large extent, closely related to the character of national politics in Sweden, Denmark and Finland. She does not investigate the activities of Rädde Barnen, but points out that the organization was typical for its time.⁴³

Ingrid Lomfors has examined the reception of Jewish children transported to Sweden during the early part of WWII. This was restricted to the outset of the war and undertaken on a limited scale. All in all, 650 children were brought to Sweden, and Ingrid Lomfors shows that their stay in Sweden was conditional. For instance, no permanent resident permits were issued. Ingrid Lomfors compares this to the generous attitude the Government held towards Finnish children. According to Ingrid Lomfors, it was mainly thanks to the Jewish congregation in Sweden as well as to individuals active in, for instance, Rädde Barnen, that Jewish children were brought to Sweden. She further points out that no knowledge was available concerning what psychological traumas the children had experienced, traumas caused both by the war and by being separated from their parents. One problem that emerged when the Jewish children came to Sweden was that there were not enough Jewish families that were prepared to accept a foster child. As a result, the children were sometimes placed in non-Jewish homes, which caused difficulties as they were often cut off from the Jewish community. She also states that the children who were placed in foster homes were more vulnerable than those placed in children's homes. The former were often moved, denied schooling and had problems maintaining their own languages. This did not occur with children placed in children's institution homes.⁴⁴

Ingrid Lomfors also illustrates the difficulties Jewish organizations had in obtaining permission for Jewish children to enter Sweden. It was thanks to the Jewish congregation in Sweden, which put pressure on the Swedish Government in the matter that any children at all were brought into the country. She also points out that Sweden followed other democratic countries' policies in this matter. For instance, when Britain decided to grant 10,000 Jewish children entry into the

⁴³ Janfelt Monika, *Stormakter i människokärlek: svensk och dansk krigsbarnshjälp 1917-1924*, Åbo 1998. passim

⁴⁴ Lomfors Ingrid, *Förlorad barndom återvunnet liv: De judiska flyktingbarnen från Nazityskland*. Göteborg 1996, chapter 3 and 4

country, it seems as if the Swedish Government's standpoint on the matter became more liberal at least temporarily.⁴⁵

Another example of research on child transports is a study conducted by psychologist Lillemor Lagnebro. She has investigated from a psychological perspective what affect the transports had on Finnish children in adulthood. One problem that was reoccurring among the Finnish children in adulthood is, for instance, rootlessness. In her study, she emphasizes that the transportation of Finnish children was a social experiment that never was evaluated.⁴⁶

The above-mentioned studies have mainly investigated transports of war children from different perspectives, but none has investigated or accounted for Rädde Barnen's participation in and impact on relief work for children or its participation in child transports. As we have seen, Ingrid Lomfors does point out that some Jewish children came to Sweden thanks to individual co-workers within Rädde Barnen. However, she does not give any account of who they were or of whether this was carried out privately or under the organization's auspices.

How humanitarian relief work has been directed towards children and the notion that this was a way to establish international co-operation in peacetime have been discussed by Canadian Professor of History Dominique Marshall. She argues that the phenomenon of child victims of war stimulated a feeling of duty among adults. Children's well-being, especially in times of war and disasters, became a focus of attention during both world wars. Her work shows how Herbert Hoover, the forthcoming president of the United States, promoted this idea. Feeding children and caring for their well-being was important, because they were the future citizens of the world. Children were also thought to constitute a neutral zone where international relations could be built up without posing a threat to world politics. According to Dominique Marshall, the Save the Children Fund identified relief work for children as an arena in which peaceful international relationships could be established. She also points out that, even though the League of Nations had considered it important to provide relief for children prior to establishment of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1924, the organization did not consider itself to be responsible for this. However, through establishment of the Declaration, relief for children became an issue that was

⁴⁵ Ibidem

⁴⁶ Lagnebro Lillemor, *Finska krigsbarn och Krigsplacerade finska barn under åren 1939-1945: en explorativ studie av eventuella psykologiska effekter hos dessa barn i vuxen ålder*. Umeå 1983. Passim

considered important in the context of international relations. Monika Janfelt's study demonstrates that, in the Scandinavian countries, the plight of children of the middle classes spurred the Scandinavian middle class to act in support of children.⁴⁷

Dominique Marshall also points out that it seems to have taken a war to increase the general public's willingness to donate funds to benefit children. For instance, attempts to raise funds for child welfare in Africa undertaken during the interwar period failed. During WWII, the matter of providing relief to children became urgent again, and at this time, the UN response was more competent. It was now considered important to aid children because they were the most vulnerable in times of war. Providing aid to children was still considered a "politically safe" arena where international relations could be promoted.⁴⁸

Patricia Sellick has investigated to what extent the British Save the Children Fund upheld and worked in accordance with its guiding policies from the time of the organization's establishment in 1919 until 1999. The three principles she has identified, and through which she analyses the British organization, are universalism, utilitarianism and optimistic pacifism. Helping as many children in as many places as possible and safeguarding their future happiness were important goals at the outset of the organization's establishment. The founders of the organization also believed that a lasting peace was possible and that the anguish experienced during WWI never should have to be repeated. Patricia Sellick highlights how working in accordance with these principles changed over the century due to changing circumstances, for instance a lack of funds. By the time of WWII, developments in the British organization were moving towards the nationalistic and patriotic rather than the international. Patricia Sellick also points out that, by this time, the organization lost its peacekeeping characteristics and, as mentioned above, had become rather patriotic. The British organization also fraternized closely with the British Government around the time of WWII, with regard to both providing relief abroad and performing actions to promote welfare in Britain.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Marshall Dominique, *Humanitarian Sympathy for Children in Times of War*, in *Children and War* Ed: James Marten, New York 2002. P 184-199. Janfelt Monika, *Stormakter i människokärlek: svensk och dansk krigsbarnshjälp 1917-1924*, Åbo 1998, passim. Sandin Bengt, *Historisk tidskrift för Finland*, Medelklassen och barndomens internationalisering. No 85 år 2000. Recension av Monika Janfelts avhandling, *Stormakter i människokärlek, svensk och dansk krigsbarnshjälp 1917-1924*. Åbo 1998

⁴⁸ Marshall Dominique, *Humanitarian Sympathy for Children in Times of War*, in *Children and War* Ed: James Marten, New York 2002. P 184-199

⁴⁹ Patricia Sellick, *Responding to Children Affected by Armed conflicts: A Case Study of*

Patricia Sellick concludes that, during the seventies and up until the late eighties, the organization gives the impression of having re-orientated towards its founding principles of universalism and utilitarianism. From the seventies until the end of the nineties, a change took place again, and the organization re-oriented towards the founders' original guidelines. Patricia Sellick points out that Eglantyne Jebb recognized early on that the "nationalistic point of view" was the organization's worst enemy.⁵⁰

In his study, the Swedish historian Jörg Lindner has mapped out Swedish relief to Germany during the years 1945-1954. He points out three different kinds of relief activities undertaken in Germany as being the most important: Food dispensation to children and youth, recreational stays, and democratization of German society. The aim of his study is to discover where and when the relief started and finished, as well as in what way the different organizations provided relief and how they co-operated. Another aspiration has been to see how the Germans and Allies viewed the Swedish assistance and how they co-operated with Swedish organizations. He also looks into what connections existed between Swedish intentions and possibilities to help and the desires of the foreigners in need of help. Jörg Lindner also asks why relief for children and youth was considered important, why the different methods of relief were considered suitable and what this meant for the recipients. He poses the question of why Sweden considered itself suitable to serve as a mentor for the Germans and how this was perceived. His endeavour has been to find the answers to these questions in domestic and foreign politics as well as in the financial and social welfare arena. Another goal of Jörg Lindner's study has been to find out what perceptions of Germany and the Germans existed among those who provided relief to the country after the war.⁵¹

In his study, he sketches two hypotheses, one of which is that considerable opposition and friction existed between the Swedish Government and traditional Swedish relief organizations. He suggests that the reason for Rädde Barnen's and the Swedish Red Cross's participation in international relief was that the organizations were considered experts in this field. Another plausible explanation that Jörg Lindner gives is that the Swedish Social Democratic Government wanted to

the Save the Children Fund (1919-1999), Ph.D. thesis (Peace Studies), Bradford University, 2001, passim.

⁵⁰Ibidem

⁵¹ Lindner Jörg, *Den svenska tysklandshjälpen 1945-1954*, Umeå 1988, passim.

“liberate” the Swedish welfare arena from the non-governmental organizations, owing to the Government’s own expansion within this field after WWII. For this reason, Rädde Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross were encouraged to start participating in international relief work. This involvement on the international arena was then carried out under the Government’s control via the Swedish Committee for International Relief.

In his second hypothesis, Jörg Lindner suggests that Swedish relief was imbued with self-interest and that Rädde Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross together with the Swedish Government were potential bearers of goodwill for Sweden.⁵² His aim is to show how ideas, motives, contents and methods in relation to voluntary relief work and the Swedish Government’s efforts for Germany grew and changed during the period of time his study covers.⁵³

In his study, Jörg Lindner used a variety of different sources both within Sweden and abroad. Archives in, for instance, Germany, Austria, America, Great Britain and Switzerland have been used. He has also performed interviews with German children, their parents and Swedish families. Some of the children had either been recipients of food or in some cases had spent time in Sweden.⁵⁴ As far as food dispensation was concerned, Jörg Lindner finds that these efforts were used as a political tool. In his study, Jörg Lindner also points out that the Allies thought this important as it showed Sweden’s good intentions.⁵⁵

Another important form of relief was what Jörg Lindner calls “help in Sweden”, which refers to transports of German children to Sweden. This was a politically complicated issue, and according to Jörg Lindner, one major reason for this was the Eastern bloc’s discontent with Swedish relief to Germany in general. In his view, Rädde Barnen was unwilling to participate at the outset because this would have a negative effect on the ability to transport children from France. However, Jörg Lindner points out that Rädde Barnen clearly considered other organizations that dealt with child transports as competitors and wanted to handle this activity on its own. One strategy for being solely in charge was to limit other organizations’ possibilities to obtain financial contributions and the other was to fraternize closely with the Swedish Government. When describing child transports he accounts for a variety of different organizations’ participation in this ac-

⁵² Lindner Jörg, *Den svenska tysklandshjälpen 1945-1954*, Umeå 1988 pp 60

⁵³ Lindner Jörg, *Den svenska tysklandshjälpen 1945-1954*, Umeå 1988, passim

⁵⁴ Lindner Jörg, *Den svenska tysklandshjälpen 1945-1954*, Umeå 1988 pp 23

⁵⁵ Lindner Jörg, *Den svenska tysklandshjälpen 1945-1954*, Umeå 1988 p 27

tivity, among them Rädde Barnen, which emerges as the most important actor within this field. He gives some accounts of the children's experiences and also gives examples of ideological reasons for transporting children. For instance, children from West Germany were invited to spend time in East German summer camps for ideological reasons. Jörg Lindner points out that several different organizations were involved in child transports in Europe. Children were moved around to different countries by different organizations. Children who were moved to Sweden were no exception to this, but he points out that even if several organizations were involved in this activity, the predominant organization was Rädde Barnen.⁵⁶

Jörg Lindner also describes the complicated political tug-of-war that surrounded the so-called DP children, that is, displaced children who lived in camps in the American and British zones in Germany. For countries like Sweden that were not members of the International Refugee Organization, inviting these children to the home country was even more complicated. According to Jörg Lindner, the British were worried that any DP children who were moved to Sweden could risk being handed over to the Soviet Union. The origin of this concern was the extradition of refugees to the Baltic States. According to Lindner, Rädde Barnen was aware of the political and ideological issues surrounding the DP children, but still went ahead with these transports.⁵⁷

In the last part of his study, Jörg Lindner describes how National Socialism was to be counteracted both within Sweden and among the Germans. The establishment of the Swedish Committee for Reconstruction was one means to this end. Re-education was one important part of the Committee's work among the Swedish people, but also when inviting German youth to Sweden. Apart from exporting Swedish culture, technical support was provided to Germany on a large scale. Among other things, apprentice homes and carpentry workshops were established by both Rädde Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross.⁵⁸ Jörg Lindner does raise the topic of spiritual re-education, but does not look at how this was undertaken, for instance at the apprentice homes and children's homes that were established in Germany.

Jörg Lindner has to some extent looked extent at what significance Rädde Barnen had within relief activities for Germany and the activities carried out there.

⁵⁶ Lindner Jörg, *Den svenska tysklandshjälpen 1945-1954*, Umeå 1988, pp 113

⁵⁷ Ibidem

⁵⁸ Lindner Jörg, *Den svenska tysklandshjälpen 1945-1954*, Umeå 1988, pp 154

His study brings up a variety of interesting topics that are highly relevant to the present study. However Jörg Lindner's focus has not been on Rädde Barnen's activities. His study point to a broader context for the relief work undertaken in Germany after the war but he has not undertaken a thorough investigation of Rädde Barnen's material, nor has he looked at the organization's activities in other countries, for example in relation to child transports.

* * * * *

Rädde Barnen was founded and active during the first half of the 20th century, a time when the view of children changed and the nature of children was the focus of attention of both authorities and philanthropic organizations. Caring for children's welfare became important, as they began to be considered as investments not only for the future of families, but also for the future of nations. Responsibility for children's welfare was shifted from philanthropic organizations to the state.

The two world wars of the 20th century brought further attention to the situation of children. Patricia Sellick emphasizes how the British Save the Children Fund developed in terms of the significance the organization's founding principles had for its advancement, but also how these principles were compromised and subdued under national political agendas.

In his study, Jörg Lindner has his starting point in 1945, but he nevertheless highlights some discussions that took place within the Swedish Committee for International Relief in 1944. By taking a closer look at these discussions, we can better understand the significance they had for outlining Swedish international relief and what positions the different organizations had and gained in these discussions. Of special interest to the present study has of course been in what way Rädde Barnen participated in these interactions.

As we have seen, child transports have been investigated by researchers such as Monika Janfelt, Ingrid Lomfors and Lillemor Lagnebro. Monika Janfelt has looked at how transports of children were carried out and reasons behind these, towards the end of and a few years after WWI. How Jewish children were received and how they acclimatized in Sweden has been discussed by Ingrid Lomfors, who also points out that it was thanks to co-workers at Rädde Barnen that this was possible. Neither provides any account of how and in what way this was carried out by Rädde Barnen. As we have also seen, taking a psychological ap-

proach, Lillemor Lagnebro looks at what consequences the transports had for Finnish children in adulthood.

Dominique Marshall has shown that child saving was an arena where common peaceful international interests could be agreed on. There is reason to see if the same effect can be seen in Sweden in the post war period, given the implications of national and international politics. Rädde Barnen was active on both the national and international level during and after WWII. The organization was probably a major contributor in shaping how child saving was outlined and carried out, but also in constructing what constituted a good childhood. No studies on Rädde Barnen's growth, development and what significance the organization had within the field of child saving and relief work have been carried out previously and the aim of the present study is to fill this gap. Before embarking on this task, let us look at the starting point and perspectives of the study.

Perspectives, questions and outline

As has been demonstrated, the issue of child saving was given attention through different measures, both in a national and international context during the first half of the 20th century. Rädde Barnen played a significant role in this process and had an impact on shaping politics concerning children on both the national and international arena.

So how can we understand the development of an organization such as Rädde Barnen? Rädde Barnen's advancement within the field of child relief took place in interactions with the Swedish Government and other organizations on both the national and international level. Within the international community, one transnational organization, UNICEF, emerged during the same period of time. The purpose of this organization was to represent all nations of the world in issues concerning the protection of children, based on the legacy of child/human rights from the League of Nations.

Sociologist Ulrich Beck's analyses have provided us with several concepts that are useful in our discussions of historical changes in international non-governmental organizations. He has analysed social and political changes in what he calls the modern risk society. Ulrich Beck argues that the world is a cosmopolitan entity, and for this reason international problems need to be solved on an international level. Organizations such as the UN negotiate solutions for the risks found in modern society and mediate not only between states, but also between societies and states. He also argues that societies can be characterized by, for in-

stance, a cosmopolitan outlook, universalism or even a national outlook. Another concept, which Ulrich Beck brings attention to surfaces when worldwide societies establish a consensus on issues of global concern. When such conformity around an issue develops, it underwrites ‘institutionalized cosmopolitanism.’

Consequently these concepts are useful for my analyses, because they also touch on the relationship between societies, governments and international organizations. Let us look a bit more closely at the purpose and meaning Ulrich Beck gives to these different concepts.

In Ulrich Beck’s scholarship, cosmopolitanism is the world view and lens through which he analyses societies. As has been demonstrated, he presents a complex of concepts that he uses for this analysis. Ulrich Beck argues that the fact that societies in the world are cosmopolitan is not new. What is new is that awareness that they are cosmopolitan has developed, and because of this it has become necessary to apply a cosmopolitan outlook. War and environmental threats have become worldwide problems and not something that can be solved by individual nation-states. An awareness of this has come into existence, and in order to solve these problems, a cosmopolitan outlook needs to be applied. Solutions to worldwide problems have to be found on an international level. If international co-operation is to be possible, differences also needs to be embraced.

The advantages of applying a cosmopolitan outlook in a society are that it embraces differences, while universalism aims at eradicating these differences. Ulrich Beck explains, for instance, that in a society marked by universalism, the goal appears to be to obliterate characteristics such as skin colour, race, class and gender in an attempt to achieve equality.⁵⁹ This attitude includes a very strong emphasis on a common normative base for the social system. In a society where a cosmopolitan outlook is applied, on the other hand, differences are recognized, and because they are embraced there is an acceptance of otherness.⁶⁰

As previously mentioned, ‘institutionalized cosmopolitanism’ is a concept that Ulrich Beck uses to explain what happens when there is worldwide identification of one occurrence, for instance, a global risk. When such a risk or another kind of occurrence surfaces and is identified, and when consensus on the issue has been reached, the result may be the achievement of cosmopolitan norms and agreements. Agreement on what the issue concerns is reached, which sometimes leads

⁵⁹Beck Ulrich, *The Cosmopolitan Vision*, Frankfurt am Main, 2004, pp 49

⁶⁰ Beck Ulrich, *The Cosmopolitan Vision*, Frankfurt am Main, 2004, pp 17

to consensus on how to deal with the matter. In achieving conformity on a worldwide issue, complexes of loyalties may sometimes come into view. Out of these complexes of loyalties, non-governmental organizations may surface, because they have gathered around one (or more) particular issues that they want to highlight. When non-governmental organizations and/or actors strive to draw attention to different issues of worldwide concern, advances towards 'institutionalized cosmopolitanism' are made. Examples of such issues are human rights, abolishment of poverty and, as already mentioned, environmental threats.⁶¹ In the present study is children's welfare and protection is at the focal point.

Ulrich Beck's analyses are based on an understanding of how non-governmental actors and organizations emerge through the common identification of such issues and through consensus. As my study deals with the establishment of a non-governmental organization in a nation where the emphasis has been on state intervention in social matters, it is necessary to exemplify historical processes in which philanthropic organizations have interacted with the Swedish state. Rädde Barnen obviously needed to find a place for its organization in a situation of dramatic national and international change, and because of this it had to position itself in a number of different relations. Rädde Barnen needed to define its actions in relation to the state and government agencies and to have a feel for the political current of its time. The organization also had to demarcate its identity and policies in relation to other non-governmental organizations on the national and international level. This process comes across as having been very conscious in terms of negotiations and policy discussions, but also as being the result of the individuals who participated in the organization. It also seems to have been a consequence of the actual measures used to help children or families and of determining to whom, when and where aid to children should be provided. The factors mentioned here underpin and define the organizational space that was created. Relationships to the Swedish Government and its agencies, to non-governmental organizations on national and international level, the central individuals, the relief actions – taken their time and place. By following such issues, one can give substance to the historical processes underlying the development Ulrich Beck discusses.

The present study will analyse when Rädde Barnen as an organization established itself by identifying social and political need for action for children. For

⁶¹ Beck Ulrich, *The Cosmopolitan Vision* Frankfurt am Main 2004, pp 21

instance, in the void between actions carried out by the Government that might not entirely meet the needs of children as it was, be defined. This void can be filled with actions carried out by non-governmental organizations. Here, a struggle to gain space within this void may occur between ambitious organizations. The struggle of organizational space that surface may also serve to identify the nature of the conflicts or the bases of co-operation between organizations, governments and/or important individuals.

With this background the cosmopolitan outlook and universalism can be used to characterize different organizational styles. Within an organization/association, attempts to achieve universalism may be made. This means that the organization is all-embracing and inclusive, but as indicated in Ulrich Beck's definition of this concept that it aims to achieve conformity. An organization with a cosmopolitan outlook, on the other hand, is all-embracing, but instead of aiming to obliterate differences, it accepts them. To sum up, an organization marked by universalism attempts to reach a common goal by first creating uniformity, and then using it to achieve the goal. In an organization that applies a cosmopolitan outlook, the aim is still to reach a common goal, but the ways of achieving this goal differ across organization members. The fact that various actors' methods differ does not appear to be important in an organization that applies a cosmopolitan outlook; what is important is reaching the common goal. In the present analyses of interactions between different organizations on the international arena, it has been useful to use these two concepts – universalism and the cosmopolitan outlook – in labelling organizational styles, but also in demonstrating what can happen when these two different approaches come into conflict.

The main interest here has been in the development and interaction among non-governmental organizations as well as government agencies in their progression and struggles in relation to gaining organizational space.

Consequently, the present study attempts to discern how Rädde Barnen achieved a position from which it had the power to influence where and to whom relief actions were to be directed. What factors enabled Rädde Barnen to grow into an organization of both national and international importance? How is it possible to carry out social work for children in the form of philanthropy in a nation that is in the process of defining such tasks as the duty of the state monopoly? In what way did different organizations' interactions on both the national and international level affect Rädde Barnen's advancement? How is the organi-

zation's development related to the Swedish Government's changing role in relation to national and international politics? One of Rädde Barnen's founding principles was to help as many children in as many places as possible. This was not possible, however, so choices had to be made, and how they were made will be examined here. What was behind the organization's decisions to direct relief to some children but not others? What factors contributed and were important whilst making these decisions? What values and viewpoints were these choices an expression of?

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In the second chapter of this book, we will see how Swedish politics concerning international relief work were outlined and how this changed during the period of time under study. In this chapter, we will also see how the Swedish Government's interest in international issues created an arena in which organizations such as Rädde Barnen could develop. We will look at how the initial stages of non-governmental organizations' attempts to position themselves within this arena began.

In chapter three, we will continue to look at the struggles that arose between organizations and authorities on the national arena. Interactions and conflicts appear to have come to the fore when the Swedish Government started taking an active interest in the performance of Swedish international relief. The nature of these debates, the negotiations over organizational space and the relation between the Swedish Government and the Swedish Red Cross, will be examined in this chapter. We will see how these discussions created an opportunity for Rädde Barnen to enhance its position.

In chapter four, we will see how these interactions were lifted up to the international arena. The trigger for these debates appears to have been the establishment of UNICEF in 1946. How this organization was received and the consequences of its reception, both within Sweden and on international level, will be examined in this chapter. Another event that also created debates on the international arena was the UN decision to establish a 'Universal Children's Day'. The controversy that emerged around this event will also provide an example of the complications in the establishment of 'institutionalized cosmopolitanism'.

Concurrently with these conflicts, debates within Rädde Barnen's international union, IUCW, surfaced. What these discussions were about and how Rädde Ba-

men conducted itself in them will be looked at in chapter five. In the context of these debates, we will also see how the different viewpoints – the cosmopolitan outlook as opposed to universalism – became visible. We will look at how they came into conflict with each other and what the consequences of this were.

In the following chapters of this book, we turn to the relief actions carried out by Rädde Barnen. In chapter six, we will look at what activities were undertaken for children in Sweden. Examples of activities for Swedish children and of how they were carried out will be analysed.

In chapter seven, we will examine one activity: child transports that Rädde Barnen participated in and organized on the international arena. Which children were chosen and the reasons for these choices will be accounted for here.

In chapter eight several activities aimed at children in Germany, France and Israel will be examined. We will look at how these activities were carried out and at what seems to have been important in undertaking these sometimes different, sometimes similar activities for different children in the various locations.

In chapter nine, a concluding discussion of the present findings and results will be presented.

Demarcation of the study, method and sources

Demarcation of the study

Several changes took place in Rädde Barnen's outlining of its work during 1938-1956. During the interwar years, the organization had mainly carried out activities in Sweden, but then started to participate in relief work in other countries too. The changing situation in Sweden and Europe forced the organization to renegotiate its outlining of relief work both within and outside the country. A consequence of this was that Rädde Barnen had to define its relationship to its international union, as well as to other organizations, both nationally and internationally. During this time, from 1939, Margit Levinson was the chairwoman of Rädde Barnen, and as stated earlier, it seems as if she had a great impact on the organization's development.

After the war, the task of reconstructing Europe became important, and Rädde Barnen participated in this too. An interest in how this was undertaken against the background of the organization's changed position has justified inclusion of the years from the armistice up until the mid-fifties as well. The period under study ends in 1956, when international conflicts on issues concerning children seem to have been brought to the fore and when different views of children can be noted among the organizations involved. By this time, Rädde Barnen begun changing the outlining of its activities again, and turned its gaze to non-European countries. It did direct relief to countries outside Europe already during the early fifties, for instance to Korea, but the greatest expansion outside Europe took place during the second half of the fifties. As we can see, during 1938-1956, great changes occurred in how Rädde Barnen outlined its work and position, and for this reason, the period has been chosen as the timeframe for this study.

Method and sources

As demonstrated, the aim of the present study has been to show what factors enabled Rädde Barnen to grow and how it established its position within the field of child relief. This also defines the methodological structure of the study. Rädde Barnen's relationship to the Swedish Government and non-governmental organizations on the national and international level are discerned and compared.

I have also identified important individuals that helped change policies as well as the issues of negotiations and conflict that defined the aim of the organisation at different occasions. To see what Rädde Barnen's self-understanding of what role it is considered itself to have within this arena has been important but also how the organisation defined its identity and its arenas of work. Trying to discern what role Rädde Barnen expressed in correspondence and policy documents to have within this arena has been important, as well as trying to understand how it defined its role in the international world of child saving. Consequently I am interested in understanding the organization's self-claimed position on different issues as they are expressed in such documents. The biases in the documents become an important source of information.

In order to understand how Rädde Barnen grounded its claims of being an important relief agency for children, it is necessary to use documentation such as Minutes from board meetings, enclosures to board meetings, reports and other accounts of events written by the organization's chairwoman, Margit Levinson, but also by other board members and co-workers. Correspondences, sometimes of an official nature, between Rädde Barnen and national and international organizations and authorities have been included, but also documents of a more private character. Annual reports have also been used as such expressed different biases as they were not only produced for organization members, but also for the general public. Dossiers of activities in different countries have been a useful source in trying to understand how relief was provided and to which children. These have also contributed to an understanding of what motivated decisions to direct relief to some children, but not others.

To gain a deeper understanding of what territory Rädde Barnen acted within, as well as its relationship with other organizations and authorities, interactions have sometimes been traced to sources other than Rädde Barnen's material. Such sources have primarily been Minutes with enclosures from the Swedish Committee for International Relief, and sometimes the archives of the Swedish Foreign Office. Many of the interactions with the Swedish Red Cross and the government committee took place within the Swedish Committee for International Relief, and such material has therefore been useful to include. When it was first established, UNICEF only communicated with Swedish authorities, mainly the Foreign Office. In order to determine to what extent Rädde Barnen was involved in these communications, some of this material has also been included.

To explore the possible biases included in material of this kind, it is important to try to understand the circumstances under which it was produced. One must bear in mind for whom and for what reason the material was created as well as try to identify what tendencies can be noted. Naturally, Minutes from meetings may have been preceded by discussions outside the actual meeting, and decisions may be made on the basis of things we cannot know or discover. However, sometimes discussions are documented in the Minutes of Rädde Barnen, especially when there has been a difference of opinion. To broaden our understanding of the decisions and possible preceding discussions, enclosures such as reports and correspondences to the board have been useful supplements. When studying these, it has been important to bear in mind their underlying purpose. Was a given document produced for the members of the board only, or intended to be distributed as a report to be read by all members of the organization?

Correspondences of a private nature are perhaps the most useful contemporary source, as they are often produced close to when an event actually took place. It is of course important to bear in mind that this is the author's that produces the correspondence personal perception of the occurrence. Still, this allows us to identify differences of opinion and in this way sometimes the sources of the conflicts taking place. Correspondences of an official and a private character are interesting to compare, as they let us see what the official vs. unofficial standpoint was on a particular matter.

As mentioned earlier, Rädde Barnen's annual reports have been used with caution, as their purpose has undoubtedly been to portray the organization in as positive a light as possible. This has been done to attract donors and gain credibility, to ensure Rädde Barnen's benefactors that the organization was carrying out its duties efficiently and purposefully. However, the annual reports do tell us something about how the organization wished to portray itself.

Chapter II

The Swedish Red Cross, Rädda Barnen and the Swedish Government – collaboration or conflicting interests?

Introduction

The stipulation to remain a neutral state was not an uncomplicated issue for the Swedish government. This status was negotiable, at least in some cases. However, during the war, Sweden was neutral and in this chapter we will see how the Swedish Government conducted its participation in international relief work against the background of neutrality. We will also see how this changed during the period of time chosen for this study and what the reasons for these alterations were. The Swedish Red Cross and Rädda Barnen's reactions to the Swedish Government's standpoints in relation to international relief work will also be discussed. What consequences this interference had for the organizations will also be analysed.

Interactions between non-governmental organizations and authorities shaped the territory within which Rädda Barnen developed. These interactions created Rädda Barnen's organizational space, and in this chapter we will see the initial stages of this development. Gaining organizational space seems to have been important for the participants in the interactions that took place, as this enabled them to expand and become more influential. Sometimes attaining organizational

space forced the participants to co-operate, but sometimes they also acted on their own.

In order to see how Rädde Barnen advanced within the interactions concerning Swedish international relief work, it is important to look at what role the other participants in these communications played. Out of these, the Swedish Government and the Swedish Red Cross appear to have been most important in the debates that took place. These two played a significant part in determining what position Rädde Barnen was going to obtain. The Swedish Red Cross and Rädde Barnen's reactions to the Swedish Government's standpoints in relation to international relief work will also be discussed.

Focus in this chapter will be on the following questions. What was the Swedish Government's standpoint on participation in international relief work and how did it change during the period of time chosen for this study? How was this received by the Swedish Red Cross and Rädde Barnen? What affect did it have on the organizations?

Swedish neutrality – an advantageous strategy or a political impossibility?

How the Swedish Government's decision that Sweden should remain neutral throughout the war was going to affect the relationship with its Nordic neighbours was evidently necessary to negotiate in detail. In 1939, a meeting between the leaders of the Nordic countries took place, and the question seems to have been settled. During the meeting, it was agreed that none of the countries would support any of the power blocs in Europe. The Nordic countries were going to support each other with diplomatic actions, but not with military measures, and none of the countries were going to join any pacts. None of the Nordic countries wanted to be responsible for the others' foreign politics.⁶²

Regardless of the agreement that had been made between the Nordic countries, Finland requested military support at the outset of the war. The Swedish Government remained firm in its stipulated policy to remain neutral, and no military support was provided to Finland.⁶³ However, it was not only questions of giving or not giving military support to other countries that the Swedish Gov-

⁶² Johansson Alf, *Finlands Sak: svensk politik och opinion under vinterkriget 1939-1940*, Stockholm 1973, pp 150 and Utrikespolitiska institutets broschyrserie. *Världspolitikens dagsfrågor*, Erik H-J Linder, Sveriges neutralitetspolitik: Fakta och dokument. Stockholm 1943. No 1-2

⁶³ Thulstrup Åke, *Svensk utrikespolitik under andra världskriget*, Stockholm 1950, pp 8

ernment had to outline its position on owing to its neutrality. Swedish membership in the League of Nations was also a topic of concern for the Government owing to this stipulation.

Prior to the outbreak of the war, Swedish membership in the League of Nations was under debate. The question of what obligations the country had to this international organization in the event of war was the cause of this debate. In the Swedish press, criticism of the League of Nations was expressed as well as opinions that the organization was too political. Being a member and adhering to the sanctions pronounced by the organization were also considered a security risk for Sweden. If Sweden were forced to join in on endorsements of one country, it was calculated that this could be perceived as Sweden taking a political standpoint, and owing to the country's neutrality this had to be avoided. In the debates, opinions were expressed that if Sweden were forced to support sanctions, its membership in the League of Nations should be discontinued.⁶⁴

As we can see, prior to and at the outset of the war, the Swedish Government appears to have been adamant about not being part of any international activities that could be perceived as provocative and as compromising the boundaries of neutrality. This included both military support and participation in international organizations' activities.

However, as the war progressed, it became necessary to re-negotiate the boundaries of Swedish neutrality and the policy to not participate in international issues. One person who brought attention to the matter was the vice-chairman of the Swedish Red Cross, Folke Bernadotte.

The Swedish Red Cross and the organization of Swedish international relief

In September 1943, Folke Bernadotte stated in a confidential document to the board of the Swedish Red Cross that the organization ought to expand its relief work in foreign countries. The reason for this was that such an expansion would generate goodwill for Sweden, but also for the Swedish Red Cross.

The other area of activities - relief to foreign countries - I consider to be the most primary and necessary task. The reason for this is more than any-

⁶⁴ Åmark Klas, *Makt eller Moral: Svensk offentlig debatt om internationell politik och svensk utrikes- och försvarspolitik*. Stockholm 1973. For a more thorough discussion of the standpoint represented in the press, see for instance Chapter 4.

thing else the goodwill that the Swedish Red Cross and especially Sweden would gain by making an active and grand contribution.⁶⁵

As we can see, he emphasized how important it was to expand international relief work. In the document Folke Bernadotte continues to discuss how this was going to be carried out.

When the board has made clear its opinion in these questions - should the opinion and possibly the approval of the Swedish Government be obtained - agreement with organizations that are active in the field should be sought. The purpose of this is to make known the board's opinions in these matters and to find out how willing it is to help resolve the issues and to coordinate the different standpoints that will be put forward. The planning of the activities could thereafter begin and a joint agency be founded, which under the auspices of the Swedish Red Cross would work out the details of the relief efforts.⁶⁶

As can be noted here, there was no question about under what leadership Swedish international relief was going to be carried out. As we also can see, it was not particularly important for the Swedish Red Cross to obtain the Government's support in this matter. The Swedish Red Cross was going to organize the expansion of Swedish international relief work, and the Swedish Government was not expected to be active in carrying this out. Folke Bernadotte also emphasized how

⁶⁵ Riksarkivet, Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet. FI:C volym 20 Korrespondens med överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset. Synpunkter angående Svenska röda korsets verksamhet omedelbart efter kriget. FÖRTROLIGT. Till Överstyrelsen för Svenska röda korset från F. Bernadotte af Wisborg, Vice ordförande. Stockholm den 3 september 1943. "Det andra verksamhetsområdet – nämligen hjälpen till utlandet – anser jag vara det primära och absolut viktigaste. Anledningen härtill är framför allt den goodwill, som Svenska röda korset och i synnerhet Sverige skulle erhålla genom att där göra en aktiv och storslagen insats. Viktigt är emellertid att en viss koncentration av arbetsinsatsen göres, så att ett verkligt effektivt arbetsresultat erhålles. En splittring till alltför stora områden försvagar vår insats och bör därför undvikas".

⁶⁶ Riksarkivet, Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet. FI:C volym 20 Korrespondens med överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset. Synpunkter angående Svenska röda korsets verksamhet omedelbart efter kriget. FÖRTROLIGT. Till Överstyrelsen för Svenska röda korset från F. Bernadotte af Wisborg, Vice ordförande. Stockholm den 3 september 1943. "Då överstyrelsen gjort klart för sig sin uppfattning i dessa frågor, bör - sedan den svenska regeringens åsikt inhämtats och eventuella godkännande erhållits – samråd sökas med I vårt land på motsvarande områden nu verksamma organisationer. Avsikten härmed är att dels orientera dem om Överstyrelsens uppfattning i dessa frågor, dels efterhöra deras egen villighet att medverka till de olika uppgifternas lösande samt dels koordinera de olika synpunkter, som därvid kunna framkomma. Planering av arbetet torde därefter kunna taga sin början och ett gemensamt organ skapas, som under Svenska Röda Korsets ledning i detalj kan utforma arbetsprogrammet".

urgent the matter was, as both Sweden's and the Swedish Red Cross's reputations were in jeopardy.

With such far-reaching occurrences in the world and since an end to the war is within reach in a not too distant future, it is of the uttermost importance that measures be immediately taken to outline the Swedish Red Cross's activities. Not only for our organization, but also for our country's position in the world, nothing is to be neglected that can be prepared and executed.⁶⁷

At this time, during the early part of the autumn of 1943, the Swedish Government does not seem to have shown any interest in participation in international relief work. It is plausible that this was the reason why it was so self-evident for the Swedish Red Cross that the organization was going to have the front position in carrying out Swedish international relief. It is also possible that this was the reason why the organization did not put much effort into the matter of obtaining the Government's approval. However, as has been shown here, the Swedish Red Cross found it necessary to start participating in international issues.

As has been pointed out, the document referred to here was classified as confidential and the intent was presumably that it was only going to be viewed by members of the board of the Swedish Red Cross. In this document, Folke Bernadotte also made his opinions known on what the order of priority should be concerning the direction of relief efforts. He argued that the Nordic countries ought to be prioritized, after that possibly the Baltic countries and Germany.

The Swedish Red Cross humanitarian work ought to be concentrated to Finland, Norway - Denmark, if necessary - the Baltic countries and possibly Germany. Help to the Scandinavian countries and Baltic countries ought not to require any further explanations. The reason that I also mentioned Germany is that Sweden, as a neutral country with old cultural

⁶⁷ Riksarkivet, Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet. FI:C volym 20 Korrespondens med överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset. Synpunkter angående Svenska röda korsets verksamhet omedelbart efter kriget. FÖRTROLIGT. Till Överstyrelsen för Svenska röda korset från F. Bernadotte af Wisborg, Vice ordförande. Stockholm den 3 september 1943. "Som vittomfattande händelser ute i världen förestå och som ett slut på kriget kan ligga inom en ej alltför avlägsen framtid är det av största vikt att åtgärder omedelbart vidtagas för utformande av Svenska röda korsets närmaste verksamhetsuppgifter. Icke blott för vår organisations utan även för vårt lands framtida ställning i världen får intet försummas vad som härvidlag kan förberedas och göras."

bonds and other connections to Germany, probably has better prerequisites than the Germany hostile countries do to make a significant and valuable contribution there.⁶⁸

In this suggested outlining of Swedish international relief, no discussion about where relief was most needed surfaced. The Nordic countries were going to be prioritized, and this can be explained by the fact that Swedish politics, during the war and the years immediately after it, were coloured by a "Nordic prerogative", as Swedish historian Mikael Byström argues. This meant that the Swedish Government considered itself to first and foremost be responsible for the Nordic people.⁶⁹ As demonstrated, the "Nordic prerogative" also appears to have been decisive for the Swedish Red Cross's outlining of Swedish international relief work.

Within the Swedish Red Cross, there was no question about under what leadership Swedish international relief was going to be carried out. However, at the beginning of 1944, it becomes evident that the Swedish Government was making other plans and wanted international relief to be gathered under a government body. Because of the Government's plan, the Swedish Red Cross's self-proclaimed authority in the matter was challenged.

Government interference in relief work - a threat or an opening of new possibilities?

In January 1944, the Swedish Committee for International Relief was established, and as has been shown earlier, its purpose was to co-ordinate and support Swedish international relief. In March 1944, this government committee was functioning, and the Swedish Government allocated 100 million Swedish Crowns

⁶⁸ Riksarkivet, Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet. FI:C volym 20 Korrespondens med överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset. Synpunkter angående Svenska Röda Korsets verksamhet omedelbart efter kriget. FÖRTROLIGT. Till Överstyrelsen för Svenska röda korset från F. Bernadotte af Wisborg, Vice ordförande. Stockholm den 3 september 1943 "Svenska röda korsets humanitära arbete bör koncentreras till Finland, Norge - Danmark om så skulle behövas - de Baltiska länderna samt eventuellt Tyskland. En hjälp till de skandinaviska och baltiska länderna torde ej närmare behöva motiveras. Anledningen till att jag dessutom omnämnt Tyskland är, att Sverige, som ett neutralt land och med gamla kulturella och andra förbindelser med Tyskland nu krigförande länderna, att där göra en betydande och värdefull insats."

⁶⁹ Byström Mikael, *En broder gäst och parasit: Uppfattningar och föreställningar om utläningar, flyktingar och flyktingpolitik i svensk offentlig debatt 1942-1947*. Stockholm 2006 pp 73. Sevón Cay, *Visiöner om Europa: svensk neutralitet och europeisk återuppbyggnad 1945-1948*, Saarijärvi 1995, pp 60

to the re-building of Europe, funds that were to be partly distributed by the newly established committee.⁷⁰

Establishment of the government committee meant that the Swedish Red Cross was no longer alone in claiming authority in carrying out Swedish international relief work. It became necessary for the Swedish Red Cross to outline its relationship to the government committee. Prince Carl, the chairman of the organization, wrote in a PM in February 1944, that the Swedish Red Cross was willing to support the establishment of the government committee. Even so, the organization still expected to have full freedom to carry out its relief activities in whatever way it desired.

In the reply, the board (of the Swedish Red Cross) supported the letter to the King with regard to the establishment of a royal committee for the support of relief and rebuilding after the armistice. This was done with the explanation that the Swedish Red Cross had unquestioned freedom to carry out its activities for humanitarian relief after the war in all areas of activity that the organization found it necessary to participate in. The board (of the Swedish Red Cross) also referred to the fact that the Swedish Red Cross, like all other Red Cross organizations, had special duties, before other humanitarian relief organizations, with regard to international aid.⁷¹

The Swedish Red Cross was apparently ambivalent towards the Government's initiative. Even if the organization was willing to give the government committee its support, it was not willing to subordinate itself to it. Prince Carl also emphasized that the Swedish Red Cross had important duties on the international arena. As has been demonstrated here, he also argued that the work of the Red Cross, both nationally and internationally, was more important than that of other relief

⁷⁰ FI: C volym 20 Korrespondens med överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset. P.M. ang. Svenska röda korsets fortsatta förberedelser för dess efterkrigsverksamhet. Av Svenska Röda Korsets ordförande. 25 januari 1944.

⁷¹ Riksarkivet, Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet. FI:C volym 20 Korrespondens med överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset. P.M. ang. Svenska röda korsets fortsatta förberedelser för dess efterkrigsverksamhet. Av Svenska röda korsets Ordförande. Stockholm den 2 februari 1944 "I detta svar anslöt sig visserligen överstyrelsen till kommitténs bekanta skrivelse till Konungen angående tillsättandet av en Kungl. Kommitté för Sveriges medverkan i hjälp- och uppbyggnadsarbetet efter krigsslutet. Men detta skedde under förklaring, att Svenska röda korset det oaktat förbehöll sig full frihet att vidtaga alla de åtgärder för sin humanitära efterkrigsverksamhet, som befunes erforderliga, och åberopade överstyrelsen samtidigt Svenska röda korsets liksom alla röda kors' särskilda förpliktelser framför andra rent humanitära organisationer, då det gäller internationell hjälpverksamhet"

organizations. As can be noted, even if the Swedish Red Cross supported the government committee, the organization emphasized its independence and also that it was an organization of both national and international importance.

