



Vetenskapsrådet

THE 'COMMUNIST REGIMES' RESEARCH PROGRAMME



The Swedish Research Council's final report on research within the programme, according to its Government assignment as defined in the official appropriation document for 2006.

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Foreword

In the year 2000, the Swedish Research Council embarked on its Government assignment of developing a research programme concerning ‘*Communist Regimes*’. The programme was intended to satisfy both a general wish for knowledge on the one hand and, on the other, researchers’ interest in and curiosity about new issues and research questions that might have arisen in view of the archive material and new research opportunities made available by the transformation of the former Eastern bloc. Research in this programme is still under way but, at the Government’s request, we now present activities in and findings from the various projects included in the programme. The task of compiling and describing this material was carried out by Associate Professor Jan Larsson at the Swedish Research Council.

The new research opportunities — which the programme has sought to take — for clarifying various aspects and circumstances have permitted new, valuable knowledge of communist regimes’ violations of human rights to come to light. This knowledge largely awaits publication in the form of monographs or articles in anthologies and journals. Although it relates to international more than domestic Swedish experience, the knowledge about communist regimes that has emerged recently is vital to public understanding and discussion of the conditions of democracy, and of the importance of an open social order based on well-defined, universal human rights.

In this context, social science research and the humanities have a critical function of scrutiny. They also serve as constructive means of providing a factual basis for the interpretation and understanding of historical data. It is the Swedish Research Council’s hope that research in the ‘*Communist Regimes*’ project will contribute to this task.

Stockholm, March 2006

Bengt Hansson

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

The 'Communist Regimes' Research Programme

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The ‘Communist Regimes’ research programme

1. Introduction

On 16 December 1999, the Swedish Government decided (in its official appropriation document for 2000) that the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences¹ (HSFR) should, ‘based on analysis of the status of and need for research, initiate and fund a research programme on communist regimes, focusing particularly on these regimes’ violations of human rights. The programme should be initiated as soon as possible and comprise a total of SEK 9 million.’

In 2001, the Swedish Research Council took over this assignment from HSFR following HSFR’s abolition.²

The Government’s initiative had been preceded by a written parliamentary question to the Prime Minister, followed by a debate in the Riksdag (Swedish Parliament), on the need for information about crimes against humanity committed in the name of communism.³

HSFR had, on 21 June 2000, decided to appoint a ‘Programme Group’ for the research programme. The Group consisted of Professor Arne Jarrick, chairman; four members: Associate Professor Marie Demker, Professors Kristian Gerner and Tom Hart; and Torsten Kälvemarm, investigator. Bo Öhngren was appointed as secretary to the Group, whose function was to lay the foundations of research and attract researchers’ funding applications within the programme. HSFR also delegated the handling procedure, preparation of decisions and decision-making authority to the Programme Group. HSFR’s policy was that researchers, acting independently, should enjoy complete freedom to determine the choice of relevant research issues, as well as theories, models and methods, without external interference, and that priority should be given to research projects of high quality.⁴

2. The Programme Group’s initiatives in the year 2000

During the year 2000, some SEK 550,000 was spent on an inventory of the current state of knowledge. In Sigtuna, on 7–8 June, the Group held a scientific conference attended by researchers from both Sweden and abroad, as well as some specially invited international experts from the universities of Moscow and Tartu, Estonia. Robert Conquest of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, California, was another guest expert. The purpose was to obtain an overview of the research situation and bolster scientific networks. The conference dealt, in particular, with socialist legislation, agricultural reforms in the Soviet Union and the Soviet Terror. Matters discussed at the conference were priorities and approaches, the

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

² Official appropriation document for the Swedish Research Council, 2001.

³ Written parliamentary question in the Riksdag, 1998/99:1.

⁴ At its meeting on 10 April 2001, the Swedish Research Council’s Scientific Council for Humanities and Social Sciences confirmed the composition and remit of the Programme Group (see the minutes of the Scientific Council’s meetings in 2001–03, *ÄR-HS protokoll 2001-3*). Professor Klas Åmark also attended the Group’s meetings, thereafter retiring in June 2001 and being replaced by Professor Anu Mai Köll (*ÄR-HS protokoll 2001-3*).

intrinsic scientific reasons and the newly generated scope for research, which in this context was given greater weight. In particular, research on Sweden's attitude towards communism was called for.

On behalf of the group, an early start was made on the work of getting a wide-ranging research view compiled under the editorship of Professor Anu Mai Kõll and the collaboration of researchers from a variety of disciplines. A preliminary manuscript was available at the conference, and this served as the basis for criticism and discussion. Publication of the work took place later in the year. Topics dealt with in this manuscript included the content of communism, its geographical distribution and distinctive forms, and also factors relating to Sweden.⁵

3. *The Programme Group's archive-inventory initiatives in the year 2000*

Alongside pure research, too, HSFR took the initiative. Following an application (28 June 2000), it was decided in September 2000 to make SEK 250,000 available to the *Swedish Labour Movement Archives and Library* (ARAB) to implement an inventory project concerning existing communist archives in Sweden. The project, which was cofunded with ARAB, was completed and reported on to the Programme Group of the Swedish Research Council on 27 April 2001.⁶

In ARAB's estimation, the value of the material collected would 'provide a highly valuable foundation for research on communism and closely related movements and organisations in Sweden'.

HSFR's initiative and the collaboration with ARAB also bore fruit when the research council of the Swedish labour movement at ARAB carried out a survey of 'current and recently concluded research' in Sweden on communism and closely related issues. Partly thanks to this initiative, on 3 April 2001, ARAB held an 'Erlander seminar'⁷, with guest researchers from Denmark. At the seminar, Swedish communism was elucidated in its international context. The seminar and also the survey findings were documented in the journal issued by ARAB, *Arbetarhistoria* ('Workers' History', autumn 2001).⁸

HSFR took yet another similar initiative. Following an application of 17 August 2000⁹, it was decided to disburse a grant of SEK 125,000 for Swedish participation in an inventory project headed by Professor Viktor Danilov (of the Russian Academy of Science, Department of Russian History, in Moscow) with the purpose of publishing material from the Soviet secret

⁵ *Research on Communist Regimes. A Short Survey*, compiled by Anu Mai Kõll, Aleksander Kan and Thomas Hart, and edited by Bo Öhngren, in *Brytpunkt* ('Dividing Line', a series of articles from the Swedish Research Council), Uppsala 2001.

⁶ Two reports (in Swedish) were issued: *Project Report on Communist Archives at the Swedish Labour Movement Archives and Library* (compiled by Lars Gogman) and *Archive Materials Belonging to Communist and Fellow Traveller Organisations since 1917 at Archive Institutions in Sweden other than the Swedish Labour Movement Archives and Library* (compiled by Margareta Stål).

⁷ *Translator's note*. In honour of Tage Erlander, the Social Democratic party leader and Prime Minister from 1946 to 1969.

⁸ Communication from the Labour Movement Archive and Library to the Swedish Research Council, 'Communist Regimes' Programme Group, on 27 April 2001. Ref. 101-2001-1362.

⁹ Communication from Lennart Samuelson to Bo Öhngren on 16 August 2000. See also the Programme Group's minutes (HSFR) of 27 November 2000, Section 4.

service archives. This material consists of the reports of the political police from its local informers in the Soviet countryside. 'La Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris' (the MSH) was also engaged in this project, the Swedish participant being Associate Professor Lennart Samuelson of the Stockholm School of Economics. The project was concluded in 2003.¹⁰

4. Definition and scope of the research programme

Along with the conference, the research overview came to serve as the foundation of HSFR's decision to announce an 'open' procedure for its call for grant applications, until 1 November 2000. This procedure did not prescribe a focus on special themes of scientific research within the 'Communist Regimes' programme.

In the programme, the need for scientific elucidation of *how Swedes have related to communist regimes*, either in terms of *attitudes in discrete groups, such as the Swedish communists*, or *the stance and lines of action adopted by the Swedish Government*. More or less regular ties with such regimes were the focus. Attitudes in specific spheres of society (such as the political and cultural) were also emphasised, as were various aspects of 'the line people have taken towards the communist regimes'.

It was announced in the programme that HSFR was

'in principle, open to applications relating to popular mobilisation under the communist regimes; a comparison in views of the content of human rights under and outside communist rule; economic policy and planning under communism; how political terror was inflicted on its respective victims in particular states and regions: relations among communist regimes, ethical and aesthetic aspects of communist regimes, etc.'

In particular, projects based on *comparative approaches* were welcomed.

