A Fascist Baby Hawk in Nuremberg: Five Swedish Fascists' Road Trip to the Fourth Nazi Party Congress—and the Socialization of a Nazi Mind

Victor Lundberg

Journal for the Study of Radicalism, Volume 14, Number 2, Fall 2020, pp. 1-27 (Article)

Published by Michigan State University Press

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Fascism is not defined by the number of its victims, but by the way it kills them.
—Jean-Paul Sartre[1]

Northern Europe in the summer of 1929 was unusually stormy and turbulent. According to a national newspaper in Sweden, it was characterized by an "atmospheric anxiety," and its unpleasant and worrying weather foreshadowed ominous times.[2] Around the continent, economic structures were trembling; in October national stock markets started to crash one after another. The European upsurge of the 1920s would soon be replaced by a profound decline and social instability. Unemployment rose, and strikes and labor conflicts increased. In terms of politics, democracy and market liberalism were no longer seen as something credible or attractive by many Europeans. In the wake of this development, a variety of fascist groups and regimes grew strong and anti-intellectual and antidemocratic attitudes spread throughout society. These Europeans enthusiastically awaited the new, authoritarian, and radical political projects from the right and the transition to what was probably the most fateful decade of the twentieth century

Journal for the Study of Radicalism, Vol. 14, No. 2, 2020, pp. 1–28. ISSN 1930-1189.

came to be socially and politically dramatic with public protests, riots, terror, coups, and civil wars around the continent.[3]

Under these circumstances, five young, politically engaged, and radical right-wing Swedish men left their homes to take part in the spectacular annual Nazi rally in Nuremberg, 1–4 August 1929, which included the Fourth Nazi Party Congress. Having left Stockholm by car 28 July, they arrived in the medieval Bavarian town five days later after an eventful 1,500 km road trip—which included mechanical breakdowns, drunkenness, and fights—through northern Europe. Full of expectations and eager to take part in this massive Nazi-propaganda event, they registered at the accommodation bureau managed by the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP). During the following days they, together with tens of thousands of European fascists, ate, drank, sang, discussed, marched, and fought.

The primary aim of this article is to investigate the "fascist culture trip" of these Swedes. In particular, it addresses how they socialized with likeminded European fascists and how they intellectualized their experiences from the rally. I hypothesize that this trip was much more than a mere adventure for these men; rather, it was a key element in a process of political sensemaking and intellectual legitimization—a substantial process of fascist socialization. In Nuremberg, they came to conceptualize significant fascist manners, experiences, and ideological tropes from the transnational postwar European context where fascism in its pure essence was rooted. However, this was also where young fascist fledglings from Sweden took an active part in the conceptual establishment of generic European fascism during its formative years in the late 1920s.

In terms of theory, this article's focus is on the processes of socialization that encompassed the Swedes on their trip to Nuremberg. Thus, this article emphasizes the radical and social aspects of fascism that Robert O. Paxton formulates as "a form of political behavior" in an emotional tension between a multifaceted ideology and a violent social context.[4] Furthermore, I would like to explore the dimension of political sensemaking and *intellectual* legitimization as crucial and close to what Antonio Gramsci defines as "a collective intellectual."[5] According to Gramsci, this is a class-conscious and socially integrated activist that through social experiences comes to represent specific collective interests with the potential to challenge from below and formulate antagonistic thoughts.[6] With this definition, Gramsci developed a critical challenge to the established bourgeois concept of an intellectual.[7]

This article is based on a critical reading of mainly two kinds of sources: diary notes and biographical texts from one of the traveling Swedes and various newspaper sources, among them a retrospective and serial travel report from a weekly newspaper from the contemporary fascist milieu in Sweden.[8] When going inside fascists' worldviews like this, I lean toward a phenomenological approach and investigate the individuals' understanding of their experiences. Through that, I strive to understand more about fascism—and fascist masculinity—in depth. In relation to the extensive research field about interwar fascism, this article should therefore be seen as a call for not only analyzing fascism as a propagandistic set of political concepts or deceptive and incoherent ideology, but also as a radical, masculine, and formative sociocultural practice.[9]