If the Swedish Red Cross were to subordinate its work to the Swedish Government, the consequence could be that it lost its independence. On the other hand, if the organization were to stay outside the Government's plan altogether, it was possible that it would lose an opportunity to influence the outlining of Swedish international relief. The solution for the organization appears to have been to obtain a seat on the board of the government committee. Another motivation for being part of the government committee, despite the desire to remain self-governing, was that the Swedish Red Cross wanted a share of the financial contribution the Swedish Government had allocated to international relief work.

The board further considers

that the Swedish Red Cross – and via the organization, even though indirectly, other humanitarian relief organizations that the Swedish Red Cross co-operates with – ought to be represented in the royal committee for Sweden's participation in relief and re-building after the war. Such a desire has been forwarded to the Government. The board of the Swedish Red Cross also wish to be remembered when the Government's 100 million Swedish Crowns are to be divided.⁷²

The situation was evidently complicated for the Swedish Red Cross. However, the organization decided to join the government committee, if not it would have lost an opportunity to both influence the outlining of Swedish international relief and gain funds.

⁷² Riksarkivet, Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet. FI:C volym 20 Korrespondens med överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset. P.M. ang. Svenska röda korsets fortsatta förberedelser för dess efterkrigsverksamhet. Av Svenska röda korsets Ordförande. Stockholm den 2 februari 1944

"Vidare anser överstyrelsen

att Svenska röda korset - och därigenom, om än indirekt, även övriga med röda korset samverkande humanitära hjälporganisationer - bör kunna göra anspråk på att bli representerat i den blivande Kungl. Kommittén för Sveriges deltagande i hjälp- och uppbyggnadsarbetet efter världskrigets slut, och har en önskan härutinnan under redan framförts till regeringen. Detsamma är förhållandet även beträffande överstyrelsens förhoppning, att Svenska röda korset måtte bli ihågkommen vid fördelningen av statens hundramiljonersanslag"

The Swedish Government's participation in international relief work

As we have seen, the “Nordic prerogative” was decisive not only for the Swedish Government, but also for the Swedish Red Cross in the outlining of Swedish international relief. As we also have seen earlier, the Swedish Government was reluctant to subordinate itself to the League of Nations prior to the war. The Swedish Government appears to have had strenuous relationships with other UN organizations during as well as after the war. Cay Sevón who belongs to the school of political science, shows in her work that, at the end of the war and the years after it, the Swedish Government's relationship to UNRRA was problematical. She also shows that the Swedish Government argued against the way UNRRA used relief actions, implying that these were turned into political weapons. This was one reason for not wanting to co-operate with the organization. Another reason for the reluctance to participate in or subordinate itself to the work of UNRRA was that the Swedish Government wanted to stay out of political conflicts as much as possible. However, Cay Sevón also stresses that the Swedish Government was ambivalent about this policy. The Swedish Government wanted as much attention as possible for Swedish relief actions, but at the same time the Government wanted Sweden to be seen to participate in international relief activities. The advantage of performing relief actions bilaterally was that maximum publicity was gained for Sweden, and thereby goodwill was created for the country.⁷³ The Swedish Government also began to consider the importance of generating goodwill and counteracting international critique, though, preferably under its own patronage and not, as we have seen, via international organizations.

One exception, which also supports Cay Sevón's claim about the Government's ambivalence in this, was made from this policy. When UNICEF requested financial support for its relief actions in 1948, a financial contribution was made from the Government. The reason to approve making a contribution this time was that it could help to ward off some of the critique that had been directed at the country.

⁷³ Sevón Cay, *Visionen om Europa: svensk neutralitet och europeisk återuppbyggnad 1945-1948*, Saarijärvi 1995

Firstly, the Swedish Government – which contributed the 2 1/2 million [Swedish Crowns] –avoids the critique against Swedish "isolationism", which unfortunately has been noted in different areas, by referring to its substantial contribution and positive action regarding the international co-operation's interests.⁷⁴

Making a donation to UNICEF was considered to help counteract critique and Folke Bernadotte was evidently right in his prediction that Sweden was going to be criticized for its policy of non-participation during the war. As demonstrated here, the Swedish Government used its contribution to international aid as a mean to counteract critique. This time a donation was made to UNICEF, but later in the book we will see that payments to non-Swedish organizations were a complicated issue. However, the notion that the Government considered the use of relief work to be a good strategy to improve Sweden's reputation internationally was confirmed a couple of years later.

In 1951, the head of the Political Department at the Swedish Foreign Office, Claes Carbonnier, brought attention to the matter of the Swedish Government's participation in international relief work. He discussed the subject in a confidential document that was distributed among members of the Swedish Government.

The foreign politics that Sweden executes imply that our country declines to participate in international military co-operation. Sweden does not pledge itself to any specific actions with regard to armament. We have increased our defence budget, but in tables of defence expenditures in relation to national incomes or to the Government's total expenditures that usually are rendered - they may or may not be correct - Sweden places itself on the lower part of the scale.

Our general foreign politics are given considerable attention. They are sometimes criticized for being egoistic. In many places in the world, the

⁷⁴ Swedish National Archives Rätts Barnen E1:2 Korrespondens, Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för Unicef och Kungliga Utrikesdepartementet. "För det första kommer svenska regeringen - som ju bidragit med de 2 1/2 miljonerna - att kunna avvärja den kritik mot svensk 'isolationism' som tyvärr framkommit på olika områden genom att kunna hänvisa till ett betydande bidrag och en positiv åtgärd i det internationella samarbetets intressen."

opinion is that we take advantage of other countries' defence efforts when we decline to join the Atlantic Pact.⁷⁵

The outlining of Sweden's foreign politics had been imbued by a non-participation policy, and as we have seen, the reluctance to join any pacts had been noted and criticized internationally. It was not only the disinclination to join military treaties that had been criticized, but critique for not being benevolent in contributions to international aid had also been put forward. According to Claes Carbonnier, large amounts of money had been allocated to international relief by the Swedish Government immediately after the war. However, by the end of the forties, Swedish contributions were non-existent and this was noted internationally. Sweden was in a more advantageous financial situation than many other countries were and was considered to be able to contribute more. Claes Carbonnier made a suggestion concerning how this critique could be counteracted, and his solution was to increase the Government's contribution to international aid.⁷⁶

The perception of our foreign politics would no doubt take a favourable turn if generosity in international relief work were to be carried out. You could say that, when it comes to international charity, a generous attitude better emphasizes our desire to stay out of political and military engagements.⁷⁷

The contribution made to UNICEF was apparently not enough – Sweden should be able to contribute more. As we can see, Claes Carbonnier considered that in-

⁷⁵ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2038. Kungliga Utrikesdepartementet, Carbonnier/RTZ, 30.10.51. "Den utrikespolitik som Sverige för, innebär at vårt land avböjer att deltaga i internationellt samarbete på det militära planet. Sverige förbinder sig icke till bestämda prestationer i fråga om rustningar. Vi ha starkt ökat vårt försvarsbudget, men i de tabeller över försvarsutgifters förhållande till nationalinkomst eller till statsutgifternas totalsumma som brukas återgivas - de må vara korrekta eller inte - befinner sig Sverige rätt lågt på skalan.

Vår allmänna utrikespolitik är mycket uppmärksam. Den kritiseras stundom såsom egoistisk. Man har nog på många håll i världen den uppfattningen att vi profitera av andra länders försvarsansträngningar, när vi avböja att deltaga i Atlantpakten."

⁷⁶ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2038. Kungliga Utrikesdepartementet, Carbonnier/RTZ, 30.10.51

⁷⁷ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2038. Kungliga Utrikesdepartementet, Carbonnier/RTZ, 30.10.51 övl till samtl regeringsmedlemmar f km. "Emellertid skulle uppfattningen om vår utrikespolitik säkerligen gynnsamt påverkas också, även större generositet i det internationella hjälparbetet. Man skulle kunna säga, att en generös hållning när det gäller internationell välgörenhet bättre understryker vår önskan att hålla oss vid sidan ifråga om militära och politiska engagemang".

creased support to international aid could be a mean of overshadowing the Swedish Government's reluctance to otherwise participate in international issues. Claes Carbonnier pointed out four different areas that were suitable for Swedish authorities to increase contributions to. These were: aid for refugees, support to the reconstruction of Korea, support to underdeveloped countries, and increased contributions to international aid for children.⁷⁸

A need to counteract international critique of the Swedish foreign politics pursued both during and after the war was recognized during this period of time by both the Swedish Red Cross and the Swedish Government. As has been demonstrated, the discussions were permeated by arguments about how important it was to improve Sweden's international reputation. No arguments about the need to support war-ravaged countries for humanitarian reasons surfaced. Political motives and power struggles seem to have eclipsed compassionate reasons for providing relief.

The changing policy concerning participation in international issues affected Rädde Barnen too, and the organization also began to undertake measures to be a part of this expansion.

Rädde Barnen and Swedish international relief work

As pointed out earlier, during the interwar years Rädde Barnen withdraws from international relief work altogether. The reason for this, according to the organization, was a lack of funds. Rädde Barnen remained a member of its international union, but the relief work the organization carried out took place mostly within Sweden.⁷⁹ At the outbreak of WWII, this policy changed, and relief work was also directed to our Nordic neighbours. The bulk of that relief was directed to Finland, but to some extent to Norway and Denmark too. Apart from distributing aid, Rädde Barnen also, for instance, initiated the transportation of 70,000 Finnish children to Sweden.⁸⁰ We will return to this later in the book, but for now just establish that the organization's activities increased during the war.

⁷⁸ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2038. Kungliga Utrikesdepartementet, Carbonnier/RTZ, 30.10.51 övl till samtl regeringsmedlemmar f km

⁷⁹ Rädde Barnens medlemstidning 1924

⁸⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 1942-03-11, for how aid was distributed, see for instance Rädde Barnen's Annual reports 1939-1945

The International council for child relief

Rädda Barnen did not have the same authority and impact on questions concerning relief as the Swedish Red Cross had during the war. Rädda Barnen chose to more or less stay out of international relief efforts prior to and during most of WWII.⁸¹ Towards the end of 1943, the organization started to become more active in questions concerning international relief work, and an attempt was made to fortify its position within this field. In December 1944, Rädda Barnen tried to gather all Swedish international relief work for children under its auspices. The plan was that an international council for child relief was to be established and governed by the organization. Rädda Barnen wanted all associations with child relief on their programme to be represented in, and answerable to, the council. All member organizations had to pledge to account for all actions planned and carried out for children to the council. This included the actual performance of relief activities as well as the gathering and distribution of collected funds. All these activities were going to be dealt with by the council.⁸²

If establishment of the council were realized, this would mean that Rädda Barnen was in charge of all Swedish relief work for children and that the organization's position would be strengthened. Rädda Barnen approached the Swedish Red Cross and requested that the organization appoint two representatives to the council. The Swedish Red Cross declined the request and replied that the organization did not think this was the most suitable solution for the organization of child relief. Nor did the organization want to take a stand on the matter until the Swedish Committee for International Relief had been appointed. The Swedish Red Cross wanted to await the government committee's instructions for non-governmental organizations' participation in humanitarian aid.

The national board (of the Swedish Red Cross) realizes that Rädda Barnen has an exceptional position with regard to child relief, but doubts that the suggestion made by the national board of Rädda Barnen to establish a council for children is the most suitable solution for international co-

⁸¹ For an account of the organization's activities during the war, see for instance Rädda Barnen's annual reports 1938-1945.

⁸² Swedish National Archives, Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet. FI:C volym 20 Korrespondens med överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset. Brev ifrån Överstyrelsen för Svenska Röda Korset till Föreningen Rädda Barnens Centralstyrelse, Stockholm. Ang. utseende av rödakorsrepresentanter för Rädda Barnens Råd för internationellt hjälparbetet för barn. Stockholm den 27 januari 1944

operation on the issue of care for children. During the meeting in January, the board (of the Swedish Red Cross) decided to point out in its reply to the national board of Rädde Barnen that the organization could not decide on the question before the royal committee for post-war relief work has been established and the committee and the Government have outlined instructions for non-governmental organizations' participation in post-war relief work.⁸³

As we can see here, the Swedish Red Cross was unwilling to subordinate itself to Rädde Barnen. The organization referred to the Swedish Committee for International Relief, wishing to await the government committee's opinions on the matter. The Swedish Red Cross was clearly not inclined to give its support to Rädde Barnen's council.

The negative response from the Swedish Red Cross did not cause Rädde Barnen to give up its attempt to be the major organizer of relief work for children. In March 1944, Margit Levinson, the chairwoman of Rädde Barnen, brought the question of a council for child relief to the attention of the Swedish Committee for International Relief.⁸⁴ The president of the government committee, Birger Ekeberg, sided with the Swedish Red Cross and made known that he did not consider that Rädde Barnen should be exclusively in charge of relief work for children. He had no objections to Rädde Barnen representing "closely related" committees that worked for children. Birger Ekberg argued however, that it was most suitable that organizations such as the Swedish Red Cross be co-ordinated under the support of the government committee.

⁸³ Swedish National Archives Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet. FI: C volym 20 Korrespondens med överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset. Brev från Överstyrelsen för Svenska Röda Korset Till Föreningen Rädde Barnens Centralstyrelse, Stockholm. Ang. utseende av rödakorsrepresentanter för Rädde Barnens Råd för internationellt hjälparbete för barn. Stockholm 27 januari 1944. "Överstyrelsen inser att Rädde Barnen visserligen har en särställning beträffande barnhjälp, men betvivlar dock att det av Rädde Barnens Centralstyrelse avsedda Rådet är en den lämpligaste lösningen av ett samordnat omhändertagande av allt internationellt samarbete för barn och beslöt vid sitt januarisammanträde att i sitt svar till Centralstyrelsen för Rädde Barnen förklara sig icke kunna taga ställning till Centralstyrelsens fråga förrän den väntade Kungl. Kommittén för efterkrigshjälp blivit tillsatt samt regeringen och kommittén utfärdat erforderliga direktiv för i den humanitära efterkrigshjälpen deltagande privata organisationer."

⁸⁴ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950, VI Volym 1, Minutes fört vid sammanträde med Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet den 6 mars 1946.

The question about a special council for international relief work for children that had been raised by Mrs Levinson was discussed. The chairman was of the opinion that he saw no hinder for Rädga Barnen to gather closely related organizations under its auspices, to be represented by the chairman of Rädga Barnen in the Swedish Committee for International Relief. Co-ordination between the organizations that especially worked for children and other relief organizations, such as the Swedish Red Cross, should be accomplished under the auspices of the Swedish Committee for International Relief.⁸⁵

Birger Ekeberg did not support the establishment of a council either, and Rädga Barnen's attempt to gather relief for children under its patronage failed. As has been demonstrated here, the organization made an attempt to fortify its position by trying to become predominant within the field of relief work for children. This attempt was met with reluctance from both the Swedish Red Cross and the Swedish Committee for International Relief.

The chairman of the government committee evidently paid a great deal of attention to the chairman of the Swedish Red Cross, Prince Carl's opinions on the matter. Prior to giving his reply to Rädga Barnen, Birger Ekeberg had been approached by Prince Carl, who made his opinion on the matter clear. He did not want to see the establishment of a council for child relief realized. He pointed out to Birger Ekeberg that two of the larger organizations that worked for children in Sweden, Relief for Norway⁸⁶ and the Committee for Relief to the Children of Finland,⁸⁷ had already declined Rädga Barnen's request.

I seem to remember that I mentioned to you, the other day when you visited me at the national board of the Red Cross, that two of the largest organizations that have worked for humanitarian aid after the war, Relief to Norway and the Committee for Relief to the Children of Finland have already declined Rädga Barnen's request to appoint two representatives to

⁸⁵ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1. Minutes, SIH 28/3-1944. "Dryftades av fru Levinson väckt fråga om tillsättande av ett särskilt råd för all internationell hjälpverksamhet, som berörde barn. Herr Ordförande uttalade som sin mening, att hinder icke syntes möta att Rädga Barnen sammanförde närbesläktade hjälpkommittéer för att av ordföranden i Rädga barnen representeras i SIH. Den nödiga samordningen mellan de speciella barnhjälporganisationerna och andra hjälporgan, såsom Röda Korset, syntes däremot böra ske inom SIH."

⁸⁶ Norgehjälpen

⁸⁷ Hjälpkommittén för Finland's barn

the "Council", another equally important organization "The Co-ordination Committee for Relief in the Nordic region"⁸⁸ is now also going to be dissolved. I think I should inform you that I, at the next board meeting, which takes place right after Easter, will most likely recommend that the board of the Swedish Red Cross decline Rädde Barnen's request. I don't think Count Folke Bernadotte has decided on the matter yet. It would be of value though if he could notify me before the board meeting (probably on the 14th of April) about in what way you and your committee have planned to organize relief work for children after the war, I hope without a "Rädde Barnen Council".⁸⁹

At the same time as Prince Carl acknowledged that Rädde Barnen had an exceptional position regarding child relief, he rejected the idea of the organization being in charge of such a task. As demonstrated, the Swedish Red Cross was not willing to give up its position for Rädde Barnen. The Swedish Red Cross and the Swedish Committee for International Relief appear to have co-operated in this issue and succeeded in preventing Rädde Barnen from fortifying its position, at least in this instance.

A few days later, on the 1st of April 1944, the Swedish Red Cross forwarded its official and final decision on the matter to the board of Rädde Barnen. Prince Carl expressed his doubts about the usefulness of a council being established and declined Rädde Barnen's request to support the council. His reply was more or less identical to that given by Birger Ekeberg. He also pointed out that there was no obstacle to Rädde Barnen serving as advisor to less experienced organizations that worked with child relief. However, the Swedish Red Cross was not going to be subordinated to this council.

⁸⁸ Samarbetskommittén för Nordiskt hjälparbete

⁸⁹ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet, FI:C volym 20. Korrespondens med överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset. Till Presidenten B. Ekeberg, Stockholm från Överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset undertecknat Carl. Stockholm den 23 mars 1944. "Jag vill minnas att jag nämnde till Dig, när Du häromdagen besökte mig på röda korsets överstyrelse, att två av de största organisationerna för humanitär efterkrigsverksamhet, Norgehjälpen och Hjälpkommittén för Finlands barn redan avböjande besvarat Rädde Barnens anhållan om utseende av två representanter i "Rådet", och en lika betydelsefull organisation, nämligen "Samarbetskommittén för nordiskt hjälparbete" kommer ju nu att upplösas. Och jag anser mig böra upplysa Dig om, att jag vid överstyrelsens nästa sammanträde strax efter påsk sannolikt kommer att för min del tillråda även överstyrelsen för Svenska röda korset att avböja Rädde Barnens fråga. Huru greve Folke Bernadotte kommer att ställa sig till frågan tror jag han inte ännu har avgjort. Men det vore värdefullt om han redan innan överstyrelsens sammanträde (antagligen fredagen den 14. april) kunde meddela mig huru Du och Din kommitté tänkt sig åstadkomma samarbetet angående barnhjälpverksamheten efter kriget, såsom jag hoppas utan ett "Rädde Barnens "Råd""

The same doubts are probably existent amongst other larger humanitarian relief organizations, which also have declined participation in the Council. The board (of the Swedish Red Cross) thinks it should be left to president Ekeberg's committee to – possibly with the two internationally established, permanent relief organizations Rädde Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross – decide how co-operation in this question most suitably should be arranged. This does not mean that Rädde Barnen through its Council cannot serve as an experienced advisor for less experienced humanitarian organizations that desire to conduct relief efforts for children in war-ravaged countries.⁹⁰

The Swedish Red Cross did not want to be subordinated to Rädde Barnen, but Prince Carl did state that it was possible for the government committee to cooperate with the Swedish Red Cross and Rädde Barnen, as both organizations were "internationally established".⁹¹ It comes across as having been a struggle of power; the Swedish Red Cross accepted that Rädde Barnen participated to some extent, but not in front of the organization.

Evidently the Swedish Red Cross had a great impact on the Swedish Committee for International Relief. Rädde Barnen's position was not significant enough at this time to enable the organization to secure the field of child relief for itself, and therefore the attempt to establish a council for child relief failed.

However, Rädde Barnen managed to gather quite a few organizations and committees that worked with relief for children under its patronage. A month after the Swedish Red Cross's reply, in May 1944, the chairman of Rädde Barnen, Margit Levinson, represented nine different organizations and committees at the

⁹⁰ Swedish National Archives, Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet. FI:C volym 20 Korrespondens med överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset. Brev från Överstyrelsen för Svenska Röda Korset (Carl) Till Föreningen Rädde Barnens Centralstyrelse, Stockholm. Ang. representanter i "Rådet" Stockholm den 1. april 1944. "Samma tvivel torde för övrigt jämväl råda bland övriga större humanitära hjälporganisationer, som även avböjt representantskap i Rådet. För sin del anser överstyrelsen, att det bör överlåtas åt presidenten Ekebergs kommitté att - eventuellt efter samråd med de två internationellt inställda, permanenta hjälporganisationerna Rädde Barnen och Svenska röda korset - bestämma huru den erforderliga samverkan beträffande den här föreliggande frågan lämpligen bör ordnas. Men därmed behöver det ju inte vara uteslutet att Rädde Barnen genom sitt Råd kan ha en uppgift som en erfaren rådgivare för mindre erfarna humanitära organisationer, vilka varmt önska göra en insats till fromma för barn i krigshärjade länder"

⁹¹ Swedish National Archives, Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet. FI:C volym 20 Korrespondens med överstyrelsen för svenska Röda Korset. Brev från Överstyrelsen för Svenska Röda Korset (Carl) Till Föreningen Rädde Barnens Centralstyrelse, Stockholm. Ang. representanter i "Rådet" Stockholm den 1. april 1944

Swedish Committee for International Relief.⁹² Even if Rädde Barnen had failed to establish a council for child relief, the organization still managed to advance its position within this field and appears to have managed to challenge the Swedish Red Cross.

Concluding discussion

In this chapter, we have seen how the Swedish Government's decision to remain neutral throughout the war affected the outlining of Swedish international relief work. During most parts of the war, the outlining of relief work was imbued with a policy of non-participation in relief work in countries outside the Nordic region. However, towards the end of the war, it was found that the policy of only providing relief to Nordic countries had to be re-negotiated. Worries about Sweden's reputation after the war surfaced. A need to counteract possible critique was established, and this was going to be done by expanding international relief work. For the Swedish Red Cross, it was evident that this task was going to be carried out with the organization in the front position. But the need to partake in international relief work was also acknowledged by the Swedish Government towards the end of the war. The Swedish Committee for International Relief was established for the purpose of co-ordinating and supporting Swedish international relief work. The establishment of this committee created a struggle around gaining organizational space. The Swedish Red Cross evidently became challenged by the Government's decision to enter the arena of relief work, and a need to fortify its position began to surface within the organization. The Swedish Red Cross had to outline its relationship with the Swedish Government in this matter and clarified what the boundaries for this affiliation were.

It was not only the Swedish Government and the Swedish Red Cross that became participants in the struggle that surfaced. Rädde Barnen also wanted to be part of the expansion of Swedish international relief work and attempted to fortify its position within this field too. If Rädde Barnen had succeeded, the organization would have been able to strengthen its position within the field of Swedish international relief work. Rädde Barnen's attempt failed, but the organization was clearly considered a competitor by the Swedish Red Cross. As demonstrated

⁹² Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1. Minutes, SIH den 10 maj 1944.

the organization put a great deal of effort into preventing Rädda Barnen from taking over child relief. Rädda Barnen's struggle to establish a council for child relief was unsuccessful, but even so the organization managed to strengthen its position. The organization became a participant in the struggle to gain a dominant position in matters dealing with children.

Both Rädda Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross came to be represented on the board of the Swedish Committee for International Relief, where the struggle for organizational space continued. Another important participant was the Swedish feminist and Social Democrat Alva Myrdal, who was appointed head of the section that dealt with relief to non-Nordic countries.

Chapter III

A new national arena for actors and organizations – the Swedish Committee for International Relief

Introduction

In the previous chapter, we discussed the events and debates that followed when the Swedish Government started to take an interest in Swedish international relief work. One result of the Government's interest was the establishment of the Swedish Committee for International Relief. In this chapter, we will see how the debates were conducted and what the consequences of these interactions were for Rädde Barnen. In 1946, the Swedish European Relief was established by, among others, non-governmental organizations in Sweden. What consequence the establishment of this association had will also be discussed. Focus here will be on the following questions: How were the interactions between non-governmental organizations and governmental authorities conducted? What significance did these interactions have for the development of Rädde Barnen? In order to answer these questions it is necessary to also look more closely upon the argumentation and political new points staked out by representatives of the involved organizations.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, Alva Myrdal was head of the section that dealt with relief to countries outside of the Nordic region within the Swedish Committee for International Relief. As such she played an important role in the

interactions that took place within the government committee. Like Folke Bernadotte, Alva Myrdal expressed concerns about the Swedish Government's reluctance to participate in international issues during the war. Before taking a closer look at the discussions that took place within the board of the Swedish Committee for International Relief, we will examine her opinions on the outlining of Swedish foreign politics.

Alva Myrdal's views on Swedish participation on the international arena

Like Folke Bernadotte, Alva Myrdal argued that Sweden ought to participate in international politics and issues. She was critical of the politics of isolationism that were enforced by the government and pointed out that the influx of both ideological and political ideas was going to increase after the war.

Peace will be a state of revolution, mainly when it comes to the area of ideologies in a small neutral country that gathered all its strength to build up a strong resistance to be able to stay out of the war.⁹³

As demonstrated here, she predicted that once the politics of isolationism were no longer imposed, an influx of different beliefs would create a commotion within Sweden. In the essay, she pointed out that this flood of ideas to which the Swedish people would be subjected would inevitably change their perception of the world. Alva Myrdal also emphasized that if the world was to remain in a state of calm, a vigorous effort would be needed in world politics – an effort that she argued was impossible for the Swedish Government to stay out of. She also pointed out that working for humanitarian ideals was much more important than working for national ones.⁹⁴

Both Alva Myrdal and Folke Bernadotte considered it imperative that the Swedish Government participate in international issues. However, the question of how participation on the international arena was to be organized, and more importantly by which organization or authorities, became a source of conflict. One such occasion was when a relief action aimed at children in France was go-

⁹³ Skrifter utgivna av informationsbyrån mellanfolkligt samarbete för fred, Alva Myrdal, *Efterkrigsplanering 1944*. "Freden blir ett revolutionärt skede icke minst på det ideologiska området i ett litet neutralt land, som riktat in alla krafter på att sätta upp starkt motstånd för att kunna hålla sig utanför kriget."

⁹⁴ Skrifter utgivna av informationsbyrån mellanfolkligt samarbete för fred, Alva Myrdal, *Efterkrigsplanering 1944*.

ing to be carried out. Below we will take a closer look at how this issue was dealt with by the different parties and also see what consequences this would have for Rädga Barnen.

Relief to children in France

In August 1944, an investigation of how relief work for children in France was to be carried out was made by the Swedish Committee for International Relief. Alva Myrdal, as head of the section for relief outside the Nordic countries, was handling the matter. A suggestion was made that Rädga Barnen and two other committees working with questions of aid to France should start a fund-raising campaign. The funds collected should mainly be used for the care of children and youth, but should also be made available for other relief actions. The committees that worked for relief to France already existed, one of which was under the patronage of the Swedish Red Cross. However, Alva Myrdal wanted the Government to be in charge even if performance of the relief work was to be delegated.⁹⁵

In September 1944, the matter was brought up for discussion during a meeting within the government committee. Rädga Barnen's chairman Margit Levinson supported the suggestion that relief for children in France should be gathered under the Government's support. The Swedish Red Cross, on the other hand, wanted to stall a decision on the matter. No Red Cross representative was able to attend the meeting, but had via a letter expressed opinions on the topic. Apart from wishing to halt a decision on the matter, the Swedish Red Cross wanted to appoint a special committee for further investigation. The Swedish Red Cross also pointed out that persons who represented cultural and commercial Swedish-French connections ought to be represented in the committee for relief to children in France that was about to be established.⁹⁶

Rädga Barnen approved of the suggestion to establish a committee for relief to children in France under the support of the Swedish Government. Naturally, the organization had a great deal to gain if a resolution to let it be part of the relief

⁹⁵ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 2. Minutes fört vid sammanträde angående hjälpverksamhet i Frankrike den 1 september 1944 i riksdagshuset.

⁹⁶ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI volym 2 Minutes. September 1st 1944. Protokoll fört vid sammanträde angående hjälpverksamhet i Frankrike den 1 september 1944 i riksdagshuset.

action for children in France was passed. Even if responsibility for the relief action would be shared, Rädga Barnen would still obtain funds and gain access to a field that previously come across as having been demarcated by the Swedish Red Cross. Gaining access to this field was going to help strengthen Rädga Barnen's position. The Swedish Red Cross's wish to use relief work for children in France as an opportunity to promote Swedish business and cultural interests was rejected, and the organization was overruled in this matter. The task of providing relief to children in France was commissioned to the organizations present at the meeting, one of which was Rädga Barnen. The organization was thereby given an opportunity to participate in a relief action abroad. As has become visible here, a struggle over being in charge of this task surfaced, and it appears as if Rädga Barnen emerged successfully from this conflict.

It was decided that the organizations and committees present at the meeting would share the funds that were gathered. If any disagreements surfaced, the section for relief to non-Nordic countries that Alva Myrdal represented was to mediate. Apparently she anticipated conflicts and she also considered it necessary for the government committee to be in charge of this action.

It was decided that all funds gathered through this collection (as a suggestion called Relief for the Children of France) were to be shared by the three organizations. A desire was also expressed that new ideas for collections that might be suggested should be discussed within the working committee and be carried out jointly. Mrs Myrdal explained that the section of the Swedish Committee for International Relief that worked for non-Nordic countries was prepared to mediate if disagreements on the issues should occur.⁹⁷

In the previous chapter, we saw that the leaders of the Swedish Red Cross had an influence on the decisions made by the Swedish Committee for International Relief. This became evident when Rädga Barnen wanted to establish a council for

⁹⁷ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 2. Minutes fört vid sammanträde angående hjälpverksamhet i Frankrike den 1 september 1944 i riksdagshuset. "Beslöts, att de medel som inflöt genom denna insamling (förslagsvis kallad Franska barnhjälpen) skulle delas lika mellan alla tre organisationerna. Vidare uttalades önskvärdheten av att de nya uppslag till insamlingar el. dyl. som kunde framkomma skulle diskuteras inom arbetsutskottet och om möjligt sättas i scen gemensamt.

Fru Myrdal förklarade, att SIH:s sektion för utomnordiska länder vore beredd att medla, därest några tvistefrågor skulle uppstå."

child relief. Rädga Barnen's request for support in the founding of such a council was rejected by Birger Ekberg, after pressure from the chairman of the Swedish Red Cross, Prince Carl. However, as we have seen, Alva Myrdal was not susceptible to the arguments put forward by the Swedish Red Cross. She was doubtful about non-governmental organizations' abilities, and sometimes also seemingly reluctant. This became evident when, by the end of 1944, she made it known how she considered that Swedish international relief work should be outlined.

Alva Myrdal's "principle viewpoints"

Alva Myrdal's opinions on how and by whom Swedish international relief should be organized differed from those put forward by the leaders of the Swedish Red Cross. In December 1944, she formulated her "principle viewpoints" on how she considered that Swedish international relief should be carried out. Alva Myrdal argued that the Government should be in charge of the relief actions but different tasks could be delegated to non-governmental organizations such as Rädga Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross.⁹⁸ However, that the Swedish Government was the benefactor should be clearly marked on any goods that were distributed.

I. Deliveries of material

Principle. Medicine, goods and other consignments, possibly remittances, financed by the Government will be distributed directly from S.I.H⁹⁹ with a committed official letter from S.I.H and with S.I.H as the sender.

Exceptions

1. If any practical obstacles to such an arrangement should occur, the Red Cross will be used as a front. It should also then be stated to the recipient -

⁹⁸ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Bil. till prot. 20/12 1944.

⁹⁹ Svenska Kommittén för Internationell hjälpverksamhet, The Swedish Committee for International Relief

with whatever postponement is suitable - as well as to the Swedish general public, that the Government is funding the consignment.¹⁰⁰

In her opinion, the Swedish Red Cross was a suitable administrator for medical aid. Rätts Barnen and a few other relief organizations could be given other specialized tasks. The question of having those tasks co-ordinated and funded by the government committee had to be solved on a case-by-case basis. She emphasized that the Swedish Government was in charge. As has been demonstrated here, she also highlighted that if any problems occurred "the Swedish Red Cross will be used as a front".¹⁰¹

Alva Myrdal expressed the opinion that there ought to be a possibility for individual organizations that gathered funds from the public to receive financial support from the Government. However, the Government contribution should be proportional to what the organization had managed to raise. She pointed out that this should apply to organizations such as the Swedish Red Cross and Rätts Barnen as well.

If individual organizations that gather funds for a specific purpose should in certain cases receive contributions from the Government, these should be proportional to the funds the organization itself has gathered. (Compare to Relief for Norway; this could also be of interest regarding the feeding of children in France, Rätts Barnen, the Red Cross or any other organization. This should be tested in each individual case).¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Bil. till prot. 20/12 1944.

I. Materialleveranser.

Princip. Medicin, varor och andra försändelser, ev. remissor, bekostade av statsmedel sändas direkt från S.I.H med missivskrivelse från S.I.H. och S.I.H som avsändare.

Undantag:

1. Om praktiska hinder bestå för dylikt arrangemang, används Röda Korset som täckmantel. Det bör även då anges för adressaten liksom - med det uppskov som kan vara lämpligt - för den svenska allmänheten, att försändelsen är bekostad av statsmedel.

¹⁰¹ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Bil. till prot. 20/12 1944. Diskussions p.m. med principiella synpunkter på frågan om S.I.H:s "verkställighet"

¹⁰² Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Bil. till prot. 20/12 1944. p.m. med principiella synpunkter på frågan om S.I.H:s "verkställighet". "Om enskilda organisationer, som bedriva insamling för visst syfte, i vissa fall anses böra erhålla påspädning av statsmedel, bör bidrag utgå i viss proportion till de av vederbörande organisation själv insamlade medlen (jfr. Norgehjälpen; detta kan komma att gälla fransk barnbespisning, Rätts Barnen, Röda Korset eller vilken organisation som helst efter prövning i enskilda fall).

Alva Myrdal argued that all organizations should be treated equally when it came to government contributions. Rädde Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross had no special status with regard to receiving government donations or being designated certain tasks. For social activities, on a larger scale, Alva Myrdal did not see any particular organization as the natural leader. She argued that those kinds of activities should be co-ordinated under the government committee, or some other co-ordinating organization. Alva Myrdal gave Poland as an example of a country where a larger-scale relief effort could be necessary to carry out. However, in Poland, she considered it necessary for the government committee to co-ordinate the relief-work. Hospitals, clinics, transportation, etc. were areas for the Swedish Red Cross, while aid to children was a task for Rädde Barnen. Even if Alva Myrdal considered Rädde Barnen suitable for providing relief for children, this did not mean that the organization was capable of being in charge of the establishment of children's homes.

3. relief for children, for instance a "Children's Village" (which is a natural task for Rädde Barnen), the founding of children's homes (which firstly should be in the form of rescue homes, then remade into permanent homes, and then gradually transferred into Polish ownership, is a task without any decided responsible authority).¹⁰³

Alva Myrdal did not entrust the Swedish Red Cross or Rädde Barnen with being solely in charge of any international relief actions. Each organization could be designated specific tasks, but no single organization had the ability to lead and organize relief work on a larger scale.

Alva Myrdal argued that the Swedish Red Cross's abilities to carry out, and be in charge of, relief actions were limited. The organization was not suited to performing such a diversified task as co-ordinating transportation, clinics, doctors and other expertise in the area. This was something that the government committee or any other special co-operation organization had to be in charge of.

¹⁰³ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Bil. till prot. 20/12 1944. Diskussions p.m. med principiella synpunkter på frågan om S.I.H:s verkställighet. 3. barnhjälp, t.ex. "Barnens By" (som är en naturlig Rädde Barnen-uppgift), grundläggande av barnhem (vilka i sin egenskap av att först vara räddningshem men sedan omgjorda till permanenta och gradvis överförda i polsk ägo är en social uppgift utan bestämd huvudman)"

The Swedish Committee for International Relief or another special co-operation organization has to be responsible for all these issues and choose a central administrator. Preferably chosen from Swedish authorities. Transportation to and from Sweden, used by clinics, doctors and other experts etc, those questions have to be decided for the whole area in a uniform way. Up to now, none of the organizations, including the Red Cross, is structured for such a diversified task, and one that is so changing with regard to beginning and completion times.¹⁰⁴

By questioning the Swedish Red Cross's abilities in international relief work, it appears as if Alva Myrdal fortified and secured the Government's position within this field. This was an arena that she argued should be under government control. Non-governmental organizations were to be given access, but Alva Myrdal clearly considered that the Government should be in charge of Swedish international relief.

Opinions about the leadership under which Swedish international relief was going to be performed differed between Alva Myrdal and Folke Bernadotte. To Alva Myrdal, it was not at all self-evident that Swedish relief work should be organized under the patronage of the Swedish Red Cross. Alva Myrdal's critique of the Swedish Red Cross together with her "principle viewpoints" created an intense debate between her and the leaders of the Swedish Red Cross.

The conflict between Alva Myrdal and the Swedish Red Cross

Alva Myrdal's opinions on how and most importantly by which organization relief should be carried out caused a conflict between her and the leaders of the Swedish Red Cross. There were several reasons why she did not consider the Swedish Red Cross suitable to be in charge of relief actions. If the Swedish Committee for International Relief should decide to let the Swedish Red Cross co-ordinate relief efforts, Alva Myrdal argued that the organization needed to be

¹⁰⁴ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Bil. till prot. 20/12 1944. Diskussions p.m. med principiella synpunkter på frågan om S.I.H:s "verkställighet. Alva Myrdal Stockholm den 15 dec. 1944. "[...] måste S.I.H eller en speciell samorganisation stå för samtliga dessa grenar och ev. även tillsätta en central administratör. Helst tagen ur den svenska statsförvaltningen. Transporter från och till Sverige, utnyttjande av kliniker, läkare och annan expertis m.fl. ärenden måste avgöras för hela området på ett enhetligt sätt. Ingen av de hittillsvarande organisationerna, inkl. Röda Korset, är uppbyggd för en så mångsidig och så i fråga om både begynnelse- och avslutningstidpunkt skiftande uppgift."

thoroughly examined and she brought in political dimensions in her evaluation of the organization. As for instance, did she raise questions concerning representation of social class and gender among the members and leaders of the Red Cross.

1. The question of the Red Cross's connection to the Swedish military authorities: democratization so as to become a more civilian relief organization
2. the question of the Red Cross's members and leaders: democratization through elections (or appointments) of representatives from organizations anchored in the general public and/or social broadening of permanently employed members,
3. the question of women's position within the Red Cross (compare to the delegation of so-called women's work): democratization so as to promote equality between the sexes.¹⁰⁵

This was provocative for the Swedish Red Cross, and the reply came almost immediately. The question of the organization's relationship to military authorities had never been posed before. According to Folke Bernadotte the question was groundless. An investigation that the Swedish Red Cross had undertaken showed that 43% of the organization's members came from the working class. Folke Bernadotte also pointed out that the number of male members was low compared to the number of women members. The reason for this was that medical care was mainly a women's issue.¹⁰⁶ In his reply to Alva Myrdal's principle viewpoints, Folke Bernadotte expressed his disagreement. He argued that the Swedish Red Cross should have the front position in carrying out Swedish international relief

¹⁰⁵ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Bil. till prot. 20/12 1944. Diskussions p.m. med principiella synpunkter på frågan om S.I.H:s "verkställighet". Alva Myrdal Stockholm den 15 dec. 1944

1. Frågan om RK:s anknytning till den svenska krigsmakten: demokratisering i riktning mot mer civil hjälporganisation,
2. frågan om RK:s medlemsstock och ledning: demokratisering genom val (eller utnämmande) av representanter från folkliga organisationer eller/och social breddning av medlemskadreerna,
3. frågan om kvinnornas ställning inom R.K. (jfr. delegationen för det s.k. kvinnoarbetet): demokratisering

i riktning mot mer likställighet mellan könen

¹⁰⁶ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, P.M. med anledning av Fru Alva Myrdals synpunkter rörande frågan om SIH:s "verkställighet". Stockholm den 19 december 1944. Undertecknat F. Bernadotte af Wisborg

work. He also considered that the organization should be in charge of the distribution of aid, at least most of the time.

During a journey to Great Britain where he met representatives of, for instance, UNRRA, Folke Bernadotte had presented the Swedish Red Cross as a representative of Sweden. He argued during this journey that the Swedish Red Cross was most suitable to be at forefront of Swedish international relief. The reason for this was Swedish neutrality, which made it unsuitable for the Swedish Government to be associated with UNRRA. According to Folke Bernadotte, a desire for this had also been expressed by various parties during his journey in Great Britain.

On the recently completed journey to England and France that was undertaken by representatives of the Swedish Committee for International Relief and the Swedish Red Cross, it was emphasized by everyone that it was most suitable that the Swedish Red Cross be in charge of a Swedish relief action. It was preferred that an organization with international status be in charge of a relief action rather than, for instance, one directed by the Swedish Government.¹⁰⁷

Folke Bernadotte pointed out that even if the Swedish Red Cross was in charge of Swedish international relief, other organizations were not going to be excluded.

The Swedish Red Cross ought to be at the forefront when relief actions are carried out by staff from Sweden and in most cases when it comes to the distribution of aid in foreign countries. This does not prevent the existence of a close and I hope good relationship with other organizations in solving the question of relief efforts to foreign countries after the war.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, P.M. med anledning av Fru Alva Myrdals synpunkter rörande frågan om SIH:s "verkställighet". Stockholm den 19 december 1944. Undertecknat F. Bernadotte af Wisborg. "Vid representanterna för SIH och Svenska röda korset nyligen avslutade resa i England och Frankrike betonades från samtliga håll, att en svensk aktion lämpligen bör organiseras i Svenska röda korsets regi, då man skulle föredraga en dylik organisation med internationellt anseende som ledare än exempelvis en aktion ledd i svensk statlig regi"

¹⁰⁸ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, P.M. med anledning av Fru Alva Myrdals synpunkter rörande frågan om SIH:s "verkställighet". Stockholm den 19 december 1944. Undertecknat F. Bernadotte af Wisborg. "Svenska röda korset bör vara den ledande organisationen, när det gäller aktioner med anlitan av från Sverige utsänd personal samt i

Folke Bernadotte clearly considered that the Swedish Red Cross was the most suitable lead organization, even if other organizations would be part of Swedish international relief work as well.