Further research funds within the programme were also announced in spring 2001, in the form of a specific call for grant applications. In addition, there was an announcement of limited funds in 2003.¹¹

5. The Programme Group's management of applications and decisions on research grants

Only projects explicitly connected with the matter of communist regimes were eligible for grants. The Group's scientific assessment criteria also stressed requirements of originality and feasibility, and the applicants' scientific qualifications. The Group did not accept projects

¹⁰ Report issued on 27 November 2001 (Ref. F1242/2000), submitted to the Swedish Research Council by Associate Professor Lennart Samuelson on 12 December 2001 (Ref. 429-2001-6689) for the 'Russian Archive Inventory' project (21219), on the forced collectivisation and terror in 1930–39. Under a decision by the Scientific Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences on 26 February 2002 (Decision No. 42), a supplementary grant of SEK 19,500 was approved as compensation for exchange-rate fluctuations, and a further grant of SEK 70,200 was approved to complete the project under the Scientific Council's decision of 5 February 2003 (Decision No. 23).

¹¹ Minutes of the (HSFR) Programme Group's meeting on 27 November 2000. See, however, Section 2 of the approved minutes of 14 June 2001; the minutes of 2 December 2003 and the text of the call for applications.

that might be considered to have ideological production or other political ends as their purpose.¹²

On the expiry of the application period, on 1 November 2000, a total of 23 applications had been submitted with project proposals in diverse subjects and fields. One of these, however, was withdrawn and the Group thus had 22 applications to assess. These came from 15 male and seven female main applicants. Two of the applicants were born after 1960, ten before 1950 and the rest, accordingly, in the 1950s. Instead of rejuvenation, the applicants thus represented great research experience and a wide range in terms of subjects. Altogether, the projects also displayed substantial breadth in terms of focus. With respect to the dates on which they obtained their PhDs (their disputations, i.e. when they publicly defended their theses), the applicants were evenly divided between those who did so up to 1989 and those whose doctorates dated from 1990 or later.

The projects can also, broadly speaking, be divided into two categories. Projects in one category relate to the communist regimes themselves, while those in the other dealt with various aspects of how Sweden related to these regimes.

The Group found that a majority of the projects did not meet its expectations of generally high quality. The short time allowed for applications, and also the fact that several prominent researchers in the field had refrained from applying for grants, was thought to have affected the outcome of the quality assessments. One reason was that previous Government-controlled programmes had engaged several of the established researchers. Subsequently, too, the Programme Group remarked that ‘*if politicians wish to safeguard the quality of research in the humanities and social sciences, they should leave it to its own devices as far as possible.*’¹³

Only five projects proved to be qualified ‘to a satisfactory degree’. One applicant was awarded a planning grant for SEK 80,000 to further develop an application with great potential (‘The Church of Sweden and the Communist Regimes’, Ref. F1188). The remaining four projects were awarded the following research grants:¹⁴

- Astrid Hedin, PhD, Department of Government at Uppsala University: *Kollega, Kamrat eller Kader. Informella nätverk i DDR:s universitetsutbyte med Sverige 1968-1989* (‘Colleague, Comrade or Cadre? Informal Networks in the German Democratic Republic’s University Exchange with Sweden, 1968–1989’). Ref. 421-2002-1428 (F1216/2000 HSFR). The project was awarded a total of SEK 1,285,000 for the years 2001–03.¹⁵
- Associate Professor Katrin Goldstein-Kyaga, Department of Education at Stockholm University: *Från kommunism till nationalism. Den kinesiska regimen i Tibet och Sveriges ståndpunkt* (‘From Communism to Nationalism. Chinese Rule in Tibet and Sweden’s Stance’). Ref. 421-2002-7370 (F1213/2000 HSFR). The project was awarded SEK 355,000 for the year 2001.

¹² See the minutes of the (HSFR) Programme Group’s meeting on 27 November 2000, Appendix 2. See also the undated working document containing criteria for the Programme Group’s assessment.

¹³ Ibid., p. 2. This line was, moreover, taken when the Government set up the Swedish Research Council in 2000.

¹⁴ Minutes of the (HSFR) Programme Group’s meeting on 27 November 2000. See Appendix 1.

¹⁵ The application originally had Professor Lennart Lundquist at Lund University as its main applicant, but Hedin succeeded him on 14 June 2001.

- Göran Leth, PhD, Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK) at Stockholm University: *Medierna, den svenska offentligheten och sovjetkommunismen* ('The Media, the Swedish Public Sector and Soviet Communism'). Ref. 421-2002-1511 (F1208/2000 HSFR). The project was awarded a total of SEK 1,380,000 for 2001–02.
- Peter Solymossy, PhD, Institute of Contemporary History at Södertörn University College: *Kommunismens övergrepp i Ungern 1945–1963* ('Communist Outrages in Hungary, 1945–1963'). Ref. 421-2002-1492 (F1212/2000 HSFR). The project was awarded a total of SEK 1,890,000 for 2001–03.

Altogether, these research grants amounted to SEK 4,890,000, out of the total programme budget of SEK 9 million.

During spring 2001, the Programme Group issued an extra, 'specific' call for proposals.¹⁶ Five applications, from a woman and four men, were received. All the applicants were born before 1959 and they were experienced researchers who had obtained their doctorates between 1983 and 1994, some of them relatively late in life. Three projects were deemed to be of outstanding quality, while the one previously awarded a planning grant was now rejected. On 14 June 2001, the Programme Group decided to award the following grants:

- Professor Anu Mai Köll, Department of Baltic Studies at Stockholm University: *Likvidering av kulakerna som klass. Baltikum 1940–1949* ('Liquidation of the Kulaks as a Class in the Baltic States, 1940–49'). Ref. 421-2001-4314 (F0906-2001 HSFR). Altogether, the project was awarded grants of SEK 193,500 for 2001–04.
- FD Lennart Samuelson, Institute for Research in Economic History (EHF) at the Stockholm School of Economics: *Teknik och samhällsomvandling i skuggan av terror och repression i Sovjetunionen, 1927–1960* ('Technology and Social Transformation in the Shadow of Terror and Repression in the Soviet Union, 1927–1960'). Ref. 421-2001-4311 (F0617 HSFR). Altogether, the project was awarded grants of SEK 1,155,000 for 2001–04.
- Associate Professor Michael Schoenhals, Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies at Lund University: *Kulturrevolution i Kina. En social och politisk historia* ('The Cultural Revolution in China. A Social and Political History'). Ref. 421-2001-4316 (F0908/2001 HSFR, 421-2002-1428). Altogether, the project was awarded grants of SEK 599,000 for 2001–02.¹⁷

In total, the project grants amounted to SEK 1,947,000 for the period 2001–04.

The Group also decided to pay a fee to Professor Anu Mai Köll as programme coordinator, in exchange for a reduction in her appointment corresponding to 10 per cent for the period 2001–04. The newly formed Scientific Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences at the Swedish Research Council had previously delegated the right to decide on 'residual funds' to the Programme Group. The Scientific Council also appointed the Programme Group up to 31 December 2003 while Köll was formally made a new member and the prospective programme coordinator.¹⁸

¹⁶ See the unsigned minutes of the Programme Group's meeting of 27 March 2001.

¹⁷ Under a decision of 27 May 2003 (ref. 115/03 HS), he was also awarded a *supplementary grant of SEK 197,739 for 2003*.

¹⁸ Decision No. 240, Humanities and Social Sciences, 2002.

Besides the minutes of the Group's June meeting, there is also a primary contract for a junior research position for which the Swedish Research Council provided a total of SEK 1,285,000 in the years 2001–04. The contract was signed with *Astrid Hedin*, PhD, of the Department of Political Science at Lund University, and the arrangement meant that, *de jure*, she assumed primary responsibility for the project, in which she had previously been one of the applicants.¹⁹

Hedin's project application was later, following a decision by the Swedish Research Council on 10 December 2002²⁰, transferred to Uppsala University, where she has since held a junior research position. However, during spring 2003 Hedin was obliged to repay project grants of SEK 377,000 to the Council. A portion of this sum was nevertheless awarded once more, but this time as a travel grant in 2004 to cover her stay as a guest researcher at Stanford University, California; travel to and from Sweden connected with teaching at Uppsala University; further travel to collect material; and, finally, also her stay as a guest researcher at Potsdam University.

The grant thus repaid prompted, in turn, a more restricted call for proposals. By 20 August 2003 another 10 applications, mostly from senior researchers, had been submitted. Two junior researchers and one senior researcher (b. 1925) were granted the remaining funds. Astrid Hedin applied for funding of a partially new project, for which the aforesaid travel grant was awarded.