When approaching fascism as a social movement, and exploring its style as a sociocultural enhancer of its ideology, the theoretical point by Robert O. Paxton about fascism as a political behavior becomes clear.[10] So, without dismissing the importance of understanding fascism as a brutal ideology, it is crucial to also consider it as a political spectacle, staged in the public sphere and often directed by charismatic leaders framed by suggestive, emotional, and manipulative aesthetics. Interwar German National Socialism was undoubtedly the most elaborate kind of fascism (so far).[11] In the historical context of late 1920s' Weimar Republic, historians have debated how National Socialism rose as a pervasive social force that attracted a wide and varied social base.[12] For example, Detlef Mühlberger underscored that "the Nazi Movement effectively transcended the class divide" and actually "had the characteristics of a 'peoples party.'"[13] A vital and momentous part of the Hitler movement's mobilization, as Theodore Abel has shown in his pioneering study from the 1930s, were public spectacles, mass meetings, and rallies like the one in Nuremberg in August 1929: "The drawing power of National Socialist meetings provides an important clue to the factors which most effectively contributed to the growth of the movement."[14]

Sweden and Fascism in the 1920s

In the 1920s, Swedish society was undergoing deep changes due to rapid processes of industrial and capitalistic growth. The country was then in the midst of a transformation from a poor, rural, ecclesiastical, and feudal society

(from where 1.2 million habitants had emigrated since the 1850s, mostly to the United States) to a developed, urban, secular, and liberal-democratic nation state. Despite emigration, the Swedish population had grown by 1 million (from 5 to 6 million) during a twenty-year period (1903–23). As a consequence of this, the Swedish working class grew exceptionally fast, and society became fundamentally proletarianized. Because of this, the reformist social democratic labor movement, as well as groups of syndicalists, socialists, and communists, began to gain political influence, which frightened society's privileged groups. The newborn democratic system—in Sweden general parliamentary elections with both male and female suffrage were first held in 1921—was characterized by fickleness and uncertainty.[15]

Even though Sweden did not formally or practically involve itself in the Great War, nor had it to deal with broken veterans and countless casualties like many other European countries, it was deeply affected nonetheless. Even here, the phantoms of the war haunted the 1920s. Its worldviews and conceptions—the massive loss of life, the blood in the trenches, and the perception that the Good Old World was in ashes—reached Sweden through news production and transnational currents of political ideas.[16] This was reinforced by new international influences in communications and popular culture: bourgeois manners, provocative arts and dance, cheerful jazz music, public amusements, and frivolous dancing. Although many felt emancipated and enjoyed this unconcerned *Zeitgeist* (with its dissolved sexual, familial, and social norms) others perceived the new times as sick, decadent, and threatening. New "problems" and moral panic arose in the public sphere.[17]

As a reaction to this modern, well-behaved, and reformist middle-class society, various opposing ideas increased within the social groups that felt marginalized and that rejected the habits, values, and norms of the bourgeoisie. Some considered this new, modern, and harmless society as nothing more than humbug—nothing for real men. In opposition to both the bourgeois, liberal middle-class as well as the socialistic, reformist working class, some young men sought something else to identify with, something that confirmed their authoritarian attitudes. They acclaimed a nationalized community, permeated by hostile, violent, homosocially affectionate, anticommunist, and militant values—and they bemoaned the 1920s' pacifism and disarmament.[18] It was in this context that radical fascism started to germinate in Sweden and many other European countries. Moreover, it bridged the gap between two

different hegemonic masculinities: one old, rural, traditional, and earthy; one new, urban, modern, and conceited.[19]