When looking at this conflict, Swedish the historian Jörg Lindner has also highlighted Alva Myrdal's reluctance towards the Swedish Red Cross. However, he explains the antagonism in terms of different views on government interference in family life and different views on child-raising. Jörg Lindner introduces the likelihood that Alva Myrdal's animosity towards private welfare schemes was connected to her belief that they facilitate and maintain inequality. He emphasizes that Alva Myrdal considered that the Government and its bodies were ultimately responsible for Swedish citizens' welfare. Because of this, she advocated collective child-raising in, for instance, public nurseries, whereas the opinion within the Swedish Red Cross was that children were best raised in families. According to Jörg Lindner, this was why Alva Myrdal was critical towards the Swedish Red Cross and put forward her critique of the organization within the Swedish Committee for International Relief.¹⁰⁹

However, as we have seen, questions about what was in the best interest of children do not surface in this conflict. The core of the problem here concerned which organization or authority should be in charge of Swedish international relief. This conflict was undoubtedly multi-layered, and the difference in political opinions about for instance, child-raising may have been one contributing factor underlying the antagonism between Alva Myrdal and Folke Bernadotte, but also the role of the government.

Rädda Barnen remained passive throughout most of the discussion that took place between Folke Bernadotte and Alva Myrdal. However, a month after the conflict surfaced, Margit Levinson joined in on the debates. The trigger appears to have been when Folke Bernadotte as part of his critical reply to Alva Myrdal's viewpoints in respect to child relief in Poland made statements about Rädda Barnen's capacity.

If relief for children in Poland of a more permanent character is to be organized, for instance in the form of a "Children's Village", Rädda

många fall vid materialleveranser till utlandet. Detta hindrar givetvis ej att organisationen bör uppgöras så att ett intimt samarbete och som jag hoppas gott samarbete med övriga organisationer kan komma till stånd för lösande av den svenska efterkrigshjälpen till utlandet"

¹⁰⁹ Lindner Jörg, Den svenska Tysklandshjälpen 1945-1954, Umeå 1988 , pp 65

Barnen might be the right organization to carry out such a task, even though Rädda Barnen as far as I know at the moment does not have enough employees to do so.¹¹⁰

Folke Bernadotte was reluctant about the idea of Rädda Barnen being in charge of relief actions. As demonstrated here, he diminished the organization's abilities to perform relief work on the scale that was required in, for instance, Poland. The reason for questioning Rädda Barnen's capacity appears to have been that he felt the organization posed a threat to the Swedish Red Cross. By portraying Rädda Barnen as inexperienced and lacking in resources,

Folke Bernadotte attempted to present the Swedish Red Cross as the only organization that was suited to being in charge of international relief actions. An effort was made to fortify the Swedish Red Cross position within the field of Swedish international relief work. Rädda Barnen's chairman, Margit Levinson, disagreed with Folke Bernadotte and began to struggle for a more prominent position.

Rädda Barnen's contribution to the debate within the Swedish Committee for International Relief

Even if the core of the problem did not concern child relief, the question about who was going to be in charge of this field surfaced too. When Folke Bernadotte claimed that Rädda Barnen was not capable of carrying out a relief action on a larger scale, Margit Levinson joined the dispute. At the outset, she was diplomatic in her response to Folke Bernadotte. In her reply, she pointed out that, in comparison to the Swedish Red Cross's work abroad, there was hardly any organization that had the same experience. At the same time, she did point out that within the Scandinavian countries Rädda Barnen had a fairly significant position as a relief organization too.

¹¹⁰ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, P.M. med anledning av Fru Alva Myrdals synpunkter rörande frågan om SIH:s "verkställighet". Stockholm den 19 december 1944. Undertecknat F. Bernadotte af Wisborg. "Om en mera permanent barnhjälp skall organiseras i Polen exempelvis i form av "Barnens by" är måhända Rädda barnen den rätta organisationen att taga hand om en sådan uppgift, även om Rädda barnen mig veterligt åtminstone för närvarande ej disponerar över tillräcklig personal för att kunna lösa densamma"

In foreign countries there are no separate organizations that can be measured with the Red Cross; within Scandinavia there are other relief organizations that have achieved as good results as the Red Cross. Within its own area, Rädda Barnen, for instance, has achieved a certain position and has a reputation as a humanitarian relief organization.¹¹¹

She disagreed with Folke Bernadotte about Rädda Barnen's ability to acquire enough personnel to lead the permanent relief work in Poland. According to Margit Levinson, Rädda Barnen had the same capacity to succeed in such a task as the Swedish Red Cross did and the ability to obtain the necessary resources. She also pointed out that Rädda Barnen could meet any other needs that were required for the task.

With regard to the more permanent relief activities in Poland, it is believed that Rädda Barnen has the same possibilities as the Red Cross to obtain the necessary staff and to fulfil the other requirements for children's homes.¹¹²

She continued to promote and emphasize Rädda Barnen's abilities by pointing out that the organization did have an international character. Rädda Barnen had also provided relief in several different countries, although not always on a large scale.¹¹³

Without in any way wanting to belittle the Red Cross or underestimate its possibilities to provide relief, I would like to point out that, for instance, owing to its international character, Rädda Barnen too has similar possi-

¹¹¹ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Bil. till prot 17/1 1945. Meddelanden under Frågan om SIH:s verkställighet. Margit Levinson. "I utlandet finns det praktiskt taget ingen annan enskild hjälporganisation, som kan nämnas vid sidan av Röda Korset, medan däremot i Skandinavien finns andra hjälporganisationer som nått väl så goda resultat som Röda Korset. Inom sitt område torde väl även t.ex. Rädda Barnen nått fram till en viss position och ha anseende såsom en rent humanitär hjälporganisation."

¹¹² Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Inlägg i anslutning till greve Bernadottes svarsskrivelse av d. 19. dec. 1944 på fru Myrdals skrivelse av d. 15. s. å. beträffande synpunkter på frågan om SIH:s "verkställighet. Stockholm d. 15 jan. 1945. Margit Levinson. "Ifråga om den mera permanenta hjälpverksamheten i Polen tros Rädda barnen ha samma möjligheter som Röda Korset att skaffa erforderlig personal och övriga förutsättningar för barnhem"

¹¹³ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Inlägg i anslutning till greve Bernadottes svarsskrivelse av d. 19. dec. 1944 på fru Myrdals skrivelse av d. 15. s. å. beträffande synpunkter på frågan om SIH:s "verkställighet. Stockholm d. 15 jan. 1945.

bilities within its own area. Relief has been distributed via Rädde Barnen during the war, on larger or smaller scales, to: children in Sweden, Finland, Norway, Belgium, Holland, France, Greece, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Russia, the island of Guernsey and to Jewish children in different countries including Palestine.¹¹⁴

As we can see, a struggle surfaced here too about both being in charge and gaining the most prominent position, this time between Rädde Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross. Margit Levinson was clearly trying to maintain and fortify Rädde Barnen's position within the field of child relief. Folke Bernadotte was evidently not willing to give up this position to Rädde Barnen. As a government representative who also had a say in where the government money should be spent, Alva Myrdal undoubtedly had the "upper hand" in this conflict. As we have seen, Folke Bernadotte chose to go into a conflict with Alva Myrdal about who was going to be the authority within this field, whereas Margit Levinson chose a different strategy. She sided with Alva Myrdal on what position the Swedish Government should have in the performance of international relief work. She too emphasized how important it was that the Government have the lead position in this task. Margit Levinson also pointed out that governments were mainly liable for the re-building after the war. The reason for this was that they were responsible for what had happened in various ways. She also pointed out that Sweden was not entirely without blame for what had taken place during the war.

On the whole, I considered it to be of the uttermost importance that it is the Swedish Government that is visible in this context. The new principle is that the governments as such consider themselves obliged to render assistance and rebuild that which they have in various forms been accessories

¹¹⁴ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Inlägg i anslutning till greve Bernadottes svarsskrivelse av d. 19. dec. 1944 på fru Myrdals skrivelse av d. 15. s. å. beträffande synpunkter på frågan om SIH:s "verkställighet. Stockholm d. 15 jan. 1945. Margit Levinson." Utan att på något sätt vilja förringa Röda Korset eller underskatta dess möjligheter att finna vägen för hjälp så vill jag påpeka att även t.ex. Rädde Barnen genom sin internationella karaktär inom sitt område har liknande möjligheter. Sålunda har hjälp genom Rädde Barnen enbart under det pågående kriget, i större eller mindre utsträckning, lämnats till: barn i Sverige, Finland, Norge Belgien, Holland, Frankrike, Grekland, Polen, Slovakien, Ungern, Rumänien, Ryssland, ön Guernsey och judiska barn i skilda länder inkl Palestina"

to. Sweden ought not and cannot consider that it is free from responsibility for what has happened.¹¹⁵

With regard to the composition of the Swedish Red Cross, Margit Levinson again agreed with Alva Myrdal. In this matter her tone come across as having been sharper and she expressed doubts about the Swedish Red Cross's own investigation into the matter of which part of the Swedish public it represented. She thought that the working class was not adequately represented, and as Alva Myrdal had emphasized, the composition of the board revealed unfairness to women.

With respect to the market research, performed by the Red Cross, the figures ought to show that the working class is involved to a lesser extent in the Red Cross, in proportion to its share of the population. In any case, the composition of the board does not show any special social breadth among its members. Neither does its composition reflect any justice to women.¹¹⁶

It is not evident here whether this gave Rädde Barnen any more advantages than being allocated to being partly in charge of relief work for French children. However, the Swedish Government's interest within the field of international relief work created a struggle of who was going to be the major organizer of Swedish international relief work. Even if Alva Myrdal was hesitant about letting any non-governmental organization be in charge of relief actions on its own, some responsibility was transferred to Rädde Barnen in this instance..

Whatever the opinions were about Rädde Barnen's abilities within this field, the organization had become important enough to be taken into consideration while outlining Swedish international relief. The conflict between the Swedish Red

¹¹⁵ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Bil. till prot 17/1 1945. Meddelanden under Frågan om SIH:s verkställighet. Margit Levinson. "Överhuvud taget anser jag det vara synnerligen angeläget att det är svenska staten, som ifrågavarande sammanhang framträder. Den nya principen är ju att staterna såsom sådana anse sig skyldiga till att bringa hjälp och bygga upp det som det i en eller annan form varit medskyldiga till. Sverige bör och kan inte anse att det står utan allt ansvar för vad som hänt"

¹¹⁶ Swedish National Archives, Kommittén för svensk internationell hjälpverksamhet 1944-1950 VI Volym 1, Inlägg i anslutning till greve Bernadottes svarsskrivelse av d. 19. dec. 1944 på fru Myrdals skrivelse av d. 15. s. å. beträffande synpunkter på frågan om SIH:s "verkställighet. Stockholm d. 15 jan . 1945. Margit Levinson." "Beträffande Röda Korsets marknadsundersökning torde siffrorna visa att arbetarklassen I mindre grad är engagerad i Röda Korset än vad som motsvarar dess andel i befolkningen. I varje fall pekar Överstyrelsens sammansättning inte på någon större social bredd hos medlemskadrerna. Inte heller synes sammansättningen ge rättvisa åt kvinnorna"

Cross and the Government had created an opportunity for Rädga Barnen to enhance its position. Further signs that Rädga Barnen's position and significance increased became evident after the armistice.

Rädga Barnen at the forefront of Swedish international relief?

In 1946, Swedish non-governmental organizations established the Swedish European Relief. The purpose of founding this association was similar to the purpose of establishing the Swedish Committee for International Relief, to coordinate and support Swedish international relief work. The government committee still existed, but it appears as if Swedish non-governmental organizations gathered under the Swedish European Relief. The difference between the government committee and this association was that it was established and run by Swedish non-governmental organizations and did not carry out any relief actions on its own. These were carried out by the member relief organizations, for instance Rädga Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross.¹¹⁷ The Swedish Committee for International Relief had a representative on the board of the Swedish European Relief and presumably this enabled the Government to have some influence on the association.

By the time the Swedish European Relief was established in 1946, Rädga Barnen's influence on the national arena had improved significantly. As we have seen earlier, by the end of the war and especially after the armistice, the number of members in the organization increased considerably. Another sign of the organization's increased importance within the field of international relief work was when Margit Levinson obtained the position as chairman of the national committee of the Swedish European Relief.¹¹⁸ Through this appointment, it appears as if Rädga Barnen attained a lead position in organizing Swedish international relief work.

Thirty-six different organizations in Sweden became members of the Swedish European Relief, but all of them were not relief organizations. Political associa-

¹¹⁷ Swedish National Archives, Svenska Kommittén för Internationell hjälpverksamhet. VI Handlingar ang div. frågor Volym 36 Svenska Europahjälpen, Palestina, UNPR, UNICEF. SUMMARISK ÖVERSIKT över Svenska Europahjälpens verksamhet från starten 15/2 1946 -15/2 1949.

¹¹⁸ Swedish National Archives, Svenska Kommittén för Internationell hjälpverksamhet. VI Handlingar ang div. frågor Volym 36 Svenska Europahjälpen, Palestina, UNPR, UNICEF. SUMMARISK ÖVERSIKT över Svenska Europahjälpens verksamhet från starten 15/2 1946 -15/2 1949.

tions such as Sweden's Communist Youth Association, the Liberal Party's Women's Association and Sweden's Social Democrat Youth Association were represented.¹¹⁹ Religious associations were represented, such as The Free Churches Co-operation Association,¹²⁰ and organizations representing occupational groups, students, unions and the Swedish Employers' Confederation¹²¹ were also represented in the association.¹²²

By the end of 1946, the Swedish European Relief had gathered 24 million Swedish Crowns towards Swedish European Relief. By 1949, the last year the association was active, this amount had increased to 53 million Swedish Crowns.¹²³ The largest sums were allocated to Germany and Austria. Germany received 12,350,000 Swedish Crowns plus another 10 million in contributions from the Swedish Government, and Austria received 8,850,000 million Swedish Crowns. The smallest contributions went to Albania and Czechoslovakia, where 50,000 and 135,000 Swedish Crowns, respectively, were allocated. Substantial amounts were also allocated to Finland, France, Poland and Rumania, all under the auspices of the Swedish European Relief.¹²⁴ As we can see above, this association had gathered a large number of different organizations under its patronage, and Rädna Barnen obtained a front position within it. Next we will see what significance the Swedish European Relief, with Margit Levinson as its chairman, would come to have in interactions with international organizations.

Swedish European Relief and the United Nations Appeal for Children - the UNAC campaign

During the early part of 1948, the Swedish Government made a request to the Swedish European Relief to participate in the United Nations Appeal for Children, the UNAC campaign. The campaign was launched by the UN for the benefit of the United Nations International Emergency Fund, UNICEF, founded in 1946. The Government had been approached by the UN, but handed over the task

¹¹⁹ Sveriges Kommunistiska ungdomsförbund, Folkpartiets Kvinnoförbund, Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Ungdomsförbund.

¹²⁰ Frikyrkliga Samarbetskommittén

¹²¹ Svenska Arbetsgivarföreningen

¹²² Swedish National Archives, Svenska Kommittén för Internationell hjälpverksamhet. VI Handlingar ang div. frågor Volym 36 Svenska Europahjälpen, Palestina, UNPR, UNICEF. SUMMARISK ÖVERSIKT över Svenska Europahjälpens verksamhet från starten 15/2 1946 -15/2 1949.

¹²³ Ibidem

¹²⁴ Swedish National Archives, Svenska Kommittén för Internationell hjälpverksamhet. VI Handlingar ang div. frågor Volym 36 Svenska Europahjälpen, Palestina, UNPR, UNICEF. SUMMARISK ÖVERSIKT över Svenska Europahjälpens verksamhet från starten 15/2 1946 -15/2 1949.

of participating in the campaign on Sweden's behalf to the Swedish European Relief. The association participated in the campaign and gathered funds in Sweden under the flag of UNAC, but was able to keep most of the proceeds. Ninety percent of the funds gathered went to Swedish relief actions carried out under the auspices of the Swedish European Relief.¹²⁵ The association was willing to participate in the campaign, but there were conditions attached if it was going to be involved. The money gathered in Sweden was expected to be available for use for Swedish activities, even if the funds were collected under the UN flag. Ten percent of the campaign proceeds were allocated to UNICEF, but the agreement was that this money should be spent in consultation with the Swedish European Relief.¹²⁶

The goal of the action

1 day's pay to the Swedish European Relief for the worldwide UN appeal for children. It is taken for granted that the money gathered in Sweden mainly will be used to follow through Swedish actions that ongoing amongst children in war-ravaged countries in Europe.¹²⁷

As we can see here, in reality the Swedish European Relief was in charge of all the proceeds of this campaign. The money was reserved for Swedish organizations, which undoubtedly supported and strengthened their positions in international relief work. Launching a campaign in Sweden under the UNAC name was advantageous for the Swedish European Relief. The organization and Sweden were seen to participate in an international appeal while staying in control of the proceeds gathered. The Swedish European Relief also decided where the money that was directed towards UNICEF should be spent, which meant that no relief activities carried out by Swedish organizations were decreed by the UN organiza-

¹²⁵ Swedish National Archives, Svenska Kommittén för Internationell hjälpverksamhet. VI Handlingar ang div. frågor Volym 36 Svenska Europahjälpen, Palestina, UNPR, UNICEF. SUMMARISK ÖVERSIKT över Svenska Europahjälpens verksamhet från starten 15/2 1946 -15/2 1949.

¹²⁶ Swedish National Archives, Svenska Kommittén för Internationell hjälpverksamhet. VI Handlingar ang div. frågor Volym 36 Svenska Europahjälpen, Palestina, UNPR, UNICEF. SUMMARISK ÖVERSIKT över Svenska Europahjälpens verksamhet från starten 15/2 1946 -15/2 1949.

¹²⁷ Swedish National Archives, UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET, 1920 års dossiersystem HP 2036. Enclosure to Stockholm den 3 mars 1948. ang den internationella barnhjälpen. Undertecknat Bratt. Till ambassadrådet Greve Stackelberg, Köpenhamn. P.M. angående Svenska Europahjälpens allmänna riktlinjer för insamlingsaktionen i Sverige för UNITED NATIONS APPEAL FOR CHILDREN

tion. Swedish organizations managed to maintain their positions within the arena of international relief work while taking part in an international campaign. Swedish money went to Swedish organizations, or relief actions approved of by the Swedish European Relief.

The UN's policy was to forward requests for support directly to different countries' governments, and not non-governmental organizations. When the request to support the UNAC campaign was forwarded to Swedish authorities, the Swedish Foreign Office referred the request to Swedish non-governmental organizations. It appears as if the Swedish Government, through this act, had lost interest in Swedish international relief work and had given up this arena to Swedish non-governmental organizations.

Behind the formula of UNICEF, through the framework of the UN, the active United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund hides. Sweden is a member of this organization, but no government contribution has been given to the organization. It has been considered more practical that the well-established Swedish private relief organizations continue this work under its own auspices.¹²⁸

Jörg Lindner argues that handing over the responsibility for international relief work to the non-governmental organizations was a deliberate strategy undertaken by the Swedish Government. The Government was in the midst of establishing a range of large-scale welfare measures and in this endeavour relations to non-governmental organizations were politically rejected.¹²⁹ We will return to this issue when we look at Rädde Barnen's activities within Sweden, but whatever the case was, the Swedish European Relief was apparently given responsibility for Swedish international relief work. Rädde Barnen had obtained an important position within the association which comes across as having cemented the organization's progress within the field of international relief work.

¹²⁸ Swedish National Archives, UTRIKESDEPARTEMENTET, 1920 års dossiersystem HP 2036. Stockholm den 3 mars 1948. ang den internationella barnhjälpen. Undertecknat Bratt. Till ambassadrådet Greve Stackelberg, Köpenhamn.

¹²⁹ Lindner Jörg, *Den svenska Tysklandshjälpen 1945-1954*, Umeå 1988, p 77

Concluding discussion

In this chapter, we have seen how the Swedish Government's decision to interfere in the organization of Swedish international relief work created conflicts between representatives of the Government and non-governmental organizations. These conflicts created an opportunity for Rädde Barnen to enhance its position. Between the Government and the Swedish Red Cross, the debate was clearly an issue of who was going to represent Sweden in international relief work. Rädde Barnen cautiously participated in the debate at the outset, but eventually Margit Levinson joined in on the discussions.

During the conflicts, discussions about which organization or authority was best suited to what task frequently arose. It seems to have been a struggle over gaining influence over visions, goals and authority. The different actors that participated in the struggle to become the major organizer for Swedish international relief work used different strategies to fortify their own organization's or authority's position within this field.

As has been demonstrated, it was evident to Alva Myrdal that the Swedish Government was in charge and for this reason decided where and by which organization relief should be carried out. That the Government had the lead position in this, appears to have been non-negotiable for Alva Myrdal. Even if tasks were allocated to non-governmental organizations, they were going to be performed under the Government's supervision.

As we also have seen, the Swedish Red Cross perceived the Government's entrance on this arena as a threat to the organization. The Swedish Red Cross's position as the major organizer for Swedish international relief had never been challenged before, and the organization struggled intensely to maintain its position within this field.

The Swedish Red Cross evidently perceived Rädde Barnen as a competitor when the organization tried to gather relief work for children under its patronage. This seems to have been intensified when Rädde Barnen was partly allocated the task of providing relief to children in France. The conflict between Alva Myrdal and Folke Bernadotte created an opportunity for Rädde Barnen to enhance its position and Rädde Barnen started to challenge the Swedish Red Cross.

As Alva Myrdal had questioned the Swedish Red Cross, Folke Bernadotte began questioning Rädde Barnen's possibilities to carry out international relief ac-

tions. The outcome of this strategy was evidently unsuccessful, and it backfired on the Swedish Red Cross. Instead of weakening Rädde Barnen's position it appears to have strengthened it. The organization got a chance to influence an international relief action, thereby gaining organizational space.

As has been demonstrated in this chapter, Margit Levinson's strategy in the conflict that arose appears to have at first been one of cautious interference. Eventually she sided with Alva Myrdal, but was diplomatic in expressing her opinions on what position she considered the Swedish Red Cross to have in organizing Swedish international relief. This approach appears to have been advantageous for Rädde Barnen.

The conflict over who was going to be in charge of Swedish international relief appears to have been settled a couple of years after the armistice. The Swedish Government's interest in being in charge of Swedish international relief work faded, and dealing with such efforts was left to the Swedish European Relief.

When the Swedish European Relief was established, Margit Levinson was appointed chairwoman of the association. This appears to have been an acknowledgement of Rädde Barnen's more significant position among Swedish organizations. When the Swedish Government requested that the Swedish European Relief participate in the UNAC campaign, Rädde Barnen had a lead position within the association. The terms of the agreement between the UN and the Swedish European Relief, regarding participation in the UNAC campaign came to be advantageous for Swedish organizations. The Swedish European Relief was in charge of most of the proceeds gathered under the UN flag. This money went to Swedish relief actions in Europe, and the financial influx no doubt helped to strengthen Swedish non-governmental organizations.

As we have seen in this chapter struggle between organizations surfaced on the national arena, and by the time of the armistice and the forthcoming years, it was lifted to the international arena. In conducting the UNAC campaign for the benefit of UNICEF, the Swedish organizations managed to turn their participation into an advantageous situation for their own growth. Instead of strengthening UNICEF's position, Swedish organizations managed to secure and fortify their own positions on the international arena without having these decreed by UNICEF.

In the next chapter, we will take a closer look at the nature of the interactions with and reception of UNICEF in Sweden. We will also see how the struggle over organizational space was played out on the international arena.

Chapter IV

A new actor on the international arena for child relief - UNICEF

Introduction

In the previous chapters we have seen that struggles about becoming the major organiser for international relief-work arose within Sweden during the last part of WWII. The Swedish government's interest in redeeming its inactivity on the side of the allies created possibilities – a space to act within - for Rädde Barnen. As pointed out earlier, Rädde Barnen had by the time of the armistice gained a prominent position as relief organization for children within Sweden. This more significant position enabled the organization to participate in the international debates and in this chapter we will see how Rädde Barnen acted on the international arena. Struggles between different relief organizations that claimed authority on being the major organiser of relief-work for children took place on the international arena and also actualised the role, but also what organisational outlook should be applied. The newly created UNICEF had the legitimacy of the United Nations behind it and started to interact in areas of importance of Rädde Barnen and other national relief agencies.

A couple of specific events that created debates, which contributed to shape the politics around relief-work for children will be analyzed in this chapter. The first occurrence that affected the international arena was the establishment of UNICEF in 1946. We will start out by examining how the establishment of this

organization was received by the Swedish Government, Rädde Barnen and to some extent by the Swedish Red Cross. We will also see how Rädde Barnen's international union, IUCW responded to the establishment of UNICEF.

Another occurrence that also affected the international arena and appears to have taken the debates that surfaced there to its fore, was UN's decision to establish 'Universal Children's Day'. A similar day, the 'World Children's Day' was already carried out by IUCW.

The following questions will be focused on in this chapter. How did the interactions with international relief-agents affect Rädde Barnen's advance? How did Rädde Barnen participate in the conflicts that arose on the international arena? What was the result of these debates and in what way did the outcome affect Rädde Barnen?

A welcome collaboration or an unwanted associate? The reception of UNICEF

In 1946, 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. After the armistice, at the beginning of the Cold War, the United States decided that it no longer wanted to support any non-Western countries. Protests against this decision were forwarded, from especially Poland and Norway, stating that relief directed towards children should be exempted from this rule. During UNRRA's last session, it was decided that the organization's remaining funds should be used to support relief for children. As a result of that, a decision was made at the UN General Assembly in December 1946 that an organization that directed relief to children should be established, and thus UNICEF was founded. It was argued within the Assembly that children shall not be affected by world politics and that international co-operation shall ensure their protection.¹³⁰

UNRRA's remaining funds were not enough to finance UNICEF's continued activities, and more funds had to be obtained. As pointed out earlier, UNICEF's policy was to ask for contributions and participation in its activities from different countries' governments. We have already seen how the Swedish Government responded to the UN when the request for Sweden to participate in the UNAC

¹³⁰ Black Maggie, *Children First: The Story of UNICEF, Past and Present*. Oxford 1996, pp 6

campaign was forwarded. The Swedish Government handed over this request to be dealt with by the Swedish European Relief. As we have also seen, participation in this campaign turned out to be financially beneficial for Swedish non-governmental organizations. The UNAC campaign was launched by the UN to the benefit of UNICEF, but the organization did forward requests for financial contributions on its own, directly to the Swedish Government as well. One such instance has been accounted for earlier in the book; next another such occasion will be mentioned. The discussion surrounding this request started in January 1948.

UNICEF's quest for money in Sweden

In January 1948, Maurice Pate, the executive director of UNICEF, made a suggestion to the Swedish Foreign Office on an arrangement that could be beneficial to both the Swedish Government and the organization. In the correspondence, it is evident that hints had been given to UNICEF representatives that an understanding could be reached between the Swedish Government and the organization. In the correspondence, it also becomes clear that the Swedish Government had been reluctant to make a financial contribution to UNICEF.

Although as a result of your statement on December 2nd, it is realized that a direct contribution by your Government to the Fund at this time is not possible, I understand that conversations in Stockholm last summer during Mr. Winslow's visit, have indicated that an arrangement might be worked out whereby certain phases of Swedish European relief would be conducted within the framework of the ICEF. Would it be possible for instance for your Government's contribution for Swedish Relief for Europe to be paid to the ICEF, which in turn would transfer this contribution to those agencies now operating under Swedish direction? These same agencies would continue their work, which would be integrated with ICEF operations without causing any diversion of funds from Swedish relief activities.¹³¹

¹³¹ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2036, Kungl. Utrikes Departementet. Brev till Kungl. Utrikesdepartementet Mr Bergström från Maurice Pate Executive director of UNICEF. Brevet lagt som bilaga till skrivelse från Grafström till Folke Bernadotte Röda korset, M. Levinson Rädde Barnen, Nils Goude LO samt Carl Jonsson Sv Europahjälpen. Ang internationella barnfonden. Stockholm den 12 januari 1948.

As has been demonstrated here, the suggested arrangement was that parts of the activities the Swedish European Relief performed could be carried out under UNICEF flag. In the letter, Maurice Pate also inquired as to whether a financial contribution could be allocated to UNICEF, if it were forwarded to Swedish organizations and their activities. The advantage for the Swedish Government, if it accepted the arrangement suggested here, was that it would be seen to participate in an international relief action, even though the financial contribution would still benefit Swedish activities. However, there was a risk that it might not be completely apparent that the source of the contribution was the Swedish Government. As has been shown in previous chapters, the Swedish Government had been criticized for not participating in international relief actions and it is plausible that this was the reason why this suggestion was taken into consideration after all.

The Swedish Foreign Office did not want to make a decision in the matter without discussing it with Swedish non-governmental organizations first, and it turned to the Swedish European Relief for advice. The Foreign Office also turned directly to Rätts Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross to obtain these organizations' opinions on the matter.¹³² As has been pointed out earlier, by this time Rätts Barnen's position within the field of relief work had become more significant, and obtaining the organization's opinion on the matter was apparently important. Carl Jonsson, the chief accountant of the Swedish European Relief, appears to have responded on behalf of all the organizations.¹³³

If the Swedish Government were to consider it suitable to allocate funds for humanitarian relief actions, we consider that the contribution should be

¹³² Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2036, Kungl. Utrikes Departementet. Brev från Kungl. Utrikesdepartementet undertecknat Grafström till Greve F. Bernadotte, Sv. Röda Korset, Landshövdingen M. Levinson, Fören. Rätts Barnen, Hans Exc. Riksm. Hr Ekeberg, SIH, Ombudsman. Nils Goude, LO, Kamr. Carl Jonsson, Sv. Europahj Stockholm den 12 januari 1948.

¹³³ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2036, Kungl. Utrikes Departementet. Brev från Kungl. Utrikesdepartementet undertecknat Grafström till Greve F. Bernadotte, Sv. Röda Korset, Landshövdingen M. Levinson, Fören. Rätts Barnen, Hans Exc. Riksm. Hr Ekeberg, SIH, Ombudsman. Nils Goude, LO, Kamr. Carl Jonsson, Sv. Europahj Stockholm den 12 januari 1948.

forwarded through the Swedish relief organizations and only via book-keeping be a part of UNICEF.¹³⁴

As has been shown here, the Swedish European Relief agreed to the suggestion made by UNICEF. In the association's reply, it is also stated that the Swedish European Relief had no particular need for a financial contribution at this time.¹³⁵ The Swedish European Relief was emphasizing its independence, but at the same time did not want to miss out on an opportunity to obtain a financial contribution. The association fortified its position but in this instance the Swedish European Relief evidently decided that it was most beneficial to co-operate with UNICEF and Swedish authorities.

The negotiations in Paris –UNICEF's continued quest for money from Swedish authorities

The proposal made by UNICEF created a possibility for the Swedish Government to counteract international critique without taking any funds away from Swedish activities. However, making a decision in the matter appears to have been a lengthy process. Maurice Pate forwarded his inquiry in January 1948, and in December the same year the issue was still not settled. This becomes evident in a report produced after a two-day long meeting that took place in Paris, where representatives of the Swedish Foreign Office and UNICEF participated. The purpose of the meeting comes across as mainly have been to negotiate the Swedish Government's participation in UNICEF's activities. Also this time, it becomes clear that it was important to obtain Swedish non-governmental organizations' opinions on the matter of how participation in international relief was to be carried out. For this reason, the Swedish envoy requested that Swedish non-governmental organizations also participate in the meeting. Henrik Beer, Secretary-General of the Swedish Red Cross, and Carl Jonsson, chief accountant and

¹³⁴ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2036. Brev från Svenska Europahjälpen till Utrikesrådet S. Grafström, Kungl. Utrikesdepartement Stockholm. Stockholm 17 jan. 1948.

¹³⁵ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2036. Brev från Svenska Europahjälpen till Utrikesrådet S. Grafström, Kungl. Utrikesdepartement Stockholm. Stockholm 17 jan. 1948.

member of the board of the Swedish European Relief, were representing Swedish non-governmental organizations at the meeting.¹³⁶

While this meeting took place, the UN General Assembly was gathered and decisions affecting non-governmental organizations' position within the arena of international relief work were taken within the Assembly. In the report from the meeting between UNICEF, the Swedish Foreign Office and representatives of Swedish non-governmental organizations in Paris, it is evident that information about these decisions was forwarded to the participants during the course of the meeting.¹³⁷ Before looking at what consequences these decisions had for non-governmental organizations and how they were received, we will return to the issue of UNICEF's quest to obtain a financial contribution from the Swedish Government.

In the report from the Paris meeting, it is clear that Swedish authorities had previously responded positively to having a Swedish representative on the board of UNICEF. At the same time the Swedish Foreign Office had emphasized that no financial contributions could be given to the organization. UNICEF was not content with this and once again forwarded its request for a financial contribution from the Swedish Government. An important argument that UNICEF forwarded to obtain funds was that Sweden was the only country represented on the executive board of UNICEF that not had contributed to the organization's activities.

When the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, UNICEF, was founded, Sweden was requested to have a representative on the organization's executive committee. In connection with the positive response to this request, Swedish Foreign Office representatives emphasized, after seeking the advice of Swedish relief organizations, that extensive relief work from Sweden was being conducted in Europe and that, for the moment, no financial contributions to UNICEF from Sweden were possible. Despite the fact that UNICEF has accepted this condition, several requests have been forwarded from UNICEF to obtain contributions from the

¹³⁶ Swedish National Archives Rättsärenden, E: 1, Brev till Konungen och Departementen, 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1949. Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för UNICEF och Kgl. Utrikesdepartementet. 7.6. 1948

¹³⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rättsärenden E: 1, Brev till Konungen och Departementen, 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1949. Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för UNICEF och Kgl. Utrikesdepartementet. 7.6. 1948

Swedish Government, the argument being that Sweden is the only country on the organization's executive committee that has not participated.¹³⁸

Sweden had a representative on the board, which meant that it was possible to influence UNICEF's work, but as pointed out, evidently no financial contribution had been allocated to the organization at this time.

As we can see, also in this case the Swedish Government had consulted Swedish non-governmental organizations, but these advised against making a contribution to UNICEF. Swedish organizations were once again safeguarding their positions and did not want these jeopardized by UNICEF. Even if a financial contribution was forwarded to Swedish organizations, their positions as international relief organizations could be threatened. UNICEF imposed on an arena in which the organizations were already active.

However, UNICEF repeated the suggestion made earlier that year that money could be allocated to the organization but forwarded to Swedish organizations. A lot was at stake for UNICEF, and this was undoubtedly why it suggested a contribution "on paper". As demonstrated, it would have otherwise been impossible to obtain a contribution from the Swedish Government. The reason UNICEF was eager to obtain a donation, despite disadvantageous terms, was that the US Government had promised to match the money that UNICEF obtained from different countries' governments. Every 28 cents UNICEF gathered would be matched with another 72 cents.¹³⁹ For this reason it was not, in this instance, important for UNICEF to be able to keep a potential contribution from the Swedish Government. As long as it looked as if the contribution had been allocated directly to UNICEF from the Swedish Government, the organization could obtain a much larger contribution from the US Government. Thus, the organization

¹³⁸ Swedish National Archives E: 1, Brev till Konungen och Departementen, 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1949. Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för UNICEF och Kgl. Utrikesdepartementet. 7.6. 1948. "När Förenta Nationernas barnfond (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, UNICEF) instiftades, ombads Sverige ingå såsom ledamot i dess exekutivkommitté. I samband med det jakande svaret på denna förfrågan framhöll emellertid Utrikesdepartementets representanter, efter hörande av de svenska hjälporganisationerna, att man från svensk sida bedrev ett så omfattande hjälparbete i Europa, att några särskilda bidrag till UNICEF icke för tillfället vore tänkbara. Trots att man från UNICEF accepterade denna förutsättning ha vid flera tillfällen påtryckningar gjorts för att erhålla svenska, statliga bidrag under påpekande av att Sverige var den enda staten i exekutivkommittén som icke medverkat".

¹³⁹ Swedish National Archive, Rädda Barnen, E:1, Brev till Konungen och Departementen, 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1949. Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för UNICEF och Kgl. Utrikesdepartementet. 7.6. 194

had a great deal to gain by reaching such an agreement with the Swedish Government.

In this instance, collaborating with UNICEF had no particular advantages for Swedish organizations, and their reluctance in this matter is also highlighted in the report from this meeting. Even if it was considered important to have Swedish non-governmental organizations present and to obtain their opinions during the meeting, the advantages of agreeing with UNICEF's proposal appear to have been too great for the Government not to accept. Two important reasons for complying with UNICEF's request were forwarded during the meeting.

During a conversation with the Swedish U.N. representative on the 3rd of December, it was made clear that Swedish relief organizations only had a secondary interest in the suggested co-operation. This was because the ongoing relief work in Germany feeding 100,000 children already had started and was going to continue for the stipulated time, without interference from UNICEF. The general Swedish opinion is, however, that an arrangement, in which the Swedish Government is seen to actively participate, also within the international arena of relief work, is interesting. It is also considered impossible to refuse participation in an action through which relief work for children in general will obtain a substantial contribution in dollars.¹⁴⁰

As we can see in this statement, it was considered important for the Swedish Government to be seen to participate in an international relief action. Saying "no" to participation in an effort that concerned children could mean negative attention, and Sweden had already received critique for its negative attitude towards contributions to international aid. This was also emphasized by one of the

¹⁴⁰Swedish National Archives Rädda Barnen, E:1, Brev till Konungen och Departementen, 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1949. Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för UNICEF och Kgl. Utrikesdepartementet. 7.6. 1948

"Vid samtal med den svenske F.N.-representanten den 3/12 klarlades, att man från de svenska hjälporganisationernas sida i huvudsak endast hade ett sekundärt intresse för det föreslagna samarbetet, eftersom ju det pågående hjälparbetet i Tyskland med bespisningar av 100 000 barn ju redan påbörjats och skulle fortsätta den stipulerade tiden även utan inblandning från UNICEF. Man var dock i princip ur allmänna svenska synpunkter intresserad av ett arrangemang genom vilket svenska staten skulle synas göra en aktiv medverkan även på denna internationella hjälppfront och man ansåg sig icke kunna vägra att medverka till en åtgärd genom vilken hjälparbete för barn i allmänhet skulle tillföras ett mycket betydande belopp i dollar."

Swedish Foreign Office representatives, who argued that an agreement with UNICEF ought to be concluded for this reason.

The Foreign Office's representative pointed out that from his standpoint it was desirable that an agreement be made, since an unfair, but still unpleasant critique had been directed towards Sweden's attitude regarding the contributions.¹⁴¹

The main reason for agreeing to contribute to UNICEF after all was evidently to counteract possible criticism of Sweden. There were some advantages for Swedish organizations, as in the UNAC campaign, Swedish organizations were in reality to be in charge of any funds donated to UNICEF.

The terms that had to be fulfilled were in accordance with those Maurice Pate had suggested in January 1948. If a donation were to be made to UNICEF, it would be directed to on-going Swedish activities in Germany, where Swedish staff would be in charge of the relief work being carried out. The executive board of UNICEF agreed to the terms. An amount of 326,000 Swedish crowns was transferred to UNICEF, but these funds were allocated to relief actions carried out by Rädna Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross in Germany.¹⁴² Swedish money went to Swedish relief actions, carried out by Swedish organizations and run by Swedish staff.

As has also been demonstrated, Swedish organizations were reluctant about UNICEF, but in this case they appear to have had no choice but to accept the arrangement. At the end of the two-day-long meeting in Paris, the Swedish non-governmental organizations clearly came to terms with the conditions of the suggestion and agreed that the proposition from UNICEF should be treated positively.¹⁴³ Also in this case, Swedish non-governmental organizations appear to have considered co-operation the most beneficial strategy.

¹⁴¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädna Barnen, E:1, Brev till Konungen och Departementen, 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1949. Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för UNICEF och Kgl. Utrikesdepartementet. 7.6. 1948. "U.D:s representant framhöll att det ur hans synpunkt var önskvärt att en överenskommelse komme till stånd, eftersom en om än oberättigad men dock otrevlig kritik hade riktats mot Sveriges attityd i fråga om bidragen."

¹⁴² Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2038. Kungliga Utrikesdepartementet, Carbonnier/RTZ, 30.10.51 övl till samtl regeringsmedlemmar f km

¹⁴³ Swedish National Archives, Rädna Barnen, E:1, Brev till Konungen och Departementen, 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1949. Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för UNICEF och Kgl. Utrikesdepartementet. 7.6. 1948

Because UNICEF would be seen to be at the forefront of the relief work being carried out, Swedish organizations' positions on the international arena would run the risk of being weakened. On the other hand, by agreeing to these arrangements, Swedish organizations would gain a financial contribution from the Swedish Government.

The head of UNICEF's European office, Mr Davidson, more or less agreed to all demands the Swedes put forward, apart from the fact that he wanted relief actions in Germany to be under UNICEF's general supervision. This was accepted by the Swedish organizations, as long as UNICEF did not interfere in the activities being carried out.¹⁴⁴ The Swedish organizations worried that the relief work underway in Berlin might be jeopardized if UNICEF intervened. They felt that the situation in Germany was particularly sensitive.¹⁴⁵

As has been demonstrated, it comes across as a struggle for power took place. The Swedish Government was hesitant about the arrangement UNICEF suggested, and the Swedish non-governmental organizations were reluctant. UNICEF still managed to put this suggestion through, by pointing out that the Swedish Government had not contributed enough to international relief. This was clearly a sensitive matter for the Swedish Government. Even though it was important to obtain Swedish non-governmental organizations' opinions, UNICEF's arguments for the co-operation of Swedish authorities was evidently overwhelming. If the Swedish Government had refused, it might have shed a negative light over Sweden once again, and this had to be avoided.

An agreement was finally reached, but even so, it took more than a year before the collaboration was realized. In March 1950, UNICEF issued a press release stating that the organization had decided to increase its contributions to German youth. It was also stated that the source of that contribution was the Swedish Government.

Aided by a contribution from the Government of Sweden, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund announced plans today for

¹⁴⁴ Ibidem

¹⁴⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, E: 1, Brev till Konungen och departementen.2 Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1959. Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för UNICEF och Kgl. Utrikesdepartementet. 1948-06-07

giving increased help to German youth who have returned home as refugees since the war.¹⁴⁶

In the press release, it was also emphasized that a close working relationship existed between UNICEF and Swedish relief organizations.

A close working relationship also exists between the Fund and various Swedish relief agencies. The Swedish Red Cross, for example, is participating in the UNICEF-supported BCG anti-tuberculosis campaign in seventeen countries.¹⁴⁷

As we can see, UNICEF emphasized in the press release that a financial contribution had been made by the Swedish Government. And as we have seen earlier, this was important, because it was going to generate more financial contributions for UNICEF. In the statement to the press, UNICEF also mentioned its close working relationship with Swedish non-governmental organizations. However, as has been demonstrated, reaching an agreement with Swedish authorities and non-governmental organizations had been a long, drawn-out process and, evidently, a difficult goal to achieve. By the end of the meeting in Paris in 1948, Swedish non-governmental organizations' reluctance about UNICEF had also increased, as we will see next.