On 3 December 2003, following a working group's proposals, the Programme Group (both groups being now headed by Köll) awarded the following grants:²¹

- Martin Alm, PhD, Department of History at Lund University: *Sovjetbilden i Sverige* ('The Soviet Union's Image in Sweden'), ref. 2003-7131. Granted SEK 284,000.
- Astrid Hedin, PhD, Department of Government at Uppsala University, *Välfärdsstater i konkurrens. Kommunistiska diskurser om Sverige och DDR* ('Welfare States in Competition. Communist Discourses on Sweden and the GDR'). Ref. 2003-7177. Awarded SEK 189,000 as a travel grant.
- Professor Emeritus Aleksander Kan, Department of History at Uppsala University, *Svenska vänstersocialisterna och bolsjevikerna under den ryska revolutionen 1917-1920* ('The Swedish Left-Wing Socialists and the Bolsheviks During the Russian Revolution, 1917–1920'). Ref. 2003-7167. Granted SEK 35,100.

Altogether, these extra grants amounted to SEK 508,100. Summing up, the Programme Group has awarded grants to 10 different projects for a total of SEK 7,525,600.

Full financial data for the programme are provided in a special appendix below.

¹⁹ Primary contract of 14 June 2001, ref. F1216/2000, and decision No. 88 taken at the Scientific Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences on 14 June 2001. See note 12 above regarding the main applicant of the project, Professor Lennart Lundquist of Lund, ref. F1216/2000 ('Colleague, Comrade or Cadre?').

²⁰ Programme Group for Communist Regimes, decision *per capsulam* on 3 December 2003. See especially Appendix 1 for information on the ten applications. One of these, ref. 429-2003-7194, was received too late and was therefore not considered. Regarding Hedin, see Section 1 of the working group's minutes.

²¹ Proposal according to the minutes kept at the meeting of the working group within the Programme Group for Communist Regimes on 2 December 2003. Kristian Gerner and Torsten Kälvevemark also attended the meeting. The secretary was Gudrun Persson.

6. *Research on communist regimes*

Since the collapse of communism in Europe and Russia, conditions for research have been radically different. Openness is, if not total, considerably greater than ever before. Surveying Swedish reactions — in the world of politics and among the mass media and the public — is an urgent task. This also applies to the remaining communist regimes in Asia and their policies, entailing violations of human rights that may be regarded as equivalent to those in the former Eastern bloc. The endeavour should be to explain and understand why these violations have been committed. In this endeavour Swedish research is a small but key component, since the course of events in the Baltic region has affected Sweden profoundly and this country has unique knowledge. The projects cover various parts of the communist world. There is a certain emphasis on Eastern Europe outside Russia, which is explained by the researchers' special interests and the need for research. Swedish official and media views of the communist regimes are common subsidiary aspects of the research.

Research work is still under way in several of the projects, and their completion is expected to be feasible in 2006. Publication, mainly of monographs but also of scientific articles in international journals, may be expected in the next two years. During the programme the researchers have, in various forums and contexts, had ties with other research, international as well as Swedish, on communism, its regimes and their various crimes against human rights. The research findings of the various projects are reported in Appendix 1 below.

7. *Conferences etc held within the programme*

Within the programme, there have been three joint international conferences besides that of 7–8 June 2000. The first was held in Sigtuna in June 2002, with 20 delegates, and had *Personality Cults* as its theme. Amir Weiner of Stanford, California, lectured about the Soviet state and local violence. Miklos Kun of Budapest University in Hungary and Aleksander Kan from Uppsala analysed the cult of personality in Hungary and the USSR respectively. In addition, the programme researchers presented their own papers, which were discussed with the assistance of the international guests, and other, younger researchers (doctoral students) in the field than those taking part in the programme had the opportunity to speak as well.

The second conference had as its theme *Sources and Source Criticism*. Stephen Wheatcroft from Melbourne, Australia, provided a source valuation of the terror under Jeshov. Erik Kulavig of the University of Southern Denmark discussed the source material about Stalin's home front during the war. One major setback was that the Chinese researcher Guan Yao Jin of Fudan University in Shanghai was prevented from taking part in describing Chinese history teaching. Under the heading 'Work in Progress', scope was provided for criticism and discussion of the papers presented. The conference convened 20 delegates, including several young researchers, at the Runö course centre.

The last conference, in 2004, was held on 27–28 May in Sigtuna. This was a joint conference on the Swedish Research Council's two programmes concerning 'Sweden's Relationship with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust' and 'Communist Regimes'. Here, the common theme was *Stalinism and Nazism*. Stephen Kotkin of Princeton University, USA, provided a comparative analysis of Nazism and Stalinism. Richard Overy of King's College, London University, discussed the limitations of comparisons, while Nicolas Werth of the Institut d'histoire moderne et contemporaine (the 'Institute of Modern and Contemporary

History', IHMC) and the École des Hautes Etudes des Sciences Sociales (the 'School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences', also known as EHESS) in Paris cited the latest research findings on the Great Terror in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. Some 40 delegates were able, among themselves, to compare and criticise one another's research results. Scope was also provided for other Swedish researchers, including several doctoral students, to take part and present their research.

These conferences have brought about unique scope for elucidating key themes from several different perspectives and aspects. Researchers in the programme have been given the opportunity to voice and receive advanced criticism, and also viewpoints on their interim results. Last but not least, the conferences — combined with research stays abroad — have helped to establish an international contact network of great importance, which will be useful to future Swedish research on communism as well.

Within the framework of the 'Communist Regimes' programme, internal seminars have also been held. At these, research issues and scientific texts have been discussed and Swedish researchers, including doctoral students working on closely related subjects, have been invited to contribute results and new material relevant to the programme. One example is Martin Kahn who, at his 'disputation' in 2004, publicly defended his thesis *Measuring Stalin's Strength During the Total War* with Richard Overy as his faculty 'opponent' (PhD thesis examiner). Another such researcher is Anne Hedén at the Swedish National Research School in History, Lund University/Södertörn University College, who is in the final stage of her doctoral thesis about Swedes' travel to China for 'revolutionary tourism' and as an expression of amity in the 1960s and '70s. Another example is Eva Kingsepp of the Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK) at Stockholm University, who has regularly contributed to the seminar.

8. The Swedish Research Council's experience and assessment of work in the programme

Following major inputs at what was then HSFR to initiate, in the year 2000, the programme of research on communist regimes and their violations of human rights, responsibility was assumed by the Swedish Research Council and its Scientific Council for Humanities and Social Sciences. Much of the funds allocated came to be earmarked, at an early stage, for specific projects within the programme budget. A Programme Group of appointees, who were experienced senior researchers, provided knowledge, an overview and contacts with research colleagues as a basis for future research.

Most of the researchers in the programme have worked actively, in various ways, in archive research in China, Russia, Estonia, Germany and Hungary. They have simultaneously bolstered the scientific networks by developing, in those countries, contacts for collaboration, thereby helping to generate new research. To achieve this, a stay at a foreign university is required — sometimes as a guest researcher. Contacts and cooperation with elite international universities are outstanding: Harvard and Stanford Universities in the USA (through Schoenhals and Samuelson for the former and Hedin and Köll for the latter), Cambridge in the United Kingdom (through Schoenhals) and the MSH in Paris (through Samuelson). These universities receive invitations and are forging lasting contacts that will be of great importance to the international presence of Swedish research in the humanities and social science in the future, as they are now. Their publication strategies suggest that they will be

increasingly visible in these research contexts, which also shows that small financial inputs can yield a significant scientific return.

Experience of a previous initiative on the part of the Swedish Government — a programme of research on MUST, the Swedish military intelligence and security agency — showed that such programmes require thorough preparations, coordination and scientific management, as well as sufficient and adequate resources. Getting a scientific coordinator appointed for the programme, to use his or her experience to keep together the various projects in the programme and, at the same time, drive research efforts forward, was therefore the correct step to take.

However, one conclusion is that research inputs of this type must, to be fully successful, be prepared carefully since capacity is not always available for high-quality scientific research when research funds in a specific field that is earmarked for grants are unexpectedly announced as open to applicants. The outcome regarding project grants could also have been different with other planning conditions. But the research carried out has meant new material has been made accessible for research since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Accordingly, new and valuable knowledge about communist regimes' violations of human rights has been produced and is largely waiting to go to press in the form both of monographs and of articles in anthologies and journals. This new knowledge of communist regimes, albeit of a modest extent in Sweden, is important to public understanding and discussion of the conditions of democracy and the importance of an open social order based on defined, universal human rights.