The first fascist associations in Sweden were small but aggressive and founded in the middle of the decade. They emerged as a result of collaboration between bitterly disappointed and politically engaged military officers, such as Sven Olov Lindholm and Sven Hedengren, and civil political "outsiders," such as Per Engdahl and the Furugård-brothers (Birger, Gunnar, and Sigurd). The main ideological and practical inspiration came at this time from Italy and Benito Mussolini's *Fasci di Combattimento* (1919) and *Partito Nazionale Fascista* (1921). In 1926, the first nationally unifying fascist organization in Sweden, the Fascist Combat Organization of Sweden (*Sveriges Fascistiska Kamporganisaton* [SFKO]), was founded by a new front man and leader, Konrad Hallgren. As a veteran of the Great War, where he experienced the bloody German trenches but also some other anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik campaigns in Sweden and abroad, Hallgren was extraordinary important as guiding star in this fascist, militarized, and masculine milieu. In the autumn of 1928, when SFKO had around a thousand active members, Hallgren visited Germany and participated at an enrolment and propaganda meeting with the NSDAP. He was deeply touched and inspired by this event and after this, this fascist milieu in Sweden turned its interest towards Germany instead of Italy. The following summer, Hallgren organized the road trip to Nuremberg, to which we will soon return.

Another essential person in this early Swedish fascist environment, though much less conspicuous, was the German officer in exile, Horst von Pflugk-Harttung. At the end of the Great War, he had affiliated with Swedish volunteers in his paramilitary corps in Berlin, the *Garde-Kavallerie-Schützen-Division*, which had fought against the German socialist November Revolution and finally struck down the Spartacus uprising in early 1919. According to some sources, he was personally responsible for the execution of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. During the 1920s, he sheltered in Sweden and was, for example, involved in the mobilization of Stockholm's Air Defense Voluntary Contingency Association (*Stockholms Luftförsvars Frivilliga Beredskapsförening*): a paramilitary and strictly confidential corps that was meant as an anti-communistic bulwark and formally headed by the prominent Swedish general, Bror Munck af Fulkila, the Swedish king's brother-in- law.[20]

Accordingly, Sweden was not in a vacuum, because it did not escape the effects of the Great War. The many consequences of the War, affected Sweden's mentalities, worldviews, politics, and culture. The country in the 1920s inevitably became (however marginal) a part of the postwar European culture that vainly tried to escape the horrors and traumas of the war. Although the politics, culture, and amusements of modernity became one escape route, fascism and its striving after a new man and a new social order became another, even in Sweden. In contrast to the long official Swedish tradition of peace, neutrality, and nonalignment in foreign policies, there had been, since the Great War and the fascist awakening, remarkable diachronic behavior among young men from the national radical and fascist milieu in Sweden to go abroad and participate voluntarily in wars and other conflicts and spectacles.[21] Thus, the transnational dimension within the history of fascism, and the international strivings among its sympathizers and activists, is in fact an important but still "new and unexplored field."[22]

A Fascist Baby Hawk

Early Sunday morning, 28 July 1929, a group of young boys gathered outside SFKO's headquarters at Valhallavägen 129 in central Stockholm to bid farewell to four of their local heroes from the local fascist milieu.[23] The organization's vehicle was loaded and prepared for the long trip to Nuremberg; soon it would be heading south.[24] In the car sat Konrad Hallgren (1891–1962), a 38-year-old veteran and German *Feldwebel*; Sven Olov Lindholm (1903–1998), a 26-year-old corporal, who went on to become a well-known Nazi front man in Sweden; Eric Bjurhovd (1904–1986), a 25-year-old sergeant major; and Percy Smith (1902–1951), a 26-year-old lieutenant, who was driving the car.

Just a few kilometers south of Stockholm, near Södertälje, the vehicle stopped unexpectedly. In the middle of the main road in front of the car lay an abandoned baby hawk that was not ready to fly yet. Hallgren and his companions took care of the little raptor and named it *Kamrat Flyg* ("Comrade Flight"). They decided to take it along as a mascot on their fascist culture trip; together they continued to drive south.[25] Next stop was Mjölby, 230 km southwest, were they visited Lindholm's parents and siblings, and had dinner in their garden. After a further 320 kilometers, they arrived at 1:15 a.m. in

Helsingborg, in southwest Sweden, close to the Danish boarder, where they spent the night in a corridor at the Hotel Continental.