Recall that information about decisions taken within the UN General Assembly was provided to the participants at the Paris meeting. A few of these decisions appear to have posed a threat to Swedish non-governmental organizations. One suggestion that created strong reactions from Swedish organizations was made by the American representatives in the UN General Assembly. The suggestion made was that all money gathered under the UN flag should go to UN organizations. The Norwegian and Swedish representatives at the Assembly had

¹⁴⁶ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossier system HP60E volym 2038, PRESS RELEASE, U.N. CHILDREN'S FUND TO USE SWEDISH CONTRIBUTION FOR AIDING GERMAN YOUTH. March 10, 1950.

¹⁴⁷ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossier system HP60E volym 2038, PRESS RELEASE, U.N. CHILDREN'S FUND TO USE SWEDISH CONTRIBUTION FOR AIDING GERMAN YOUTH. March 10, 1950.

protested against this decision, as they felt this needed to be adapted to the circumstances in each country.¹⁴⁸

The question of a renewed world-wide collection for children, a continuation of the UNAC campaign carried out in Sweden during the spring of 1948, during the representatives' visit, was subject to discussion during the UN Assembly's Standing Committee for social questions. Hereby it was decided, which will undoubtedly cause astonishment from many sides that the work with UNAC will continue. Based on a suggestion from the American representatives, it was decided that all money gathered under UN aegis must be accrued a UN organization. A Norwegian reservation against this, seconded by Sweden, was announced. Disposal of the funds was considered to be best outlined in accordance with the special conditions in each country.¹⁴⁹

This decision was a setback for Swedish non-governmental organizations. It was no longer possible to use the name of the UN to gather funds for their own activities. Their positions on the international arena were without doubt weakened by the loss of this source of income.

This was not the only setback for non-governmental organizations. It was also decided within the UN General Assembly that it was unnecessary to have one organization that made the appeal for funds, UNAC, and one that was responsible for the planning and distribution, UNICEF. The UN General Assembly decided that UNICEF was to be in charge of the worldwide appeal for children from that point onwards, on its own, and that the UNAC committee was to be dissolved.¹⁵⁰ UNICEF's position and power had now increased, and the organiza-

¹⁴⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, E:1, Brev till Konungen och Departementen, 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1949. Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för UNICEF och Kgl. Utrikesdepartementet. 7.6. 1948

¹⁴⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, E:1, Brev till Konungen och Departementen, 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1949. Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för UNICEF och Kgl. Utrikesdepartementet. 7.6. 1948. "Frågan om en förnyad världsinsamling för barn, en fortsättning på den i Sverige under våren 1948 verkställda UNAC-kampanjen, var samtidigt med delegaternas besök föremål för behandling vid F. N.-assembléns sociala utskott. Härvid beslöts, vilket säkerligen kommer att vålla förvåning på många håll, att UNAC-arbetet skall fortsätta. Man beslöt även på amerikanskt förslag att alla pengar som samlas under F.N.-egid måste tillfalla en F.N.-organisation. Mot detta anmäldes en reservation biträdd av Sverige, där dispositionerna av medlen ansågos böra ske i enlighet med de speciella förhållandena i varje land."

¹⁵⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, E:1, Brev till Konungen och Departementen, 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1949. Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för UNICEF och Kgl. Utrikesdepartementet. 7.6. 1948

tion became a challenger to other organizations active on the international arena of relief work for children.

However, the decision that UN money should go to UN organizations was not only advantageous for UNICEF. At the end of the two-day-long meeting in Paris, representatives of the Swedish relief organizations informed the UNICEF representatives that the new conditions made participation in the organization's appeals complicated.

From the viewpoint of Swedish relief organizations, continued participation in the UN appeal, especially considering the American condition, has become a highly complicated issue, and this has also been related to the UNICEF representatives.¹⁵¹

The funds Swedish organizations had obtained from the UNAC campaign had unquestionably helped to expand their international activities under their auspices and had contributed to strengthening their positions. These positions were now being challenged by UNICEF and this was undoubtedly the reason why they no longer wished to participate in the work or appeals being carried out by the organization.

As has been demonstrated, the Swedish Government was ambivalent towards UNICEF, and this became evident again in 1950, when another request for a financial contribution was forwarded to the Swedish Foreign Office from the organization. This request was rejected. The Swedish Foreign Office expressed its regrets, but the Swedish Government had exhausted its funds. Swedish private organizations were already giving aid to needy children. Because of this, the Swedish Government issued a statement saying that the prospects of UNICEF receiving any further funds from Sweden were non-existent. The Swedish Government also expected demands to be made for relief and rehabilitation programmes in Korea. This was another reason why it could not contribute to UNICEF.¹⁵² This time, the Government was adamant in its reply to the organization.

¹⁵¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, E:1, Brev till Konungen och Departementen, 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1949. Rapport rörande förhandlingar i Paris den 3 och 4 december 1948 med representanter för UNICEF och Kgl. Utrikesdepartementet. 7.6. 1948

¹⁵² Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2038, From Kungliga Utrikesdepartementet, Sven Dahlman Head of the Political Department to Maurice Pate, Executive Director UNICEF. 29 nov 1950.

As far as financial contributions were concerned, there was nothing more to be expected from the Swedish Government.

Yet it was not only Swedish organizations and the Swedish Government that voiced concerns about UNICEF's entrance onto the arena of international relief work for children. Rätts Barnen's international union, IUCW, had begun to express its worries about UNICEF, and next we will take a look at how this association responded to UNICEF's establishment.

IUCW's response to UNICEF

As stated earlier, UNICEF mainly sought voluntary contributions from different countries' governments. However, the organization also eventually started its direct appeals to the general public. This caused concern within Rätts Barnen's international union, IUCW, because UNICEF then appealed for funds from the same sources Rätts Barnen usually approached. Wishes had been expressed by IUCW and directed to UNICEF that the organization should refrain from making appeals to the public. UNICEF appears to have taken no notice of this request, and it too began appealing to the general public for funds. This changed policy was brought up for discussion within the board of IUCW. In a commentary attached to an IUCW newsletter, it is evident that this decision by UNICEF was the cause of concern within IUCW. In the commentary, it is also clear that IUCW found it necessary to keep a close watch on the activities of UNICEF from that point onwards.

You will note from the Newsletter that UNICEF has decided to launch a fund-raising campaign in various countries on 24 October, United Nations Day. This decision is in contradiction to the wish expressed at the London General Council urging that UNICEF refrain from making appeals to the general public. This shows how important it is to follow up our discussions with UNICEF along new lines and with renewed vigour. Since the UNICEF decision is a "fait accompli", we must try to make the best of it, and we intend to send member organizations a note requesting that they pay

close attention to the organization of this campaign in their countries and see whether they cannot secure a portion of the funds raised.¹⁵³

As demonstrated here, by the spring of 1951, it was not only Swedish organizations that were beginning to perceive UNICEF as a competitor. Rädta Barnen's international union also started to view the organization as a contender within the field of international relief work for children. Another event that further increased the perception of UNICEF as a challenger was the UN decision to extend the organization's existence.¹⁵⁴ This decision, together with the fact that UNICEF started to appeal to the general public for funds, created strong reactions from both Rädta Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross.

The reception of UNICEF in Sweden

In June 1951, yet another request was forwarded to the Swedish Foreign Office from UNICEF, requesting that Sweden participate in another worldwide appeal for children. This campaign was to be launched in connection with the celebration of United Nations Day, and the proceeds were to benefit UNICEF.¹⁵⁵ In the letter in which this request was made, it is stated that this was in accordance with wishes put forward by non-governmental organizations in many countries. Organizations as well as many individuals from different countries wanted to support the maintenance of the UN's goals.

In taking this decision, the Board considered that in addition to advancing the cause of assistance to needy children everywhere, such collections would serve to meet the desire expressed by non-governmental groups and individuals in many countries for opportunities to participate actively and practically in furtherance of United Nations aims. The United Nations De-

¹⁵³ Swedish National Archives, Rädta Barnen, E:2, Brev från Unionen tom 1949, Newsletter Maj, med påfyllning av förklaringar av den Exekutiva Committé. 1951-05-31

¹⁵⁴ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossier system HP60E volym 2038, From United Nations International Emergency Fund to His Excellency Mr. Oesten Unden, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Royal Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1 June 1951.

¹⁵⁵ Ibidem

partment of Public Information supported the proposal and is preparing to extend every possible co operations.¹⁵⁶

However, in the Foreign Office's reply to UNICEF it becomes evident that this was not the case with Swedish non-governmental organizations. The Foreign Office had again consulted Rädga Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross to obtain their opinions on whether to get involved in this campaign or not. Both organizations advised against Swedish participation in the appeal. The two organizations argued that the possibilities of raising funds for such an appeal were impossible at the time. For a number of years, repeated appeals for the benefit of foreign countries had taken place, and for this reason the organizations claimed that it was going to be impossible to raise money for such a cause again.¹⁵⁷ By this time, 1951, extensive relief work had been carried out in Europe and this was no doubt an important reason for Swedish organizations' unwillingness to participate. In Rädga Barnen's response to the Foreign office in the matter, it is evident that there was more to it than that.

As has been demonstrated earlier, UNICEF had apparently ignored the request, which had been forwarded by IUCW, to not appeal to the general public for funds. In Margit Levinson's letter to the Swedish Foreign Office, where she gives her opinion on whether Sweden should comply with UNICEF's request, she shows clear annoyance over UNICEF's changed policy in this matter. She stresses that, during IUCW's general council meeting, a request had been put forward that UNICEF should refrain from seeking contributions from the general public. According to Margit Levinson, it was also emphasized during the meeting that IUCW considered that UNICEF had a "governmental character". For this reason, the organization should only seek contributions from UN member governments. Margit Levinson also pointed out that a UNICEF representative had been present during the meeting, but obviously took no notice of the union's re-

¹⁵⁶ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossier system HP60E volym 2038, From United Nations International Emergency Fund to His Excellency Mr. Oesten Unden, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Royal Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1 June 1951.

¹⁵⁷ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossier system HP60E volym 2038, From Kungliga Utrikesdepartementet, Sverker Åström Acting Chief of the Political Department till Mr. Maurice Pate Executive Director, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, New York. 30th of July 1951

quest.¹⁵⁸ Another reason for Rädga Barnen to not participate in the appeal was that the organization already carried out a considerable amount of relief work in Germany and Sweden. Margit Levinson pointed out that at this time Rädga Barnen was prioritizing its work on emergency measures for children in the event of war in Sweden.¹⁵⁹

The way UNICEF conducted its entrance onto the field of relief work for children had clearly created a great deal of frustration within Rädga Barnen. Rädga Barnen, in this instance, was evidently not interested in co-operation with UNICEF. As we can also see, Margit Levinson pointed out that, at this time, the organization was prioritizing work for children in Sweden.

The Secretary General of the Swedish Red Cross, Henrik Beer, answered along the same lines as Margit Levinson. He also emphasized that Swedish international relief work had been going on long before the establishment of UNICEF, seemingly implying that they were more experienced in this field. According to Henrik Beer, no organization at the time could mobilize all relief organizations in Sweden to participate in the appeal UNICEF had requested. He also pointed out that if Swedish organizations participated in this appeal, their own financial situation would become difficult and their own relief work could be jeopardized. Henrik Beer pointed out as well that aid to children was no longer a top priority for Swedish relief organizations. The reason for this was that children's situation had improved considerably. Priority was now being given to education of refugee youth. Henrik Beer argued that, for this reason, it was debatable whether contributions to UNICEF were a suitable action for an expanded Swedish relief effort.¹⁶⁰

As has been demonstrated here, Rädga Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross were reluctant about UNICEF. It appears as if this organization was considered to be an inexperienced newcomer in the field of relief work. UNICEF had also not been willing to comply with any wishes from non-governmental organizations concerning how these organizations measured that the arena of relief work for children should be demarcated. Rädga Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross perceived UNICEF as a competitor in the field of relief work for children. How-

¹⁵⁸ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2038, From Rädga Barnen Margit Levinson Ordförande to Kungliga Utrikesdepartementet. Stockholm den 2 juli 1951

¹⁵⁹ Ibidem

¹⁶⁰ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2038. From Henrik de Beer Generalsekreterare, Röda Korset to Kungliga Utrikesdepartementet 6 July 1951

ever, Rädde Barnen would come to change its attitude towards UNICEF, at least temporarily.

The establishment of UNICEF in Sweden – a turning point or a source of new conflicts?

As has been shown in the previous section, Margit Levinson made very clear statements on behalf of Rädde Barnen, indicating that the organization was not willing to support any of UNICEF's activities. However, the year after, in 1952, Margit Levinson changed her mind about UNICEF. This becomes evident in the correspondence between Maurice Pate and Birger Ekberg, chairman of the Swedish Committee for International Relief. In this correspondence, Maurice Pate speaks of Margit Levinson as someone "who has always been a great friend of the fund".¹⁶¹ From having been one of UNICEF's leading opponents, she was now one of the organization's supporters.

The prelude to this changed attitude towards UNICEF was that during a visit to Sweden made by one of the heads of the European section of UNICEF, the establishment of a UNICEF committee in Sweden had been discussed. A suggestion was made that the Swedish Committee for International Relief should form a national UNICEF committee in Sweden. During this meeting, it was also suggested that Rädde Barnen should act as the Swedish UNICEF committee's executive body. UNICEF's European representative approached Margit Levinson to find out whether she supported this suggestion. If so, he wanted her to communicate the proposition to the Swedish Government.¹⁶² If this proposition were accepted, Rädde Barnen would not only be able to influence UNICEF in Sweden, but the organization would also be in charge of the committee.

UNICEF appears to have discovered that, in Sweden, contacts with the Swedish Government in questions of relief were best made via Swedish relief organizations. As demonstrated, Margit Levinson agreed to act as a mediator with the Swedish Government, and she also decided that Rädde Barnen should take on the task of setting up a UNICEF committee in Sweden.¹⁶³ By gaining Margit Levinson's support, UNICEF finally managed to establish itself in Sweden. Even if the

¹⁶¹ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2038, Letter from Maurice Pate to Birger Ekeberg. April 11, 1952.

¹⁶² Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2038, Letter from E.W. Meyer External Relations Division to Mrs Levinson. 5th of March 1952

¹⁶³ Ibidem

committee was to be under Rädga Barnen's patronage, this still meant advancement for UNICEF, considering the resistance that had existed towards the organization.

The suggestion that a UNICEF committee was to be established under the patronage of Rädga Barnen was provocative for the Swedish Red Cross, which was completely excluded in this proposal. In a correspondence between Henrik Beer, Secretary General of the Swedish Red Cross, and the head of the political department at the Swedish Foreign Office, Claes Carbonnier, Henrik Beer emphasized that he did not want to see the establishment of a UNICEF committee. The Swedish Committee for International Relief still existed, and this had to be taken into consideration before new arrangements were made. He also emphasized that the combination of the Swedish Committee for International Relief and Rädga Barnen was not a particularly successful one.

I hereby wish to report , that I - with the clear purpose of avoiding such a committee, at least before it has been thoroughly discussed at home - notified Meier that the Ekeberg committee still exists, and this must be taken into consideration before seeking new avenues.

The suggested combination of the Swedish Committee for International Relief and Rädga Barnen also does not seem to me, at first sight neither objectively nor formally, to be very successful. I would be grateful to be informed as to when and whether this has been discussed in the department¹⁶⁴

As has been shown here, the harmonization that had been reached between Rädga Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross had been disturbed. The issue of establishment of a UNICEF committee in Sweden disillusioned the relationship, and the Swedish Red Cross turned to the Swedish Foreign Office for support.

¹⁶⁴ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2038, Letter from Henrik Beer, the Swedish Red Cross, to Byråchef Claes Carbonnier, Kungl. Utrikes Departementet. Stockholm 14 mars 1952. "Jag vill med anledning härav meddela, att jag - med det bestämda syftet att slippa från en sådan nationalkommitté, i varje fall innan saken grundligt diskuterats här hemma - omtalade för Meier att Ekebergskommittén fortfarande existerar, och att hänsyn härtill måste tas innan man ger sig ut på nya vägar. Den förslagna kombinationen mellan SIH och Rädga Barnen förefaller mig vid första anblicken varken sakligt eller formellt vara särskilt lyckad. Jag vore tacksam att få höra när och om saken har varit uppe till diskussion i departementet."

However, Maurice Pate, the executive director of UNICEF, pushed the matter forward and he also turned to the Swedish Foreign Office. He pointed out that, among the 57 countries that had supported UNICEF, the Scandinavian countries were the weakest link in the "chain of support". The Nordic countries had generously supported a tuberculosis campaign immediately after the war, but since then the only contribution that had been made from Sweden to UNICEF was towards the project in Germany.¹⁶⁵ He also emphasized that he had gained the support of Rädga Barnen. The relationship with Rädga Barnen was, as we have seen earlier, portrayed as though it was and had been without friction, and Margit Levinson was described as always having been one of UNICEF's supporters.

As Mrs. Levinson who has always been a great friend of the Fund, has informed us that Rädga Barnen would be willing to act as an executive organ of such a National Committee I am keeping her informed by sending her copies of all the material attached to this letter too as of this letter itself.¹⁶⁶

As before, where UNICEF was concerned, it was complicated for the Swedish Government to make a decision in the matter. The issue of establishing a UNICEF committee in Sweden also became a lengthy process. It took two years before this was finally realized, but in 1954, the Swedish Foreign office gave Rädga Barnen the task of carrying out the establishment of this committee. A UNICEF committee was then established under the organization's patronage.

Referring to the Foreign Office's official letter of the 10th of June 1954, the board of Rädga Barnen has the pleasure to report that its chairman, executing the assignment given by the Foreign Office, invited a group of experts to a meeting at the organization's premises on the 6th of August 1954. At this meeting it was decided that a Swedish UNICEF committee was to be established.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Swedish National Archives, Utrikesdepartementet 1920 års dossiersystem HP60E volym 2038, Letter from Maurice Pate, Executive Director to Riksmarschall Ekeberg. April 11, 1952

¹⁶⁶ Ibidem

¹⁶⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen E:1 Brev till Konungen och Departementen 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1959. Till Chefen för Politiska avdelningen Kungl Utrikesdepartementet från Gertrud Höjer 2:a vice ordförande. 3 sept 1954. "åberopande utrikesdepartementets skrivelse av den 10 juni 1954, har Föreningen Rädga Barnens centralstyrelse härmed äran meddela, att dess ordförande i syfte att vidta de av departementet åskade åtgärderna inbjöd en grupp sakkunniga till sammanträde i före-

Eight years after UNICEF was founded, a committee was established in Sweden. As we have seen, this had created a power struggle within Sweden in which Rädga Barnen comes across as the winning party. Establishment of the UNICEF committee under Rädga Barnen's patronage created another opportunity for the organization to enhance its position. A large proportion of the members of the board of the UNICEF committee was active, or had been active, within Rädga Barnen. For instance, chairmanship of the UNICEF committee was upheld by the first vice-chairman of Rädga Barnen, Nils Thedin. Other members were Dr. Torsten Arnéus, who also had a seat on the board of Rädga Barnen, and Department Inspector Agda Rössel,¹⁶⁸ previously active within Rädga Barnen. Another member of the board was Henrik Beer, Secretary General of the Swedish Red Cross, and members of the board of the Swedish Home Office, the Foreign Office and Swedish Board of Health were also represented.¹⁶⁹ By this time, the Swedish Red Cross had apparently agreed to the establishment of a UNICEF committee, but Rädga Barnen was clearly in charge.

As has been shown in this part, UNICEF's position within the field of relief work for children became increasingly significant. The organization was made permanent, and it came to be in charge of the UNAC campaign. UNICEF had gained an important position on the international arena and despite the initial resistance from Swedish non-governmental organizations, UNICEF eventually managed to establish itself within Sweden

However, the relationship between UNICEF and Rädga Barnen that had been established owing to the arrangements surrounding the Swedish UNICEF committee, where Rädga Barnen had an important position, was going to be jeopardized again. In 1954, the same year the UNICEF committee was established in Sweden, another challenge from UNICEF surfaced on the international arena. This event appears to have disrupted the good relations that had been achieved

ningens lokaler den 6 augusti 1954. Vid detta sammanträde beslöts bl.a. att bilda en svensk UNICEF-kommitté."

¹⁶⁸ Agda Rössel had previously been the chief of Swedish Save the Children Fund's international activities. Svenska Beskickningen, Agda Rössels anförande rörande UNICEFs arbete I tredje utskottet 24 november 1954. UD Utlandsmyndighet. Repr Arkiv FN New York, 1920 års dossiersystem HP-dossierer, HP 48 F1d:172 1946-1957.

¹⁶⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen E:1 Brev till Konungen och Departementen 2. Brevväxling med Utrikesdepartementet 1948-1959. Till Chefen för Politiska avdelningen Kungl Utrikesdepartementet från Gertrud Höjer 2:a vice ordförande. 3 sept 1954

between UNICEF and Rädga Barnen. It also increased the strenuous relationship between UNICEF and Rädga Barnen's international union, IUCW.

A World Children's Day or a Universal Children's Day?

The event that stirred up debates on the international arena was UN's decision to establish a Universal Children's Day in 1954.¹⁷⁰ A similar day, the World's Children's Day, had already been carried out by IUCW. In Rädga Barnen's documentation of the events surrounding the UN decision to establish a similar day for children, it is evident that this turned into a power struggle on the international arena. The participants in this struggle were the UN, UNICEF, IUCW, but also Rädga Barnen. In this part we will see how this struggle was portrayed by Rädga Barnen, but before analysing the struggles that arose between these actors, we will look at how 'World Children's Day', carried out by IUCW, was established and celebrated.

In 1952, IUCW decided to establish 'World Children's Day'. Celebrations of the day took place on the first Monday of October every year, starting in October 1953. Each year, one paragraph from the Declaration of the Rights of the Child was highlighted. Execution of the day seems to have been successful.¹⁷¹ Maurice Pate, UNICEF's executive director, had spontaneously participated in international broadcasts, supporting 'World Children's Day'. The second year in which 'World Children's Day' was to be carried out, great efforts were made to create publicity around the event. Countess Mountbatten, President of Honour of Rädga Barnen's international union, held a speech in a broadcast, and the internationally renowned singer Josephine Baker recorded a song in English, Spanish and French in support of the day.¹⁷² This year, 1955, there was a particular reason for trying to direct as much attention to 'World Children's Day' as possible. The reason for this was that, in December 1954, a proposal had been made within the UN General Assembly that a 'Universal Children's Day' was to be established as an expansion of UNICEF's activities.¹⁷³ The UN was planning to establish a day

¹⁷⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Världsbarnsdagen, E:2. P.M. rörande VÄRLDSBARN-DAGEN med anledning av den rekommendation angående firandet av en VÄRLDSBARN-DAG som antogs av FN:S Generalförsamling den 14 december 1954.

¹⁷¹ Ibidem

¹⁷² Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Världsbarnsdagen, E:2. P.M. rörande VÄRLDSBARN-DAGEN med anledning av den rekommendation angående firandet av en VÄRLDSBARN-DAG som antogs av FN:S Generalförsamling den 14 december 1954.

¹⁷³ Ibidem

for children similar to the one that already existed and that had been carried out by IUCW. By gaining as much attention as possible for 'World Children's Day', IUCW hoped to send a clear signal to the UN about the organization's significance within the field of relief work for children on the international arena. In a correspondence from the Secretary General of IUCW, Georges Thelin, to Margit Levinson, it is evident that the organization wanted to have its status as an international relief organization for children acknowledged by the UN. He hoped that the attention given to the celebration of 'World's Children's Day' would cause the UN to "formally consult" IUCW in questions concerning child relief.¹⁷⁴

As has been demonstrated earlier, concerns about UNICEF's entrance onto the field of international relief work for children had been expressed within IUCW. The reason then was that UNICEF had begun appealing for funds from sources also used by the association. As we can see here, IUCW's position within this field became increasingly challenged. It appears as if the UN wanted to see UNICEF as the dominating international relief organization for children. However, IUCW and Rädga Barnen were not willing to give up this position to UNICEF, and next we will see how a series of attempts were made to try to maintain these positions. We will start out by looking at how attempts to stop the establishment of 'Universal Children's Day' were carried out.

IUCW's and Rädga Barnen's attempt to stop 'Universal Children's Day'

Within the UN, non-governmental organizations were not heard, and thus it was not possible for IUCW to forward its opinions or have any influence on the UN's decision to establish a 'Universal Children's Day'.¹⁷⁵ However, UNICEF committees were heard, and this made it possible for Rädga Barnen to express its opinions on the issue. Rädga Barnen took this opportunity to try to influence the outcome of the discussions taking place within the UN regarding this matter. Agda Rössel, previously in charge of Rädga Barnen's international activities and a member of the board of the Swedish UNICEF committee, made statements on the issue within the UN. In November 1954, at the UN's Third Committee where

¹⁷⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Världsbarnsdagen, E:2 letter from Georges Thelin, Secretary-General International Union for Child Welfare to Margit Levinson President Föreningen Rädga Barnen **Re: World Children's Day**. 3 August 1955.

¹⁷⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Världsbarnsdagen, E:2. P.M. rörande VÄRLDSBARN-DAGEN med anledning av den rekommendation angående firandet av en VÄRLDSBARN-DAG som antogs av FN:S Generalförsamling den 14 december 1954

the proposition of establishing a 'Universal Children's Day' was discussed, Agda Rössel tried to prevent this from being realized. In her speech, she began by emphasizing how good the relationships between Rädga Barnen and international organizations such as UNRRA and the International Refugee Organization, IRO, had been. Agda Rössel also emphasized that a "fruitful" co-operation had existed between Rädga Barnen and UNICEF.

We co-operated, naturally, with the UNRRA and the IRO and with other intergovernmental agencies. When UNICEF was set up in 1948 a most fruitful co-operation with this organization was initiated, which has continued since then.¹⁷⁶

In her speech, Agda Rössel also emphasized the excellent work that had been performed by IUCW and Rädga Barnen. Agda Rössel highlighted that she herself, in co-operation with the president of Rädga Barnen, had been working on the broadcasting programme for 'World's Children's Day'. According to her 'World's Children's Day' had been celebrated for two consecutive years, in association with UNICEF.¹⁷⁷

As shown here, Agda Rössel portrayed the relationships with UN organizations as though they had been without friction. If IUCW and Rädga Barnen were to have any influence in outlining UNICEF's activities, including the establishment of 'Universal Children's Day', it was undoubtedly important that she managed to convince UN decision-makers that co-operation between UN organizations, IUCW and Rädga Barnen had previously worked flawlessly.

As we have seen earlier, Maurice Pate had spontaneously supported 'World's Children's Day', and according to Agda Rössel, UNICEF was positive to the idea of continuing to support the day for children previously established by IUCW.¹⁷⁸ It was of course possible for Agda Rössel to make this statement on behalf of the Swedish UNICEF committee. However, this does not appear to have been the general opinion within UNICEF. No objections from UNICEF or

¹⁷⁶Svenska Beskickningen, Agda Rössels anförande rörande UNICEFs arbete I tredje utskottet 24 november 1954. UD Utlandsmyndighet. Repr Arkiv FN New York, 1920 års dossiersystem HP-dossierer, HP 48 F1d:172 1946-1957.

¹⁷⁷Ibidem

¹⁷⁸Svenska Beskickningen, Agda Rössels anförande rörande UNICEFs arbete I tredje utskottet 24 november 1954. UD Utlandsmyndighet. Repr Arkiv FN New York, 1920 års dossiersystem HP-dossierer, HP 48 F1d:172 1946-1957.

its executive director, Maurice Pate, were put forward regarding the UN suggestion to establish a similar day. Agda Rössel was apparently convinced that 'World Children's Day' had the support of UNICEF, and because of this, she could see no reason why another, similar day should be established.

It would, in my opinion, be rather objectionable if we were to create another World Children's Day in competition with the already existing day, which was initiated by the International Union for Child Welfare and which has the support of UNICEF.¹⁷⁹

Agda Rössel was clearly struggling to maintain both Rädde Barnen's and IUCW's positions as prominent relief organizations for children. Her statements within the UN appear to have been made in the faith that she had UNICEF's backing in not supporting the establishment of 'Universal Children's Day'.

IUCW also made an attempt to stop the UN from establishing 'Universal Children's Day'. A month after the meeting at the UN's Third Committee, where Agda Rössel expressed her opinions on the suggestion of establishing a 'Universal Children's Day', the UN General Assembly gathered. IUCW sent a representative to the Assembly with instructions to try to stop 'Universal Children's Day'. However, as mentioned earlier, non-governmental organizations were not heard within the Assembly, which made this an impossible task. The attempt was made in vain, and it was decided that a 'Universal Children's Day' would be established.¹⁸⁰ The UN took no notice of the non-governmental organizations' protests, and this undoubtedly weakened IUCW's position.

Even if a decision was made that 'Universal Children's Day' was to be established, there appears to have been some hope within IUCW that the UN plan would not be realized. Towards the end of 1956, the problem was discussed within the board of IUCW, which was apparently still trying to prevent the UN from realizing the plan. In a correspondence between the board members of IUCW, it becomes evident that this issue had created unease within the association.

¹⁷⁹ Ibidem

¹⁸⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Världsbarnsdagen, E:2. P.M. rörande VÄRLDSBARN-DAGEN med anledning av den rekommendation angående firandet av en VÄRLDSBARNDAG som antogs av FN:S Generalförsamling den 14 december 1954.

I think our first step towards a better relationship between UNICEF and the United Nations generally is to raise the quality of respect of the International Union. The arbitrary and seemingly unfair manner in which the United Nations tried to replace World Children's Day, together with UNICEF's increasing attempts to attain private support in competition with voluntary agencies, can constitute the seeds of a very serious opposition to the United Nations and UNICEF if the issue is stirred up. I have the feeling that the latter issue especially must be met sometime in the not too far distant future.¹⁸¹

The President of IUCW suggested a solution to the problem. He wanted the association to invite UNICEF to join 'World Children's Day', which was organized by IUCW. He argued that this could be a solution, but at the same time he was doubtful that this would come about. It was not likely that IUCW would be given any official acknowledgement from UNICEF. The members of the executive board of IUCW were in agreement that UNICEF's 'Universal Children's Day' posed a threat to the organization. However, the President and a majority of the board members did state that the question would resolve itself in time. The reason for this was that they were confident that IUCW would eventually take the lead in questions concerning children's welfare.

Mr. Pat would like to do something about this but I am afraid that this Board feels differently. As the Union gains strength and becomes increasingly active I think that such problems as this will take care of themselves by virtue of the leadership, which the Union will assume in this and other matters.¹⁸²

IUCW was clearly negatively affected by the UN decision to enforce the plan to establish a day for children similar to its own. In doing this, UNICEF had gained an important position on the international arena within the field of relief work for children – a position that previously appears to have been dominated by IUCW.

¹⁸¹ Swedish National Archives, Rätts Barnen, E:2, Unionen brev 1956, Brev från Richard P Saunders till Dr. Leonard Mayor, 1956-10-09

¹⁸² Swedish National Archives, Rätts Barnen, E:2, Unionen brev 1956, Brev från Leonard Mayo till Judge de Jong samt M. Georges Thelin 1956-11-05

'Institutionalized cosmopolitanism' had been reached prior to the conflicts surrounding the establishment of 'Universal Children's Day'; a worldwide consensus that children needed to be protected had been established. As we have seen, this worldwide agreement created conflicts about who was to be the authority on the issue of protecting children. UNICEF, with the backing of the UN, managed to obtain this position on the international level in this instance. As demonstrated, this position was not reached through negotiations, but by force.

Rädda Barnen and IUCW had lost this struggle, but this did not mean that they stopped making efforts to maintain their positions within this field. Attempts to prevent the establishment of 'Universal Children's Day' had failed, but the idea of organizing such day had its origins in the work of IUCW, and for this the association wanted to be given credit.

Credit where credit is due?

The issue of whether or not credit should be given to IUCW for coming up with the idea of a worldwide day for children became a topic of discussion during the same session in which the UN General Assembly decided to establish "Universal Children's Day". Some of the Nordic countries appear to have taken a particular interest in this matter. This question was apparently difficult to agree on and appears to have divided the participants within the UN Assembly. Some of the representatives of different countries considered it fair to acknowledge this, but others argued that this would be impossible. If IUCW were given credit for initiating 'Universal Children's Day', then all non-governmental organizations that carried out relief work for children ought to be given recognition. The UN representatives for Sweden, Denmark and Norway disagreed and forwarded a suggestion that credit should be given to IUCW for initiating such a day.

The mention of IUCW's initiative in the introduction paragraph in the Indian-Uruguayan suggestion, and in a more pronounced manner in the Scandinavian suggestion for changes, provoked discussions and new sug-

gestions. The same applies to the suggestion made by Afghanistan, in which any reference to IUCW was excluded altogether.¹⁸³

As has been demonstrated here, the suggestion made by some of the Nordic countries was supported by the Indian-Uruguayan representatives. However, this support was not enough, and the debate within the Assembly resulted in a stipulation that non-governmental organizations should not be mentioned in the UN decree. Evidently the majority of members in the General Assembly objected to mentioning non-governmental organizations in the UN resolutions. Within the Assembly it was argued that a "dangerous" precedent could be set if non-governmental organizations were mentioned.¹⁸⁴

IUCW was struggling to maintain at least a fraction of the position it previously had in organizing and carrying out a worldwide day for children. This attempt failed, and the association was completely overruled by the UN. 'Universal Children's Day' was established, but no credit was given to IUCW for initiating this day. These setbacks did not stop IUCW from making further attempts to influence the UN and UNICEF. Next we will see how an attempt was made by IUCW to influence the outlining of 'Universal Children's Day'.

The outlining of 'Universal Children's Day'- different notions of children

Despite the hindrances, IUCW continued its efforts to maintain its position as a prominent relief organization for children on the international arena. As has been demonstrated, its attempts so far had been in vain. However, IUCW did find yet another issue, the actual outlining of 'Universal Children's Day', in relation to which the association tried to influence the UN and UNICEF. As we will see, this time it was not only a question of maintaining organizational space, but also of what notion of children was to dominate the international arena. The Secretary General of IUCW tried to influence the President of the UN General Assembly in the outlining of 'Universal Children's Day'. IUCW wanted the UN to change the

¹⁸³ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Världsbarndagen, E:2. P.M. rörande VÄRLDSBARN-DAGEN med anledning av den rekommendation angående firandet av en VÄRLDSBARNDAG som antogs av FN:S Generalförsamling den 14 december 1954.

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem

formulation in the regulations so that, in the future, an understanding and co-operation between the organizations would be possible.¹⁸⁵

In IUCW'S attempt to influence the outlining of 'Universal Children's Day', a difference surfaced between the UN's and UNICEF's notion of children and that of IUCW. IUCW had its starting point in adults, which implied an emphasis on adult responsibility for children as well as on the role of adults as decision-makers in children's lives. IUCW pointed out that children were by no means excluded from the celebrations, but it was towards adults IUCW was directing its appeal. This is in contrast to the perspective visible in UN efforts for children in the world, which stressed brotherhood and understanding between children and which focused on children as individual actors. The UN wanted to strengthen and expand UN efforts for children in the world, on children's behalf. In order to achieve this, activities for children intended to strengthen the knowledge of UN's regulation's purpose were to be organized throughout the world.¹⁸⁶ As we can see here, the starting points were different. IUCW had its starting point in adults, who were responsible for children and the decision-makers in charge of the world children lived in. It appears as if children were not considered to be independent actors, able to influence the world they lived in. The UN and UNICEF appear to have represented a new notion of children. Fellowship and understanding between children were to be encouraged. The UN regulation indicated that it was not only important for children to create harmonious relationships with each other, but also self-evident that children could do so.

This attempt on the part of IUCW was also overruled. The chairman of the UN argued that not only was it impossible at this time to change the regulations, he also emphasized that IUCW had been informed about this. However, even if the UN not could accommodate the suggestions made by IUCW, it was emphasized that a constructive and friendly relationship with IUCW was desired.¹⁸⁷ As has been demonstrated here, IUCW had clearly struggled to maintain its position as a dominating international organization for relief work for children. All its efforts

¹⁸⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädna Barnen, Världsbarndagen, E:2. P.M. rörande VÄRLDSBARN-DAGEN med anledning av den rekommendation angående firandet av en VÄRLDSBARNDAG som antogs av FN:S Generalförsamling den 14 december 1954

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*

¹⁸⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädna Barnen, Världsbarndagen, E:2. P.M. rörande VÄRLDSBARN-DAGEN med anledning av den rekommendation angående firandet av en VÄRLDSBARNDAG som antogs av FN:S Generalförsamling den 14 december 1954

had been in vain, and at this time, the international arena was dominated by UNICEF.

Concluding discussion

In this chapter, we have seen how UNICEF became a challenger in the field of relief work for children on both the national Swedish and the international level. On the national Swedish level, the organization appears to have been resisted by both Swedish authorities and non-governmental organizations. It took eight years after its founding before UNICEF managed to establish itself within Sweden. As has been shown, the reason for this ultimate success was that Rädde Barnen changed its attitude towards UNICEF. However, for Rädde Barnen this made it possible to gain a more prominent position within the country and internationally. By being in charge of the Swedish UNICEF committee, the organization also gained control of its activities. Being the patron of this committee also proved beneficial to Rädde Barnen on the international level. This enabled the organizations to be heard within the UN, which would otherwise not have been possible.

On the international level, the establishment of UNICEF clearly competed with IUCW, which appears to have been the predominant actor on the arena of relief work for children. UNICEF had the backing of the UN, which enabled the organization to gain important influence and seemingly take over the position as the predominant actor in questions concerning child relief. IUCW desperately tried to maintain its position, by trying to prevent the UN from establishing a 'Universal Children's Day'. When this failed, IUCW tried to get credit for initiating such a day, but this failed as well. Finally, the organization tried to influence the outlining of the day, but yet again IUCW's attempts were ignored by the UN and UNICEF. The UN evidently wanted UNICEF to take over the position as the predominant voice for children on the international arena. As we have seen, UNICEF appears to have represented a new notion of children as independent, able actors who can influence their own lives.

As we have also seen, a joint understanding that children are in need of protection did emerge. Using Ulrich Beck's definition, we could say that 'institutionalized cosmopolitanism' had been reached. However, this was not the result of having reached a consensus on how or by which organization children should be protected. On the contrary, as we have seen, conflicts emerged between the

UN and national non-governmental organizations such as Rädde Barnen, but also the Swedish Government. As a supranational organization, the UN wanted ongoing Swedish relief activities for children to be included under its umbrella, and negotiations on this were carried out. Within Sweden, UNICEF did not succeed in becoming the predominant voice on questions concerning child protection.

However, on the international level, UNICEF was far more successful. Here conflicts also arose, mainly between the UN and IUCW, but as has been demonstrated, very little negotiation took place, and UNICEF gained a dominant position by the authority attributed to it by UN.

While the conflicts and events surrounding UNICEF's entrance onto the international arena of child relief were underway, conflicts arose within the IUCW as well. These conflicts concerned different views on how to run an association like IUCW.

Chapter V

The definition of being an international organization – conflicts within the International Union for Child Welfare

Introduction

In previous chapters, we have seen how struggles arose between organizations and authorities on both national and international arena. As has been demonstrated, these were about gaining organizational space and thus becoming authority in questions concerning child relief. In this chapter we will see how struggles surfaced within IUCW where different viewpoints on what the policies on running the association was, crystallised. The debates took place simultaneously to when the controversies around UN's decision to establish a 'Universal Children's Day' arose. The core of the problem in these discussions appears to have been about how being an international organization should be defined in relationship to a universalistic or a cosmopolitan outlook.

Before looking more closely at the debate within the international union and at what was at stake there, an account will be given of UISE's background, the early days of the association's existence. This will illustrate what stance the organization previously had on co-operation with other organizations.

Union International de Secours aux Enfants, UISE

As mentioned in the introduction, Eglantyne Jebb, one of the founders of the Save the Children Fund, recognized early on the need to co-ordinate the work of member countries so as to avoid overlapping efforts, but also to make the organi-

zation universal. For this reason, UISE was established in 1920. The organization had its head office in Geneva, and was chaired by the Swedish ex Consul, Baron de Geer. Eglantyne Jebb obtained the seat as vice-chairman of the organization.¹⁸⁸ At the outset of the organization's activities, the relationship with the Red Cross was good, and the latter gave its support to the newly founded organization. It was also from the Red Cross that the idea of being a non-political organization that took no notice of the religion or nationality of aid recipients came.¹⁸⁹ One event of importance to the organization's international establishment was when Pope Benedict XV gave his support to UISE. A collection of funds was carried out in all Catholic churches around the world, for the benefit of the organization.¹⁹⁰ Quakers and theosophists were often used to carry out the relief activities. Both of these groups were already actively working with relief actions in different countries in Europe.¹⁹¹ The advantage of using religious groups or local organizations was that they had knowledge of the location in which relief was to be directed, and could quickly point out where it was most needed. UISE gathered money, and then distributed these funds in whatever way seemed most practical, thus sometimes via other organizations.

Another important occurrence for the organization's international establishment took place during UISE's third congress in 1921, which was held in Stockholm. A representative of the League of Nations attended the congress, and he expressed his admiration for the organization's work. He also stated that UISE was working towards the same goal as the League of Nations and that this goal was to create a feeling of fellowship between people. He called UISE the pioneers of the League of Nations. According to a report from this congress, this was one of the most important acknowledgements the organization had received for its work.¹⁹² In 1923, Eglantyne Jebb wrote in a letter to her friend Suzanne Ferrière, Secretary at the Red Cross, that she wanted certain rights for children to be established, which would hopefully be recognized all over the world.¹⁹³ She was not alone in wanting a charter for children to be established, a charter was

¹⁸⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädna Barnens medlemsblad no 8, 1920-08-15

¹⁸⁹ Fuller Edward, *The Right of the child: A chapter in social history*, London 1951, pp 39

¹⁹⁰ Jebb Eglantyne, *Save the Child! A posthumous essay*. London 1929, p 7

¹⁹¹ Fuller Edward, *The Right of the child: A chapter in social history*, London 1951, pp 77

¹⁹² Swedish National Archives, Rädna Barnens medlemsblad no 17 1921

¹⁹³ Save the Children Fund's archive, London. Letter from Eglantyne Jebb to Suzanne Ferrière, 1923-01-24, SC/SF/17

formulated by The International Council of Women, too. However, Eglantyne Jebb argued that this charter was too socialistic in its character, and only contained what duties governments had to children. She wanted everyone's duties to children to be established, those of non-governmental organizations, teachers, parents – anyone who came in contact with children. For this reason, she created another charter, which became the one accepted by the League of Nations.¹⁹⁴ The idea underlying this declaration was that a safety net should be created around children and that this safety net should also provide support for everyone who had anything to do with children and their up-bringing.¹⁹⁵ According to Eglantyne Jebb, “The Declaration of Geneva summed up the minimum requirements of mankind for its children.”¹⁹⁶ The League of Nations had made protection of children their business, and Eglantyne Jebb was appointed as advisor to a committee within the organization that worked with questions concerning children. The League of Nations wanted laws that protect children to be established in all countries. “The world's experience of the protection of children” should be gathered within the organization. Eglantyne Jebb was anxious to co-operate with the League of Nations, as both organizations were working towards the same goals. In her view, having the support of the League of Nations was important, because it gave more weight to the questions UISE was working for.¹⁹⁷

As we can see here, looking back at the international union's history, good relations existed with the organizations the union interacted with. A spirit of wanting to co-operate to achieve the same goal, which was to protect children, also existed. UISE had good relations with both the Red Cross and the League of Nations, which was the forerunner of the United Nations. UISE also used other organizations to execute and distribute relief, as this was considered to be most practical and efficient method. We will now return to the period of time covered in the present study, and look at how discussions about defining the association's role as a universal organization were conducted.