Social science research and the humanities have, in this context, a function of critical scrutiny, and of constructively providing a factual foundation for interpretation and understanding, and notably to form the basis of further public debate on prevailing and desirable conditions in society. This is just as much a matter of our will and ability to relate to conditions that characterise other countries and international fellowship with others.

In particular, more research on Swedish conditions is required. This presupposes continued state investment in research of this kind in the humanities and social sciences, to be managed and conducted independently under the researcher's own responsibility within the research community. The Swedish Research Council therefore considers that research on communist regimes, in a broad sense, remains an urgent task and that the same applies to the transfer of such knowledge, which is of major significance to the public and society as a whole.

Appendix 1

Research findings and reports from the projects included in the programme

Research in the ‘Communist Regimes’ programme is at a stage in which the results are being published, in the form of either monographs or articles in anthologies or scientific journals in Sweden or abroad, or in other contexts. Some of the results are in press. In many cases, further publication is expected to take place over the next two years. This is entirely normal in the research context, since research takes time, from the application for a project grant to completion of the research and publication of the findings. This is the research system’s way of independently safeguarding the quality inspection and assessment of results. The participating researchers have also presented their findings in a number of papers at scientific conferences and in lectures, and subsequently published them. The research results, publications, etc of the projects are presented below.

Kollega, kamrat eller kader? Informella nätverk i DDR:s universitetsutbyte med Sverige 1968-1989 (‘Colleague, Comrade or Cadre? Informal Networks in the German Democratic Republic’s University Exchange with Sweden, 1968–1989’) and ***Välfärdsstater i konkurrens? Kommunistiska diskurser om Sverige och DDR*** (‘Welfare States in Competition. Communist Discourses on Sweden and the GDR’). Astrid Hedin, PhD, Department of Government, Uppsala University.

This project has surveyed the attempts of the East German communist regime to exert control over university researchers travelling out of the country: the ‘travel cadre’ system, which regulated nomination, selection and political schooling. The regime issued travel instructions and imposed on its citizens the obligation to report to the authorities. The study focuses on the regulations of the system, the complex routines for its application, and its development over time. The research is based on new archive material from the university archives in the GDR, which have been catalogued in recent years and become available for research. There are documents showing how this travel-cadre system functioned.

The material also gave rise to a central question within the framework of a subproject: ‘Welfare States in Competition. Communist Discourses on Sweden and the GDR’. How was the content of the travel-cadre system regarded? Hedin shows how the East German communist regime attempted to manage the GDR’s research exchange with other countries as a tool for deriving ‘political benefit’ both at home and abroad. The travel-cadre system was an ideological filter between the GDR and the rest of the world. The travel restrictions were intended to protect the GDR from western ‘political and ideological diversion’ and to curb erosion of ideological legitimacy in the country. At the same time, the Socialist Unity Party (SED) regime sought to disseminate communist views of reality and a favourable image of the GDR to western countries. Accordingly, the SED regime strove to present the GDR as the superior, more modern and progressive welfare state, characterised by more equality than other nations. Central to this endeavour was the discourse that the SED regime tried to spread to Sweden via the academic ‘travel cadre’, as it was called.

Hedin, who is currently on parental leave, is preparing several articles for publication in scientific journals and also planning a monograph.

Publication of project results

Articles:

- Hedin, A., 2003, ‘Stalinism som civilisation – nya perspektiv på kommunistiska regimer’. In: *Historisk tidskrift*, Vol. 123, No. 3, pp. 129–144.
- Hedin, A., 2004, ‘Stalinism as Civilisation — New Perspectives on Communist Regimes’. In: *Political Studies Review*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 166–184.

- Hedin, A., 2003, 'Stalinismus als Zivilisation – Neue Perspektiven auf kommunistische Regimes'. In: *Comparativ: Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung*. Vol. 13, No. 5/6, pp. 235–247.

[Comment on overlapping articles: the text 'Stalinism as civilisation...' is a summarising theoretical contribution of use in political science covering research by the new generation of American historians on communist regimes. The text was first published in Swedish, in *Historisk tidskrift*. Prior to its publication in a British and a German journal, the article was expanded at the request of the editors, linking it to and discussing, respectively, British and German research on communist regimes. The three articles, with their similar titles, are thus not identical: rather, each is a slight further reworking of the original.]

- Hedin, A., 2005, 'Ingenstans den minsta motvilja? Den östtyska resekaderns besök i Sverige' ('Nowhere the Least Reluctance? The Visits of the East German Travel Cadre to Sweden'), in: Köll, A.M. (ed.), *Kommunismens ansikten. Repression, övervakning och svenska reaktioner* ('The Faces of Communism. Repression, Surveillance and Swedish Reactions'), pp. 284–317. Stockholm.
- Hedin, A., 2005, 'Die Reiseorganisation der Hochschulen der DDR – ein Reisekadernsystem sowjetischen Typus' ('The Travel Organisation of the East German Universities — a Soviet-Type Travel Cadre System'), in: Timmermann, H. (ed.), *Die DDR in Europa – zwischen Isolation und Öffnung* ('The GDR in Europe — Between Isolation and Openness'), Muenster, Hamburg, Berlin, pp. 280–290.
- Hedin, A., 2005, *Wandel durch Annäherung, Förändring genom närmande? Sverige och DDR i Östpolitikens era* ('Change through Rapprochement? Sweden and the German Democratic Republic in the Eastern Bloc Policy Era'), in: Linderoth, A., Wegener Friis, T. (eds.), *Norden och DDR* ('The Nordic Countries and the GDR'), pp. 329–358. Odense, Denmark.

Other publications:

- Hedin, A., *Die Reiseorganisation der Hochschulen der DDR* ('The Travel Organisation of the East German Universities'), paper presented at the conference *Die DDR in Europa – zwischen Isolation und Öffnung* ('The GDR in Europe — Between Isolation and Openness') at the European Academy Otzenhausen, Germany, 4–7 November 2004.
- Hedin, A., *The Travel Cadre — East German Scholars in the Cold War*. Paper presented at the *Kruzhok* seminar, Stanford University, California, 10 May 2004.
- Hedin, A., *Wandel durch Annäherung, Förändring genom närmande? Sverige och DDR i Östpolitikens era* ('Change through Rapprochement? Sweden and the German Democratic Republic in the Eastern Bloc Policy Era'). Paper presented at the *Norden och DDR* ('The Nordic Countries and the GDR') symposium at Odense University, Denmark, 22–24 November 2002.
- Hedin, A., *The Politics of Social Networks. Political Entrepreneurship in the Reformation of the East German Communist Party*. Conference panel presentation at the *Pacific Coast East European Historians' Workshop*, Stanford University, 3–4 May 2002.

Planned publications:

A monograph in English is being prepared, but work on the manuscript is delayed owing to parental leave and the waiting time required for access to documents in the archives of Stasi, the former East German secret service.

Guest research posts

- Visiting scholar at the Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies (CREEES) and the Hoover Institution Archives, *Stanford University*, USA, from 1 July 2002 to 31 August 2004 inclusive.
- Visiting scholar at the Centre for Contemporary Historical Research (ZZF), *Potsdam University*, Germany, in October and November 2002.

Research award

A German research award ‘In recognition of scientific merits in the study of the GDR’ (*In Anerkennung wissenschaftlicher Verdienste um die Erforschung der DDR*). Hedin was selected from delegates to the major annual conference on GDR research at the *Social Science Research Institute* of the European Academy Otzenhausen, Germany, 6 November 2004.

Popularisation of research

- Participation in the Swedish Radio programme *Vetenskapsradion Historia* (‘Science Radio: History’) with Professor Anu Mai Köll, on the occasion of the completion of the ‘Communist Regimes’ programme. The programme editor was John Chrispinsson and the programme was broadcast in September 2005.
- Participation in the TV programme *Storebrorssamhället DDR* (‘The GDR: A Big Brother Society’), produced by the *Mera historia* (‘More History’) production team at *SVT-24*, broadcast on 17 April 2005.
- Article in the journal *Axess*, ‘Alla östtyska besökare i Sverige var politiskt kontrollerade’ (‘All East German Visitors to Sweden were under Political Control’), August 2005.

Från kommunism till nationalism: Den kinesiska regimen i Tibet och Sveriges ståndpunkt (‘From Communism to Nationalism: the Chinese Regime in Tibet and Sweden’s Stance’)

Associate Professor Katrin Goldstein-Kyaga, Department of Education, Stockholm University.