The second day of their journey, Monday, 29 July, they woke up late. Only at lunchtime did they manage to take the ferry across the narrow strait between Sweden and Denmark, to Elsinore. After a quick drive along the coast, they reached Copenhagen in the afternoon where they met their fifth traveling companion, Gustaf Bjerkander (1910–1996) from Gothenburg. Here, even Hans Lange, the German National Socialist from Solingen, awaited his Swedish followers, ready to join the travelers and guide them into his homeland. After a short but wild visit to a bar in the Danish capital, they drove "with a furious speed" through Zealand, heading for Korsør and the ferry to Funen.[26] Despite an unintentional break waiting for the ferry, they crossed the Great Belt and reached Odense in the evening, where they "were about to became involved" in a bar fight, and thus forced to continue hastily westwards.[27] They then crossed Little Belt at Middelfart, reaching Jutland and the town of Fredericia around midnight, stopping for the night at a small, cheap hotel. In all, they had driven approximately 310 kilometers that day.

On the third day of their journey, Tuesday, 30 July, they rose at 7 for the usual "coffee-breakfast," thereafter driving south through Jutland and "small idyllic cities" such as Kolding, Haderslev, and Aabenraa, and on to the German frontier.[28] Lange led the way in his small sports car with Hallgren by his side. In the other car sat Smith, Lindholm, Bjurhovd, and Bjerkander—and Kamrat Flyg. Though their raptor caused quite a stir at German border control, the border guards, the "custom-snakes," were indifferent to the dubious Swedish youngsters, instead playing with their feathered mascot.[29] As a result, they easily entered Germany and set full speed passing Flensburg and Rendsburg, where they at a short stop encountered some political supporters. In Altona, north Hamburg, they visited another of their German associates, the Nazi Rudolf Otto, who, after a pub crawl, helped them drive through the city to Harburg, a southern borough of Hamburg. In their eagerness, they here opted not to wait for their sixth companion from Stockholm, Petterson, who was traveling on his own by ferry, carrying all their banners and flags. Instead, they drove further south through Lünerburger Heide. Driving precariously, and likely drunk, they discussed and debated wildly inside the cars about both religion and politics. Lindholm and Lange (who had ended up in the same car) almost came to blows when the former accused the latter of being

"a complete heathen, a *ludendorffer*."[30] Late that night, they finally arrived in the small town of Lünerburg, where they checked in to the hotel Zur Hoffnung after 321 kilometers of driving.

The fourth day on their journey, Wednesday, 31 July, began with the usual "coffee-breakfast" at 8.[31] They then put on their black shirts for the first time, which they deemed a solemn moment.[32] After some provocative demonstrating and marching in the streets of medieval Lünerburg, they headed for Hanover through lowlands, bright forests, and the "Sweden-like" nature of Lower Saxony.[33] In the small town of Burgwedel, they visited Lange's uncle and his family, where the "fattened calf was slaughtered" and where Kamrat Flyg took a little ride in free air but was soon caught again.[34] And they welcomed Lange's brother-in-law, Brückmann, as another travel companion.[35] Soon the trip continued, past Göttingen and into Thüringen, and on through the spectacular and hilly landscapes of Thüringer Wald. In the federal state of Hessen, they reached the small and picturesque town of Wanfried. They spent the night at the local inn, where they ate, drank, and danced with locals and Kamrat Flyg—who even "became a little dizzy."[36] Around 305 km into central Germany had been accomplished that day.

On the fifth day on their journey, Thursday, 1 August, the travelers had "reveille" at 6 in the morning, and after breakfast in the canteen at the inn, they set off along the river Werra.[37] They passed Eisenach and Meiningen down into Bavaria, reaching the town of Coburg, which they acclaimed as the largest Nazi stronghold in southern Germany: "Here . . . we noticed a substantial respect for and huge partaking in the Hitler-movement. Everywhere in our way, we were greeted with raised right arms and the Nazi "Heil!" Workers on the streets and in the factory villages hailed us in a Nazi way, and from road users and harvesters in the fields, we heard the proud "Heil!" from dawn until dusk."[38] However, they were delayed by serious mechanical breakdowns, and both cars had to be repaired at a garage. In the meantime, they spent some time in the city center and had dinner at the inn Schwedenkönig. Much to their delight, many of the local workers were Nazi sympathizers. They also appreciated the many historical references to the exploits of the Swedes here during the Thirty Years War (1618–48). "With memories for life," they continued southwards through Bavaria in the late afternoon.[39] The antique character of towns and villages, such as Bamberg, Forchheim, Baiersdorf, and Erlangen, amazed Lindholm. He saw fewer cars than carriages, which often