¹⁹⁴ Save the Children Fund's archive, London. Letter from Eglantyne Jebb to Suzanne Ferrière, 1923-01-24, SC/SF/17

¹⁹⁵ Save the Children Fund's archive, London. Letter from Eglantyne Jebb to Suzanne Ferrière, 1923-02-02, SC/SF/18

¹⁹⁶ Jebb Eglantyne, *Save the Child! A posthumous essay*. London 1929, p 39

¹⁹⁷ Stockholm City Archives, Anna Lindhagens samling, Union Internationale de Secours aux Enfants, 76th Circular to be affiliated Committees, 1926-03-24. Volym 39.12

The definition of an international organization

During WWII, UISE appears to have dominated the international arena in questions concerning child relief and protection. The Red Cross and the UN provided relief work for children too, but did not have their focal point on children. There were other organizations, such as Children and Youth Aliyah and Oevre de Secours aux enfants, which also worked for children, but these focused mainly on Jewish children and youth. As has been mentioned earlier, the idea behind UISE was to help as many children in as many places as possible. During the winter of 1940-1941, a manifesto was distributed among UISE member countries in which the different branches were reminded of this policy.

Under all circumstances, the Union is prepared to assist children, no matter what nationality, as soon as a request for assistance has been made.¹⁹⁸

At this time, the political antagonisms in Europe were ongoing, but UISE clearly wanted to stick to its basic principle that all children should receive help no matter the circumstances.

In the manifesto referred to here, it was also emphasized that UISE had good relations with all its member countries. This did not necessarily mean that relations were close; relations with many of the countries apparently stayed on a fairly general basis. However, contacts with the English and the American affiliates had been exceptionally good. The reason for this was that these two countries had proven themselves to be very loyal in many respects.¹⁹⁹ The manifesto does not reveal the nature of their loyalty, but as we can see, in the same statement as UISE pointed out that nationality should make no difference to where relief work was directed it is pointed out that the Americans and British were the most committed members. It seems as if, the organization did make a political statement even if the ambition was to refrain from doing so.

In the manifesto, it was also pointed out that UISE had great respect for the work done by other organizations, but the association considered itself to be re-

¹⁹⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädna Barnen, E:2 Unionen brev tom 1949. Meddelande från Union Internationalé Genève -, översättning. Bilaga. Cirkulär. Hjälpplanen 1940-1941. "Under alla förhållanden, är Unionen beredd att bistå barn av vilken nationalitet de vara må, så snart anhållan därom ingått"

¹⁹⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädna Barnen, E:2 Unionen brev tom 1949. Meddelande från Union Internationalé Genève -, översättning. Bilaga. Cirkulär. Hjälpplanen 1940-1941.

sponsible for the bulk of relief work among children.²⁰⁰ Already at this point, UISE's ambition was evidently to become an authority on the international arena in questions concerning child relief.

By the time of the armistice, IUCW had branches in many different countries. In 1946, the association had 54 member organizations in 34 different countries, whereof 40 were in 22 European countries, two in North America, eight in South America, one in Central America and three in Asia. As can be noted, no branches were established in the Eastern bloc or in Africa at this time. In 1946, UISE also merged with *Associacion Internationale de Protection de l'Enfance Brüssel* and changed its name to the International Union for Child Welfare, IUCW.²⁰¹ As we can see here, the association was large at this time and its ability to make an impact on questions concerning child relief internationally appears to have been significant. However, as demonstrated earlier, the establishment of UNICEF and the UN decision to establish 'Universal Children's Day' was a setback for the association.

Concurrently with the conflicts that arose around the establishment of 'Universal Children's Day', conflicts also arose within IUCW concerning if and in what way the association was going to adapt to UN requirements for organizations with consultative status. This caused conflicts between Rädna Barnens's Chairwoman, Margit Levinson, and Andree Morier, Executive Director of IUCW regarding how to carry out the association's work and the appropriate policies for this work.

The characterization of an international organization – diversity or uniformity?

As we have seen earlier, common practice within IUCW had been to use local organizations in different countries to carry out relief work. These organizations became members of IUCW and then carried out relief actions, supported by the association. In a correspondence between Margit Levinson and Andree Morier, it is evident that this policy caused friction between the two of them. Margit Levinson was apprehensive about the policy of using local organizations in different countries to execute relief actions, and she also questioned the policy of granting

²⁰⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädna Barnen, E:2 Unionen brev tom 1949. Meddelande från Union Internationalé Genève -, översättning

²⁰¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädna Barnen, E:2 Unionen brev tom 1949, Internationella Rädna Barnens 22:a konferens. Cirkulär no 9/46 Stockholm den 5 Oktober 1946

them membership in IUCW. She expressed concerns about the local organizations' abilities to efficiently contribute to the relief work being carried out. Andree Morier did not share Margit Levinson's concerns, but was willing to discuss the matter within the executive committee of IUCW. In contrast to Margit Levinson, Andree Morier argued that it was important and necessary for the international union to grant membership to other organizations. This enabled the union to keep its diversity and thereby represent children on an international level, which was apparently also what the UN required from organizations to grant them consultative status.²⁰² As demonstrated in the previous chapter, by this time, in 1953, IUCW's position was in jeopardy, and the association was struggling to maintain its importance as an international relief agency for children and was seemingly eager to comply with UN policies. Whether IUCW had officially been granted consultative status by the UN at this time is not evident. Whatever the case, Andree Morier appears to have been familiar with what the UN required if the association was to achieve this status.

Even so, Margit Levinson disagreed and argued that if the relief work were planned, performed and governed by IUCW; it would be carried out more efficiently. She appears to have been adamant in her standpoint on this matter and referred to the Articles of the Declaration of Geneva and the Union's own policies when questioning the membership of certain organizations. In reply, Andree Morier encouraged Margit Levinson to read the articles again, bearing in mind the question of diversity. Recall that, according to Andree Morier, including and accepting different methods of carrying out relief was necessary if children were to be represented on an international level.

If you refer to the aims of the Union as laid down in the Statues, and even more so in the various Articles of the Declaration of Geneva - which I think you should read again with this particular matter in mind - you will see that this diversity is taken for granted that it is absolutely logical, and that actually the Union could not fulfil its task without it.

²⁰² Swedish National Archives, Rädna Barnen, E:2, Brev från Unionen, Brev ifrån Andrée Morier, Chairman of the Executive Committee IUCW to Margit Levinson President Föreningen Rädna Barnen. 1953-06-16

Certainly the injunction to "Save the Child" - relief - is the object of Art. 5, but all the other Articles, and particularly Arts. 4 and 6, imply the efforts of more or less specialised organizations. Then again, for representing the interests of children on the international level, and in order to provide the consultative opinions that the United Nations and the Specialised Agencies ask for, these many-sided activities are absolutely essential. Considered from this point of view, therefore, your criticism is at least open to discussion.²⁰³

As has been demonstrated here, two different viewpoints on how to run the association surfaced. Andree Morier appears to have represented a cosmopolitan outlook in which diversity was welcome and necessary. In her view, this would be advantageous to the association because it would strengthen its position in the eyes of the UN as well. Margit Levinson viewed the matter in a different light and argued that IUCW's work would be more efficient if it were controlled by the association. She argued that a coherent set of principles should be established for organizations that were granted membership and that the relief work should be carried out in accordance with these principles. Margit Levinson appears to have advocated universalism – different organizations could be included, but they had to adjust to the principles defined by IUCW.

There was one organization, the Red Cross, which Margit Levinson appears to have found particularly difficult to include in IUCW's work. As we will see next, this also caused friction within IUCW.

Relations to the Red Cross – another source of conflicts?

As has been demonstrated earlier, in Sweden the relationship between the Swedish Red Cross and Rädde Barnen had been strenuous. The main reason appears to have been that both organizations were struggled to fortify their positions.

On the international arena, some of the leaders of the different organizations advocated co-operation between the organizations and others were more reluctant about this. The President of the International Red Cross, Max Huber, was one of

²⁰³ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, E:2, Brev från Unionen, Brev ifrån Andrée Morier, Chairman of the Executive Committee IUWC to Margit Levinson President Föreningen Rädde Barnen. 1953-06-16

the people who emphasized the importance of co-operation between the organizations. In 1946, when IUCW held its annual conference, one of the invited guests and speakers was Max Huber. In his speech, he emphasized how important it was that the good intentions of the pioneers of the organizations be maintained. He also pointed out how important it was that the two organizations co-operate and keep the good relations they had had in the past.

The next speaker was monsieur Max Huber the President of the International Red Cross. During a longer statement, he emphasized the necessity of good camaraderie between the Red Cross and the Save the Children Fund and thought that if the right will was in place, then there was always a way to find the right words. The will to co-operate is necessary and sacrifices from all of us are a must and he further stressed. "May our principal be to help all of those who are suffering and to give them our contributions".²⁰⁴

As we can see, it appears as if the President of the Red Cross indicated that conflicts had existed between the organizations and he emphasized the importance of co-operation in achieving the common goal – to help people in need.

However, the wishes expressed by the President of the Red Cross appear to have been difficult to comply with. As we will see, within IUCW opinions differed as to what should characterize the relationship with the Red Cross. For instance, the Secretary General of IUCW appears to have been reluctant about the organization. This is evident in a correspondence with Margit Levinson, where he describes a meeting with the UN concerning access to Korea. During this meeting, IUCW's Secretary General pointed out to the UN representative that he felt the Red Cross was being favoured regarding gaining access to Korea. This complaint seems to have amused the UN representative, and he pointed out that the Red Cross felt the same way. None of the organizations were being favoured, and both felt frustrated over not gaining access to Korea.

I then pointed out how disappointed the Executive Committee and the Secretariat had been, and even offended, to see that the Union and its member organizations, which are specialized in child relief, were slighted, while, to

²⁰⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädna Barnen, E:2, Unionen brev tom 1949, Anteckningar, förda i anslutning till 22:a konferensen inom Internationella Rädna Barnens Union den 17-21 September 1946.

our knowledge, the Red Cross Societies were favoured with special treatment. At this Mr Kingsley smiled and replied that they had just had a conversation with the League of Red Cross societies and these so-called privileges did not correspond to the real state of affairs. According to him, this organization was also annoyed.²⁰⁵

As has been demonstrated here, the Secretary-General of IUCW clearly considered the Red Cross as a competitor. He was not alone in feeling reluctant towards the Red Cross, as we will see next this was shared by Margit Levinson.

The animosity existing between the Swedish Red Cross and Rädde Barnen in Sweden was evidently lingering in the work Margit Levison carried out within IUCW. This became apparent in 1952, when the Women's International Democratic Federation arranged a conference on the protection of children. The organization invited IUCW to participate, but Andree Morier was hesitant, as the character of the conference was considered too political. She wrote to seek advice from the members of the executive committee, one of whom was Margit Levinson. Andree Morier herself argued that, despite her concerns, IUCW should send a representative to the conference, not for the purpose of participating, but as an observer. Her argument for this was that she believed that an interest in child welfare issues should supersede politics.

It would not be the first time that the Union has been represented at meetings of a political or denominational character, and in my opinion we should lay ourselves open to a change of political bias if we refused to attend a conference dealing with child welfare questions because it had been organised by communists or fellow travellers.²⁰⁶

However, as stated, Andree Morier wanted to obtain the opinions of the executive board and Margit Levinson replied. She disagreed, and in her reply she stated that unless the Red Cross planned to send a representative, she did not

²⁰⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen F1:19, Korea 1950-1961, Rapportier och information etc. 1950-1961, Brev ifrån Generalsekreterare Georges Thelin IUWC till Margit Levinson ordf. Svenska Rädde Barnen. 1951-04-12

²⁰⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, E: 2, Unionen brev 1952, Brev ifrån IUCW Morier Chairman of the Executive Committee to Margit Levinson, chairman of the Swedish Save the Children Fund, 1952-03-07

think the union should.²⁰⁷ As has been shown here, a difference of opinions on IUCW's policies surfaced, and even if Andree Morier was hesitant about the political side, she did not want to exclude the Women's International Democratic Federation entirely. She advocated inclusiveness, in contrast to Margit Levinson, who does not seem to have considered this important. In this instance, Margit Levinson appears to have been more concerned about protecting the association's position, and unless this was threatened, she was not interested in the opinions or work of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

As we have seen previously, the President of the Red Cross encouraged cooperation and friendly relations between the organizations, because after all, the goal was the same: to provide relief to people in need. Margit Levinson was seemingly not interested in achieving such relations, and in a correspondence to Andree Morier, she made her opinions of the Red Cross blatantly clear.

Within various Red Cross Associations I think I have noticed a certain tendency: in a rather purposeful manner they “brush up” their committees even in the personal sphere. Confidentially I can tell you that the Scandinavian Red Cross Organizations even seem to do their utmost so as to have all activity of raising funds monopolized for themselves, at least with regard to actions abroad: This has been felt in a rather unpleasant and disagreeable way--but as to the energy used in that respect there cannot be any mistake. – Quite simply the law of the jungle.²⁰⁸

As we can see, Margit Levinson accused the Red Cross of trying to control fundraising, and according to her, the Red Cross was a competitor.

The conflicts that had taken place in Sweden between the Swedish Red Cross and Rädde Barnen had evidently colored Margit Levinson's opinion of the Red Cross on an international level too. This becomes evident when the Dutch Red Cross in 1953 applied for membership in IUCW. Whether or not this should be accepted became an issue on which Margit Levinson's and Andree Morier's opinions once again differed, and they had different viewpoints on how to run an association.

²⁰⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, E:2, Unionen brev 1953, Till Andree Morier Chairman International Union for Child Welfare Geneva från Margit Levinson, 1953-06-22.

²⁰⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, E:2, Unionen brev 1953, Till Andree Morier Chairman International Union for Child Welfare Geneva från Margit Levinson, 1953-06-22.

With regard to the readmission of the Dutch Red Cross as member of the IUCW, I quite understand your hesitations but I would like to draw you attention to the fact that the situation and relationship of our member organizations with their respective Red Cross Societies are not the same in all countries and that the conclusions you may reach in view of the relations between Rädde Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross do not necessarily apply elsewhere. As a matter of fact, our two existing Dutch member organizations are entirely in favour of the readmission of their national Red Cross and do not fear any competition on their part, on the contrary, they are looking forward to increased co-operation.²⁰⁹

As we can see here, Andree Morier again advocated inclusiveness and pointed out that the struggle between Rädde Barnen and the Red Cross that had taken place in Sweden did not necessarily apply everywhere. On the contrary, the local Save the Children Fund branch in Holland welcomed co-operation between the organizations. In contrast to Margit Levinson and the Secretary General of IUCW, Andree Morier clearly shared the President of the Red Cross's opinion, that it was important to maintain good relations between the organizations.

Margit Levinson was concerned that if the Dutch Red Cross were granted admission into IUCW, this might lead to applications from many other Red Cross societies. Andree Morier again disagreed, pointing out that only one other member had raised similar objections, and for this reason she argued that Margit Levinson's protest was unfounded. According to Andree Morier, there were no good reasons for not allowing the Dutch Red Cross to regain its membership in IUCW, and as mentioned earlier, this was supported by the local Save the Children Fund in Holland.

Frankly said, I do not see what grounds one could give to the Dutch Red Cross for refusing its readmission to the Union in view of its being a humanitarian institution and its application so wholeheartedly supported by the nearest interested member organizations in Holland.

The above explanation clearly shows how extremely difficult it would be for the Executive Committee to take a firm stand against the readmission

²⁰⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, E:2, Unionen brev, To Margit Levinson Vice-Chairman, IUCW Executive Committee from A. Morier, Chairman Executive Committee, 1953-09-16

of the Dutch Red Cross, and I still hope that you will reconsider the matter in a more favourable light.²¹⁰

As demonstrated, Andree Morier advocated inclusion; she appears to have had a cosmopolitan outlook on how IUCW's policies should be enforced. As long as organizations that had been granted membership worked towards the same goal as the IUCW did, they ought to be included.

Rädda Barnen's performance of relief in Holland

As pointed out earlier, the original Save the Children Fund had traditionally used domestic voluntary organizations in different countries to distribute aid, if such organizations existed. The reason for this was to ensure that aid was provided to the areas where it was most needed. The organizations that were already active in the different countries usually had the best knowledge about the location of such areas. As demonstrated, Margit Levinson was concerned about local organizations ability to carry out relief actions in an efficient manner. She wanted these to be governed by IUCW. Andree Morier did not see a problem in using local organizations; on the contrary she argued that this was advantageous.

In 1953, when Rädda Barnen made an attempt to carry out a relief action in Holland but the result of this action turned out to be disappointing. In correspondence to Andree Morier, Margit Levinson criticized the local organization that had dealt with the relief action instead of Rädda Barnen. She argued that the organization was unknown, and that a request for aid should have been directed to the international union, rather than to the local organization. Andree Morier disagreed, and considered it natural that requests for help were firstly directed to local organizations. She also emphasized the importance of notifying the country concerned before visiting it and trying to direct activities there. Rädda Barnen had ignored this. Andree Morier also disagreed with Margit Levinson's opinion that the Dutch local organization's work and existence were unknown to the union. On the contrary, the organization was known both in Holland and outside the country.

²¹⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, E:2, Unionen brev, To Margit Levinson Vice-Chairman, IUCW Executive Committee from A. Morier, Chairman Executive Committee, 1953-09-16

I am sorry, and I have expressed this regret, that the member organizations of that country have not responded more effectively to the request of relief organizations such as Rädde Barnen. But I wonder, also, whether you took the precaution of informing them beforehand of the intended visit of Rädde Barnen's delegation and of its aim?

Your statement that the organization in question is unknown is surely based on a misunderstanding. On the contrary, in its own field this agency is well known both in its own country and abroad. My experience is that one has to be careful in coming to a negative conclusion of this kind. All too often we find that organizations that are extremely well-known to us (including the Union itself!) appear to be ignored by others, if their sphere of action lies in an entirely different direction, or if there is some reason - sometimes quite unconscious - for not wanting to take note of its existence...!²¹¹

As has been demonstrated, Margit Levinson did not trust local organizations to carry out relief actions in their own countries and she argued that these should be channelled via IUCW. Again, Andree Morier disagreed, and as we can see, she also pointed out that it was appropriate to ask the recipient whether or not the relief action actually was desired. Once again, different views on how to run the association are evident. Margit Levinson argued the power and decision-making concerning how relief efforts were going to be carried out should lie in the hands of the IUCW board. Andree Morier, on the other hand, wanted IUCW's work to be carried out as previously, using and including other organizations. Once more it becomes apparent that two different styles of running associations were advocated: a cosmopolitan outlook that considered diversity to be strength and universalism, which promoted homogeneity in the performance of relief work.

Concluding discussion

In this part, we have seen how a power struggle surfaced within IUCW concerning how the association's work should be carried out. At the time, in 1953, it was evident that the association's position as a predominant international relief or-

²¹¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, E:2, Unionen brev, To Margit Levinson Vice-Chairman, IUCW Executive Committee from A. Morier, Chairman Executive Committee, 1953-09-16

ganization in children's issues had been threatened by the establishment of UNICEF. It would seem that, for this reason, Andree Morier felt it was of vital importance to comply with the UN to the greatest possible extent so as to avoid weakening IUCW's position even more. She emphasized the importance of inclusiveness and welcomed diversity, which she felt strengthened the association. This was also what was required by the UN if the association was to be included in UN efforts.

Margit Levinson, on the other hand, appears to have taken another position vis-à-vis UN's requirements. Even if her concerns also concerned strengthening IUCW's position, the method she advocated for doing so was different. She wanted decisions on how relief work was to be carried out to be controlled by the board of IUCW and she wanted a coherent set of principles for this to be outlined.

As pointed out, it appears as if two different styles of defining an association based on a cosmopolitan vs. a universalistic outlook – came into conflict here. As we have also seen, Rädde Barnen does not seem to have considered it useful to use the local organization in Holland in carrying out its relief efforts in the country. In the following chapters, we will turn to some of Rädde Barnen's activities and see how they were carried out both in Sweden and in other countries.

Chapter VI

Rädda Barnen's activities

Introduction

Thus far, we have seen how Rädda Barnen's significance grew on both the national and international level during the period of time studied here. At the outbreak of the war, the organization had a limited impact on questions concerning child relief. This changed considerably towards the end of the war, as well as after the armistice. Rädda Barnen became an important voice on questions concerning child relief, both on the Swedish national level and within the international context. We will now turn to Rädda Barnen's activities and see how the organization's development affected the outlining of its actions.

This chapter will begin with a brief account of what the situation in Europe was like during this period of time. This should help us understand the background against which Rädda Barnen tried to carry out its relief work. Following this is a general overview of the kind of activities Rädda Barnen carried out and participated in. Subsequently, we will take a closer look at Rädda Barnen's activities in Sweden and discuss what position the organization had in the country and how this changed over the period under study. The chapter will end with a closer examination of one activity, sponsorship for children, which appears to have been the first activity Rädda Barnen also carried out outside the Nordic countries. Providing sponsorships to non-Nordic countries also gave rise to discussions between Rädda Barnen and UISE, and the nature of this interaction and its outcome will also be accounted for.

The chaos in Europe

During the war years, Europe was of course in a state of chaos. Borders were closed, and it was not possible for relief organizations or UN organizations to access all regions. Housing and infrastructure were destroyed in many places. Perhaps hardest to comprehend is the enormous loss of human lives. According to British historian Tony Judt, 36.5 million people died of “war-related causes” from 1939 to 1945. The exact extent to which the war had affected Europe and its inhabitants was not revealed until after the armistice. The rebuilding of Europe went relatively quickly, considering how horrific the conditions were. Tony Judt claims that the relatively rapid reconstruction was thanks to what he calls “a collective amnesia”; the atrocities of the war were repressed. Perhaps the most extensive relief efforts were carried out by UNRRA. In Western Europe alone, nearly 7 million people were being cared for by the organization at the end of the war.²¹²

Not only was the loss of human lives enormous, but there were also many refugees, many of whom were children. In Poland alone, there were approximately 200,000 orphans, in the Netherlands 60,000, and in Berlin alone, there were 53,000.²¹³ Among Rädde Barnen’s archive material, eyewitness accounts tell about the extremely difficult conditions that existed in Europe during this time. One eyewitness, for instance, called the conditions in Poland the “witches’ Sabbath of destruction”.²¹⁴ Naturally, Poland was not the only country to suffer, and as mentioned, people were starving, had no housing and many children where orphans and in need of aid. In 1945, a conference was held with representatives of Rädde Barnen, Swedish Social welfare authorities and representatives of UNRRA. At this conference the representatives of UNRRA pointed out that approximately 12,000,000 people had been forcibly removed from their homes during the war.²¹⁵ It is not clear how many of these were children, but it was of course of great importance that the children be cared for. It was under these conditions that relief organizations such as Rädde Barnen carried out their relief ac-

²¹² Judt Tony, *Postwar: A history of Europe since 1945*, London 2005, pp 17

²¹³ Ibidem

²¹⁴ “Förstörelsens häxsabbat”

²¹⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes no 9, 1945-05-02

tivities. Choices had to be made as to how, where and to which children relief work should be directed.

Next, an overview of the different kinds of activities Rädde Barnen undertook during the timeframe of the present study will be given. As pointed out, some of these activities will be more thoroughly examined in the following chapters. The activities chosen for a more thorough examination are sponsorships for children, child transports and the establishment of apprentice homes and children's homes. These particular activities were chosen because the material available allows us to follow them through the stage of discussion, decision-making, to actual execution, and finally to Rädde Barnen's own description of the activities carried out.

One problem in trying to summarize the organization's activities is that money was sometimes allocated to certain tasks, but transferred to other accounts and used for another activity. Collections were also made for specific purposes, but sometimes the proceeds were used for tasks other than those originally planned. Funds were also sometimes reserved for a specific cause, but never seemed to be paid out. It is therefore difficult to know with certainty whether some of the relief actions were actually carried out, or whether the funds allocated were paid out for that specific cause. This summary of Rädde Barnen's activities is therefore not complete and is meant to give a general idea of the kind of activities the organization undertook. Smaller contributions were paid out, now and again for certain activities and some activities were intended to be short lived and are therefore not included. In the summary that follows, I will note when an activity was only carried out in Sweden, but in this outline, I will not separate these from the other activities.

Rädde Barnen's activities – an overview

Rädde Barnen carried out a variety of relief actions during the timeframe of this study, including emergency relief work, preventative work and creating environments that stressed the upbringing and education of youth and children.

Food dispensation was one activity that was realized in different ways. During the first part of the war, parcels containing food, and sometimes clothes and other textiles, were distributed to Swedish families in need. This activity was also extended to Finland and Norway during the first part of the war. Another way of distributing food was via food stations, which were established in, for instance, France, Germany, Hungary and Austria. The goal was to provide food of as high nutritional value as possible. Feeding stations do not appear to have been estab-

lished by Rädga Barnen until after the armistice. Some contributions towards feeding stations were made to the international union towards the end of the war, but this was done sparingly.²¹⁶

Distribution of clothes and textiles was another way in which Rädga Barnen provided relief. In Sweden, it began distributing clothes already at the outset of the war. At this point in time, the distribution was aimed at families of draftees, and Swedish authorities supported this activity. Clothes, shoes and textiles were also distributed to Norway and Finland during the war. After the armistice, this kind of relief was also given to different countries in Europe.²¹⁷

Sponsorships for children constituted a regular financial contribution and were directed to a specific child or family. This activity was instigated for Swedish children at the outset of the war, but quickly expanded to Finnish and Norwegian children. Dutch and French children also obtained sponsorships during the war, but to a very limited extent. The expansion of sponsorships for children outside the Nordic region, mainly took place after the war.²¹⁸

A “monthly allowance” was another type of regular contribution that was only distributed to Swedish draftees’ families. Which families qualified for this was determined in consultation with the Head of the Defence Staff.²¹⁹ The Swedish Government paid out “family allowance” to draftees’ families, but this was considered insufficient, and the aim of the “monthly allowance” was to supplement the “family allowance”.²²⁰

“The individual one-off help”²²¹ was a measure instigated in Sweden in 1943, and this was also only directed to Swedish families. Eventually, this form of contribution would replace sponsorships directed to Swedish children. This was a one-off payment, for something that the family specifically needed, for instance to purchase cutlery, repair a house, purchase a cow, linen, etc.²²²

Child transports were another of Rädga Barnen’s activities, and the purpose of these was primarily to bring children to Sweden for recreational purposes. During the war, Rädga Barnen supported and initiated the transportation of Finnish children to Sweden, but these activities were not carried out under the organiza-

²¹⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Annual reports, 1939-1956

²¹⁷ *Ibidem*

²¹⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Annual reports 1939-1956

²¹⁹ Chefen för försvarsstaben

²²⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Annual reports 1939-1956

²²¹ Individuella engångshjälpen

²²² Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Annual reports 1939-1956

tion's auspices. After the armistice, Rädde Barnen organized and carried out child transports under its own patronage, bringing children to Sweden from several countries, for instance France, Holland, Norway and Belgium. Another type of child transport was carried out as well, and these concerned stateless children. During 1948-1949, 1951-1952 and 1955-1958, so-called DP children, displaced children, were transported to Sweden under Rädde Barnen's auspices. The children came from refugee camps in the British and American zones in Germany. The purpose was to have them adopted into Swedish families.²²³

Sewing, carpentry and shoemaker workshops, etc., were set up adjacent to the refugee camps during the years 1949-50, mainly in Germany.²²⁴

Social settlements²²⁵ were established in, for instance, Germany during 1949, and the purpose was to keep children and youth occupied. Each social settlement could receive between 400-500 children and youth a day and a variety of activities were offered. Some examples of these were woodworking, playing ping-pong, sewing, theatre groups, and folk dance. These social settlements were open both during the days and evenings, for different activities.²²⁶ No children or youth lived at these establishments; instead the purpose appears to mainly have been to give children and youth a meaningful occupation.

Nursery schools were established in several countries, and their purpose was to provide childcare for children of working parents. The children in the nursery schools were also given clothes and highly nutritional food.²²⁷

Children's homes were established in several countries, and the children living in such homes were orphans, sometimes from the camps that had been set up in Europe, sometimes from poverty-stricken areas and sometimes they were ex-members of Hitler-Jugend. The purpose of the children's homes varied, depending on the country in which the home was located. One overall aim of all of the homes was to enable the children to recuperate physically. In some instances, emphasis was also put on upbringing and education.²²⁸

The establishment of nursery schools and children's homes was carried out in France, Poland, Germany, Austria and Italy towards the end of war and after the armistice. A children's home for Spanish children was also established in France

²²³ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Annual reports, 1949-1956

²²⁴ *Ibidem*

²²⁵ Hemgårdar

²²⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Annual reports, 1949-1956

²²⁷ *Ibidem*

²²⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Annual reports, 1939-1956

towards the end of the war. A nursery school and children's home for handicapped children was established in Israel in the early fifties. Contributions were also made to already existing children's homes and nursery schools after the armistice in, for instance, France, Greece, Holland and Italy. In 1949, approximately 40 nursery schools had been fully equipped by Rädga Barnen in Austria. Financial contributions were also allocated to nursery schools in northern Finland.²²⁹

Apprentice homes were established in Germany after the armistice. The purpose of these was to expose youth in Germany to an environment that was imbued with democratic values and to teach young people trades.²³⁰

Identity discs were introduced in Sweden on Rädga Barnen's initiative after the war to enable identification of children, in the event of war.²³¹

Prevention of children's accidents was a mission pursued by Rädga Barnen in Sweden, in conjunction with Swedish doctors and the Swedish National Road Safety Office.²³²

As we can see, Rädga Barnen participated in a variety of activities on the national level, and after the war also on the international level. The number of activities the organization took part in also gives an indication of how it grew and strengthened its position within the field of relief work for children. By examining the activities the organization carried out in Sweden more closely, we will be able to see a more detailed picture of the impact the organization had within the national context. During this time, the Swedish welfare state was under construction, and before discussing the activities Rädga Barnen undertook in Sweden more closely, a brief account will be given of the Swedish Government's measures to facilitate this construction.

The expansion of Swedish welfare

Prior to WWII, the Swedish Government was beginning to develop the social security system in Sweden. For instance, pensions were improved and unemployment benefits were introduced. In 1937, a committee was established by the current Minister for Health and Social Affairs, Gustav Möller, to investigate and

²²⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Annual reports, 1949-1956

²³⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Annual reports, 1939-1956

²³¹ *Ibidem*

²³² Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Annual reports, 1939-1956

suggest how the Swedish social welfare system should be organized. However, during the early forties, the social security system in Sweden was still incoherent, and during the war, work with developing it seems to have been put on hold. After the war, a new committee was established, this too to organize Swedish social security.²³³ Industrialization and urbanization expanded, and the increasing population, both owing to immigration and to the increase in the birth rate, demanded more housing. This led to a government decision to support housing development. Even if the war was over, the political conditions in the world were still tense, and in Sweden there were concerns about the possibility of another war. Resources were made available for the Swedish defence, which became stronger than ever.²³⁴

In Sweden, concerns about the declining birth rate had surfaced prior to the war which made the Government undertake welfare measurements specifically aimed at families with children. Alva Myrdal brought attention to this matter together with her husband Gunnar Myrdal, and they published a book highlighting the issue in 1934.²³⁵ This book caused a debate in the country, and as a result, the Swedish Government established committees in 1935 and then again in 1941 to investigate what could be done to increase the number of children born.²³⁶

Although the birth rate had increased during the last part of the war, concerns about population statistics continued into the late forties. Few children had been born during the twenties and thirties, and for this reason the number of children born during the late forties and early fifties was not expected to be large. Thus, policies that encouraged people to have more children and that made life easier for families with children were still necessary, as they had been prior to the war.²³⁷

Examples of measurements undertaken prior to and during the war, by the Swedish Government was for instance tax relief for families with children, giving special contributions to orphans, children of widows, children of handicapped parents and children born out of wedlock.²³⁸ Starting in 1944, the Government

²³³ Åmark Klas, *Hundra år av välfärdspolitik: Välfärdstatens framväxt i Norge och Sverige*. Umeå 2005, pp 94

²³⁴ Hägg Göran, *Välfärdsåren: Svensk historia 1945-1986*, Finland 2005,

²³⁵ Myrdal Alva och Gunnar, *Kris i befolkningsfrågan*, Stockholm 1934. passim

²³⁶ Elmér Åke, *Svensk Socialpolitik*, Malmö 1948, Chapter 9

²³⁷ Ibidem

²³⁸ Elmér Åke, *Svensk Socialpolitik*, Malmö 1948, pp 165

also subsidized the use of “home-care providers”.²³⁹ These were usually employed by the town council and provided temporary assistance in homes that needed support due to illness in the family or childbirth.²⁴⁰ After the armistice, child benefits and free health insurance were also introduced by the Government.²⁴¹

As we can see, the Swedish welfare state expanded and improved in many fields during this period of time. It did not, however, cover all fields in which needs existed, and because of this, Rädde Barnen found an arena in which it could play an important role.

As already mentioned, one activity which Rädde Barnen supported where the Swedish Government’s contribution was not enough, was distribution of clothes. Since 1936 there existed a regulation in Sweden, stating that children who did not have adequate clothing for attending school could obtain contributions for this from the Swedish Board of Education.²⁴² However, during the war the need for support in the shape of clothes contributions existed amongst many Swedish families even if the most vulnerable groups were families of the draftees.

Support to “The children of the forces guarding neutrality”²⁴³

During 1940, Rädde Barnen managed to raise 85,000 Swedish Crowns for distribution of clothes to Swedish children whose fathers had been drafted.²⁴⁴ In 1941, the organization also received a government grant of 75,000 Swedish Crowns in support of this activity. Thanks to the government grant, the establishment of so-called “sewing workshops”,²⁴⁵ and a collection of second-hand clothes carried out by the Swedish Scouts, this activity expanded rapidly. The Municipality of Stockholm also supported this activity and allocated Rädde Barnen larger premises so that it could handle the increased demand. The County Council²⁴⁶ also contributed to the cost of this activity. In 1941, Rädde Barnen distributed 1000

²³⁹ Hemvårdarinnor

²⁴⁰ Elmér Åke, *Svensk Socialpolitik*, Malmö 1948, pp 165

²⁴¹ Åmark Klas, *Hundra år av välfärdspolitik: Välfärdstatens framväxt i Norge och Sverige*. Umeå 2005, pp 235. Elmér Åke, *Svensk Socialpolitik*, Malmö 1948, chapter 9

²⁴² Elmér Åke, *Svensk Socialpolitik*, Malmö 1948 (skolöverstyrelsen)

²⁴³ Neutralitetsvaktens barn

²⁴⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 4th of July 1940

²⁴⁵ Systugor

²⁴⁶ Landstinget

pieces of clothing to approximately 350 families a day.²⁴⁷ It was not only in Stockholm this kind of relief was needed, but also in other parts of the country, and for this reason, the government grant was also distributed to local branches. The amount of funds was dependent on how many men in the area had been drafted. How much money was allocated to each branch was decided by Rädga Barnen, together with the Swedish Labour Market Commission. The Family Allowance committees,²⁴⁸ via the County Governor,²⁴⁹ provided Rädga Barnen with information on children who were in need of this contribution. The distribution of clothes grew quickly, and it was difficult for Rädga Barnen to maintain control over the distribution. As a result of this, the organization had to change its routines, and only distribute clothes after having received written requests.²⁵⁰

As mentioned earlier, clothes distribution was one arena in which the Swedish Government was not able to meet the needs that existed. The lack of resources on this arena created a field within which Rädga Barnen's services were needed. During this time, in 1941, Rädga Barnen evidently managed to gain the trust of the Swedish Government. This becomes visible by the end of this year, when the Government decided to take actions against irresponsible collections. A government bill was under preparation at the time, aiming to prevent this. Margit Levinson was concerned about the proposed bill and approached the State Undersecretary in the matter. He put her mind at rest, however, and assured her that the misuse of such collections would be prevented without damaging the "well-known permanent institutions".²⁵¹ Rädga Barnen evidently managed to position itself as a dependable organization in the eyes of the Swedish authorities.

The distribution of clothes continued during the war years and the years to come. In 1950, a discussion took place within Rädga Barnen about whether or not this activity should stop. The reason this discussion surfaced at this time was that the child benefit had been introduced in Sweden. Rädga Barnen did not think that the benefit was sufficient to cover poor families' need for clothing, however, and the activity continued.²⁵²

²⁴⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Annual reports 1941

²⁴⁸ Familjebidragsnämnden

²⁴⁹ Landshövdingen

²⁵⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Annual reports 1941

²⁵¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 14th of November 1941

²⁵² Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, enclosure no 1, *Förslag till orientering rörande Rädga Barnens nuvarande ställning och framtidsplaner.*, to Minutes no 17 1950

Individual one-off help

Another activity that Rädde Barnen began during the last part of the war was the so-called “individual one-off help”. This started in 1943, and the funds were collected through the sale of “Royal Buttons.”²⁵³ Through these collections, the organization managed to raise 700,000 Swedish Crowns. Part of the money from the first collection, 50 000, was allocated to so called “feeble-minded” children. The contributions to “feeble-minded” children were collected via the child welfare offices in each county. Thorough investigations were undertaken before the money was granted. Most commonly the funds went to sponsoring stays at summer camps or other changes of environment for the children.²⁵⁴ However, the main part of the “individual one-off help” was directed to poor families or families with many children, which were allocated a one-off sum of money for something they specifically needed. This could be, for instance, the renovation of a house, the purchase of linen and cutlery, the purchase of a cow or pig, a sewing machine or something else the family needed.²⁵⁵

The procedures for obtaining a contribution were somewhat complicated, but according to Rädde Barnen the reason for this was so that help would be directed where it was really needed. Another reason was that the organization did not want to interfere in areas where the Swedish Government and municipalities were obliged to help.²⁵⁶ The applicant first had to apply to a local representative for Rädde Barnen, a district nurse or “other suitable person”. This application was then sent to the county’s child welfare officer who approved or disapproved it. If approved, the application was forwarded to Rädde Barnen’s central board, and there examined by a special committee. Apart from Rädde Barnen representatives, this committee also included representatives from the Swedish National board of Health and Welfare²⁵⁷ and from the Social Services Office.²⁵⁸ If approved, the purchase was made in consultation with the mother of the family, but neither she nor anyone else in the family was entrusted with the money on their

²⁵³ ”Kunganålen”

²⁵⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, enclosure no 3, Rädde Barnens svenska hjälpverksamhet, Minutes no 17, 1950

²⁵⁵ Ibidem

²⁵⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, enclosure no 3, Rädde Barnens svenska hjälpverksamhet, Minutes no 17, 1950

²⁵⁷ Socialstyrelsen

²⁵⁸ Svenska Socialvårdsförbundet

own. The funds were paid out to the person who had approved the application in the first place, the local Rädde Barnen representative, district nurse or “other suitable person”. The person that received the money was also accountable for it.²⁵⁹ As we can see here, this activity was also undertaken in conjunction with Swedish authorities, but it appears as if Rädde Barnen had the final say on whether or not a contribution should be granted.

The “individual one-off help” was a successful activity and was ongoing during the entire period under study. In 1955, Rädde Barnen brought up the question of whether this activity was still necessary. For this reason, the organization sent out a questioner to social welfare officers in the country who worked with children to get their opinions about whether or not this form of relief activity should continue.²⁶⁰ A few months later, the board of Rädde Barnen summoned a meeting with experts from the Swedish National Board of Welfare,²⁶¹ Department of Health,²⁶² Children’s welfare foundation Sweden,²⁶³ and the Committee for Social Welfare.²⁶⁴ During the meeting, the question was raised of whether this contribution should continue in the same way as previously, or be changed. One suggestion was that the “individual one-off help” should instead be granted in cases of abortion and to spastic children.²⁶⁵ A decision was taken that this form of relief should continue as before, at least until the end of 1956, when a new social welfare law would be established in Sweden.²⁶⁶ At this time, Rädde Barnen also pointed out that, no matter how much Swedish welfare developed, there would always be areas of need it could not reach. According to the organization, the relief it provided thus constituted an important complement.²⁶⁷

As we can see, involvement in “individual one-off help” was another important contribution within a field not yet addressed by the Swedish Government. A new social welfare law was on its way, but until then, Rädde Barnen had an important a role to play here too. Another field that also surfaced during the war, and to

²⁵⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, enclosure no 3, Rädde Barnens svenska hjälpverksamhet, Minutes no 17, 1950

²⁶⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 16th of February 1955

²⁶¹ Socialstyrelsen

²⁶² Socialdepartementet

²⁶³ Allmänna Barnhuset

²⁶⁴ Socialvårdskommitten

²⁶⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 26th of April 1955

²⁶⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 16th of May 1955

²⁶⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 29th of February 1955

which Rädde Barnen contributed, was the planning of and preparation for post-war activities. How this was carried out will be accounted for next.

Emergency measures and preparations for the post war period

Another field that Rädde Barnen took an interest in was training courses in international relief work, concerning child and youth care and protection. In 1944, courses were established that were intended for people active in Rädde Barnen, people working with social welfare for children, nursery schools, child guidance bureaus, youth recreation leaders and teachers with experience from summer colonies. The courses were financed by the Swedish authorities and performed in co-operation with The Co-ordination Committee for the Reconstruction of Democracy.²⁶⁸ The purpose of the courses was to prepare for the relief work and rebuilding that would be necessary after the war. The subjects taught in the courses were divided into four categories. The first was a general orientation, containing for instance the political-psychological background for post war relief work in countries affected by the war, and international plans for post war relief work and rebuilding. The next category included social child welfare subjects which involved experiences of the evacuation of children and other child problems, care of children in children's homes, food dispensation for children, children placed in foster homes and co-operation with local and other authorities. The third category was called pedagogical and psychological subjects. Included in this category were moulding democratic individuals as the goal of upbringing, the general principles/psychological understanding of children and child rising, and nervous children and rootless youth. The last category was called practical subjects and dealt with work ethics, education, keeping children occupied, and work in youth clubs. The aim of the courses was to prepare both for relief work in post-war Europe and for the reception of refugees in Sweden.²⁶⁹ Fifty-five persons were enrolled in the first course, and of these, 25 were refugees staying in Sweden.²⁷⁰ No records of whether these courses were ongoing during the consecutive years have been found in the material. In 1950, however, the Swedish Board of De-

²⁶⁸ Samarbetskommitten för Demokratiskt återuppbyggnadsarbete

²⁶⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Enclosure no 1 to Minutes 31st of March 1944

²⁷⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 24th of April 1944

fence wanted Rädga Barnen to train leaders for children's homes that were to be established in the event of war.²⁷¹ In 1951, five such classes were held under the auspices of Rädga Barnen.²⁷² As we can see here, Rädga Barnen was yet again delegated an important task, to prepare Sweden for the needs that would arise after the war. This task was given to the organization by Swedish authorities. As we have seen earlier, Rädga Barnen did not only carry out duties assigned to it by the Swedish authorities, but it also initiated some activities on its own. One such task was the identification of children in the event of war.