The project has surveyed the communist regime in Tibet during various periods, with a particular focus on the national and ethnic situation and how this influenced economic and social conditions for both sexes on the microlevel. The survey has also included the attitude of the Swedish Government and Riksdag towards Tibet during this period. The research is based on interview material collected.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs’ dossiers in the National Archives, and the Ministry’s own archives for the years 1949–61, form the basis for the Swedish stance along with documents provided by the Ministry concerning Tibet in the years 1965, 1973, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1996, 1997 and 2000. Valuable source material is also available in the form of official documents issued by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and of parliamentary (Riksdag) publications and records of proceedings. A review has also been carried out of the Swedish national press in the years 1949, 1950, 1951, 1959 and 1965, and of the national daily *Dagens Nyheter* from 1977 to the present.

Summing up, the policy of the Chinese communist regime in Tibet differs from that pursued in China proper, in the sense that it has addressed the culture and identity of the population to such a high degree. This applies to Tibet during all three periods surveyed — 1949–59, 1959–80 and 1980 to the present. These three periods diverge with respect to the intensity of the oppression, but not its basic nature. What distinguished the regime after 1949 was its attempts to assimilate Tibet totally into, and integrate it completely with, China. Less attention has been paid to the Tibetans’ distinctiveness in areas outside the Tibet Autonomous Region, but the regime has simultaneously — at least during the third period — been more permissive outside than within the Tibetan Autonomous Region. Political oppression was, especially during the Cultural Revolution, directed at those whom the regime regarded as representatives of an elite of landowners and their representatives, rich and reactionary, that existed previously. But the poor and people who belonged to the middle class of the rural population were also severely affected.

A comparison of interview results between the refugees who left Tibet in 1959, in conjunction with the Dalai Lama’s flight from Tibet, and those who flee from Tibet today shows that the majority of the former considered that their financial situation had improved since China invaded their country. This applies both to those who considered their own families rich and middle-class and to the poor. But it should not necessarily be interpreted as indicating that the refugees of 1959 found a better life in exile than those who remained in Tibet. Those who fled in 1959 were presumably more representative of the population as a whole, while those who leave today more often belong to the category who lack resources.

When it comes to *Sweden's* policy towards Tibet, the official stance has been governed by Swedish foreign policy rather than by the actual situation in the country. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs' documentation shows that it was known in advance, before 1950, that China was planning to invade Tibet. The national press, except for communist publications, also described the course of events in terms of invasion and occupation by a foreign country. The Riksdag appears not to have debated the Tibet issue at all before the end of the 1980s. But since then every political party, including the Left Party and the Social Democrats, have regularly cited the occupation of Tibet and China's crimes against humanity. The Swedish attitude has nevertheless been 'not to question China's sovereignty over Tibet'. The official stance appears, moreover, to have shifted from avoiding taking a stand on the sovereignty issue to Swedish recognition of China's sovereignty over Tibet. There is thus a discrepancy between Sweden's declared objectives, in terms of international law and human rights, and its actual stance in relation to Tibet.

Sweden's attitude has followed the line taken by other countries, especially the United Kingdom, India and the USA. In particular, policy has been governed by the fact that Sweden recognised the People's Republic of China at an early stage, and proceeded to push for China to be represented in the United Nations. Moreover, Sweden's commitment to human rights has not been directly connected with the actual situation in Tibet. Sweden's role was passive, and the country refrained from voting when Tibet entered the United Nations agenda on 1965. This may be explained by a decision to tacitly accept China's annexation of Tibet. Accordingly, the Dalai Lama was not given an official reception on his visits to Sweden either. This policy does not appear to have changed when the Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989.

It has also been found that, in terms of applying international law to the situation in Tibet, Sweden has also been conducting a similar policy in relation to the nations that formed part of the USSR's power bloc. Documentation from the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs shows that a parallel was even drawn between Hungary and Tibet, and this was why Sweden refrained from supporting United Nations Resolution critical of Tibet in 1965.

The Swedish attitude towards Tibet also shows ideological change over time. During Östen Undén's term as Minister for Foreign Affairs (1924–26), Sweden's conduct appears to have been governed by pragmatism, but also criticism on the grounds of international law. However, in 1959 and 1961 Sweden voted for two UN General Assembly resolutions on Tibet that were critical of China, the latter involving recognition of Tibet's right to self-determination. From the mid-1960s, Sweden's commitment to the Third World and all nations' right to freedom increased. In the case of Tibet, however, Sweden voted against the General Assembly's Tibet resolution that was critical of China in 1965. The Swedish view of the Tibetans did not perceive them as 'progressive'. There is also abundant evidence that Sweden's mediation efforts during the Vietnam War played a part in the United Nations' change of attitude towards Tibet manifested in 1965. With the non-Socialist regime change in Sweden, first, Swedish policy towards the Tibet question changed, and this suggests that party-political ideology had a bearing on the matter. Then the Dalai Lama was given an official reception in 1991, for the first time, and on the initiative of Margareta af Ugglas, Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1991–94, a human-rights delegation was also sent to Tibet. Since then, this line has remained that of the ruling Social Democratic Party. In recent years, Sweden has acted only within the framework of the EU.

Publication of project results

Article:

- Goldstein-Kyaga, K., 2005, 'Sverige och den kommunistiska regimen i Tibet' ('Sweden and the Communist Regime in Tibet'), in: Köll, A.M. (ed.), *Kommunismens ansikten. Repression, övervakning och svenska reaktioner* ('The Faces of Communism. Repression, Surveillance and Swedish Reactions'), pp. 141–177. Stockholm.

Planned publications:

- Goldstein-Kyaga, K., *Tibetfrågan från Hedin till Persson. En forskningsöversikt om Tibets politiska status och Sveriges ståndpunkt* ('The Tibet Question from Hedin to Persson. A Research Overview of Tibet's Political Status and Sweden's Stance'). [Forthcoming research report available in manuscript form.]

- Goldstein-Kyaga, K., *Tibet – den buddhistiska fredsstaten i Kinas skugga* ('Tibet — the Peaceful Buddhist State in China's Shadow'). [In press.]

'The Liquidation of the Kulaks as a Class in the Baltic States, 1940–1949'

Professor Anu Mai Kõll, Studia Baltica, Department of History, Stockholm University.

This project, involving a study at local level, sheds light on the largest wave of repression in the Baltic states. The deportation of the kulaks (so-called 'rich' peasants) in this area has been written up to some extent. Previous research on the 'dekulakisation' of both the Soviet Union in 1929–32 and the Baltic states in 1949 has been based mainly on party archives. But entirely new material from the archives of the local administration affords a completely new study perspective, by clarifying popular participation as a whole and, in particular, that of the local powers that be in the campaign. The study draws attention to, and investigates, the importance of the fact that the Soviet state made implementing repressive measures the task of the local community, rather than of professional groups. This had far-reaching repercussions on social cohesion and civil structures in society, breaking the latter apart and replacing them by individuals' mutual fear and isolation. The material also makes it possible to trace the incidence of civil resistance and a counterculture as a subtext of written communications, accusations, secondary written material and rectification claims. To interpret and understand this culture of passive resistance as it is reflected in the material, however, requires knowledge of the community; but it was, of course, extremely important to the population, who suffered throughout the process. Both the participation in and our knowledge of the resistance are vital if society is to be reconciled to its past. On a more general level, the study demonstrates a special feature that has not previously been given attention in Soviet communism. The lines between perpetrators and victims are deliberately made permanently unclear, while the concept of the category of neutral observers is rejected. The population as a whole is invited to join campaigns of criticism and self-criticism of the nature of a class struggle to become perpetrators. In the USSR, this applied to the campaign against the kulaks in 1929–32, that against 'alien elements' in society in 1936–37, and the rural campaign in the newly annexed areas in 1947–49. After Joseph Stalin's death campaigns of this kind came to an end, while they appear to persist in, for example, China.

Publication of project results

Articles:

- Kõll, A.M., Kan, A., Hart, T., 2001, 'Research on Communist Regimes', in: *Brytpunkt* ('Dividing Line'), Swedish Research Council. Stockholm.
- Kõll, A.M., 2003, Introduction, in: Kõll, A.M. (ed.), *The Baltic Countries Under Occupation: Soviet and Nazi Rule 1939–1991*. Edsbruk.
- Kõll, A.M., Tender, W., 2004, 'Identification and persecution of kulaks in Viljandimaa, 1940–1949', in: Mertelsmann, O. (ed.), *The Sovietization of the Baltic States, 1940–1956*, Tartu, Estonia.
- Kõll, A.M., 2004, 'State-Sponsored Research on Communist Terror', in: Jones, H. (ed.), *Public Use of History*. Stanford, California.
- Kõll, A.M. (ed.), 2005, *Kommunismens ansikten. Repression, övervakning och svenska reaktioner* ('The Faces of Communism. Repression, Surveillance and Swedish Reactions'). Stockholm.
- Kõll, A.M., 2005, 'Likvideringen av kulakerna som klass' ('Liquidation of the Kulaks as a Class'), in: Kõll, A.M. (ed.), *Kommunismens ansikten. Repression, övervakning och svenska reaktioner* ('The Faces of Communism. Repression, Surveillance and Swedish Reactions'). Stockholm.