had "cows and horses strained together in pairs in the front!"[40] They drove at top speed for the last leg of the trip; and at nine in the evening, the old towers and walls of Nuremberg appeared on the horizon. After nearly 300 km that day, they had finally arrived at "the lovely town that now would be the scene for the mobilization of the best and strongest of the Germanic blood."[41]

Following this fascist culture trip from the inside, it is striking how important manners and acts seem to be within this fascist milieu. Almost nothing in the preserved sources deals with ideology or political reasoning. Except from some shallow rhetoric and catchwords—about the "forthcoming National Socialistic revolution"[42]—these traveling fascist Swedes were apparently occupied with what happened, what they did, and how they acted. For example, they explicitly point out that "moderation is a virtue for fascists and we must especially show that abroad."[43] According to themselves, they behaved in a most exemplary and responsible manner on their journey—although that was probably not always the case (rather the opposite). Moreover, they argued that the main reason why Sweden lacked the "substantial respect for and huge partaking in the Hitler-movement," such as they had encountered in Coburg, is that the democratic Swedish society was "far too bourgeois and weakened."[44]

The Nazi Mind

In the streets of Nuremberg during the Nazi rally and the Fourth Party Congress (1–4 August 1929), fascism's sociocultural dynamics flourished. Liberal and left-wing German newspapers described the events as horrendous and underlined Hitler's all-encompassing ambitions, which were to evoke social chaos. *Berliner Volkzeitung* summarized the spectacle in Nuremberg as follows: "This is how the Hitler State may look like! Serious riots at the Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg—Seven Inns devastated—Also a fatality?"[45] Further, they ironically commented on the Nazis' behavior: "With cobblestones, iron bars, stab weapons and firearms, the Hitlerianer sought to convince the habitants of Nuremberg of the high ethical value of their movement."[46] However, the conservative press, like *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, were much more careful with their reports; they primarily blamed "the communists" for the disturbances in Bavaria.[47]

Today, there are many photos and films from the 1929 rally on the web and in social media, showing people giving the Nazi salute, uniformed Nazis marching, decorated Nazi leaders being honored, bizarre ceremonies, expensive public aesthetic displays, fireworks, and a shouting Adolf Hitler at mass gatherings.[48] These visual relics are significant, and they confirm that the 1929 rally in Nuremberg was an enormous public event that attracted hundreds of thousands of people: from curious spectators to staunch uniformed Nazis ("Stormtroopers"). On the basis of Theodore Abel's questionnaire from the 1930s, Peter H. Merkl has characterized the "typical rally-goer" as an inhabitant of rural areas, a worker or pensioner, more "proletarian" than bourgeoisie, and often "in social decline or socially static."[49]

In fact, this was the first of the Nazi rallies and mass meetings in the 1920s to present this kind of spectacle and these pretensions in public.[50] According to Dietrich Orlow, this "was an important milestone in the history of the party."[51] Its main ingredients were aesthetics, rituals, propaganda, and spectacles for the masses as well as for honored guests, rather than pure political working sessions. There were Nazi requisites and decorations all over the city center of Nuremberg—"for Hitler, the rally's essential purpose was to demonstrate the numerical strength, the discipline, the unanimity of the movement under his leadership."[52] He showed little interest in anything else but the rally's propaganda display.[53] Dramatic overtures from Hitler's favorite composer, Richard Wagner, accompanied parading athletes, torchlight processions, and human swastikas on the streets. Indeed, the Nuremberg rallies left no one indifferent, as Julia Boyd concludes in *Travellers in the Third Reich*: "It was for anyone, even an outsider, impossible to react objectively to the Nuremberg rallies. The [s]pectator was either . . . swept up in an orgy of emotion or . . . utterly repelled."[54] For the long-distance and enthusiastic Swedish travelers—the total driving distance between Stockholm and Nuremberg was approximately 1,800 km—the days in Nuremberg were an entirely new and overwhelming experience. They were drawn by a massive, absolute fascist tide that affected their minds for a long time. "Everything was new to me, who never had been abroad," Sven Olov Lindholm emotionally noted in his diary.[55]