Identity discs for children

As mentioned before, after the armistice, there were concerns in Sweden that another war could break out. The political tensions in the world were by no means over, even if WWII was. During and after the war, one important task for organizations working with relief had been to reunite families. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the number of orphans after the war was enormous. In July 1950, at a conference held within IUCW, Rädga Barnen raised the question of how identification of children would be undertaken in the event of war. The Swedish delegates emphasized the importance of being able to identify children under school age in the event of war, and suggested that identity discs, or some other kind of identification measure, should be introduced.²⁷³ The question was referred to the executive committee of the international union, which recommended that its member countries consider the matter.²⁷⁴ The executive committee apparently did not want to enforce this as a general guideline from the union, and it was left to each member organization to decide whether or not this was an important issue to act upon. Rädga Barnen considered this to be both an important and urgent issue to resolve. In Sweden, the matter was brought to the attention of the Swedish Government, and Rädga Barnen also turned to the Swedish Board of Civil Defence to discuss identification of children in the event of war.

²⁷¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 31st of October 1950

²⁷² Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 2nd of November 1951

²⁷³ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes, 18th of July 1950

²⁷⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes, 21st of August 1950

Rädda Barnen emphasized that because the “condition in the world was critical” this matter could not wait.²⁷⁵

The Swedish Board of Civil Defence suggested two methods of identifying children: finger prints or palm prints or the introduction of identity discs, as suggested by Rädda Barnen. The former method was considered suitable for Rädda Barnen to take charge of, while the latter, the identity discs, was considered a more suitable task to undertake for the Swedish Red Cross. Another suggestion made by the Swedish Board of Civil Defence was the marking of children’s clothing.²⁷⁶ In 1953, the Swedish Government accepted Rädda Barnen’s proposal and commissioned the Swedish Board of Civil Defence to assist the general Swedish public to obtain identity discs for children. The Swedish Board of Civil Defence chose a supplier, and it was decided that the public should be able to buy discs not just for their children, but also for the whole family.²⁷⁷ As demonstrated, the Swedish Board of Civil Defence was not inclined to assign the task of introducing identity discs to Rädda Barnen, even though it was Rädda Barnen that had made the suggestion. The Swedish Board of Civil Defence was overruled by the Swedish Government and the task was delegated to Rädda Barnen. In Rädda Barnen’s Minutes, it is stated that it should be obvious that the organization should be in charge of this task. Propaganda concerning the identity discs was to be disseminated in conjunction with representatives of other organizations.²⁷⁸

Six years after the initial suggestion, the matter was finally settled, and the measure became a great success. By September 1956, 900,000 orders for identity discs had been received.²⁷⁹ As we can see here, the Swedish Government relied on Rädda Barnen’s judgement on this matter. The identity discs were introduced and the suggestions made by the Swedish Civil Defence were overruled, as was the government body’s attempt to delegate the task of introducing identity discs to the Swedish Red Cross.

Yet Rädda Barnen did not only undertake tasks related to the war and the needs that arose in conjunction with it. Children’s safety was another field the organization had begun to take an interest in.

²⁷⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Minutes 21st of August and 14th of December 1950

²⁷⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Minutes 12th of April and 12th of May 1951

²⁷⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Minutes 23rd of July 1953

²⁷⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Minutes 16th of May 1955

²⁷⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Minutes 28th of September 1956

Prevention of children's accidents

Another activity that Rädga Barnen participated in, within Sweden, was the prevention of children's accidents. This apparently concerned children who were victims of road accidents as well as of accidents in general. In 1954, the organization participated in a collection of funds for this cause, instigated by one of the Swedish newspapers. The funds collected were allocated to Rädga Barnen for the prevention of children's accidents. During the same year, a travelling exhibition called "children's dangerous world" was presented around the country. This activity was established by Rädga Barnen, in conjunction with Swedish authorities, the Swedish National Road Association and other associations interested in this activity.²⁸⁰

It was not only children's safety in traffic that concerned Rädga Barnen. Accidents in general and in children's homes were also an area of interest for the organization. In December 1954, Rädga Barnen received an application from Dr Sven-Otto Myrin who was employed at the Crown Princess Lovisa's Children's hospital. Dr Sven-Otto Myrin wanted to obtain a grant to investigate the origins of children's accidents, their treatment, the duration of treatment as well as the outcomes of any treatments undertaken. The hospital received approximately 15,000 cases a year, and he felt that the records of these cases were an important source of knowledge. Rädga Barnen supported this work, and by January 1955, approximately 85,000 Swedish Crowns had been collected for this cause.²⁸¹ One planned measurement to inform the public about how to prevent accidents was the establishment of so-called peepshows²⁸² showing filmstrips of dangerous areas in private homes. These were going to be placed at health centres throughout the country.²⁸³

Interest in the prevention of children's accidents expanded rapidly. By March 1955, 15 Swedish organizations had joined the committee that worked for the prevention of children's accidents. Margit Levinson suggested that the question of prevention of children's accidents should be brought up internationally.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 8th of June, 27th of August and 9th of November 1954

²⁸¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, enclosure 2a and b to Minutes no 2 1955

²⁸² Tittskåp

²⁸³ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 6th of September 1955

²⁸⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 11 of March 1955

This activity as well was performed in conjunction with Swedish authorities and with other nationwide organizations, and as it seems, also with Swedish doctors.

Next we will take a closer look at one of the activities, sponsorship of children, which began during the early part of the war. This activity created debates between Rädde Barnen and its international union, UISE. What this discussion was about will be accounted for below.

Sponsorship of children and the idea of an international chain of relief

As mentioned previously in the study, requests for Rädde Barnen to participate in the international relief work that UISE undertook were forwarded during the war. One such call for involvement was forwarded from the union in December 1940. The union wanted Rädde Barnen to participate in an international appeal for children. The aim was to care for approximately 500,000 children who were suffering from the war. Each UISE member branch was to care for a “larger number of children”. Rädde Barnen declined participation. In its reply to this request from UISE, Rädde Barnen stated that it did not have sufficient funds to participate. Another reason stated was the “Swedish authorities’ attitude towards collections for foreign relief”.²⁸⁵ As we have seen earlier in the study, Swedish authorities were reluctant to participate in international issues during the war owing to the decision to remain neutral. Rädde Barnen appears to have complied with the Swedish Government’s policy in this regard.

However, Rädde Barnen was a member of UISE and because of this, the organization was obliged to comply to the international union’s statutes as well, one of which was to help as many children in as many places as possible. At this time, sponsorships for children in Europe could be and were distributed via UISE. If Rädde Barnen were to make contributions to UISE, to distribute for sponsorships, it could both contribute to the international chain of relief and comply with the Swedish Government’s policies.

Membership in UISE clearly created a dilemma that the organization was aware of. One sign of this was that Rädde Barnen decided to investigate whether or not the sponsoring of Finnish children could be seen as a contribution to the international chain of relief.²⁸⁶ As we can see here, the request from UISE put the Swed-

²⁸⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 16th of December 1940

²⁸⁶ Ibidem

ish organization in a problematic position. On the one hand, the organization wanted to comply with Swedish authorities. On the other hand, membership in the international union required that Rädde Barnen participate in UISE's work. This was not the only dilemma that surfaced for Rädde Barnen in its interactions with UISE. The union did not only want Rädde Barnen to support foreign children, it also wanted Swedish children to be part of this international chain of relief. This issue emerged in 1941 and created another debate between UISE and Rädde Barnen.

Swedish children – exempted from the international chain of relief?

As stated above, Rädde Barnen declined participation in the international appeal for children in 1940, referring to the Swedish Government's policies in the matter. UISE did not give up its attempts to make the Swedish branch part of the international relief work, however. In 1941, the international union made a suggestion that would enable Rädde Barnen to participate in international relief work. The suggestion was that Rädde Barnen should sponsor 20 children of different nationalities and, in return, the union would find sponsors from other countries for 20 Swedish children. Rädde Barnen declined the offer of sponsorship for Swedish children, referring to the fact that Sweden was in an "exceptional position". Instead of passing on information about Swedish children, the organization decided to suggest 10 Norwegian and 10 Finnish children who could be supported by international sponsors. Rädde Barnen decided to try to find sponsors for 20 children from foreign nations other than Norway and Finland, but this does not seem to have been realized at this time. In June, the request from UISE was repeated, and Rädde Barnen was yet again encouraged to sponsor 20 children from non-Nordic countries, this time from France. In return, the international union would sponsor 20 Swedish children. Rädde Barnen once again declined this offer, and information about 20 Norwegian children was forwarded instead.²⁸⁷ As we can see here, Rädde Barnen was reluctant to be part of this international chain of relief. The organization was especially adamant about not receiving sponsorship for Swedish children from international donors.

²⁸⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 17th of April and 5th of June 1941.

Requests were forwarded from UISE to Rädga Barnen for participation in international relief work during the summer and autumn of 1941. One request was that Sweden should create a safe haven for children from war-ravaged countries, and that children from Belgium should be invited. We will look at this in more detail when we discuss child transportations, but because Rädga Barnen's response concerns sponsorships for children, this will be mentioned here as well. This request from the international union was declined, and in its reply Rädga Barnen stated the reasons for this.

During the discussion, the inappropriateness of relocating children from foreign countries to Sweden was emphasized. The uncertain political situation and possible acts of warfare render it impossible for us to undertake obligations of this size, at least for the time being. It was also emphasized that Rädga Barnen, through its action to obtain sponsorships for children, had contributed considerably towards UISE's planned relief action for 500,000 children. Rädga Barnen had also promised to find sponsors for at least 20 French children.²⁸⁸

Rädga Barnen argued that it had contributed to international relief efforts via the sponsorships for children in the Nordic countries. As we can see here, it was also considered unsuitable for children to be taken away from their own environment, and Rädga Barnen did not have the capacity to deal with such an action, at this time. Rädga Barnen was adamant about wanting the sponsorship actions for children in the Nordic countries to be counted as a contribution to UISE's international relief actions. Rädga Barnen decided to reply to UISE that it was not possible for the organization to shoulder any greater tasks than the organization was already working with at the time.²⁸⁹

During the autumn of 1941, Rädga Barnen changed slightly in this matter. Within the organization, it was decided that the question of obtaining information about Belgian children would be posed to UISE. If guarantees that the sponsorships would actually reach the children were given by UISE, it was possible that "a smaller number of children" could receive sponsorship from Rädga Barnen. The Swedish organization also decided to request information from UISE about

²⁸⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 17th of June 1941

²⁸⁹ *Ibidem*

another 300 French children to sponsor.²⁹⁰ In the matter of Swedish children receiving sponsorship from sponsors other than Swedish ones, there was no change. Swedish children would continue to receive sponsorship from Swedish donors.

In 1941, approximately 2000 children obtained sponsorships in Sweden. The same year, 1800 Norwegian children received sponsorships and in Finland the number of children receiving sponsorships this year was 6500. During 1942, the number of children receiving sponsorship in Norway increased to 2800 and in Finland to 12000. The number of sponsored children in Holland, France and Belgium, in June 1942, was 1000 altogether.²⁹¹ As we can see here, the number of children who received sponsorship in Finland in particular greatly exceeded the numbers in other countries. We shall return to Finland later in the text, but first look in more detail at the sponsorships of Norwegian children.

According to Rädde Barnen, sponsoring children in Norway was a great success, and this encouraged the Norwegians to start a similar action under their own auspices. Rädde Barnen had co-operated with Nasjonalhjelpen's Swedish committee in carrying this out.²⁹² However, complications surfaced in relation to Swedish support to Norway. Money intended for sponsoring children in Norway was consolidated for while, until an independent donor committee was established. The purpose of the committee was to make sure that the Swedish contributions were distributed after "unchanged principles" and that no consideration was given to politics.²⁹³ It is not evident what this actually meant, but it seems to have been considered necessary to stop the contributions from being paid out and to establish a committee to investigate the matter. The number of children receiving sponsorships in Norway decreased somewhat during 1941. According to Rädde Barnen, the reason for this was that the Swedish general public was somewhat hesitant about donating, considering the situation in Norway.²⁹⁴ The circumstances in Norway did indeed change, as by this time the country was occupied by the Germans and it is possible that Swedes were worried about whether their contributions would reach the intended recipients.

²⁹⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 16th and 24th of September 1941

²⁹¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Annual reports 1941-1942

²⁹² Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Annual reports 1941

²⁹³ Ibidem

²⁹⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Annual reports 1941

However, the sponsorship of Norwegian children continued and increased. In 1943, 7300 children in Norway received sponsorship.²⁹⁵ It is of course impossible to know with any certainty whether these contributions actually reached the children who were in most need, but it seems that it was possible to reach some children despite the political situation.

In April 1942, approximately 15,000 Nordic children received support in the form of sponsorships. The bulk of the children were Finnish, followed by Norwegian and Swedish. French, Dutch and Belgian children received sponsorship as well, and altogether they amounted to approximately 1000.²⁹⁶ As we have seen earlier, the Swedish organization did state that it was obliged to comply with Swedish authorities' standpoints regarding participation in international relief work. Membership in UISE created a dilemma, however, as it meant that Rädga Barnen was also obliged to participate in the union's relief actions. The Swedish organization tried to solve this problem by requesting that the sponsorship for Finnish children be counted as a part of UISE's international relief actions.

In 1941, a decision was made by Rädga Barnen that the organization would try to ensure that all sponsorships for Finnish children were given under the auspices of Rädga Barnen, in Sweden. It was also decided, within the board, that these actions were to be counted as part of UISE's worldwide appeal for children.²⁹⁷ Sponsorship to Finnish children was to be considered part of the international chain of relief, and Rädga Barnen evidently did not find any further discussion in this matter necessary.

In comparison to Sweden, Finland and Norway, sponsorships for Danish children started late and on a much smaller scale than those to other Nordic countries. Four hundred children received sponsorships in 1944. It was apparently easier to gain access to Norway, even though both countries were under occupation at this time. From 1945 onwards, interest in sponsoring children decreased. The sponsorship of Danish children was short-lived, and liquidated altogether in 1944. In 1945, there were more requests to obtain sponsorships for Swedish and Finnish children than there were people willing to donate. Sponsorship to non-Nordic children had been extended to Hungarian children and Polish children in

²⁹⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Annual reports 1943

²⁹⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 20th of April 1942

²⁹⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 9th and 16th of January 1941.

Hungary too, but it was still fairly modest. In 1945, approximately 2.2 million Swedish Crowns was allocated to sponsoring Finnish children, 1.6 million Swedish Crowns to Norwegian children, and 650,000 Swedish Crowns to Swedish children. Approximately 255,000 Swedish Crowns, was paid out to non-Nordic children altogether.²⁹⁸ As we can see here, sponsorship to non-Nordic children had increased, but the difference to the number of Nordic children being sponsored was still vast.

Sponsorship to non-Nordic children did expand during 1946, and Italian, Czechoslovakian and Austrian children also received this kind of contribution. The number of children receiving this kind of relief was modest, however. Altogether, they amounted to 625 children.²⁹⁹ In 1946, it was difficult to obtain sponsors for Swedish children. Rädde Barnen considered disseminating any publicity for Swedish children was ill timed, because a proposition to introduce the child benefit was under preparation in the Swedish Parliament. In the organization's Minutes, it is also highlighted that sponsorship had been considered unfair and could damage Rädde Barnen's general activities.³⁰⁰ No further explanation is given for why or by whom this kind of activity was considered unfair. The money left over from the sponsorship was consolidated and thereafter transferred to "individual one-off help", which replaced sponsorships in Sweden.³⁰¹

As also mentioned previously, in Denmark the distribution of sponsorship was discontinued already in 1944, in Norway and Sweden in 1947. In Norway, the remaining funds for sponsorships were handed over to Nasjonalhjelpen and the Norwegian branch of the Save the Children Fund, Redd Barna. In relation to Finland, there was still an interest in continuing to sponsor children. Even though this activity had declined, in 1948 7000 children were still receiving contributions from Sweden. The sponsoring of children in non-Nordic countries continued but declined. In 1948, approximately 3000 children received sponsorship; in 1952 this had decreased to 800. The children receiving sponsorships at this time were from Germany, Austria and Italy. Only the occasional Dutch and French child still received this kind of contribution at this time. In Finland the activity had declined too, but there were still 2800 children receiving sponsorship in 1952. During the following years, this way of distributing relief declined in

²⁹⁸ Swedish National Archives, Annual reports 1944 and 1945.

²⁹⁹ Swedish National Archives, Annual reports 1946

³⁰⁰ Swedish National Archives, Minutes, 15th of October 1946

³⁰¹ Swedish National Archives, Minutes, 15th of October 1946

Finland as well, and in 1956 there were approximately 700 children receiving sponsorship. Italian and Austrian children also still received sponsorship at this time. In Austria, the number increased from 500 in 1954 to 3000 in 1956. In West Germany 400 children were still sponsored children and most of these were from Berlin.³⁰²

Concluding discussion

During this time, Swedish welfare was developing and the Swedish Government was taking measures to build a welfare system and increase the standard of living in the country. Free healthcare, unemployment benefits and child benefits were some of the measures introduced within this scheme. The Government could not address all areas of need, and it was here Rädde Barnen identified a vacuum that it could fill and within which it would come to play an important role. The organization's relief work within the country was often performed in close liaison with different Swedish authorities. A mutual dependency seems to have existed between Swedish authorities and Rädde Barnen, which for instance becomes visible during the distribution of individual one-off help. Swedish authorities helped to find children in need, Rädde Barnen provided the funds, and the decision about which child or family should obtain contributions was made jointly, though Rädde Barnen had the final say. The people at Rädde Barnen were also delegated the task of preparing the country for the post war period and seem to have been considered experts in this field. Rädde Barnen had evidently managed to gain an important position within the country. One further example of this is when the Government overruled one of its own bodies, the Board of Civil Defence, when identity discs were introduced. As has been demonstrated, through its close liaison with Swedish authorities in carrying out different relief activities, Rädde Barnen managed to fortify its position and define aspects of the system of welfare provisions.

As mentioned earlier, the Swedish organization was reluctant to comply with UISE's requests that it participate in international relief actions. Rädde Barnen was adamant in that the sponsorship of Finnish children was part of the international appeal for children. UISE's requests seem to have put Rädde Barnen

³⁰² Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Annual reports 1940-1956.

in a difficult position. The Swedish organization was a member of the international union, and had been from the very beginning. This membership obliged the organization to participate in UISE's work too, but as we can see in this chapter, the union's requests were met with reluctance. One of UISE's guidelines was to help as many children in as many places as possible, and for member branches to be part of the international chain of relief. Rädde Barnen was obviously aware of this, but was still reluctant to participate, and clearly prioritised to comply with the Swedish Government's non-participation policy instead. One request forwarded to Rädde Barnen from UISE was that Sweden should create a safe haven for children, and a suggestion that Belgian children should be invited was also put forward. Rädde Barnen replied that it was not possible at the time, and that it was also inappropriate to relocate children from other countries. In the next chapter, however, which deals with child transports, we will see how Rädde Barnen changed its standpoint in this matter, at least in some cases.

Chapter VII

Child transports

Introduction

Using child transports as a child-saving action was by no means a new way of supporting children during the time of WWII. This method was used by authorities and philanthropic organizations before and around the time of WWI. The reasons were multiple: it was used a way to provide relief to children in emergencies and a way to enable children in need to recuperate physically. Another reason was to bring children into a family whose political influence was considered better for the child, which in turn was considered to be a way to protect society. The reasons for moving children varied, depending on the circumstances.³⁰³ During and after WWII, the reasons for transporting children were also mixed, but one reason that persisted was to enable children to recuperate physically.

Getting involved in child transports, made it possible for Rädde Barnen to enhance its position in Sweden. In this context it is of equal importance that it indicated which position in the international aid system Rädde Barnen wanted to obtain and what values it was founded in. The Swedish authorities eventually allocated Rädde Barnen the task of functioning as a government agency in issues concerning child transports. This position meant that the organization was put in

³⁰³ Janfelt Monika, *Stormakter i människokärlek: Svensk och dansk krigsbarnshjälp 1917-1924*, Åbo 1998, passim

charge of selecting the children who would be allowed entry to the country. How, then, did the organization draw up the boundaries for which children would be chosen for transports to Sweden? How did this delimitation affect the choice of which children were to be selected?

This chapter will begin with a brief account of what knowledge was available during this period of time about the effects of separating children from their parents. Against that background, we will take a closer look at the child transports, both transports supported by Rädde Barnen and those arranged by the organization.

During WWII, Rädde Barnen does not appear to have organized child transports under its own patronage, but it did support a smaller transport of Jewish children and was also involved in the transportation of Finnish children. Towards the end of the war, and after the armistice, Rädde Barnen began organizing transports under its own patronage. Which children were selected and why will be discussed. One type of transport was different from prior transports, the ones concerned so-called displaced children – stateless children from camps situated in the American and British zones in Germany and these created special problems. First, we will begin by taking a look at what knowledge was available about the effects of separating children from their parents.

Children separated from their parents

In 1943, British psychologists Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham published their study *War and Children*.³⁰⁴ One conclusion of their study, in brief, is that, from a psychological perspective, children are more damaged by being separated from their parents than they are from the effects of war.

The war acquires comparatively little significance for children so long as it only threatens their lives, disturbs their material comfort or cuts their food rations. It becomes enormously significant the moment it breaks up family life and uproots the first emotional attachments of the child within the family group. London children, therefore, were on the whole much less upset by bombing than by evacuation to the country as a protection against it.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ Anna Freud, Dorothy T Burlingham, *War and Children*, New York 1943, p 37

³⁰⁵ Ibidem

In Sweden, this study gained Alva Myrdal's attention, and in one of the Swedish newspapers, she comments on it in a couple articles. She was nuanced in her critique, but pointed out that evaluation of the effects of child transports ought to be made. Alva Myrdal also pointed out that the English psychologist's study showed that children separated from their families were more damaged from a psychological perspective than those that remained with their families, in spite of the war.

Maybe we can better understand if we try. Firstly, the whole pattern of routines is broken in the children's lives by the evacuation. They have to adjust to completely new rules, everything and all the people around them react in a way that is strange to them, and they do not know how to handle life.³⁰⁶

In the same articles she also noted that no evaluations had been performed regarding the Finnish children.³⁰⁷

Any negative effects of separating children from their parents were not a problem that Rädde Barnen had come across in their work with child transports. On the contrary, the children regained both their physical and mental health during their stay in Sweden.³⁰⁸ When the transported children arrived in Sweden, they were kept in quarantine and afterwards placed in Swedish foster homes. Some of the children who were difficult to handle were kept in children's homes established by Rädde Barnen. In Rädde Barnen's annual report from 1946, it is pointed out how easily the children adapted to the new environment.

The little foreign guests have adjusted very well to the new conditions, and the diet, language and other changes have not had any particular effects, or affected the children. On the contrary, the children have gained weight and largely regained their mental health.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ *Aftontidningen*, "Bör barn evakueras", 1944-05-03 "Kanske kan vi förstå litet bättre om vi försöker. Först och främst rivs ju genom evakueringen hela vanemönstret i barnens dagliga liv upp. De måste anpassa sig till helt nya regler, alla ting och människor omkring dem reagerar på ett för dem främmande sätt, de vet inte hur de skall hantera livet."

³⁰⁷ *Aftontidningen*, "Bör barn evakueras", 1944-05-03 and 1944-05-04

³⁰⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Board of Directors report 1945

³⁰⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Board of Directors report 1946 "De utländska små gästerna ha funnit sig mycket väl till rätta i de nya förhållandena: varken dieten, språket eller andra förändringar ha väsentligt inverkat, utan barnen ha snabbt ökat i vikt och till stor del återvunnit sin psykiska jämvikt."

As we have seen, studies of children's reactions to being separated from their parents and their own environment were being performed during the war. Some attention was given to them, for instance by Alva Myrdal, but this does not appear to have had any particular impact on Rädga Barnen. On the contrary, the child transports continued after the armistice as well.

In June 1951, IUCW contacted Rädga Barnen asking for information on how the children who had been transported during the war had acclimatized themselves in Sweden, from both a psychological and a social perspective. The evaluation was to be performed in conjunction with the UN, and it concerned both children who had been evacuated alone and children who had been evacuated with their families. IUCW wanted, for instance, the transportation of the Finnish children to be included in this study. The international union also wanted to obtain information from people who had worked with the transports, and to examine any reports or studies concerning these children that had been undertaken in Sweden. The purpose was to obtain knowledge and make use of the experience that had been gained. Rädga Barnen replied to this request in March 1952, saying that the organization did not feel it had the time or resources to perform this task.³¹⁰

Research on child separation was being performed more extensively by this time. In 1951, John Bowlby visited several countries in Europe to gather data for the research he was conducting in this field. This resulted in a report that was published in 1951, the same year IUCW made its request to Rädga Barnen for information on evacuated children's reactions. It is possible that this report triggered IUCW's interest in this matter, but as demonstrated, Rädga Barnen's response was a reluctant one. One explanation for this could be that John Bowlby's own findings and report were received with reluctance and critique in Sweden. Researcher of Child Studies, Karin Zetterqvist Nelson has shown that it was not until the eighties that John Bowlby's findings were received in a non-critical way.³¹¹ It is of course possible that Rädga Barnen had taken the same position as Swedish psychologists and paediatricians who criticized John Bowlby, and that

³¹⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Korrespondens med Internationella Rädga Barnen, E I :2, Brev till International Union for Child Welfare. Re reports on D.P. and other children brought to Sweden for adoption or temporary stay. 1952-03-29

³¹¹ "När Bowlby kom till Sverige. Från motstånd till erkännande: anknytningssteori i Sverige 1950-2000" Zetterqvist Nelson Karin, in *Barn, barndom och föräldraskap*, Ed: Ann-Marie Markström, Maria Simonsson, Ingrid Söderlind & Eva Änggård. Linköping 2009

the organization for this reason did not consider IUCW's request to be important. Let us now return to the outset of the war and look at the discussions that emerged surrounding the transportation of Jewish and Finnish children.

Child transports – which child is to be saved?

Within the time frame of this study, the first account of Rädde Barnen being involved in any way in transporting children comes from January 1940. The Jugend-Aliyah Committee sought funds to transport 10 Jewish children from Poland to Palestine. Rädde Barnen decided to allocate 1000 Swedish Crowns to the mission.³¹² However, this seems to have been a one-off event. No other record of support for transportation of Jewish children can be found in the material covering this time period. On the contrary, the request forwarded at the end of the war and after the armistice was declined. In 1945, such a request that “originated from Austrian circles”³¹³ was forwarded to Rädde Barnen. The Austrians wanted Rädde Barnen to transport and care for 900 children whose parents had been in held in concentration camps and had been pursued because of their race. Rädde Barnen referred the request to the Swedish Committee for International Relief. Margit Levinson was, as mentioned earlier in this study, a member of the board within this government committee. The government committee declined the request. The explanation given in Rädde Barnen's Minutes is that relief could be provided more efficiently in Austria.³¹⁴ In 1946, the Stockholm committee of Youth-Aliyah approached Rädde Barnen asking for financial support to transport Jewish children to Palestine. This request was also denied.³¹⁵

In 1947, the administrative committee of the Jewish World Congress approached Rädde Barnen to obtain support to transport Jewish children from the East to the West. The children's situation was difficult, and the fear of pogroms was great. Rädde Barnen's vice-chairman, Lisa Lind, declined this request. The reason stated was that this might be considered to be a political action, which was against the organization's principle standpoints.

³¹² Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 12th of January 1940.

³¹³ The source does not reveal what who was a member of this "circle" it is possible that this request as a later request was forwarded by Dr Bruno Kreisky...

³¹⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 12th of March 1945

³¹⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 13th of June 1946

This matter, explained Mrs. Lind, lay outside Rädde Barnen's possibilities to act, as the organization was non-political and transferring children from East to West certainly entailed a political aspect.³¹⁶

It is unclear what the political aspect of supporting the transportation of these children was. As we have seen in the previous chapter whilst discussing sponsorship to Norwegian children, Rädde Barnen stated that children should not be affected by politics. As pointed out earlier, transports of Finnish children was supported by the organization.

As we also have seen previously in regard to sponsorships, Rädde Barnen prioritized the Nordic countries, especially Finland. In fact, this task took up so much of Rädde Barnen's time and resources that, for this reason, it felt unable to participate in requests to support international relief efforts, which was forwarded by its international union, UISE. A decision to not participate in these relief efforts was taken during the same meeting in 1940 in which funds were granted for the transportation of 10 Jewish children from Poland to Palestine.³¹⁷ Finland was not only given priority with regard to sponsorships, but the country also appears to have been given priority in most of the Swedish relief efforts, at this time. The prelude to this was a problematical political issue.

During the winter of 1939-1940, war had broken out in Finland. The question of how the Swedish Government should deal with the matter of supporting Finland was complicated. The Swedish Government had decided not to give military support to Finland, and when the League of Nations condemned the Russian attack on Finland, Sweden reserved itself. The reason was that it wished to maintain Swedish neutrality. The Swedish Government also rejected a request from the Allies to cross over the north of Sweden to support the Finnish people. The Swedish Government, however, did promise to give humanitarian and material help.³¹⁸ For this reason, the Government established a committee, Central Aid to Finland, of which Margit Levinson became a member.³¹⁹

³¹⁶Swedish National Archives, F1:18 Israel, Föreningen Rädde Barnen Centralstyrelsen Stockholm, P.M. över sammanträde å Rädde Barnen den 7 februari 1947 "Denna punkt, förklarade fru Lind, låg utanför Rädde Barnens möjligheter eftersom Rädde Barnen är en opolitisk organisation och överförandet av barn från öster till väster givetvis hade en politisk aspekt".

³¹⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 12th of January 1940

³¹⁸ Åke Thulstrup, *Svensk utrikespolitik under andra världskriget*, Stockholm 1950

³¹⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 12th of January 1940.

One of the actions organized by this committee was the transportation of Finnish children to Sweden. At the outset, Finnish children were sent to Sweden to stay the summer, but eventually they were brought over for longer periods of time. Some children stayed for the entire duration of the war, and some would never return to their families in Finland. The information on whether there actually was a desire in Finland to transport Finnish children to Sweden is contradictory. During a board meeting at Rädde Barnen in February 1941, Margit Levinson pointed out that, thus far, Finnish authorities had declined invitations to send children to Sweden. However, at the same meeting, she did point out that, in a letter from Minister Jarl Axel Wasastjerna, a wish to have undernourished Finnish children transported to Sweden for shorter periods could be detected.³²⁰ The chairman of the Town Council of Stockholm put forward a request to Rädde Barnen, asking whether the organization was willing to participate in relief actions for Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish children. Margit Levinson agreed to participate in this action, on behalf of Rädde Barnen. The board of Rädde Barnen approved, and a decision was taken to participate in actions for the benefit of Finnish and Norwegian children who were to be evacuated to Sweden.³²¹ The Finnish perspective on the matter of transporting children to Sweden was highlighted during a meeting at the working committee of Central Aid to Finland, in which Margit Levinson participated. As far as they were concerned, as regards being able to support the children, transports to Sweden made no difference.

The meeting was opened by Governor Nothin, who reported that the meeting had been initiated by Director Göransson's visit to him, concerning plans to transport Finnish children here during the summer, and the Governor reported that, from the Finnish perspective, it did not matter as regards maintaining them and primarily undernourished children would be brought here. However, they would receive an invitation from Sweden with gratitude should the transports help strengthen the relations between Finland and Sweden. Rädde Barnen ought to have been most suitable to deal with

³²⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 6th of February 1941.

³²¹ *Ibidem*.

such a task, but difficulties surfaced for the organization owing to the workload associated with sponsorships.³²²

From the Finnish perspective, transporting Finnish children to Sweden was of little consequence, but they were still willing to support this action if it helped strengthen the relationship between the countries. Another member of the board, Dr Beskow, also argued that transporting Finnish children to Sweden was advantageous.

Dr Beskow thought that this planned activity would both have a material effect and enable Sweden and Finland to strengthen and create new bonds. Forces within several youth organizations were working towards this goal.³²³

Child transports from Finland were carried out, and approximately 70,000 Finnish children were moved to Sweden during the war. At this time, Rädde Barnen was not able to run such an action on its own, owing to the large campaign of sponsorship for Finnish children. The organization did support the action, however, and Minutes from March 1942 state that it was Rädde Barnen that had initiated the transportation of Finnish children to Sweden.³²⁴

Two Rädde Barnen representatives were active in the working committee of Central Aid to Finland. Apart from Margit Levinson, journalist and author Anna-Lena Elgström, who had a seat on the board of Rädde Barnen, was also a member. The committee was chaired by the Swedish Prince Wilhelm, and the position of vice-chairman was held by the wife of the current foreign minister, Maja

³²² Swedish National Archives, Hjälpkommittén för Finlands barn, Huvudarkivet. A II:1, Minutes för a Överståthållarämbetet den 9 maj 1941. ”Sammanträdet öppnades av överståthållare Nothin, som meddelade, att sammanträdet föranleddes av överdirektören Göranssons besök hos honom med anledning av planer att under sommaren hitföra finska barn och meddelade överståthållaren, att från finsk sida barnens överförande icke kunde spela någon roll ur försörjningssynpunkt och att de huvudsakligen ville hitsända klena barn. De skulle emellertid med tacksamhet emottaga en inbjudan från Sverige och skulle ett överförande av barn bidra till stärkande av banden mellan Finland och Sverige. Föreningen Rädde Barnen hade bort ligga närmast till att taga hand om denna sak, men det yppade sig svårigheter för föreningen på grund av den stora arbetsbördan med fadderskapsinstitutionen.”

³²³ Swedish National Archives, Hjälpkommittén för Finlands barn, Huvudarkivet. A II:1, Minutes för a Överståthållarämbetet den 9 maj 1941 ”Dr Beskow ansåg att den blivande verksamheten skulle ha dels en materiell verkan, dels verka för stärkandet av banden mellan Sverige och Finland och även knyta nya band. Krafter vore i verksamhet i detta syfte inom ett flertal ungdomsorganisationer.”

³²⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 1942-03-11

Sandler.³²⁵ According to Margit Levinson, there was also an interest in receiving Norwegian children in Swedish homes.³²⁶ This was apparently not put into effect until the end of the war, but in 1945, approximately 6,000 Norwegian children were transported to Sweden.³²⁷

Even if the intention was to not let politics impinge on children in relation to decisions on relief actions, the two cases accounted for above point in a different direction. As far as Jewish children were concerned, their lives were in direct danger both during the war and in 1947. When the request to transport Jewish children from the East to the West was made to Rädga Barnen this was, as we have seen out earlier, declined by Rädga Barnen.

Regarding the Finnish children, the circumstances were different, and as has been shown, during the meeting at Central Aid to Finland, the Finnish authorities pointed out that they did not think it was necessary to transport children to Sweden at that time. However, they were still willing to go ahead with it if it helped strengthen relations between the two countries. At the time, Finland lived under the threat of another attack from Russia, and the country needed Swedish support and was anxious to strengthen its relationship with Sweden. Evidently, a hope existed in Finland that if the Finnish authorities complied with the request to transport Finnish children to Sweden, this would strengthen the relationship between the two countries.

One reason why Rädga Barnen was involved in the action for Finnish children may be that it was the Swedish Government that established the committee for Finland, of which Margit Levinson became a member.³²⁸ As we have seen before, Rädga Barnen was eager to act in accordance with the Swedish Government's guidelines concerning participation in international relief actions. Finnish children appear to have been used as a political tool in this case. Other requests to transport children to Sweden during the war were forwarded as well. How these were received will be discussed below. For instance, such requests were put forward concerning children from Belgium and Poland.

³²⁵ Swedish National Archives, Hjälpkommittén för Finlands barn, Huvudarkivet. A II:2, Redogörelse för Centrala Finlandshjälpens verksamhet.

³²⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 6th of February 1941

³²⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Board of Directors report 1945

³²⁸ Swedish National Archives, Hjälpkommittén för Finlands barn, Huvudarkivet. AII:2. Redogörelse för Finlandshjälpens verksamhet. ("Centrala Finlandshjälpens arbete förstatligades genom att Kungl. Maj:t i konselj den 22 december 1939 tillsatte en kommitté... [...].)

Sweden – a safe haven for children from countries at war?

A few months after the decision to support transportation of Finnish children to Sweden, Rädde Barnen's international union forwarded a request for help to the Swedish branch. As we have seen in the previous chapter, UISE wanted Rädde Barnen to create a safe haven in Sweden for children from war-faring countries. For instance, the international union wanted the Swedish organization to invite Belgian children to this safe haven. As stated previously, Rädde Barnen declined, the reason partly being that the organization thought it unsuitable to relocate children from their own environments.³²⁹ Another reason for denying the international union's request was that Rädde Barnen considered the matter to be a post-war question. This, however, depended on what the Swedish Government's attitude towards the matter was going to be. It was also stated that Rädde Barnen could very well represent the Swedish Government in the execution of this action, but at the time, in June 1941, this was not on the agenda.³³⁰ This statement from Rädde Barnen is, as we can see, contradictory to the reasoning surrounding the transports of Finnish children, where there was no talk about the unsuitability of removing children from their own environment.

Rädde Barnen was not completely unaffected by the union's requests, however. In September 1942, a decision was taken by the board of Rädde Barnen to investigate the possibility of directing relief to children outside the Nordic countries. The organization did not think it suitable to distribute any propaganda on this, however.³³¹ A couple months later, one of the board members, Marika Stiernstedt, suggested that Rädde Barnen should support the transportation of Jewish children from Poland to Palestine. No action appears to have been taken in this matter at this time. During the same meeting, the chairman pointed out that the need for relief in Europe was growing every day. It was decided that a committee should be established to investigate the possibilities of providing relief for non-Nordic countries.³³² The matter of providing relief for children outside the Nordic countries was apparently difficult for the organization to deal with. As we have seen, an awareness of the situation in Europe and or the need for relief for children did exist. However, Rädde Barnen most often chose to

³²⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 17th of June 1941

³³⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 17th of June 1941

³³¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 11th of September 1942

³³² Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 16th of November 1942

comply with the Swedish Government's guidelines on not partaking in international relief work. Exceptions were made, as we have seen, but these were modest in comparison to what was provided to other Nordic countries. A possibility to provide relief via UISE existed. As we have seen, the union did forward requests for Rädga Barnen to participate, but these were met with reluctance.

During 1943, no discussions about child transports are found, and the ambivalence as to whether or not to support children in Europe was still present. This ambivalence appears to have been especially difficult with regard to Jewish children. A decision was taken that a collection of funds for European children that had already been made should include Nordic and Jewish children as well. At the same time, it was pointed out that caution should be taken in distributing propaganda about European children, especially Jewish children. This had been underlined by the Red Cross as well.³³³ In January 1944, a principle standpoint was taken by Rädga Barnen. The organization would be stressing its relief work in the Nordic countries.³³⁴

In May 1944, another request to bring Polish children to Sweden was forwarded from the Americans to Rädga Barnen. The request was that 1000-2000 children be transported from Poland to Sweden under the auspices of Rädga Barnen. The Swedish organization did not think this would be possible at the time. Rädga Barnen did want the funds for this action to be transferred to the organization, however, so that, whenever possible, it could be carried out.³³⁵ Even if the organization was still hesitant, the request to support Polish children was not completely rejected. During 1944 and 1945, a change in the organization's attitude towards participating in relief work in Europe can be noted. As stated before, one explanation for Rädga Barnen's changing attitude is probably that, during the spring of 1944, the Swedish Government began taking an interest in international relief work, and as mentioned before, established the Swedish Committee for International Relief. The government committee did ask for Rädga Barnen's opinion on some issues concerning children, already at the outset of its work. As we have seen, one such issue concerned Polish children.

In November 1944, the Swedish Committee for International Relief wanted Rädga Barnen's opinion on transferring Polish children to Sweden. Rädga Barnen replied that it was most suitable for the children to remain in their own envi-

³³³ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 23rd of March 1943

³³⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 12th of January 1944

³³⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes May 1944

ronment. Instead of transporting them to Sweden, funds could be made available to establish a children's village in Poland.³³⁶ In March 1945, the question of bringing Polish children to Sweden was brought up yet again. An investigation had been conducted concerning the possibility of transporting these children to Sweden. The idea was that they would spend the summer in Swedish children's homes and summer camps. The investigation was carried out by Rädde Barnen and the results were submitted to the Swedish Committee for International Relief. Rädde Barnen did not think the government committee would carry this out, as the costs were too high.³³⁷ As has been shown, the argument that it was unsuitable to move children from their own environment was brought up on both occasions. Transporting them to Sweden was also considered to be too costly. Evidently, Nordic children were still given priority. Geographically, the distance from Sweden to Poland is not longer than that to Finland, and it is not likely that the cost of transportation would have differed considerably. Although a few Finnish children may have been able to speak Swedish, the majority did not, thus acclimatizing to Sweden ought to have been equally difficult or easy for Polish and Finnish children.

More requests to bring children to Sweden were put forward. One such request concerned Baltic children and was made by Baltischer Humanisten Verband to Rädde Barnen. This time, Rädde Barnen referred the matter to the Swedish Aliens Committee.³³⁸ The organization did not want to make a decision on the matter, until the Committee had made a statement.³³⁹ No reply from the Aliens Committee appears to have come, but after consulting the Swedish Foreign Office, a decision to try to support an action to bring Baltic children to Sweden was taken. The purpose was to try to reunite the children with their parents.³⁴⁰

Bringing Polish children to Sweden was considered too expensive, and relocating them was also considered inappropriate. Other children, however, were brought to Sweden in 1945. By this time, Rädde Barnen had changed its mind about the children from Belgium, and in 1945, Belgian children were brought to Sweden. Dutch, French and Norwegian children were also brought to Sweden this year. All in all, approximately 6,000 children were brought to Sweden by

³³⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 21st of November 1944

³³⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 12th of March 1945

³³⁸ Utlänningskommissionen

³³⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 3rd of April 1945

³⁴⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 11th of July 1945

Rädda Barnen in 1945. Rädda Barnen also stated that the organization was prepared to support the transportation of 100,000 Danish children.³⁴¹ This action was never carried out, however.