Other publications by Anu Mai Kõll:

- *Likvideringen av kulakerna som klass: Estland 1940–1949* ('The Liquidation of the Kulaks as a Class: Estonia, 1940–1949'). Paper at the *Seminar on Communism arranged by the Swedish Labour Movement's Archive and Library*, 3 April 2001.

- *Overview of the Kulak Campaign in the Baltic Countries*. Paper at the *Conference on the Cult of Personality, arranged by the 'Communist Regimes' programme*, 7 June 2002.
- *Methods of Choosing the Kulaks, Estonia 1947–1949*. Paper at the *Sources and Information Conference arranged by the 'Communist Regimes' programme*, 9 May 2003.
- *Förhållandet mellan kommunistparti, lokalförvaltning och milis i Estland 1944–1949* ('The Relationship between the Communist Party, the Local Administration and the Military in Estonia, 1944–1949'). Paper at an *internal meeting in the 'Communist Regimes' programme*, 13 November 2003.
- *Att uppfinna kulaker* ('Inventing the Kulaks'). Paper at the *Baltic Seminar, Stockholm University*, Autumn Term 2003.
- *Settling Accounts: Victims, Bystanders, Perpetrators*. Paper at the *'Communist Regimes' programme conference 'Nazism and Communism'*, 27 May 2004.
- *The Sovietisation of Estonian Agriculture*. Paper at the *Sixth Conference of Baltic Studies in Europe*. Valmiera, 30 September 2005.
- *Who was the Estonian Kulak?* Paper at the *EHF²² Workshop on the Soviet Countryside*, 30 September 2005.
- *Participation and Perpetrators: the Campaign against the Kulaks in the Estonian SSR, 1945–1949*. Paper at *CREEES, Stanford University, USA*, 9 February 2006.

Planned publications

The papers that have been presented for discussion at various Swedish and international seminars (as listed in Section 7) make up Chapter 5 in a forthcoming monograph. The chapters containing the introduction and summary remain, and a manuscript is expected to be ready for publication during 2007.

'The Media, the Swedish Public Sector and Soviet Communism'

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

The project relates to Swedish news coverage of the Soviet Union during the 1930s; the significance of Soviet Communism in Swedish terms; and the role played by Swedish media. The Swedish press's portrayal of events in the USSR during the 1930s has long been overlooked in Swedish research. This includes, for example, press coverage of the Great Famine and the Great Terror, with a manner of reporting events that has, in various ways, set its stamp on Swedish understanding of developments in the USSR. The Great Famine took place in Ukraine and Northern Caucasus, above all, in the winter of 1932–33. This study of how the Swedish press described the tragedy has, first, related to the information it presented in relation to present-day historical writing about the course of events and, secondly, posed questions about the nature of the reporting. There is abundant contemporary material available about the famine disaster.

The conclusions of the investigation identify two journalistic approaches that appear to have worked as filters for the Swedish press that, first, did not allow through information about the ongoing disaster and made it seem something natural and, secondly, counteracted other countries' reactions, focusing rather on the supposed rapid current social and material development in the Soviet Union.

During the Great Terror in the USSR, 1936–38, countless crimes against human rights were committed. The period was characterised by arrests, summary trials, deportations and executions of individuals and groups on a large scale. During these years, too, the 'show trials' took place in Moscow. These trials created a marked stir in the Swedish press: of the five national dailies investigated, with their various political affiliations, most attention has been paid to the rightwing evening paper *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*. The liberal *Stockholmstidningen* and the voice of Social Democracy, *Social-Demokraten*, occupied an intermediate position, while the liberal *Dagens Nyheter* (DN) and the anti-Nazi *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* (GHS) kept a remarkably low profile. DN's line is seen as associated with

²² *Translator's note*. The Institute for Research in Economic History at the Stockholm School of Economics.

modernity and faith in the future. *GHS*, for its part, saw Nazism as the most serious threat of the day. All these newspapers treated the trials as foreign news, rather than as part of their trial coverage.

Of the four themes identified — the Trotsky case, the Trials, Repression of the Elite and Repression of the Population, most attention is devoted to the Trials themselves. Repression of the population comes second. In particular, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* and *Social-Demokraten* focused on this aspect, but from diametrically different political perspectives. *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* combines vigilance against and condemnation of the Soviet Union's race policy with an affirmation of German anti-Semitism.

The study of how the Swedish press reported the Moscow trials shows that Stalin succeeded in dictating the agenda for international news coverage and in transforming the trials into media events of immense impact.

The project, which has yet to be concluded, is a subproject in a major research programme concerning the media and the Second World War (MOAV). The principal themes of this programme are the crisis of democracy, the Holocaust and the Gulag. The study of the Moscow trials as reported in the Swedish press is to be reworked for publication in English (there was a call for this article from *Nordicom Review*). In addition, an extensive collection of press material from the 1930s awaits further reworking and publication in one form or another. Göran Leth is to revise his paper 'Bystanding media? The Swedish Press and Soviet and Nazi crimes against humanity' for publication in the *Nordicom Review*.

Publication of project results

Articles:

- Leth, G., Pollack, E., 'Varför teg den svenska pressen? Nyhetsrapporteringen om det kommunistiska Sovjet hösten 1932' ('Why did the Swedish Press Keep Silent? News Reporting about the Communist Soviet Union in 1932'). In: *Arbetshistoria* 4/2001.
- Leth, G., 2005, 'Den svenska pressen och Den Stora Hungern' ('The Swedish Press and the Great Famine'), in: Köll, A.M. (ed.), *Kommunismens ansikten. Repression, övervakning och svenska reaktioner* ('The Faces of Communism. Repression, Surveillance and Swedish Reactions'). Stockholm.
- Pollack, E., 2005, 'Moskvaprocesserna i svensk press. Rättegången som mediehändelse' ('The Moscow Trials in the Swedish Press. Court Trials as Media Events'), in: Köll, A.M. (ed.), *Kommunismens ansikten. Repression, övervakning och svenska reaktioner* ('The Faces of Communism. Repression, Surveillance and Swedish Reactions'). Stockholm.

Other publications:

- Leth, G., Pollack, E., 'Medierna, den svenska offentligheten och sovjet-kommunismen. Beskrivning av ett projekt och dess första resultat' ('The Media, the Swedish Public Sector and Soviet Communism. An Account of a Project and its Preliminary Results'). Paper presented at the *15th Nordic Conference for Media and Communication Research in Reykjavik, 11–13 August 2001*.
- Leth, G., Pollack, E., 'The Swedish Press and the Moscow Trials in the Context of the Nazi Aggression against the Jews.' Sources and Information in and about Communist Countries, Åkersberga, Sweden, 8–9 May 2003. Paper presented at the *Annual Conference for the Swedish Research Council's Research Programme Communist Regimes, in Particular their Crimes Against Humanity*.
- Leth, G., 'The Great Famine and the Construction of Soviet News in the Swedish Press'. Paper for the *16th Nordic Mass Communication Conference in Kristiansand, Norway, 15–17 August 2003*.
- Pollack, E., 'The Construction of Soviet News in the Swedish Press and the Moscow trials'. Paper for the *16th Nordic Mass Communication Conference in Kristiansand, Norway, 15–17 August 2003*.
- Leth, G., 'Bystanding media? The Swedish Press and Soviet and Nazi crimes against humanity'. Paper presented at the *conference Stalinism and Nazism, Sigtuna, Sweden, 27–28 May 2004*.

- Pollack, E., ‘The Moscow trials in Swedish news reporting. A case study within the research program “The Media, Swedish Public Sphere and Soviet Communism”.’ Paper presented at *the 24th IAMCR²³ Conference and General Assembly, Porte Alegre, Brazil, 24-31 July 2004.*

Planned publication:

Work is under way on a comparatively designed study based on research material in this project, which is also to be used in work to prepare a monograph about the Holocaust in Swedish media. Publication may take place in 2007.

Popularisation of research

- Leth G., Pollack, E.: Theme evening on the subject of ‘The Faces of Communism’ at the Living History Forum, 13 September 2005.
- Leth, Göran: teachers’ seminar about communist regimes, Karlstad, 16 November 2005.
- Leth G., Pollack, E.: presentation of the research project at JMK, at Stockholm University’s research conferences (in the presence of all newly admitted students) in February 2002, 2003, 2004 and 2005.
- Pollack, Ester: presentation of the project and its preliminary results (with the main emphasis on the theme of historical trials as drama) at Helsinki University, Finland, in March 2004.