The first evening in town, he and his companions Bjerkander, Bjurhovd, Hallgren, Smith, and Kamrat Flyg, registered at the NSDAP's accommodation bureau near Hauptbahnhof, where "masses of brown-shirts from all over Germany" arrived on specially chartered trains.[56] Soldiers from local Nazi

Sturm Abteilungs (SA) then guided them to their billets at the homes of various local families. Lindholm stayed with the Halser family at Nunnenbeckstrasse 51. However, the first night was spent together at the temporary Nazi headquarters at Hotel Deutscher Hof, located at the junction of Lessingstrasse and Frauentorgraben in the city center, close to the Hauptbahnhof. The hotel was "full of Nazis of all ranks," and outside enthusiastic German Nazis besieged the Swedish car, curious about the owners' organization and spectacular trip.[57] Even Kamrat Flyg "attracted a lot of lively attention."[58]

The Swedes then "had a simple supper" in the crowded hotel.[59] They were deeply impressed by these leaders of the German National Socialist Party who now gathered around them, exhilarated after beating the "Communists"—"Numerous bloody clashes with the Communists gave added interest to the fourth Parteitag"[60]—outside: "They are men of both words and actions. They cannot be evaluated by the ordinary measures of the parliamentary society but by their struggle on the battlefield and by their hard work in the name of the political truth. In daily life—if they anytime have time for anything else—they are just ordinary men."[61] Suddenly, in this intense spectacle, "the Swedish delegation" was taken aside to an adjacent room by soldiers from the paramilitary *Schutzstaffel* (SS).[62] There they met a little "man of iron and heart," and with a "penetrating gaze"—Adolf Hitler.[63] He welcomed them with an introduction and then proceeded to have a private conversation with Hallgren, their leader. The Swedes ended the evening partaking in unruly fascist festivities. Drinking, roaring, dancing, fighting, and marching SA-soldiers characterized Nuremberg that evening. "It was not easy to go home and sleep on a night like this," a delighted Lindholm concluded in his diary.[64]

Next day, Friday, 2 August, was the first day of the Fourth Nazi Party Congress. The Swedes had their usual "coffee-breakfast" and then met Hans Lange, who was staying at Grand Hotel.[65] All of them headed off to the inauguration ceremony at Kulturvereinhaus at 11 a.m., where 4,000 party dignitaries, veterans, honored guests, foreign fascists, and SA- and SS-soldiers from all over Germany crowded inside the swastika-decorated hall. The organizers from the NSDAP-leadership, Julius Streicher and Gregor Strasser, opened the rally, followed by lengthy and wordy sessions by Gottfried Feder, Joseph Goebbels, and Rudolf Buttman. Finally, Adolf Wagner read out Hitler's extensive Parteitag Manifest. At lunch, the Swedes met the well-known Swedish

fascist and veteran Otto Hallberg and their pen-pal Karl Zoubek from the Sudetenland. They also found their lost companion Petterson from Stockholm, who had disappeared on his way to Nuremberg with their SFKO-banners. He evidently had been "involved in an accident" upon arriving at Sassnitz by ferry; he had his "whole head wrapped in a bandage."[66]

For the Swedes, these first experiences in Nuremberg were an eye-opener through which they began to conceptualize radical National Socialism in relation to their own fascist context: "We Swedish fascists had now—if we ever had hesitated—clear evidence that the National Socialist and the Fascist movements have exactly the same battles to fight, the same enemies to beat."[67] It is worth noting that they apparently had not considered the unifying link as primarily ideological but instead as more practical and tactical: it was a question of united actions and the same use of violence against a common enemy, though it was unclear who that enemy was.