In October 1945, another request regarding Polish children was forwarded to Rädda Barnen. This time, the wish expressed was to bring 5,000 Polish children to Sweden. Yet again, Rädda Barnen referred the matter to the Swedish Committee for International Relief. This time, the reason for referring the matter to the government committee was that the children would not be staying in private homes, which was considered the most suitable arrangement.³⁴² There is no record of any Polish children having been brought to Sweden, but the organization noted in its Minutes that 80,000 Swedish Crowns had been reserved for a children's home for Jewish children in Poland.³⁴³ It is unclear whether the money specifically went to Jewish children in Poland or not. However, Rädda Barnen was apparently willing to help children from Poland at this time, but not by bringing them to Sweden.

In 1946, the transportation of children was extended to Czechoslovakian children too, and approximately 300 were brought to Sweden.³⁴⁴ A request to bring children whose parents had been kept in concentration camps was again forwarded to Rädda Barnen in 1946. This time the request was forwarded from Dr Bruno Kreisky.³⁴⁵ The Allies had given their permission to use the trains running via Vienna-Prague and Copenhagen to transport the children.³⁴⁶ No records have been found indicating that this transport was carried out by Rädda Barnen.

In April 1946, a suggestion to transport Hungarian children to Sweden was declined. As in the case of Polish children and Jewish children from Austria, Rädda Barnen argued that these children were best helped in their own countries.³⁴⁷ In the case of Hungary, it was decided that dispensation of food was most appropriate. As stated previously, it was considered too expensive to bring Polish children to Sweden, but at the same time 80,000 Swedish Crowns had been reserved to build a children's home in Poland. Transporting the 900 children suggested by Dr Bruno Kreisky seems to have been possible, and with no

³⁴¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Minutes 17th of April 1945

³⁴² Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Minutes 30th of October 1945

³⁴³ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Minutes 23rd of January 1946

³⁴⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Board of Directors report 1946

³⁴⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Minutes, 12th of March 1946

³⁴⁶ *Ibidem*

³⁴⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Minutes, 9th of April 1946

cost for the actual transportation. As we can see in this section, no uniform policy seems to have existed in relation to the child transports. In 1946, the need to try to set up rules for child transports was recognized.

New guidelines for child transports – the same principles for all children?

At the same time as it was decided that the Hungarian children were best helped in their own country, in April 1946, the vice-chairman of Rädde Barnen stated that new guidelines had been stipulated for child transportations. Rädde Barnen and the Swedish Committee for International Relief were to jointly invite 2000 children to stay in Sweden for a period of 6 months. 1000 French children, 500 Dutch children, 300 Czechoslovakian children, 100 Belgian children and 100 children in reserve would be invited to Sweden.³⁴⁸ One problem surfaced while this was being carried out, which was the realization that there were not enough foster homes to receive all the children. In June 1946, Rädde Barnen decided to intensify publicity for Dutch and French children so as to find families for them to stay with.³⁴⁹ At this time, Rädde Barnen also decided to support a transport to Paraguay of children whose parents had died of “the effects of the war”. The children were between 6 and 8 years of age and were to be boarded in a village in Paraguay until the age of 17. When this was discussed, Rädde Barnen pointed out that no consideration of nationality would be taken.³⁵⁰

It is stated in Rädde Barnen’s Minutes from September 1946 that the organization was informed of the Jewish children’s “horrendous suffering” by a Jewish representative. The hope of obtaining Rädde Barnen’s support for these children was expressed.

Mr. Wallenborg had obtained horrendous accounts of the Jewish children’s sufferings from a Jewish representative. This representative had expressed the hope that the work being done for Jewish children would be supported by the organization.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 9th of April 1946

³⁴⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 13th of June 1946

³⁵⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 20th of June 1946

³⁵¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 11th of September 1946 ” Av en judisk representant hade herr Wallenborg fått skakande skildringar av de judiska barnens lidanden. Denne representant hade uttalat en förhoppning om att arbetet för de judiska barnen måtte få föreningens stöd”.

However, even in 1947, there seems to have been no clarity as to whether or not the organization was going to support Jewish children. As stated previously, the vice-chairman of Rädde Barnen denied requests forwarded in early 1947 for support transports for Jewish children from the East to the West. During the same month, February 1947, the organization did decide to support another Swedish organization, Peace and Freedom,³⁵² in its efforts to get Swedish ministers to allow homeless Jewish people to settle in Sweden. It was stated that Rädde Barnen was prepared to support actions to bring Jewish children to Sweden.³⁵³ A couple of weeks later, the organization also concluded that child transports were a suitable way of providing relief to children in Europe.³⁵⁴ During 1947, few children were brought to Sweden, however, and no account of Jewish children being brought to Sweden can be found. In comparison to 1946, when approximately 10,000 children were brought to Sweden to recuperate, execution of this form of relief action decreased sharply in 1947. During that year, 30 children were brought to the country.³⁵⁵ Most of the children who had been transported to Sweden during 1946 had also returned to their home countries by this time.

Arguments stating that certain measures were too costly or that it was inappropriate to relocate children were used when deciding not to bring children to Sweden, but there does not seem to have been a consistent strategy in this respect. The new guidelines that were drawn up, as stated previously, do not appear to have entailed any coherent rules or criteria for choosing which children were to be transported to Sweden. Moreover, there do not appear to have been any policies in place stating that children from countries experiencing the gravest conditions were to be prioritized.

New principles for child transports – again?

In 1949, a request was put forward for Estonian children from the British zone in Germany to be brought to Sweden. The Swedish Aliens Committee wanted a statement from Rädde Barnen on this matter. In consultation with the Swedish Red Cross and the Swedish European Relief, the organization replied that it

³⁵² Fred och Frihet

³⁵³ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 11th of February 1947

³⁵⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 25th of February 1947

³⁵⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Board of Directors report, 1945-1947

could see no reason to not follow its previous decision to refrain from transferring large groups of children to Sweden for recreational purposes.³⁵⁶ With this statement, it appears as if the organization had changed its mind in the matter of child transports. It is not evident what brought on this change, and as we will see below, this standpoint does not seem to have lasted.

In August 1949, a request from the International Refugee Organization was forwarded to Rädga Barnen. This request concerned 14 Austrian young people who were to be transported to Sweden to seek employment. Rädga Barnen stated that the organization was willing to carry out this task, as it would not involve any expenses for Rädga Barnen.³⁵⁷

During the summer of 1950, a group of Jewish children was allowed entry to the country. Rädga Barnen allocated 7,000 Swedish Crowns to support this, but the Mosaic congregation in Stockholm was responsible for the action. Most of the children came from the Russian zone and were brought to Sweden so they could recuperate for 5 weeks. This summer, 14 Estonian children and youth from the British zone were also brought to Sweden for a 6-week-long stay. Also transported to Sweden was a group of German children from the Soviet Union; these children were to stay for 3 months.³⁵⁸ Rädga Barnen wanted to bring German children to Sweden during the summer of 1953. The Swedish National Board of Health wanted this action to be delayed until the autumn, however, and reserve the summer homes for Swedish children.³⁵⁹ By February 1954, 820 German children had been brought to Sweden and another 120 were expected.³⁶⁰ In June 1955, another request regarding Polish children was forwarded. It was desired that 35 Polish children from West Berlin be transported to Sweden. This request was denied by Rädga Barnen. The reason stated was that this was in accordance with the organization's principle standpoints regarding child transportation – standpoints that had been stipulated earlier.³⁶¹ It is not evident which standpoints Rädga Barnen was referring to at the time. As we have seen previously, two things had already been established: the inappropriateness of removing children from their own environment and the principle of not transporting large numbers of children to Sweden for recuperation. As pointed out above, a coherent system

³⁵⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 4th of July 1949

³⁵⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 17th of August 1949

³⁵⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 13th and 21st of August 1950

³⁵⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 26th of March 1953

³⁶⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 27th of February 1954

³⁶¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 9th of June 1955

regarding child transports does not seem to have existed. The rules and principles seem to have been different for different children. The stipulations determining which children should be allowed or which children were suitable to be transferred to Sweden appear to have changed constantly. It would seem that Polish and Jewish children were the two groups that had the greatest difficulty fulfilling Rädga Barnen's changing requirements.

In April 1956, the Polish Combatants Association applied for permission to transport Polish children from East Germany to stay in Sweden for three months. This time Rädga Barnen approved and also applied for a contribution of 50,000 Swedish Crowns from the Elsa Brändström Fund to finance the action.³⁶² This appears to have been the first time Rädga Barnen approved of a transport of Polish children to Sweden.

The rules and guidelines surrounding child transport seem to have been confusing, and the impression is that different rules applied to different children. Rädga Barnen was evidently indecisive as to whether or not it was inappropriate to remove children from their own environment. The organization's opinions seem to have varied in this matter as well. It took until 1950 for Jewish children and until 1956 for Polish children to receive support from Rädga Barnen to be transported to Sweden. The initiatives behind these transports did not come from Rädga Barnen, however.

As concerned Jewish children, it appears to have been first in the late forties that Rädga Barnen publicly gave its support. One explanation for the organization's reluctance to support Jewish children can perhaps be found in the research undertaken by Swedish historians Mikael Byström and Karin Kvist Geverts. During the war, the Swedish Government enforced a restricted immigration policy. As pointed out earlier in the study, Mikael Byström has explained this in terms of the "Nordic prerogative", which meant that Nordic people were prioritized with regard to Swedish support. It would seem that this not only concerned relief work, but also refugee reception policy. Karin Kvist Geverts points out that previous research indicating that this changed in 1942 needs to be nuanced. She has shown in her work that the turn in Swedish politics regarding allowing Jewish people entry to Sweden was a slow process. Although knowledge did exist about the Jewish situation, at the least during the last part of the war, it was not self-evident that Jewish people or their children should be granted entry into the

³⁶² Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes, 3rd of April 1956

country. She explains this with reference to what she calls the “anti-Semitic bustle”,³⁶³ which existed within the Swedish Aliens Committee, as well as other institutions. Her work does not cover the whole period examined in the present study, her period of investigation ends in 1944, but considering Rädde Barnen’s close liaison with Swedish authorities both during and after the war, her findings are nevertheless interesting here. As we have seen in this section, Rädde Barnen was ambivalent in its dealings with Jewish children, and it is possible that this could be explained by the presence of what Karin Kvist Geverts calls ”anti-Semitic bustle”.³⁶⁴ Rädde Barnen did reject several requests to support transports of Jewish children, although the requests forwarded never seem to have involved transporting the children to Sweden. We will have reason to look at how Rädde Barnen dealt with relief directed to Jewish children again in the next chapter, but let us now look at another kind of child transport. These transports concerned so-called displaced children, and the reasons for bringing these children to Sweden were different from those we have discussed earlier.

The children with no country

As stated earlier, the most common reason for transporting children to Sweden was to enable them to recuperate physically. In 1947, discussions about bringing so-called DP children to Sweden started within Rädde Barnen. In this case, the efforts concerned stateless children from refugee camps in Germany. The working committee of Rädde Barnen brought the subject up for discussion at the board of the Swedish Committee for International Relief in May 1947. Rädde Barnen wanted to transport some of these children to Sweden in small groups. Two representatives – one of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and one of the Swedish Institute, who also was members of the board of the Swedish Committee for International Relief – disapproved. They had just returned from a trip to Germany and thought that it was best for the children to be given relief in Germany.³⁶⁵

A month later, two Rädde Barnen representatives undertook a journey to Germany to investigate the situation as well. The result of this journey was that it

³⁶³ Antisemitiska bakgrundsbruset

³⁶⁴ Kvist Geverts Karin, *Ett främmande element i nationen: Svensk flyktingpolitik och de judiska flyktingarna 1938-1944*. Uppsala 2008, passim

³⁶⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 31st of May 1947

was found necessary to try to at least protect the younger children from further time in the camps. If permission were obtained from Swedish authorities, the English would allow children to be transported from their zone in Germany.³⁶⁶

By the end of June 1947, the Swedish Aliens Commission gave permission for 500 children to enter Sweden, provided there would be no costs to the Swedish Government. Rädde Barnen decided to immediately apply for permission for 100 children from camps in Germany to enter the country. The children were to be placed in Swedish foster homes, the aim being eventual adoption.³⁶⁷ The issue of bringing so-called DP children to Sweden seems to have triggered a discussion about how child transports should be carried out and who was to be in charge.

Rädde Barnen was apparently not alone in the practice of transporting children, and some smaller committees in Sweden were involved in this as well. Criticism of how these transports had been handled was put forward by the Swedish National Board of Health. The Swedish Government was apparently not positively inclined to the idea of child transports at this time, in 1947, but did not want to stop these efforts altogether. The critique that surfaced, however, seems to have triggered a need to establish guidelines for how child transports were to be carried out. The Government delegated the responsibility for child transports to the Swedish European Relief, in conjunction with Rädde Barnen, and in the case of the German children, in conjunction with the Swedish Red Cross.³⁶⁸

In February 1948, a strategy for how transportation of the children was to be carried out was drawn up. During a meeting at the Swedish National Board of Health, including representatives of Rädde Barnen, the Swedish Aliens Committee and the Swedish European Relief, decisions were made as to what Rädde Barnen's duties in these kinds of actions would entail. The Swedish Aliens Committee would refer to Rädde Barnen requests for children seeking entry to Sweden. The organization was then to investigate the suggested foster home and make sure that funding was available. Together with the National Board of Health, Rädde Barnen was to ensure that all children undergo a medical examination. If necessary, the children were to be put in quarantine.³⁶⁹

If an organization applied for a whole group of children to enter the country, Rädde Barnen was willing to receive the application and make the necessary in-

³⁶⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 26th of June 1947

³⁶⁷ *Ibidem*

³⁶⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 31st of January 1948

³⁶⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 20th of February 1948

quiries into each individual case. Rädde Barnen was not willing to examine potential foster homes from a political perspective, however. If this were considered necessary, it fell upon the Swedish Aliens Committee to execute the investigations.³⁷⁰ In this way, Rädde Barnen did achieve an important position, which gave the organization great possibilities to influence which children were allowed to enter the country.

During 1948-1949, 65 DP children were transferred to Sweden under the auspices of Rädde Barnen. The children came from camps in the British and American zones in Germany. Their origins were often unknown. In some cases, when the International Refugee Organization managed to find some connection to a country, or if the child only spoke one language, this was noted in the child's personal file as "supposed nationality". A request for information was then forwarded to that country, asking whether there was any knowledge of relatives, and whether the country was prepared to receive the child.³⁷¹ If no such information was available, the child was regarded as stateless.

In October 1949, the work of transporting and placing this group of children in Swedish families for adoption was more or less finished. This was successful in most cases, but a few of the children still remained in children's home. A protest about the placement of some of the children was forwarded from Catholics to Rädde Barnen. The organization had not taken any consideration of the children's religious affiliation. Catholic children had been placed in Protestant homes. Rädde Barnen replied that it was only in exceptional cases the organization could find Catholic families. Rädde Barnen also argued that it was important for the child to adapt to the religion of the foster family and to not be influenced in any other direction.³⁷² The International Refugee Organization, IRO, the UN organization responsible for the camps in Germany, disagreed with Rädde Barnen. Rädde Barnen was notified that, as of October 1948, the organization would only be allowed to transport children under 10 of unknown nationality and Protestant confession.³⁷³

³⁷⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 20th of February 1948

³⁷¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, F:II:6 Övriga handlingar rörande till Sverige 1948-1949 och 1951-1952 överförda barn. 9th of September 1949, Letter from Rädde Barnen's Secretary-General, Sigurd Frostén to Filip Verbruggen-Ahrenberg, Confidential. Principles for transports. (principer för överföring)

³⁷² Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 26th of August 1948

³⁷³ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 5th of October 1948

In August 1950, a discussion began about bringing yet another group of children and young people to Sweden. Rädde Barnen's task this time was to care for the siblings of young people whom the Swedish Labour Market Board³⁷⁴ was going to transport to Sweden for employment.³⁷⁵ A couple of months later, a statement found in Rädde Barnen's Minutes indicate that there were plenty of Swedish homes interested in adopting children. There would be no problem with absorbing the quota of 32 children that Rädde Barnen was allowed to transport to Sweden.³⁷⁶ At this time, it appears as though adopting a child was a popular practice, and there were more potential parents than available children. Historian Cecilia Lindgren points out that, during the early part of the fifties, an increasing professionalization of adoptions and child welfare practices took place. At some point, only government child welfare authorities or authorized organizations were allowed to handle adoptions, in contrast to earlier, when adoptions could be arranged between, for instance, a doctor and potential parents or a lawyer and potential parents.³⁷⁷ Rädde Barnen was clearly authorized to arrange adoptions, both to decide which children could enter the country for adoption and to choose suitable adoptive families. A common practice in Rädde Barnen's outlining of this appear to have been to first place the child as a foster child, only later changing the child's status to that of adoptive child.

In 1951 and 1952, 45 children were transported to Sweden. This group also came from the British and American zones in Germany. In most cases, one of these children's parents was known. They usually had a German or Austrian mother and a father who belonged to the occupation forces. The reasons these children had been left at the camps varied; sometimes the mother had died or could not support the child. Some of the fathers had returned to their native countries, where they already had families and therefore did not want to acknowledge their child.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁴ Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen

³⁷⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 21st of August, 1950

³⁷⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 20th of November 1950

³⁷⁷ Lindgren Cecilia, *En riktig familj: Adoption, föräldraskap och barnets bästa 1917-1975*. Linköping 2006 chapter 5

³⁷⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, F:III Övriga handlingar rörande till Sverige 1948-1949 och 1951-1952 överförda barn.

Rädda Barnen worked closely with different Swedish authorities in bringing children to and placing them in Sweden during this period. Both the Swedish Committee for International Relief and, perhaps even more so, the Swedish Aliens Committee evidently relied on Rädda Barnen with regard to choosing families and choosing which children would be allowed to enter the country. This put the organization in an influential position.

Concluding discussion

In this chapter, we have seen how child transports were used as a means of providing relief to children during and after WWII. The policies and rules surrounding these transports appear to have been incoherent and changing, depending on the children's origins. Different arguments were used, for instance that expenditures were too high or that it was inappropriate to remove children from their own environments. In other cases, such aspects do not seem to have posed a problem at all.

Rädda Barnen liaised with Swedish authorities, both the Swedish Committee for International Relief and the Swedish Aliens Committee, which relied on Rädda Barnen's opinions concerning which children were suitable to enter the country. Rädda Barnen was also delegated the task of deciding which stateless children were to be transported for adoption in Sweden. The organization was in charge of the selection of both the children and the potential parents. In the eyes of the Swedish authorities, Rädda Barnen was apparently viewed as the most suitable organization to carry out these kinds of duties. Through its involvement in child transports, Rädda Barnen achieved an important position in the arena of child protection and child welfare. When Swedish state authorities gave Rädda Barnen the duty of determining which children were allowed entry into the country, the organization acquired a status as legitimate partner to governmental institutions for children's welfare.

As pointed out earlier in this chapter, it does not appear as if children were transported to stay in a given environment so to expose them to "better political influences", which did occur in some cases in connection with WWI. As we have seen, politics were present, but the notion of giving children a more politically "correct" upbringing surfaces more clearly in the next chapter, where the establishment of children's homes and apprentice homes will be discussed.

Chapter VIII

Shaping democratic citizens and exporting Swedish visions

Introduction

As we have seen earlier in the study, some methods used for enabling children to recuperate physically were to transport them to Sweden or to distribute food. Other tasks, such as providing a “good” upbringing and enabling spiritual recovery, surface too. This seems to have been especially important in Germany. In a similar vein, projects aiming at creating healthy and pedagogical environments for children were carried out. This becomes visible when Rädde Barnen established nurseries, children’s homes and apprentice homes. In this chapter, examples from Germany, France and Israel will be discussed. In Israel, Rädde Barnen also established the so-called Swedish Village “Kfar Achim”. These programs is also an indicator of what Rädde Barnen wanted to obtain – defining their identity as an relief organization, but also giving away the basic value system that form the basis of this.

In the first part of this chapter, a brief account will be given of the discussions that took place in Sweden concerning relief to Germany and the relations with UNRRA. The situation in Germany, mainly in Bavaria, where Rädde Barnen established both apprentice homes and children’s homes will be described. The chairman of Rädde Barnen, Margit Levinson, undertook a journey in 1946 to assess the situation in Europe. One of the places she visited during this trip was Germany and the remains of the concentration camp Belsen. These accounts will

provide us with the background against which Rädde Barnen established apprentice homes and children's homes in Germany.

In France, the aim of the establishment of children's homes differed somewhat from in Germany. The last part of this chapter will deal with Rädde Barnen's activities in Israel during the early fifties. Let us first start out by looking at the discussions that took place in Sweden concerning relief work in Germany towards the end of the war.

The Swedish contribution to the re-building of Germany

As we have seen earlier in the study, the "Nordic prerogative" had been decisive for the Swedish Government's politics during the war. Rädde Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross appear to have worked in accordance with this policy too. When the Government changed its course of action and started to take an interest in international relief work, Rädde Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross followed suit. Folke Bernadotte made it blatantly clear, during his trip to England in 1944, that Sweden had no desire to subordinate itself to UNRRA or any other international organization. He also emphasized that Sweden wanted to decide where to direct its relief, and that the Nordic countries were a priority. From UNRRA's side, it was pointed out that other places were in greater need of relief. Folke Bernadotte was aware of this, but because Sweden had good relations with other Nordic countries, it was easier to provide relief to them. Germany, however, was one of the countries he did think was suitable, after the Nordic countries.³⁷⁹

In May 1944, the question of directing relief to Germany was brought up for discussion within the board of Rädde Barnen. According to Margit Levinson, requests had been made from "various directions" within Sweden that help should be provided for Germany too. Providing relief to Germany was considered important within the board of Rädde Barnen, but it was also considered important to wait for an appropriate time to start these efforts.³⁸⁰ At this time, during the spring of 1944, it appears to have been a far too sensitive mission to embark upon. As we have seen earlier, however, Rädde Barnen did state that politics, race and religion should not be taken into consideration in relation to relief work

³⁷⁹ Swedish National Archives, Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet. FI:C volym 20, Överstyrelsen för Svenska Röda Korset, Rapport över vice ordförandens resa till England den 12 - 26 februari 1944, Stockholm den 29 februari 1944. F. Bernadotte av Wisborg. V. ordförande

³⁸⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 31st of May 1944.

for children and youth. For this reason, Germany should also be included in the organization's relief efforts, even if this had to wait until a more suitable time. The matter seems to have been put on hold, but a year later, Board of Inspection for the Enterprise³⁸¹ brought up the subject in a letter to Rädga Barnen. The authority wanted Rädga Barnen to be the executive organ for relief work for children in Germany.³⁸²

In October 1945, an unofficial committee for relief to Germany was established, on request of the government-established Swedish Committee for International Relief. Members of the newly established committee were Margit Levinson, representing Rädga Barnen, Folke Bernadotte, representing the Swedish Red Cross, and Henrik Beer, representing the Swedish Committee for International Relief.³⁸³ The government body did not want to start relief work in Germany, however, until permission had been given by the allies.³⁸⁴ Even if the execution of relief was put on hold, plans for how this would be carried out were drawn up. A joint appeal, by Rädga Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross, to gather funds was also going to be made.³⁸⁵ The Swedish Red Cross asked Rädga Barnen if the organization could guarantee a donation of a 100,000 Swedish Crowns towards relief work in Germany. Rädga Barnen agreed, provided that the Swedish Red Cross would guarantee the same amount.³⁸⁶ A delegation was put together by representatives of the Swedish Red Cross, Rädga Barnen and the Swedish Committee for International Relief, and it was to undertake a journey to Germany to assess the situation.³⁸⁷ When the delegation returned from Germany, it pointed out that the relief would be received with gratitude.³⁸⁸ As we can see, here an attempt was made between the Swedish Government and non-governmental organizations to co-operate on this matter. No official permission to go ahead with relief activities in Germany appears to have been obtained from UNRRA, however. There were conflicts between Swedish authorities and UNRRA at this time, and apparently Swedish relief was not very highly regarded by the organization. Ac-

³⁸¹ Näringslivets granskningsnämnd

³⁸² Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 15th of June 1945

³⁸³ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 30th of October 1945

³⁸⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 9th of October 1945

³⁸⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 30th of October 1945

³⁸⁶ *Ibidem*

³⁸⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 30th of October 1945

³⁸⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes 11th of December 1945

ording to Cay Sevón, this was so serious that UNRRA sometimes ignored Swedish relief efforts.³⁸⁹

Whatever the conflicts with UNRRA, it was decided within the committee for Germany that the Swedish relief efforts would go ahead. The executing bodies for this were Rädga Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross. The relief efforts were also to be performed in conjunction with the British Red Cross, but there is no mention of any co-operation with UNRRA. It was also pointed out that relief efforts would be directed to specific areas.³⁹⁰

By March 1946, the two organizations had gathered 680,000 Swedish Crowns for relief work in Germany. Conflict soon arose between Rädga Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross, however. In a letter to Rädga Barnen, the Swedish Red Cross questioned the co-operation between the organizations and suggested that the Swedish Red Cross should execute the dispensation of food for children in Germany on its own. Margit Levinson insisted on co-operation on equal terms, and wanted the matter to be referred to the Swedish Committee for International Relief.³⁹¹

Rädga Barnen and the Swedish Red Cross did co-operate when gathering funds for the relief work in Germany, but apparently unable to collaborate in the execution of activities. The organizations appear to have kept a close watch on each other, and did not want to carry out any activities or allocate any funds unless the other organization did the same. The need to accentuate their positions seems to have been constantly present and to have remained throughout the postwar years. In 1950, when the activities in Germany were being and had been carried out, Rädga Barnen emphasized in a P.M. that the organization had initiated the establishment of apprentice homes, made the drawings and outlined the plans. These had been accepted by the Swedish Red Cross, which had agreed to the plans and outlines of the activities. It was also pointed out in the P.M. that the organizations had obtained exactly the same amount of money from the Swedish Government and the Swedish European Relief.³⁹²

Whatever conflicts had taken place in Sweden regarding how and under which organization's authority relief should be carried out in Germany, both Rädga Ba-

³⁸⁹ Sevón Cay, *Visionen om Europa, Svensk neutralitet och europeisk återuppbyggnad 1945-1948*. Saa-rijärvi 1995, p 61

³⁹⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes, 11th of December 1945

³⁹¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Minutes, 12th of March 1946

³⁹² Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, Dossier över länder, F1:10-2, Tyskland II Bayern 1. Läringshemmen i München och Nürnberg 1949-1963

men and the Swedish Red Cross started to launch their respective activities after the armistice. Rädde Barnen established apprentice homes, social settlements, set up workshops for shoemakers, carpenters, sewing, etc. Rädde Barnen also set up children's homes, mainly for recreational purposes. All these activities were a contribution to the rebuilding of Germany, as per the agreement with Swedish authorities. The allies were already actively working with rebuilding and rehabilitation in Germany by the time Swedish organizations entered the country. Before looking at Rädde Barnen's activities more thoroughly, let us see what the conditions were like in Germany, more specifically in Bavaria, where Rädde Barnen directed a fairly large part of its relief activities. What the allies considered to be the main priorities in the reconstruction of Germany will also be highlighted.

The situation in Germany and the allies' four Ds

Germany was divided into different zones by the occupational forces after the armistice, and the number of refugees in the country was vast. During 1946, more than one and a half million people had been forcibly repatriated to Bavaria, which is one place where Rädde Barnen established apprentice homes and children's homes. Towards the end of the war and after the armistice, people had also fled to Bavaria from countries on the Balkan, Pomerania, Czechoslovakia, Schleswig and Prussia.³⁹³ The task of finding housing, reuniting families, finding work or things to keep refugees occupied, and of course of rebuilding what had been destroyed during the war was tremendous. The problem with illegal immigrants was also substantial, and during 1948, it was estimated that 85,000 people had entered Bavaria illegally. In accordance with the Potsdam Agreement,³⁹⁴ Germans who still lived in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were to be repatriated to Germany. Bavaria was expected to receive 52% of these refugees. Due to the vast amount of people in need of help, there was an acute shortage of housing and food. Many refugees had to live in mass camps, and in 1948, it was an-

³⁹³ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen , enclosure no 5 to Minutes 26th of October 1949. OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT FOR BAVARIA MUNICH, GERMANY APO 407-A US ARMY, Rapport angående flyktingar och tvångsförflyttade personer i Bayern sammanställd av Office of Military Government for Bavaria.

³⁹⁴ In August 1945, Stalin, Truman and Attlee meet at the so-called Potsdam Conference. One point that was discussed was the repatriation of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Guidelines for how this was to be accomplished were drawn up.

anticipated that approximately 33,000 children lived in such camps. In 1949, American military authorities estimated that there were approximately 2 million refugees in Bavaria alone.³⁹⁵

Four tasks were singled out as being most important for the Americans to deal with in Germany: demilitarization, decartelization, denazification, and democratization – the four Ds.³⁹⁶ The last two of these were fields that Rädde Barnen was, as we will see, influenced by in its activities in Germany. Denazification was a concept used mainly during the war by the Americans while planning Germany's recovery, but this was more or less replaced in 1946 by the perhaps milder expression "reorientation".³⁹⁷ Whatever it was called, the purpose was to democratize Germany and the Germans, and this was going to be accomplished through re-education. Rädde Barnen did not take part in the large re-education scheme, but we will see examples of how the organization's work in Germany seems to have been characterized by this purpose. How this was done will be discussed later in the text, but let us first examine the chairwoman of Rädde Barnen, Margit Levinson's impressions of the situation in Germany.

The visit to "Journey's end"

As mentioned above, Rädde Barnen did begin its extensive relief efforts in Germany during the years after the armistice. Some of the staff in the organization undertook journeys in Europe once the war was over to assess the situation there. The co-workers' accounts of their journeys were gathered in a booklet that was published by the organization in 1947. Margit Levinson, Rädde Barnen's chairwoman, undertook one such journey, and one of the places she visited was Germany. During her tour of Germany, she also visited the remains of the concentration camp Belsen which appears to have had a profound effect on her.

The real shock was soon to come. It was Belsen, or what is left of this place of horror. When you have seen Belsen, you can understand what has

³⁹⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, enclosure no 5 to Minutes 26th of October 1949. OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT FOR BAVARIA MUNICH, GERMANY APO 407-A US ARMY, Rapport angående flyktingar och tvångsförflyttade personer i Bayern sammanställd av Office of Military Government for Bavaria.

³⁹⁶ Tent, James F, *Mission on the Rhine: Reeducation and Denazification in American -Occupied Germany*, Chicago 1982. Preface and chapter 1

³⁹⁷ Tent, James F, *Mission on the Rhine: Reeducation and Denazification in American -Occupied Germany*, Chicago 1982. For a more thorough discussion in this matter, see for instance chapter 1 and 6.

been so hard to comprehend, that most Germans were so completely unaware of what went on in the concentration camps. They were always placed in a remote area far away from people's residences and they were hermetically sealed.³⁹⁸

She seems to have been horrified by what she saw, but understanding towards the Germans in general for not being aware of or not knowing what was going on. According to her, it was comprehensible that the Germans were not aware of the camps, because they were located in such remote areas. She continues to describe a village nearby, where the SS soldiers had been educated in their "horrific profession". The village looked idyllic, catering to all needs, with casinos and cinemas, for instance. At the time of her journey, the former SS village was inhabited by Jewish people and there were plenty of children, waiting to be transferred to other places. She emphasized that even if they looked well dressed and well nourished, it was a depressing place to live, especially for the children. She passed the station, which for a lot of Jewish people had been the last stop before reaching the "Journey's end". Her journey continued to the concentration camp, where she noted a hanging board on which was written that one of the allies' first tasks upon arrival to the camp was to bury 30,000 corpses. During the first week of liberation, another 10,000 ex-prisoners died. Leftovers from the gas chambers were visible; as well some of the barracks the prisoners had lived in. Some of the barracks had been converted into housing for German families that worked with clearance of the camp. The camp had become the place where these German families' children played.

Their children run around and play amongst the mass graves, around what is left of the gas chambers and the ovens used for cremation of the corpses. Carefree and happy you see them by the prisons and turrets, surrounded by barbed-wire fences, they play old games as if this was the most natural place for playing tag.

³⁹⁸ Rädde Barnen: *Arbetet för barn i krigshärjade länder. Stockholm 1947*, p 14. "Men den verkliga chocken kom snart nog. Det var Belsen, eller vad som ännu finns kvar av denna fasans plats. När man sett Belsen, kan man förstå det som alltid förefallit så otroligt, nämligen att de flesta tyskar levde i fullständig okunnighet om vad som tilldrog sig i koncentrationslägren. De låg alltid i någon ödlig trakt långt bort från människoboningar och de var hermetiskt tillslutna."

Here I had a very strong feeling of how fundamentally important it is to give these children spiritual health, without which the future looks grim.³⁹⁹

It was, without a doubt, a horrific environment for children to play in, and a place where thousands of Jewish adults and their children had died. As we can see above, Margit Levinson worried about what this was doing to the German children's spiritual health.

During her journey in Europe, Margit Levinson was struck by the disproportionate relationship between the need that existed and the resources available. Her impressions of the situation in Germany varied. According to Margit Levinson, parts of Germany seemed untouched while in other parts, mainly larger cities, the horrors of the war could be seen more clearly. Hamburg, for instance, was one place partly had recovered. She noted that people did not look as indifferent and apathetic as she had been told. She did emphasize, however, that her impressions were only visual, and it was possible that things were much worse than they seemed. Her journey continued through Europe and she noted that other places had been hit hard too. One example was the former Yugoslavia, where 400,000 children had been murdered and another 450,000 had died of illnesses, starvation or frozen to death.⁴⁰⁰ It was Germany, however, that seems to have been the target for the bulk of the organization's re-building and relief efforts after the armistice.

The spiritual recovery of the children in Germany

The need to enable German children to regain their spiritual health seems to have been anchored in the Swedish Red Cross too. In *Rädda Barnen's* and the Swedish Red Cross's joint appeal for funds for German children, this needs of German children were used as an argument.

³⁹⁹ *Rädda Barnen: Arbetet för barn i krigshärjade länder*. Stockholm 1947, p 15. "Deras barn springer omkring och leker bland massgravarna, bland spillrorna av det som en gång var gasugnar och likförbränningsugnar. Sorglösa och glada ser man dem vid fångelserna och skjuttornen, omgärdade av taggtrådsstängsel leker de gamla lekar som vore detta den vanligaste och mest naturliga platsen för sistast och två slår den tredje... Jag fick här den allra starkaste känslan av hur fundamentalt viktigt det är att försöka ge barnen även all den andliga hälsa, varförutan utsikterna för framtiden ter sig dystra."

⁴⁰⁰ *Rädda Barnen: Arbetet för barn i krigshärjade länder*. Stockholm 1947, pp 15

Knowing that contributions to German children, which will enable them to grow up under humane conditions, will simultaneously promote the German people's spiritual recovery.⁴⁰¹

As we have seen earlier, this appeal had been successful. The two organizations managed to gather a rather significant amount of money for their activities in Germany.

The different homes for children and youth that Rädde Barnen set up in Germany were mostly run in conjunction with German authorities. The plan was that the establishments would eventually be handed over and run entirely under the German regime. To help children adapt to democratic environments and thereby recover spiritually, the German staffs that were to take charge of the different establishments also needed to be taught how to realize a democratic upbringing. This had to be implemented carefully, though, as their confidence in child-raising had been damaged. The Swedish staff should encourage the Germans to reflect on their methods of rearing children and youth. This should be done without breaking their self-confidence in such matters. In a report from the recreation home Heim Herzogou, it was emphasized:

If there were more than one Swede, there is a risk that the Swedes would not serve as a useful source of irritation which forces the Germans to reflect. The consequence could be that we break their spirits, because they have become so insecure about their methods child-raising.⁴⁰²

Margit Levinson pointed out, in another report on Heim Herzogau, that the experience from this home had made it clear that it would be valuable if the German pedagogic staff could spend some time in Sweden. This would enable the German staff, to learn modern Swedish methods of child welfare and child-raising. This would also enable the Germans to care for the growing, bewildered youth and children in Germany. Bewilderment was a particularly difficult problem for

⁴⁰¹ Swedish National Archives, F1:9 1:1, Inledning till hjälparbete Rädde Barnens och Röda Korsets barnbespisning m.m. 1945-1946. Upprop för hjälp till Tysklands barn 1945-12-15 "I förvisning om att en hjälp till de tyska barnen, att växa upp under drägliga förhållanden, samtidigt bidrager till det tyska folkets andliga tillfrisknande

⁴⁰² Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, F1:10-2, Tyskland II Bayern, Rapport rörande Heim Herzogou, Herzogou den 12 mars 1952. "Om fler än en svensk finns risk att svenskarna ej blir nyttigt irritationsmoment som tvingar tyskarna till eftertanke utan att vi då liksom slå ihjäl dem så osäkra som de har blivit i sina uppfostringsmetoder."

the refugee children and youth. Their minds, had, according to Margit Levinson, become completely “twisted”.⁴⁰³ In another report from Heim Herzogau, it is emphasized that the German pedagogues at the home were grateful for the Swedish instructions on child-rearing. The staff pointed out that a country that had not experienced war in 150 years must know better than them how to raise children. According to the report, the German staffs were marked by Prussian discipline methods, but were extremely willing to learn from the Swedes.⁴⁰⁴ One of the Swedish youth leaders also reflected upon this problem, after spending a year working at one of the apprentice homes. The present generation of youth was marked by a Hitler-Jugend disciplinary and dictatorial upbringing. After the war, everything turned into chaos and everything the young people had previously been taught no longer applied. Perceptions of what was right and wrong were mixed up, and the adults could no longer offer any guidance. For the German youth leaders, Swedish methods of trusting and giving responsibility to children and youth, through discussion, were alien. This was something the Swedish staff had to put a great deal of effort into teaching them.

The German youth leaders showed a certain tendency to execute old disciplinary methods. The Swedish leaders had to spend considerable time and effort convincing them about the advantages of democratic methods.⁴⁰⁵

The children who were cared for in the recreation homes were both native Germans and children of various nationalities from the mass camps. The children from the mass camps were referred to as the “foreign” children by both the German and the Swedish staff. These “foreign” children from the camps were also described by both Swedish and German staff as being more difficult to handle than the German children. The German pedagogical leader at Heim Herzogau pointed out in a report that when the foreign children first arrived they seemed

⁴⁰³ Swedish National Archives, Rättsäkerhetsstyrelsen, Dossier över länder F1:10-2, Tyskland II Bayern. Orientering ang. Herzogau-hemmet. Feb 1952. Margit Levinson

⁴⁰⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rättsäkerhetsstyrelsen, Dossier över länder F1:10-2, Tyskland II Bayern, Rapport rörande Heim Herzogau. 26.11.51. Elisabeth Christensson.

⁴⁰⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rättsäkerhetsstyrelsen, dossier över länder, F1:10:3. 1953 Några reflexioner efter ett år som ungdomsledare vid Rättsäkerhetsstyrelsens lärlingshem i München.

spoilt in comparison to other children. The children who upon arrival had been spoilt and dependent had, however, changed for the better by the time they left the home.

Small children, who at the outset had been spoilt, whiny and dependent, became lively and very proud of the fact they could dress and undress themselves during this period.⁴⁰⁶

In yet another report, this time written by one of the Swedish staff, the foreign children are also described as being much more problematic to deal with than the German children. The author of the report pointed out, however, that the children's resourcefulness brought about a great deal of laughter among the staff, even if the children were tiresome. One example of the children's resourcefulness was when the "foreign" boys, for instance, dismantled the copper pipes and anything else they found useful in the home. This was something they were used to doing in the camps, and the material they dismantled and found was used for trading.⁴⁰⁷ The German children, on the other hand, were obedient, able and always willing to help their friends.

A hole is immediately mended, and so also a button if lacking, and already at the age of six years every child knows what he or she has brought here. This does not however imply greediness. On the contrary, I have never met children more willing to help one another and more careful.⁴⁰⁸

In order to deal with the inventive and problematic children from the camps, the Swedish leader at the home wished that the next contingency of children would be divided. Half of them should be German children and half of them foreign, because the German children were easier to handle and more well-behaved.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rättsäkerhetsförvaltningen, dossier över länder. F1:10-2, Tyskland II Bayern. Rapport över första gruppen av flyktningbarn från läger och deras vistelse för rekreation å Herzogau-hemmet den 19/9—31/10, 1951.

⁴⁰⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rättsäkerhetsförvaltningen, dossier över länder. F1:10-2, Tyskland II Bayern. Rapport rörande Heim Herzogau. Herzogau den 25 febr.52. Elisabeth Christensson, Lilian Lilja

⁴⁰⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rättsäkerhetsförvaltningen, dossier över länder. Tyskland Bayern II. 2 Rekreativhemmen i Herzogau och i Tittmoning 1951-1953. Herzogau 1951-1952. Report on the summer colony "Waizacker" and the projects concerning the autumn and winter camp "Herzogau"

⁴⁰⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rättsäkerhetsförvaltningen, dossier över länder. F1:10-2, Tyskland II Bayern. Rapport rörande Heim Herzogau. Herzogau den 25 febr.52. Elisabeth Christensson, Lilian Lilja

There seems to have been a hope that the German children would have a good influence on the children from the camps.

The purpose of the recreation homes appears to have been similar to the purpose of transporting children to Sweden. The children stayed in a recreation home or in Swedish homes for a few weeks to recuperate physically and were then returned to the camps or their native countries. As with the children who were transported to Sweden to build up their strength, a notion existed that if only the children recovered physically, their psychological health would be restored too. If they also were exposed to a good environment and “good” morals, they would become healthy, democratically oriented people. Margit Levinson pointed out that peer pressure and insecurity were common problems among the children from the camps. After staying at the recreation home for a while, however, they did become aware that life could be happier. One question that seems to have concerned her in particular was the impression that unemployment in the camps made on the children. This had a bad influence on the children, who seemed to think that life was all about receiving things, without making an effort.

The children seem to have taken a particularly strong impression of the unemployment in the camps and do not seem to be prepared to learn a profession and work for their future on their own. They are stuck in the notion that life is only to receive and be led, which would seem to pose a threat to their future. Especially during the handicraft activities you can see how alien the children are to their own achievements and what new worlds thereby lay open for them.⁴¹⁰

As mentioned earlier, the physical environment was considered an important part of the goal of helping children and youth to recover spiritually and become democratically oriented citizens.