‘Teknik och samhällsomvandling i skuggan av terror och repression i Sovjetunionen 1927–1964’ (‘Technology and Social Transformation in the Shadow of Terror and Repression in the Soviet Union, 1927–1964’)

Associate Professor Lennart Samuelson, Institute for Research in Economic History (EHF) at the Stockholm School of Economics.

In November 2000, HSFR approved a grant of SEK 650,000 for the project entitled *Rysslands reformprocess och arvet efter en militariserad kommandoekonomi* (‘Russia’s Reform Process and the Inheritance of a Militarised Commando Economy’, Ref. 2002–2263), which rejected the first results to be published in the monograph *Tankograd: Den ryska hemmafrontens dolda historia* (‘The Hidden History of the Russian Home Front’), SNS (Centre for Business and Policy Studies), Stockholm, 2006.

Samuelson was also awarded a grant for another project, within the framework of the research programme on communist regimes entitled ‘Technology and Social Transformation in the Shadow of Terror and Repression in the Soviet Union, 1927–1964’. This programme deals with the effects of the Great Terror in 1937–38, incorporating these into an extensive analysis of the Russian military–industrial complex in terms of economic history. The project relates to how the Gulag affected scientific and technological development under Stalinism, and is based on new archive material in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), the Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE) and the files associated with the top Soviet political leadership and the secret police.

A final report on the project will be issued in the form of a *monograph*, and the plan is for it to be issued in Swedish in the latter part of 2006. This report deals with the emergence of the Gulag in the 1930s and its relative importance in the Soviet economy up to the early 1950s. With the emphasis on the economic importance of the Gulag labour-camp systems and their varying scale in the years 1930–53, penal servitude as a component of the Stalinist commando economy has now been described and analysed in detail for the first time. Questions relating to the numbers of people imprisoned and released, the duration of sentences, escapes and escape attempts, sanitary conditions and causes of death are, moreover, given considerably more space here than in the works published in recent years. At the same time, the project ties in with current Russian, British and other research based on regional Gulag archives. With respect to the repression of scientists, an aspect only fleetingly touched upon in the international literature to date, the book contains an exhaustive account of when and why the special prisons (*sharashkas* in Russian parlance) were set up, and the sectors of the military–industrial complex where they assumed the greatest importance.

²³ *Translator’s note.* The International Association for Media and Communication Research.

Simultaneously, in this project, Samuelson has taken part in a publication project cofunded by Russian, French and Swedish fund providers to publish Russian source material (this project was headed by the historian Viktor Danilov, 1925–2004). This culminated in a Russian edition entitled ‘The Soviet Countryside in the Eyes of the Secret Police, 1930–34, with a brief summary in French. Its volumes 3:1 and 3:2, each comprising more than 800 pages of documents from the Central Archives of the Federal Security Service, clarify how agriculture was collectivized; how the property of the wealthier peasants (‘kulaks’) was expropriated and they were deported to remote areas; and the Great Famine disaster of 1932–33. The following works have been *published in Russian*, with Samuelson’s assistance in editing, forewords and comments:

- Viktor Danilov, Alexei Berelowitch, Lennart Samuelson and Nicolas Werth (eds.), *Les campagnes soviétiques vues par la Cheka–O.G.P.U. – NKVD, 1918–1939 (Sovjetskaja derevnja glazami VTjK–OGPU–NKVD 1918–1939)*
- *Les Campagnes soviétiques vues par l’O.G.P.U.–N.K.V.D. Tome 3. 1930–34. (Première partie: 1930–31. Documents et matériaux; Deuxième partie: 1932–34. Documents et matériaux.* Moscow: Rosspen, 2003–05).

In September 2005, with a grant from the Swedish Research Council, Samuelson arranged the ‘First Russian Economic History Workshop’ on *The Russian Countryside 1900–39* at EHF (the Institute for Research in Economic History at the Stockholm School of Economics). His aim was to disseminate knowledge of Russian agricultural history. Keynote speakers were Professor Emeritus Moshe Lewin (University of Pennsylvania) and Professor Teodor Shanin (Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences). Papers were presented by some ten professors and archivists from Moscow, St. Petersburg, Penza, Chelyabinsk and Novosibirsk. Fifteen researchers from various Swedish universities also attended. Samuelson is currently preparing documentation for the forthcoming publication in Swedish.

Publication of project results

Articles:

- O. Ken, A. Rupasov, L. Samuelson, 2005, *Shvetsija v politike Moskvy, 1930-1950-e gody* (‘Sweden in Moscow’s Policy from the 1930s to the 1950s’, with a foreword by Ambassador Örjan Berner). Moscow, ROSSPEN (ISBN 5-8243-0665-69).
- Samuelson, L., 2003, ‘Från statskonst i kris till historievetenskap i det kalla krigets skugga: Edward Hallett Carr (1892–1982) (‘From the Art of Government in Crisis to Historiography in the Shadow of the Cold War: Edward Hallett Carr (1892–1982)’, in: *Historisk Tidskrift*, 2003: 2, pp. 323–331.
- Samuelson, L., 2004, ‘1900-talets tragedier på den ryska landsbygden. Nya källor och tolkningar’ (‘Twentieth-century Tragedies in the Russian Countryside’), in: *Historisk Tidskrift*. 2004: 3, pp. 417–428.
- Samuelson, L., 2005, ‘Gulag och ”Sjarasjki”. Stalintidens fängelser och koncentrationsläger för specialister’ (‘The Gulag and *Sharashkas*: Specialist Prisons and Concentration Camps in the Stalin Era’). In: Köll, A.M. (ed.), *Kommunismens ansikten. Repression, övervakning och svenska reaktioner* (‘The Faces of Communism. Repression, Surveillance and Swedish Reactions’). Stockholm.

Other publications by Lennart Samuelson:

- Paper about the city of Chelyabinsk and the Terror in the 1930s, presented at *CREES, University of Birmingham, UK*, August 2004.
- Paper about the latest research on the purges in the Red Army in 1937–38, presented at the *ICCEES World Congress in Berlin*, August 2005.

Planned publication:

Samuelson has been invited to present a paper at the major *Gulag Conference at the Davis Center at Harvard University* in October 2006. The plan is for a final report on the project to be issued in the form of a monograph in Swedish, and the manuscript is expected to be completed during 2006.

Popularisation of research

Lectures at the Living History Forum's seminars for history teachers.

Guest lectures on Russian archives and Gulag research at the Departments of History and Economic History at Göteborg University, and lectures at the Workers' Educational Association (ABF) and *Svenska Clartéförbundet*²⁴ in Stockholm.

'China's Cultural Revolution: a Social and Political History'

Associate Professor Michael Schoenhals, Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies, Lund University.

The Swedish Research Council regards Schoenhals as one of the few leading researchers with *excellence* in the humanities in Sweden. The project deals with the history of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, explaining how and why it failed to bring about what was, at the time, presented as a credible and sustainable alternative to the repressive order that had prevailed in the previous 17 years of Communist Party rule. The role of the Cultural Revolution in paving the way for an even more profoundly intolerant and terrorist system has been studied, with the sole difference that new leaders came to power after Mao. Over time, the project has analysed how the Cultural Revolution was manifested in ordinary citizens' experience and activities; how it developed in decision-making bodies around Mao Zedong and how it generated interaction filled with conflicts between the state, society and the individual in China. The research is based on numerous new primary and secondary sources that were not previously available or known to western historians. It also treats issues of great relevance to historical research on the aftermath of the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The final report, *Mao's Last Revolution*, is to be published by Harvard University Press in August 2006. The book has 700 pages and is illustrated.