When the proceedings of the first day ended, the participants marched together southeast to the Nuremberg Stadium, where a gigantic and lavish firework display was launched. Around 40,000 spectators witnessed how the night was illuminated by a huge flaming swastika "surrounded by green leaves, crowned by an eagle."[68] As a finale, a "huge 'Deutschland erwache' was written in letters of fire in the sky."[69] The 25,000 marching SA- and SS-soldiers formed a torchlight procession and proceeded back to the city center, accompanied by "songs, war cries, and thundering marching music."[70] The Swedes stood with the many spectators, viewing the spectacle and cheering and applauding in delight.

The following day, Saturday, 3 August, was the second day of the Congress. During the night, specially chartered trains had continued to arrive, filling the streets of Nuremberg with Nazis: a total of 250,000 to 300,000 men now took part in the festivities. "One got the impression that there were only National Socialists in the world," the Swedish fascist paper *Spöknippet* reported.[71] In the garden of the Kulturvereinhaus, Hitler held a morning celebratory reception for the arriving SS-troops from Berlin, who had marched the whole way to Nuremberg, a walk of 430 km. During the day, various events took place around the city and at 6 p.m. all the participants reconvened at the Kulturvereinhaus, where Konrad Hierl and Alfred Jung spoke about general conscription and the significance of the nation. The proceedings of this second day ended with a gigantic torchlight procession—"the biggest ever in German history"—with

"over 40,000 brown-shirts" marching in central Nuremberg for three hours before of tens of thousands of spectators.[72]

The Swedes experienced an exciting day. They were cheered by the crowds in the streets and had a lot of beers at the outdoor terraces. Hallgren and Bjerkander met Hermann Göring (unclear about what), and in the evening they all dined at Hotel Deutscher Hof with Joseph Goebbels, among others. Despite this prominent company, Lange and Lindholm spent the night in the streets; they "sneaked out because it was funnier out there, among the roaring and rushing soldiery."[73] Nevertheless, it was obviously important not to forget who you were and why you were there: "All the time we thought about our organization SFKO and in our hearts we felt more of defiant promises to ourselves and less of enthusiasm, despite our enthusiasm was strong."[74] A fascist leader—*the new fascist man*—was never to exalt himself or go astray. Promises, devotion and loyalty to their own were always the priorities.[75] The evening was thus terminated in peace and quiet at home with their host families: "We had a little night supper and talked about our experiences."[76]

Sunday, 4 August, was the last day of the Congress and the rally. It was also the day of a monumental parade: "the last and greatest day of the large mobilization."[77] Early in the morning, SA- and SS-troops marched in unison with the other participants to Luitpoldshain, a large field area in the southeastern part of Nuremberg. Here, a monument to the fallen in the Great War was raised, to which 150,000 people (uniformed "brown-shirts" with flags and banners as well as other participants and spectators) gave the Nazi salute and constantly shouted "Heil Hitler!"[78] General von Epp honored the memory of the fallen, and Adolf Hitler celebrated and "spoke to his battle groups."[79] Thereafter, the Swedes participated in the wreath-laying ceremony around *Die Blutfahne*: the flag that was carried during the mythologized but failed Beer Hall Putsch of November 1923, where sixteen Nazi-insurgents were killed but went on to become martyrs with their blood on a threadbare swastika-banner.[80]

A monumental parade marked the culmination of the rally, with the masses marching back to the center of the town. Placed in the section for foreign guests, together with the American delegation, the Swedes were greeted by spectators who cried "Schweden, Schweden, Heil Schweden, as soon as our blue and yellow banner was seen."[81] For the Swedish recipients, such adulation was the absolute highlight of their fascist culture trip: "Here it was—in this

sea, in these constantly new waves of *Sturmjugend*—a more comradely and heartily exchange of ideas than otherwise, it was hand-in-hand, intense rapture, probably our most beautiful memory ever from these days in Nuremberg. And even if we will live for a thousand years, we shall never forget *the army at Luitpoldshain* and the glowing sea of future-fighters and front-soldiers fighting together in a common battle!"[82] The above demonstrates how the Swedish fascists attempted to legitimize and intellectualize their experiences through a strong and emotional conceptualization. For them, not only was there a learning process through an exchange of Nazi ideas but also through a plethora of fascist sociocultural activities, acts, manners, and behaviors. The homosocial, masculine, and seductive core of fascism that George L. Mosse underscores becomes here visible and obvious: "Fascism heightened the warrior qualities of masculinity; racism brutalized them and transformed theory and rhetoric into reality."[83]