One example of a setting that was considered to be a healthy environment, was a building located in Bavaria that had previously been used by Hitler-Jugend. The location of the building and the environment were considered per-

⁴¹⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rättsäkerhetsförvaltningen, dossier över länder. F1:10-2, Tyskland II Bayern. Orientering ang Herzogau-hemmet. February 1952. Margit Levinson” Barnen synas ha tagit starkt intryck av arbetslösheten i lägren och verkar ej inställda på att lära sig ett yrke och själva klara sin framtid. De är sålunda fastlåsta i den föreställningen, att det bara är att taga emot allt och att låta sig ledas, vilket torde innebära en fara för deras framtid. Särskilt vid slöjdtimmarna ser man hur främmande barnen står inför egna prestationer, vilka ny världar som därigenom öppnas inför deras ögon.“

fect for the purpose, and Rädga Barnen established an apprentice home in the building. As pointed out earlier, the environment in the camps was harsh and demoralizing, as was the situation in some blocks in the cities where poor people lived. Bringing youth to such as the building in Bavaria mentioned here was an environment that was considered beneficial for them. If youth were exposed to a “systematic and democratic” upbringing, there was a possibility they could be returned to a “healthy and orderly life”. It was emphasized, however, that it was only possible to achieve good results if young people were exposed to good conditions of upbringing during a longer period of time.⁴¹¹

In terms of its location, the place is extremely suitable as a youth colony. The homeless orphans who come from the demoralizing environment in the refugee camps or the cities’ over-crowded poor quarters would be able to adjust to a healthy and orderly life here in a salutary environment under conditions of systematic, democratic up-brining. Only if the youth spend a longer period of time under good conditions of upbringing it is possible to achieve the desired results.⁴¹²

Both the environment and the method of upbringing were to enable young people to become democratic and spiritually healthy citizens. Rädga Barnen also considered it important that the layout of the apprentice homes be as homelike as possible. Even if they had to be very small, due to the cost, each young person should have his/her own room to be able to enjoy some privacy, as this had been lacking previously.⁴¹³ The youth who came to the apprentice homes were either from camps or “unsatisfactory homes”, and as we can see above the purpose of the apprentice homes was to enable these youngsters to assimilate to normal social life. The idea behind the apprentice homes was also to give young people vocational

⁴¹¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen , Dossier över länderF1:10-2, Tyskland II Bayern, Läringshemmen i Bayern Rapporter mm 1949-1954, Hochlandlager bei Königsdorf, Landkreis Wolfratshausen. 1949.

⁴¹² Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, F1:10-2, Tyskland II Bayern, Läringshemmen i Bayern Rapporter mm 1949-1954, Hochlandlager bei Königsdorf, Landkreis Wolfratshausen. 1949. ” Genom sitt läge är platsen utomordentligt lämplig såsom ungdomskoloni. De hem- och föräldralösa ungdomarna som vistas i demoraliserade miljön i flyktinglägren eller i städernas överfyllda fattigkvarter skulle här i en välgörande miljö och under planmässig demokratisk uppfostran åter kunna infogas i ett sunt och regelbundet liv. Endast om dessa ungdomar under en längre tid få vistas under goda uppfostringsbetingelser är det möjligt att uppnå avsett resultat.”

⁴¹³ Swedish National Archives, Rädga Barnen, F1:10:1, Tyskland II Bayern, Läringshemmen i München och i Nürnberg 1943-1963, Tyskland 1951, APPRENTICES' HOSTELS IN GERMANY,

training.⁴¹⁴ In the guidelines for running the homes, it is stated that when selecting youth, no consideration was to be taken to race, nationality or political opinions. The youth were to be chosen from all over the country and not only from the area where the apprentice home was established. The home was to be run on a self-governing basis, meaning that even if there were staff employed, the youth were to share in the responsibility for running the home. The warden of the home was to help the young people find work, but this had to be done in consultation with the local labor exchanges and advisory bureaus.⁴¹⁵ Unemployment was a huge problem in Germany, and therefore it was important that tasks the youth were given did not pose a threat to the labor market in general.⁴¹⁶ Vocational training was considered important, but working as such was also a virtue.⁴¹⁷

During the youth's stay at the apprentice homes, they were to visit vocational training schools where they were to be given theoretical knowledge about different vocations. The idea behind these visits was also to imbue in the young people a "general upbringing". During weekends and evenings, discussions that encouraged international understanding and also eliminated "exceptional positions" were to take place at the home.⁴¹⁸ The youth should be encouraged to co-operate and to co-exist on equal terms. No one should feel that they were subordinated to anyone else. During a meeting of Rädde Barnen representatives, together with representatives from various German authorities, for instance, the Home Office⁴¹⁹ and the Ministry of Employment and Welfare⁴²⁰, where plans for running the homes were drawn up, it was decided that 70% of the youth would be chosen

⁴¹⁴ Ibidem

⁴¹⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, F1:10:1, Tyskland II Bayern, Lärlingshemmen i München och i Nürnberg 1943-1963, Tyskland 1951, APPRENTICES' HOSTELS IN GERMANY,

⁴¹⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, F1:10:1, Tyskland II Bayern, Lärlingshemmen i München och i Nürnberg 1943-1963, Tyskland 1951, Enclosure till Minutes nr 11. Arbetsutskottet, 26.10.1949. Kiel den 25 augusti 1949. RIKTLINJER FÖR UPPRÄTTANDET AV UNGDOMSGÅRDAR I SCHLESWIG HOLSTEIN

⁴¹⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, F1:10:1, Tyskland II Bayern, Lärlingshemmen i München och i Nürnberg 1943-1963, Tyskland 1951. Enclosure 8 till Minutes no 11. 10 oktober 1949. Angående svensk hjälp för flyktingar (ungdom)

⁴¹⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, F1:10:1, Tyskland II Bayern, Lärlingshemmen i München och i Nürnberg 1943-1963, Tyskland 1951. Enclosure 8 till Minutes no 11. 10 oktober 1949. Angående svensk hjälp för flyktingar (ungdom)

⁴¹⁹ Inrikesministeriet

⁴²⁰ Bayerska Arbets- och Valfärdsministeriet

from the refugee groups and the rest from the native German population. This was done to make assimilation into the Bavarian economy possible.⁴²¹

It is not evident what this actually meant, but it does appear that a need for co-existence and co-operation between the various nationalities had been acknowledged. Conflicts between the groups might have been considered a factor that would prevent the recovery.

At this meeting, it was also suggested that four youth should share a bedroom to prevent anyone from being isolated from friendships, but also to discourage jealousy. During this meeting, it was also decided that a system of “co-upbringing” between girls and boys was to be tested at one of the homes.⁴²² One such home was established in Munich and the result comes across as having been positive. Communication between the sexes was described as having been “open and natural”. It was also considered to help to disarm myths about the other sex.⁴²³

In one of the homes established in Munich, another method to increase tolerance and co-operation was carried out. In this home, handicapped boys were mixed with non-handicapped boys. This was considered advantageous for both the handicapped boys and the non-handicapped ones.

The other boys get used to their handicapped comrades, but while giving them due consideration, treating them as equals. From a psychological point of view, it has been of enormous value for the disabled boys not to be isolated but to live a normal life with others of the same age.⁴²⁴

As we can see, it was emphasised that no-one should be excluded. Tolerance and to include everyone was encouraged. At the apprentice homes established in Munich and Nurnberg, it was also emphasized that young people needed to have a space of their own, as they had grown up under collective circumstances. Also here, the importance of giving the youth vocational training was emphasized. It

⁴²¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, F1:10:1, Tyskland II Bayern, Lärlingshemmen i München och i Nürnberg 1943-1963, Tyskland 1951. Enclosure 8 till Minutes no 11. 10 oktober 1949. Angående svensk hjälp för flyktingar (ungdom)

⁴²² Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, F1:10:1, Tyskland II Bayern, Lärlingshemmen i München och i Nürnberg 1943-1963, Tyskland 1951. Enclosure 8 till Minutes no 11. 10 oktober 1949. Angående svensk hjälp för flyktingar (ungdom)

⁴²³ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Dossier över länder F1:10 3 1953 Några reflexioner efter ett år som ungdomsledare vid Rädde Barnens lärlingshem i München.

⁴²⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, F1:10:1, Tyskland II Bayern, Lärlingshemmen i München och i Nürnberg 1943-1963, Tyskland 1951, APPRENTICES' HOSTELS IN GERMANY,

was also pointed out how important it was that the occupations be suited to the young person's own interest and talents.⁴²⁵

Youth and children in Germany were to be exposed as much as possible to a democratic upbringing, which in turn would enable them to recover spiritually. As pointed out previously, in order to bring up children in a democratic manner, the German pedagogues needed to be educated too.

Swedish staffs appear to have been considered experts in the area of democratic upbringing and enabling spiritual recovery. Hard work, vocational training, mixing of different nationalities, and open and free discussions across borders were going to help the youth and children of Germany become peaceful and democratic citizens. This "Swedish formula" was also going to cause spoilt children to want to work and to assume responsibility for their lives. Swedish expertise on how to create democratically oriented citizens appears to have been established and to create goodwill was important. Next we will see how this becomes visible in Germany, but perhaps even more so in France.

Relief work and humanitarianism – export of Swedish visions?

Drawing a great deal of attention to inauguration of the different homes comes across as having been important for Rädde Barnen. Both prominent guests and the press were invited to attend. When the apprentice home Hochlandslager was opened, prominent people such as the Prime Minister, representatives from the American occupation authorities, catholic priests and other high officials attended. Rädde Barnen's representative, Cecile Brunius, held a speech in which she emphasized that Swedish donors were pleased to see that the Swedish equipment had been so greatly appreciated. The Prime Minister, Dr Seidl, pointed out that Sweden's and Rädde Barnen's contributions to such an institution as Hochlandslager, which prepared young people to perform useful tasks for society, would never be forgotten. Recordings for German radio, in which the Swedish Rädde Barnen representative also participated, were also made.⁴²⁶ The openings of apprentice homes in Nurnberg and Munich were also attended by high officials from the Bavarian authorities, the Executive director of Rädde

⁴²⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, F1:10:1, Tyskland II Bayern, Lärlingshemmen i München och i Nürnberg 1943-1963, PM angående lärlingshemmen 18/12-1950

⁴²⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, enclosure 2 Minutes no 8 1950. Rapport från fru Cécile Brunius resa till Bayern i samband med öppnandet av Hochlandslager, 39 km söder om München

Barnen's international union and representatives from UNICEF. The Swedish and foreign press were also present, and the event in Munich was filmed.⁴²⁷ Rädde Barnen had evidently successfully established Swedish homes furnished with Swedish equipment and imbued with Swedish ideas of a democratic upbringing for children and youth. The organization sought and gained attention for this and generated good publicity for Sweden.

The fact that it was important to show off Sweden's best side also became visible when one of Rädde Barnen's representatives visited some of the apprentice homes a couple of years later. The apprentice homes had by this time, in 1954, been handed over to the Germans. The upkeep of the homes varied, depending on what funds German authorities could make available for running and maintaining them. The homes placed in the Munich area were badly maintained, whereas another home in Nurnberg was in much better condition. The Swedish Rädde Barnen representative pointed out that this was a problem, as the homes in Munich received more visitors.

Annoyingly, it is the homes in Munich that receive most visitors, since most tourists pass through this town, as well as on study tours when the homes are visited and displayed as an example of a Swedish gift.⁴²⁸

It is interesting to note that the Rädde Barnen representative does not talk at all about what progress, or lack thereof, young people at the home were making. The Rädde Barnen representative, however, did express annoyance over the fact that a positive image of Sweden was not being presented. It was not only in Germany that the task of exporting a good image of Sweden can be seen. In France, too, a desire to generate goodwill for Sweden also existed.

The children's homes in France

In 1946, the Swedish European Relief decided that four children's homes were to be established in Normandy. A request for establishment of such homes had been made to Rädde Barnen prior to this, by M:ll Boitard, an ex-member of the French

⁴²⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes 8 maj 1951.

⁴²⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder, F1:10, Föreningen Rädde Barnen, Centralstyrelsen Stockholm, Rapport från besök i Tyskland, juli 1954. "Förargligt nog är det hemmen i München som har de flesta besöken, då ju turistströmmen ofta går genom denna stad, likson studieresor, då hemmen besökes och visas som exponent på svensk gåva"

resistance movement, but the organization was not interested in the project at that time. When the Swedish European Relief decided to support this, however, Rädde Barnen reserved 200,000 Swedish Crowns for the project. The organization was to assume responsibility for these children's homes and to run them.⁴²⁹ In one of Rädde Barnen's reports from the area, it is pointed out that the region had been "well remembered" already by Swedish industry and the Swedish Government. Establishing children's homes, with some Swedish staff employed, as considered to "supplement and give life" to the relief activities already being carried out in the district. The reason for choosing this area was the large number of needy children and damaged houses there.⁴³⁰ Another contributing reason for choosing this particular region was that it was easily accessible for transportation. Swedish prefabricated houses and other types of equipment could easily be delivered. According to the report, directing relief to other areas in France could turn out to be too costly, owing to the distance. It was also pointed out that a concentration of relief to this specific area could contribute to good future relations between Sweden and France.

A certain amount of concentration is recommended. Even if, as a subordinated reason, this will above all, be seen as enabling the generation of goodwill for the future and as contributing to the re-establishment and expansion of relations between Sweden and France.⁴³¹

Apart from providing relief, a concentration of relief activities to this area created an opportunity to advertise Sweden; this was also going to be good for future business. Swedish "key personnel" were to be placed at the children's homes, as according to this report, the French entertained an "almost exaggerated admiration" of the Swedish high standard of social and child welfare, standards that the

⁴²⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder, F1:1.2 Föreningen Rädde Barnen Centralstyrelsen. P.M. Över sammanträde angående de fyra barnhemmen i Normandie. 17 oktober 1947

⁴³⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder, F1:1.2, Rapport över resa till Frankrike den 17-26 april 1946.

⁴³¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder, F1:1.2, Rapport över resa till Frankrike den 17-26 april 1946. "En viss koncentration torde därför vara att rekommendera framför allt om hjälpverksamheten även, om än i andra hand, skall ses ur den synpunkten att den skall kunna skapa en goodwill för framtiden och bidra till att återknyta och utöka kontakterna mellan Sverige och Frankrike."

French wanted to try to emulate.⁴³² Establishment of the children's homes was a success. The interior design and equipment were chosen in accordance with Swedish high standards, and establishment of the children's homes received considerable attention. In 1948, two years after the decision to establish the children's homes, the following was written in Rädde Barnen's Board of Directors' Report:

The children's home's interior decoration and equipment has been chosen in accordance with good Swedish standards and also in accordance with Swedish norms for childcare. The homes have received a great deal of attention, and many doctors, social workers and other interested parties have visited them.⁴³³

As pointed out above, generating goodwill was at first considered a subordinate reason for carrying out relief activities, but seems to have increased in importance. One example of this was when Rädde Barnen took over the running of one home for school children in Coye la Forêt. In a letter from the Swedish Consulate concerning this home, it was emphasized that one of the purposes of running this home was to create "lasting goodwill" for Sweden.⁴³⁴ It was not only the Swedish standards in interior decoration and equipment that were considered to generate goodwill for Sweden, but also the highly skilled staff. According to the vice-chairman of Rädde Barnen, there was no comparison; the Swedish staffs were far more efficient than the French. The Swedish girls were of "the best kind", and according to the vice-chairwoman of Rädde Barnen Lisa Lind, this was good advertising for Sweden.⁴³⁵ Some sources of conflict in the children's homes were the Swedish staff's lack of French language skills and the French staff's lack of understanding of Swedish hygienic standards. This problem was

⁴³² Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder, F1:1.2, Rapport över resa till Frankrike den 17-26 april 1946.

⁴³³ Swedish National Archives, B 2:2 Annual reports, 1948 Frankrike. "Barnhemmens inredning och utrustning har valts i enlighet med god svensk standard och vården har organiserats i enlighet med svenska normer för småbarnsvård. Hemmen har väckt stor uppmärksamhet och fått mottaga många studiebesök av läkare, socialarbetare och andra intresserade"

⁴³⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder. Frankrike F1:1 3 "Foyer Suedois". Skolhem i Coye la Forêt 1947-1952. Brev från Consulat de Suède till Margit Levinson Paris 22/9-1947

⁴³⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder. Frankrike F1:1-5 Brev från Lisa Lind till Margit Levinson 3/9-1948.

solved with an exchange of the French staff, and after this was done the relations and understanding between the staff improved.⁴³⁶

A more striking example of how, if contrasted, the different goals, child-saving and creating goodwill were important becomes evident when the children for the children's home Moulin Vieux were to be chosen. The home was established to care for Spanish children in France, and the Spanish Government in exile was going to select children for the home. Margit Levinson pointed out in a letter to Carl Johnson, member of the board of the Swedish European Relief, that the Spanish Government in exile completely failed at this task, despite the fact that very clear instructions had been given.

The Spanish Government in exile had chosen the children for Moulin Vieux very badly, one was apparently completely imbecile, two others backward and whatever else they were. We have to see, maybe it will work out. The Spanish Government in exile had been given clear instructions on what kind of children would be best able to take advantage of the special resources offered at Moulin Vieux.⁴³⁷

Receiving as much attention as possible for the opening of children's homes in France also come across as having been important. The opening ceremony at the home Salibris, for instance, was rescheduled because on the same day the Swedish Prince Bertil would be receiving an honorary doctorate at the university in Caen. Margit Levinson was worried that this event might overshadow the opening of the home and therefore wanted to change the day for the opening ceremony.⁴³⁸

To sum up, in 1946 it was stated that generating goodwill for Sweden was a subordinated goal, and could perhaps be called a positive side effect of carrying

⁴³⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rättsäkerhetsdepartementet, dossier över länder. Frankrike F1:1-5 Brev från Lisa Lind till Margit Levinson 3/9-1948 samt Brev ifrån Lisa Lind till Rättsäkerhetsdepartementet avd B 13/9-1948

⁴³⁷ Swedish National Archives, Rättsäkerhetsdepartementet, dossier över länder. Frankrike F1:1 4, Placement Familial des Tout-Petits, Barnpreventorium i Salibris 1948-1953. Brev från Margit Levinson till Herr Kamrer Carl Johnson Svenska Europahjälpen. Salibrishemmet. "Spanska exilregeringen hade utvalt barnen till Moulin Vieux mycket illa, en var tydligen helt imbecill, två mindre än normalt begåvade och allt vad det nu var. Vi får väl se, det hela ordnar sig kanske. Men de spanska "exilmyndigheterna" hade faktiskt fått klara anvisningar vilken sorts barn som bäst skulle kunna tillgodogöra sig de sällsynta tillgångarna på Moulin Vieux."

⁴³⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rättsäkerhetsdepartementet, dossier över länder. F1:1: 4 Placement Familial des Tout-Petits Barnpreventorium i Salibris 1948-1953. Brev från Margit Levinson till Herr Kamrer Carl Johnson Svenska Europahjälpen.

out relief work. The value of this side effect seems to have increased over the years, however. The Swedish children's homes in France were to have high quality Swedish equipment, high standards, highly qualified Swedish staff and the right sort of children. Yet another example in which relief work opened up an opportunity to export Sweden was in Israel, in the early fifties. Before looking at the activities in Israel and more fully understand Rädde Barnen's previous approach to the issue of Jewish children and Jewish refugees from Germany during the war. Let us remind ourselves of how Rädde Barnen received requests to help Jewish children prior to the relief work it carried out in Israel.

Rädde Barnen's relief work for Jewish children

In 1942, Rädde Barnen was informed about the difficult situation Jewish people in Europe were living under. The information was provided by Professor Marcus Ehrenpreis, who was the Rabbi and leader of the Mosaic congregation in Stockholm. Signs of this were, for instance, deportations and children being separated from their parents.⁴³⁹ According to Marcus Ehrenpreis, the help provided was reaching recipients at the time. He wanted Rädde Barnen to take part in a relief action instigated by the Jewish Agency of Palestine involving the transfer of 1000 Jewish children from the Soviet Union to Palestine. It is not clear to what extent Rädde Barnen participated in these actions. It seems as if an appeal to relief organizations and Jewish women's associations to participate in collections for Jewish children was planned, however.⁴⁴⁰ In March and July 1944, contributions of 10,000 Swedish Crowns, one on each occasion, were mediated to the Swedish minister in Bucharest to provide relief for Jewish children in Bucharest.⁴⁴¹ Apparently this money reached the recipients, as the action was repeated.

As pointed out earlier, after the armistice, in January 1946, the board of Rädde Barnen decided to add to the protocol that 80,000 Swedish Crowns had been reserved for the establishment of a children's home for Jewish children in Poland. An investigation into the matter was ongoing at the time.⁴⁴² Whether the 80,000 was actually distributed or not is not clear, but Rädde Barnen seems to have pro-

⁴³⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder. F 1:18, 1 Arbetsutskottet för hjälp åt Europas judar. 25 nov 1942

⁴⁴⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder. F 1:18, 1 Arbetsutskottet för hjälp åt Europas judar. 25 nov 1942

⁴⁴¹ Swedish National Archives Rädde Barnen, Minutes 10th of March 1944

⁴⁴² Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Minutes, 23rd of January 1946

vided equipment for a children's home in Poland in 1946. According to one of the representatives appointed by Rädde Barnen who visited Poland, the Jewish children were much better cared for than the Polish children. He also pointed out that his impression was that the Jewish people appeared to have plenty of resources to provide relief to their children thanks to the back-up they received from the Americans.

Apart from everything else, I got the distinct impression that the Jewish children were better provided for than the Polish. I was also told that the Jewish people, who got substantial help from the Americans, had significant resources available for their relief actions for the children.⁴⁴³

According to some eyewitness accounts forwarded to Rädde Barnen, however, the situation in Poland was extremely difficult. In one of the reports concerning Poland, the need for material help was vast, but even worse were the currents of hatred in the country. Russians, Jewish people, Germans, Americans were all hated, but Swedes seemed to have had the Polish people's trust.⁴⁴⁴

In 1947, the situation was still extremely difficult, and according to another report forwarded to Rädde Barnen, the conditions in Poland were much worse than anywhere else in Europe.⁴⁴⁵

As we have seen in the previous part, during this period, 1947, representatives of the Jewish World Congress approached Rädde Barnen asking for support for the transportation of Jewish children from the eastern block to the west. This request was rejected by Rädde Barnen's vice-chairman. The representatives of the Jewish World Congress stressed that, at the time, February 1947, 300,000 of the Jewish people were still stuck in camps in Germany, living under horrific conditions. The situation for Jewish people on the Balkan and in the eastern European countries was extremely risky, and help to prevent pogroms and accidents was needed. The Jewish World Congress representatives pointed out that the situation for Jewish children was especially difficult. Material help to the children was not enough, they needed an upbringing, education and to have a goal in life. The

⁴⁴³ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder, F1:7:2 Polen. 1946. Föreningen Rädde Barnen, Centralstyrelsen, Stockholm. Förtrolig H. Liedholm tillsammans med Kyrkoherde D. Cederberg på uppdrag av Rädde Barnen företagit besök i Warszawa.

⁴⁴⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder F:1:7:2 Polen. Intern Rapport från Polen 1946. (förtrolig ej för publicering)

⁴⁴⁵ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder F:1:7:2 Polen, Maj Jarke 2 Sept 1947

purpose of this meeting was partly to express gratitude for the help that had been provided, but also to inform Rädde Barnen about the Jewish organization's goals and to ask for further help.⁴⁴⁶

Historian Paul Levin points out that, up until the end of 1942, the Swedish Foreign Office was reluctant to help Jewish people. At that time, the attitude changed and efforts were made to enable Jewish people to come to Sweden. This help, however, was mainly aimed at Jewish people in other Nordic countries. At this time, they were considered to belong to a "fellow people". Sweden was not alone in its reluctance to enable Jewish people to enter the country; this policy was shared by the British and the Americans. Knowledge about the situation for Jewish people was apparently available. At the end of 1942 even more so, when the deportation of Jewish people from Norway to Auschwitz-Birkenau became front-page news in Sweden. Towards the end of the war, the attitude seems to have changed somewhat, however, and Jewish people from other non-Nordic countries were allowed to enter Sweden too.⁴⁴⁷ As we can see above, information concerning the situation of the Jewish people and their children in Europe was available to Rädde Barnen both via the Swedish press and through direct contact with the Rabbi of the Mosaic congregation in Stockholm, Marcus Ehrenpreis. Earlier in the study, we have seen that a decision to be careful with this information was taken within Rädde Barnen. During the first years after the armistice, the organization still seems to have used restraint in providing relief to Jewish children. In the early fifties, this attitude changed and Rädde Barnen actively participated in and was also in charge of relief efforts in Israel.

The children's home at Ein Karim and the Swedish village Kfar Achmin

In 1950, Rädde Barnen called Israel "the country of children and youth". Vast amounts of children, mostly orphans, had entered the country, which had created problems because the possibilities to receive them were limited. So-called children's camps had to be established, and these still existed in 1950 and hosted around 2500 children. During 1944-45, surviving children from concentration camps in Germany and Italy tried to make their way to Israel, but according to

⁴⁴⁶ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, dossier över länder. F 1:18, 1. Föreningen Rädde Barnen, Centralstyrelsen Stockholm. P.M. över sammanträde å Rädde Barnen den 7 febr 1947

⁴⁴⁷ Editors: Cesarani David and Levin A. Paul. London 2002. *Bystander to the Holocaust: A Re-evaluation. Attitudes and Action: Comparing Responses of Mid-level Bureaucrats to the Holocaust.* Levin A Paul

Rädda Barnen, approximately 70% of them died before arrival. Many of the children suffered from so-called “camp psychoses” and had lost faith in everything. Youth Aliyah and the Jewish Agency had previously dealt with the task of caring for the children.⁴⁴⁸ By this time, awareness seems to have grown within Rädda Barnen that help needed to be provided for the children in Israel.

In Rädda Barnen’s Annual report from 1950, we can read that representatives of the Swedish European Relief had undertaken a journey to Israel. During this trip, they came to realize what difficulties this new country was up against. 750,000 Swedish Crowns was therefore allocated to building and equipping a convalescence home for children. Rädda Barnen was going to execute the mission.⁴⁴⁹ One hundred children should be able to stay at the premises. Ten Swedish wooden houses were going to be built and fully equipped.⁴⁵⁰ In 1953, the task was more or less completed, and according to Rädda Barnen, both the Jewish Agency and Youth Aliyah had stated that this establishment was going to be the most prominent of its kind in Israel.⁴⁵¹

The execution of another assignment under the auspices of Rädda Barnen also began during 1953, the establishment of the farmer’s village Kfar Achmin. The mission had been allocated to Rädda Barnen by a committee called the Swedish Relief for Israel, led by Swedish Member of Parliament, Waldemar Svensson. The committee had gathered the funds, but allocated the task of execution to Rädda Barnen. In this village, a nursery school was also established. Houses for 75 families were to be built, and out of these Rädda Barnen wanted two to be reserved for Swedish-speaking families. This reservation was made because of all the visits the village would undoubtedly receive.⁴⁵² Prior to carrying out the establishment of this village, it is noted in Rädda Barnen’s Minutes that some of the funds were donated by Americans. It is also noted that the organization considered that “on principle” the Germans ought to participate in establishing youth and childcare in Israel. Rädda Barnen was however, going to provide “key personnel”.⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁸ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, enclosure 4a, Minutes no 8, 1950

⁴⁴⁹ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Annual report 1950.

⁴⁵⁰ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Annual report 1951

⁴⁵¹ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Annual report 1952

⁴⁵² Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Annual report 1952

⁴⁵³ Swedish National Archives, Rädda Barnen, Minutes no 15 January 1951

Establishment of the convalescence home for children and the “Swedish village” was a success. The inaugurations were attended by high officials from the foreign office in Israel, Youth Aliyah, Jewish Agency, the Swedish charge d’affaires, the chairman of the town council of Stockholm and of course representatives from Rädde Barnen. At Kfar Achmin, the “Swedish Village”, a triumphal arch had been raised on the premises where the ceremony was held to honour the donation. The houses and the nursery had been equipped with Swedish interiors, benches in stainless steel, Swedish textiles, Swedish toys and furniture. It was again emphasized that two house were not inhabited, because a great many visits from Sweden were expected.⁴⁵⁴ Rädde Barnen, together with the Committee for Relief to Israel, had made a contribution to both children and adults in Israel. This relief action evidently also helped in generating goodwill for Sweden.

Concluding discussion

In this chapter we have seen how the “spiritual recovery” of the German the people became an important task for Rädde Barnen to participate in. This task seems to have been influenced by a larger scheme, initiated by the Americans, the so-called denazification of Germans. Denazification was not a concept that was used by Rädde Barnen, however, instead the organization talked about spiritual growth. Overall, Rädde Barnen considered it important to gently teach the German pedagogues how to raise children in a democratic manner. The organization’s feelings in the matter of the German children were evidently ambivalent. The children’s good and orderly manners are described as admirable, at the same time as the children from the refugee camps were described as cheeky and spoilt. The “Prussian discipline” and the methods of previous Hitler-Jugend youth leaders were criticized, while the well-behaved German children seem to have been highly appreciated. In Germany Rädde Barnen seems to have achieved a position as experts on how to create democratically oriented people out of children who were marked by the war a position that was less obvious in France. However, the issue of children’s behavior and other aspects of notions of children were visible in remarks on “right kind of children” but in this context, it was more related to other dimensions.

⁴⁵⁴ Swedish National Archives, Rädde Barnen, Annual report 1953

In Germany, France and Israel, it becomes visible that the organization not only functioned as a relief organization for children but also as representative of Swedish values and life style. Exporting Sweden – Swedish houses, Swedish textiles, Swedish equipment, Swedish toys and also Swedish expertise on child welfare. While establishing children's homes in France, it was pointed out that, even if it was a subordinated goal, goodwill for the country was a positive side effect of the relief work. It seems as if this side effect became increasingly more important during the years to come.

Rädda Barnen seems to have been somewhat reluctant to support Jewish children, but in the early fifties this changed and relief work in Israel was carried out in conjunction with Swedish authorities. Here as well, as part of the activities, it was important to generate goodwill for Sweden. Perhaps the most visible sign of this was the establishment of the Swedish village Kfar Achmin.

It appears as if the activities that took place in the different countries were influenced the Swedish political project discussed earlier in the study. The head of the political department at the Foreign office, Claes Carbonnier, stated in a document distributed to his fellow cabinet members in 1951 that increasing Swedish relief efforts was a suitable means of counteracting international criticism of Sweden. Rädda Barnen, with its close connection to the Swedish authorities, seems to have been helpful in fulfilling this task.

Chapter IX

Conclusion

By 1956, which marks the final year of the period under study, Räd­da Barnen had gained an important position in the national and international arenas in ques­tions concerning child welfare and child protection. The organization had by then become an authority with a major impact on where and to which children Swedish relief work should be directed. In the interactions with government and other non-governmental organizations, Räd­da Barnen had been able to enhance its position within both national and international context. This was during a period of complex international relations with the establishment of supranational agencies as well as dramatic changes on the national level. The Swedish welfare state was under construction which involved a redefinition of the role of the philanthropies as well as government policies. The Swedish state was set on re-establishing and redeeming its good name amongst the nations of the world. Räd­da Barnen had to find its place in relation to these changing circumstances as well as to the turmoil the war had created. Räd­da Barnen had to negotiate with Swedish authorities plus organizations such the Red Cross and UNICEF on both national and the international arena to define its position in relationship to national politics and the authority of other non-governmental organizations. These processes – the defini­tion of an organisational space - are central in the analyses of this study. This analysis involves a close examination of the interaction and conflict, not only between organisations but also between key individuals that form the organisations as well as the space defined by the system of support of children, which children was to be helped and how the aid was structured.

The notion of organizational space helps to conceptualise the processes that took place when and with what result Rädde Barnen secured its positions within the void that could be identified between the welfare measurements presented by other organisations and the definitions of needs of children nationally and internationally, but sometimes also in conjunction with the ambitions of the Swedish government. Two concepts have been useful to describe the choices of the organisations leaning either towards a universalistic or a cosmopolitan approach inspired by Ulrich Beck analyses of cooperation between international organisations. When these two different approaches have met we have seen that conflicts have risen.

Previous research has shown how child protection became an issue of international concern during the first half of the 20th century parallel to the redefinitions of childhood and children's welfare needs both nationally and internationally. International aid has been identified as an arena within which peaceful intercontinental relations could be established without interfering in political issues after WWI. Child saving was undoubtedly an arena that was a neutral ground for international co-operation, but previous research also indicates it has been part of a national self-assertion.

With this background, let me return to the questions posed initially. How did Rädde Barnen achieve a position from which it had the power to influence where and to whom relief actions were to be directed? Was it possible to carry out social work for children in the form of philanthropy in a nation that is in the process of defining such tasks as the duty of the state prerogative? How was the growth of Rädde Barnen related to the Swedish Government's changing role in relation to international politics? What factors enabled Rädde Barnen to grow into an organization of both national and international importance? How did Rädde Barnen's advancement affect its interaction with organizations on both the national and international level? What was behind the organization's decisions to direct relief to some children but not others? What factors contributed and were important when it was making these decisions? What values and viewpoints were these choices an expression of?

The Swedish Government's interest in Swedish international relief work triggered a struggle among non-governmental organizations. As has been demonstrated, the Swedish Red Cross was reluctant about the Government's interference and felt its position was endangered. However, Rädde Barnen did not have

the same influence as the Swedish Red Cross at this time. In order to be a part of the expansion of Swedish international relief aimed at children, it was of vital importance for Rädde Barnen to get acceptance for its organisation from the Swedish Government, as well as in relation to other non-governmental organizations.

Conflicts arose between the Swedish Committee for International Relief, represented by cabinet member Alva Myrdal, and the Swedish Red Cross, represented by Prince Folke Bernadotte. Folke Bernadotte was adamant in his opinion that the Swedish Red Cross was the most appropriate organization to be at the forefront of Swedish international relief work. To Alva Myrdal, however, it was self-evident that the Swedish government should have the front position in realizing this task. Rädde Barnen's chairman, Margit Levinson, sided with Alva Myrdal and joined in her critique of the Swedish Red Cross.

An important outcome of the conflicts between the Swedish Red Cross and the Swedish Committee for International Relief was that they created an opportunity for Rädde Barnen to enhance its position. Rädde Barnen gained an important position, which made the organization's impact in questions concerning relief work significant. The fact that the organization's influence had increased considerably became evident when Margit Levinson became the chairwoman of the association set up to coordinate international aid - The Swedish European Relief. Rädde Barnen was also one of the organizations consulted by the Swedish Foreign Office in questions concerning participation in international relief work. By this time, the Swedish Government's interest in being in charge of the actual execution of Swedish international relief work had evidently faded. Approaches from the UN concerning Swedish participation in appeals for the, then, newly established UNICEF were referred to the Swedish European Relief.

At the outset of its establishment, UNICEF was not perceived as a challenger within the field of child relief by Swedish organizations or by IUCW. Participation in the UNAC campaign turned out to be advantageous for Swedish organizations, due to the profitable terms of the agreement between the UN and the Swedish European Relief. This changed, however, when the UN decided to alter the conditions and no fund gathering was allowed under the UN flag unless the proceeds went to a UN organization. As we have seen, it was at this point animosity against UNICEF began to surface. With for instance negative reactions from IUCW when UNICEF started to appeal for funds from the general public. Organizations like Rädde Barnen, the Swedish Red Cross and IUCW looked upon

this source of income to be the territory of non-governmental organizations. UNICEF had a governmental character; they claimed and should, according to the organizations, only apply for funds to different countries' governments. These funds were apparently not enough, however, and it became necessary for UNICEF to find other sources of revenue, and the general public was one.

The conflict with UNICEF came to a head when the UN decided to establish a Universal Children's Day. Attempts were made by both IUCW and Rädga Barnen to stop this from being realized. As mentioned previously, through establishment of the UNICEF committee in Sweden under Rädga Barnen's patronage, the organization had gained an opportunity to speak within the UN General Assembly. Attempts to stop 'Universal Children's Day' from being realized failed, however, as did efforts to get the credit for instigating such a day. IUCW then tried to influence the outlining of the day, but this also failed. It became clear that the UN and UNICEF were not interested in the IUCW's opinions on how to carry out or outline 'Universal Children's Day'.

During the discussion, it also became apparent that the two organizations differed in their notions of children. UNICEF promoted the idea of children as independent, able to form their own relationships, and also as able to govern their own lives, at least partly. IUCW, on the other hand, had its starting point among adults, and turned primarily to adults, as they were responsible for children's lives. It becomes evident that, on the international arena, UNICEF had by this time gained a position from which it could overrule IUCW in questions concerning child relief. However, in Sweden in 1956, Rädga Barnen still had the predominant voice on issues concerning children. Whatever positions the different organizations had, the struggles that arose on both the national Swedish level and the international level were clearly about gaining a prominent position. In the long run, the main issue was which organization would have the predominant voice on child relief and questions concerning children.

The conflicts taking place within IUCW were concurrent with the controversies surrounding the establishment of UNICEF and 'Universal Children's Day'. These debates were triggered by Margit Levinson's discontent with how the association's work was being carried out.

By the time of the armistice, Rädga Barnen had gained a prominent position within Sweden on questions concerning relief work for children. At this time, the organization also began taking an interest in the work of its international union. This also led to conflicts. Margit Levinson did not agree with IUCW's criteria

regarding which organizations were to be included in IUCW, nor did she agree on the outlining of the organization's work. The chairman of the executive committee, Andree Morier, disagreed and emphasized the importance of the organization being inclusive and welcoming diversity. If it was not, IUCW would be unable to achieve consultative status within the UN, and this was an important way to have an influence on questions concerning children. Margit Levinson does not appear to have considered this to be important, however, and when the Dutch Red Cross applied for IUCW membership, the conflict came to the fore.

The two women represented two different standpoints on what it meant to be a universal organization. Using Ulrich Beck's concepts, Andree Morier represented a cosmopolitan outlook. She welcomed diversity and argued that it was not necessary to govern the work of local organizations. Nor did she think that local organizations' decisions on carrying out relief work had to be channelled through IUCW. Her view on this was also in accordance with how the organization had worked historically, which involved using local organizations for practical reasons, but also because they had the best knowledge of the site at which the aid was distributed.

Margit Levinson argued that the work of local organizations should be governed by the union. A coherent set of rules for how this should be undertaken would also be established, and in this way she represented a universalistic outlook, as defined by Ulrich Beck. It is uncertain, however, whether she considered that being governed by IUCW should apply to the Swedish organization as well. When Rädde Barnen attempted to carry out a relief action in Holland, the organization clearly did not consult IUCW first.

Rädde Barnen did manage to augment its position owing to Margit Levinson's work. Apart from being one of the deputy-secretary generals within IUCW, she had also obtained the position of vice-chairwoman of the executive committee of IUCW. As we have seen, it was also partly because of her that a UNICEF committee was finally established in Sweden, which enabled Rädde Barnen to be heard within the UN General Assembly.

Concurrently with these conflicts between organizations, Rädde Barnen was carrying out relief activities both within Sweden and abroad. A few of these have been chosen for a closer investigation in the present study since Rädde Barnen also defined its role through the activities it carried out.

As pointed out earlier, in Sweden, Rädde Barnen gained an important and influential position in questions concerning child welfare. The organization gained

the trust of several different Swedish authorities and was given authority to carry out different tasks in the area of aid to children. Social welfare officers, doctors, individuals, the Aliens Commission, the Foreign Office and sometimes even the Swedish Government turned to Rädde Barnen to obtain financial contributions, the organization's opinions in questions concerning children, or in some cases Rädde Barnen was assigned tasks to be performed on their behalf. Rädde Barnen called meetings with representatives from different authorities and organizations to evaluate certain tasks, and these representatives were encouraged to give their opinions. However, Rädde Barnen had the final say in many issues. As mentioned earlier Swedish welfare was under development during this period but was in an early stage. It was within this void Rädde Barnen identified a field where the organization could become important also in Sweden in spite of the trend set to make it a state enterprise. Rädde Barnen clearly was able to participate in developing aspects of the national welfare system and fill the role of a government agency at occasions.

As discussed in this book, Rädde Barnen was reluctant to participate in international relief work for children at the outset of the war however; the international union reminded Rädde Barnen of its obligations to the organization. Apparently, UISE considered that if Rädde Barnen was to perform relief work under the organization's umbrella and name, it had to live up to the founding principles too. This created a dilemma for Rädde Barnen, as the organization was eager to comply with the Swedish authorities' standpoints. However, as the war progressed, the Swedish Government re-negotiated its policies and Rädde Barnen began executing relief work on the international arena. Rädde Barnen was reluctant to subordinate itself to IUCW, or any other organization for that matter, which also underwrote its ability to obtain an important position.

With regard to the child transports, it seems as though Rädde Barnen did not have any coherent policies. Some children were considered to be best helped in their own countries, while in other cases it was considered appropriate to transport children to Sweden to recuperate. There were undoubtedly children in most countries in Europe who needed relief, and choosing which ones to help was probably difficult. What is interesting, are Rädde Barnen's arguments for not helping certain children - it was too costly, it could be considered a political action, or it was inappropriate to remove them from their own environment. For instance, it was considered too costly to transport Polish children, but not French or Belgian children. Supporting transports of Jewish children from the East to the

West was considered a political action, but transporting German children to Sweden was not. It was also unsuitable to relocate Polish children, Jewish children of concentration camp survivors who lived in Austria, but not Belgian, Dutch or Finnish children. The policies for bringing some children, but not others, to Sweden were, as we can see different, but it indicates a pattern, also noted by Monica Janfelt where priority was given to western European, non-catholic children.

In 1944, warnings started to emerge that separating children from their parents might not be a good solution unless the children's lives were in direct danger. Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham concluded, in their study of war children in a London nursery, that the children were more damaged by separation than by the acts of war. In Sweden, Alva Myrdal commented the study in one of the Swedish newspapers but *Rädda Barnen* did not take these findings into consideration which can be understood as a consequence of the hesitant attitude toward ideas that stressed mother-child relations. In *Rädda Barnen*'s views and actions the importance of the environment for children's development was emphasised. Consequently, in the early fifties, when IUCW wanted to investigate what the effects of the transports had been on children, *Rädda Barnen* did not appear to have been interested in co-operating on conducting such a study. It would seem as the organization believed that if only children were fed and clothed, they would recover their physical as well as emotional health.

In establishing children's homes and apprentice homes in Germany, hard work, learning a trade, and exposing youth and children to an environment imbued with democratic values were emphasized. In France and Israel, the emphasis was more on exporting and displaying Swedish high standards. Swedish equipment, textiles and houses were transported to these countries, where there was a shortage of material after the war. This created an opportunity to export Sweden. At the opening of the homes and nurseries, pompous inaugurations took place, and as pointed out, the high Swedish standards were put on display. In a home for Spanish children in France, the "right children" were selected.

It appears to have taken a long time before any significant relief was provided to Jewish children, but as we have seen, children's home and even a "Swedish Village" were established in the early fifties in Israel. This too became an opportunity to export Sweden.

As we have seen in the present study, through its activities, *Rädda Barnen* had also obtained an important position for the organization. In liaison with the

Swedish Government, Rädde Barnen became an important actor in exporting Sweden and creating goodwill for the country. Swedish standards, Swedish expertise on childcare and Swedish values was promoted. One could even say that Rädde Barnen exported Swedish visions.

My results also confirm the observations in previous research that international aid tends to reflect national political positions but also that in some ways provides a neutral ground for international cooperation. My study also shows the complex relation between governments and non-governmental organizations at national and international level. The establishment of consensus over the necessity to save children also involved national ambitions and sharp conflicts between organisations which ultimately also defined which children that were helped and in what way help was distributed.

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