Publication of project results

Articles by Michael Schoenhals:

- 2002, 'Is the Cultural Revolution Really Necessary?' In: Draguhn, W., Goodman, D.S. (ed.), *China's Communist Revolutions: Fifty Years of the People's Republic of China*, pp. 159–176. London.
- 2002, entries about Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan (three of the 'Gang of Four') in: Edwin Pak-Wah Leung (ed.), *Political Leaders of Modern China: A Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 69–70, 188–189 and 199–201. Westport.
- 2003, entry about the Cultural Revolution in: Staiger, B., Friedrich, S., Schütte, H-W. (eds.), *Das Grosse China-Lexikon*. Hamburg: Institut für Ostasienkunde (Institute of East Asian Studies), pp. 410–414.
- 2004, entry about the Cultural Revolution in: *The World Book Encyclopedia* (p. 1185). Chicago.
- 2004, 'Cultural Revolution on the Border: Yunnan's "Political Frontier Defence" (1969–1971)', in: *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, No. 19, pp. 27–54.
- 2004 (in Chinese): *Xinxi, juece yu Zhongguo de 'Wenhua dageming'* ('Information, Decision-Making and China's "Cultural Revolution"'), in: Chen Donglin *et al.* (eds.), *Contemporary China and Its Outside World*. Contemporary China Research Institute. Beijing.
- 2005, "'Why Don't We Arm the Left?' Mao's Culpability for the Cultural Revolution's "Great Chaos" of 1967' in: *The China Quarterly*, No. 182, pp. 277–300.
- 2005, 'Föregripande Politiskt Självmord? Mao Zedong, Kulturrevolutionen och "Revisionismen"' ('Anticipating Political Suicide? Mao Zedong, the Cultural Revolution and "Revisionism"'), in:

²⁴ *Translator's note*. The Swedish 'Clarity' association, which is not affiliated to any political party, issues a quarterly journal of political, ideological and cultural debate with a socialist emphasis.

Köll, A.M. (ed.), *Kommunismens ansikten. Repression, övervakning och svenska reaktioner* ('The Faces of Communism. Repression, Surveillance and Swedish Reactions'). Stockholm.

Other publications by Michael Schoenhals:

- Paper on the rehabilitation of disbanded cadres in the latter phase of the Cultural Revolution, presented at a conference at Cambridge University, June 2002.
- Paper on Mao's responsibility for the worst violence during the initial years of the Cultural Revolution presented at a conference at Harvard University, December 2003.
- Paper on the decision-making process of the Cultural Revolution, presented at a conference at the Contemporary China Research Institute, Beijing, September 2004.
- At the end of May 2003, the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study in Cambridge, Massachusetts arranged and financed a special, closed 'Cultural Revolution Seminar' devoted solely to an existing manuscript of *Mao's Last Revolution*. Some ten specially invited eminent Sinologists played an active part in the seminar.

Planned publication:

Schoenhals, M, MacFarquhar, R., *Mao's Last Revolution* (to be issued as a monograph by Harvard University Press in August 2006).

Invitations

Lecture on methodology and documentation for a few days at a research seminar in modern Chinese history, on the Cultural Revolution, for doctoral students at the University of California, San Diego (November 2002). Lecture for doctoral students in modern history at Peking University, on research in Europe and North America concerning the Cultural Revolution (October 2004 and November 2005).

Popularisation of research

Schoenhals has worked as a consultant for film projects connected with the Cultural Revolution, including two documentaries: *Morning Sun* (about the 'Red Guard'), Long Bow Group, Boston, and *Rebellerna* ('The Rebels'), about the Swedish 'ultra-left' of 1968, Bosse Lindqvist, Swedish Television.

He has also been interviewed repeatedly in the media about the Cultural Revolution, and answered questions about the Cultural Revolution on the internet.

'Kommunismens övergrepp i Ungern 1945-1963' ('Communist Outrages in Hungary, 1945-1963')

Peter Solymossy, PhD, Institute of Contemporary History at Södertörn University College.

The original purpose of the project was to survey little-known outrages and crimes committed by the communist regime in Hungary. These involved deportation of the Hungarian civil population as 'prisoners of war', and why the local Hungarian regime did not act to defend its own citizens against the occupying power. Another question related to the diplomatic and humanitarian inputs of Swedish governments. One hypothesis was that Sweden, owing to its neutrality policy, had considerably more room for manoeuvre than most western nations when it came to defending human rights. This was because Sweden was regarded by the communist-controlled regime as much more benevolent than all the other western nations. Another question was how Swedish society's view of communism in general, and Eastern Europe in particular, was affected by the advance of Soviet power, and of the Hungarian communists, during and after the Hungarian Revolt.

For personal reasons, Peter Solymossy has not yet been able to complete the project.

‘Svenska vänstersocialisterna och bolsjevikerna under den ryska revolutionen 1917–1920’ (‘The Swedish Leftwing Socialists and the Bolsheviks during the Russian Revolution, 1917–1920’)

Professor Emeritus Aleksander Kan, Department of History at Uppsala University.

This project has involved study of the question of how the Swedish Social Democrats and the Communists were more in touch with, and had a greater understanding of, Russian and Soviet political development than likeminded Continental Europeans? How did Swedish publications report and analyse the situation in Sweden’s great neighbour? What influence did development in Russia/the USSR have on Sweden — and was Russia/the USSR influenced by Sweden? The study has analysed relations between Swedish Social Democrats on the one hand and Russian Mensheviks and Bolsheviks on the other in 1914–20, with a focus on the players in the dramatic years: people, publications, political parties, governments, couriers, etc. New material from Russian archives, along with access to archives in the USA and in most European countries (memoranda, letters, minutes, etc about contemporary events and the individuals involved) have contributed to new knowledge.

Publication of project results

Monograph:

Kan, A., 2005, *Hemmabolsjevikerna. Den svenska socialdemokratin, ryska bolsjevik och mensjevik under världskriget och revolutionsåren 1914-1920* (‘The Home Bolsheviks. Swedish Social Democrats, Russian Bolsheviks and Mensheviks during the First World War and the Revolutionary Years, 1914–1920’). Stockholm.

Article:

Kan, A., 2001, ‘Russian Publications on Communist Repression’, in: Köll, A.M., Kan, A., Hart, T., ‘Research on Communist Regimes’, in: *Brytpunkt* (‘Dividing Line’), Swedish Research Council. Stockholm.

‘Sovjetbilden i Sverige 1935–1947’ (‘The Swedish Image of the USSR, 1935–1947’)

Martin Alm, PhD, Department of History at Lund University.

Within the scope of the project to date, there have been studies of the Swedish image of the Soviet Union and its social system during the years 1935–47. In 1935–41, the Swedish image varied from one that was strongly negative to a more mixed picture. In 1941–47, on the other hand, the USSR’s reputation in Sweden improved considerably in conjunction with the country’s successes in the Second World War. Studies show unequivocally that the war had a clear influence on the Swedish view of the Soviet Union, which also displayed what was thought to be successful modernization, primarily in terms of industrial strength and social welfare. From the viewpoint of democracy, however, most people — but not all — disapproved of Soviet communism. Terror and oppression were known to exist.

Publication of project results

Article:

Alm, M. (2005), ‘Den svenska sovjetbilden 1935–1947’ (‘The Swedish Image of the USSR, 1935–1947’), pp.19–49, in: Köll, A.M. (ed.), *Kommunismens ansikten. Repression, övervakning och svenska reaktioner* (‘The Faces of Communism. Repression, Surveillance and Swedish Reactions’). Stockholm.

Appendix 2

Financial statements of the 'Communist Regimes' programme

THE SWEDISH RESEARCH COUNCIL

(SEK)

	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2001¹⁾</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
A TRANSFERS							
Swedish Labour Movement's							
Archive and Library		250,000					250,000
Lejon, Kjell			80,000				80,000
Hedin, Astrid			20,000	162,000	83,000	15,000	280,000
Hedin, Astrid					189,000		189,000
Solymossy, Peter			610,000	630,000	650,000		1,890,000
Leth, Göran			680,000	700,000			1 380,000
Samuelson, Lennart			125,000				125,000
Samuelsson, Lennart			247,000				247,000
Samuelson, Lennart				527,000	501,000	228,000	1 256,000
Samuelson, Lennart				19,500	70,200		89,700
Köll, Anu Mai				84,000	84,000	84,000	252,000
Köll, Anu Mai			84,000	85,800	85,800		255,600
Köll, Anu Mai 427 700 427 700							
Schoenhals, Michael			112,000	667,000	197,739		976,739
Alm, Martin					284,000		284,000
Kan, Aleksander				32,500			32,500
Kan, Aleksander					35,100		35,100
Goldstein-Kyaga, Katrin			355,000				355,000
Goldstein-Kyaga, Katrin						1,076	1,076
TOTAL TRANSFERS		250,000	2,313,000	2,907,800	2,179,839	755,776	8,406,415
B OPERATING COSTS							
		99,900	130,160	87,750	74,700	1,075	593,585
TOTAL, A AND B		549,900	2,443,160	2,995,550	2,254,539	756,851	9,000,000

Note. Accounting is separate for each subproject, and a single recipient may therefore be listed on more than one line.

¹⁾ Accounts taken from Agresso for 2001, since the VRAPS project management system had not yet come into operation and the payments were made with HSRF's old presystem.
For the period 2002-04, the accounts were mainly taken from VRAPS.