At the Hauptmarkt, the march passed Hitler, the NSDAP-leadership, and its guests of honor, among them the Swedish fascist leader Hallgren and the Prussian Prince August Wilhelm. After four hours of marching and presenting of arms, it was 5 p.m. and time for the great closing ceremony at the Kulturvereinhaus. The ideologist Alfred Rosenberg spoke about internationalism and nationalism, followed by Hallgren, who orated for nearly half an hour about "the common fate of the Germanic people."[84] His speech, which had been examined beforehand by one of Hitler's closest confidants, Rudolf Hess, "received standing ovations and cheering."[85]

Finally, it was time for Adolf Hitler—"he is German's best speaker, no one can engage and arouse the masses like him"—to conclude the Fourth Party Congress.[86] He finished his speech with the ambiguous words: "Lord, we do not pray that you will help us, but we pray that you would oversee it will be weighed fairly and now we put the sword in the scale pan!"[87] His conclusion was met with praise and "a thunderous Heil-hailing!"[88] This ambiguous and threatening undertone was typical of Hitler's long, agitated, and blusterous speeches, and it made a deep impression on both the Swedes and the crowd. It is not surprising that violence, assaults, and riots erupted directly outside, so much so that Hitler had to return to the speaker's podium to calm his exalted followers. However, the effect was limited. On the whole, the three-day Nazi spectacle induced constant violence and social disturbances on the streets of Nuremberg. In the final evening it culminated in absolute turmoil,

with euphoric and drunken Nazi revelers ravaging central Nuremberg. They smashed restaurants and cars, provoked the police—"the protection guard of the Marxist republic"—and attacked locals and opponents of various kinds, all of whom they labeled "communists."[89] In total, the violence during the Congress resulted in two dead and eight severely injured national socialists, five severely injured policemen, and numerous slightly injured opponents and locals.[90] In retrospect, the event in Nuremberg, 1–4 August 1929, seems to have evolved into a huge playground for political brutalism and for the homosocially masculine and formative sociocultural practice of radical fascism.

The Swedes were obviously affected by the situation. They observed, kept a low profile, and enjoyed. Afterwards they summarized: "This Nuremberg Days are not only for us a beautiful memory, but also *a step forward* in the efforts for fascism in Sweden and a *battle signal* to our own, a victory for the awakening and vigorous people of our own Motherland!"[91] With their experiences and lessons from Nuremberg, the Swedes were ready and prepared to take another step in organizing fascism in Sweden. In another context, some years later, Lindholm underlined the importance of this knowledge further: "The newspapers wrote that Hitler had brought his wild hordes together in Nuremberg. . . . But we kept our heads cool, considered our impressions and thought."[92] This key formulation shows how they tried to conceptualize their experiences from Nuremberg and use them to formulate a legitimate self-understanding as mindful and socialized persons: a subjective position as collective intellectuals.

However, Lindholm, unlike his companions, did not get to experience the final day of the Congress. Due to military service commitments, he was forced to bid farewell and return home to Sweden early on the Sunday morning, 4 August. On the specially chartered train to Berlin filled with SA-troops, he was "surrounded by friendship and kindness" and ended up in the same carriage as the mythological *SA-Sturmführer* Horst Wessel—with whom he conversed with all night long.[93] Early next day, Monday, 5 August, they arrived at Hauptbahnhof Berlin, where awaiting police officers stopped, searched, and questioned them. However, Lindholm passed on smoothly due to his Swedish passport and because he traveled without luggage: "I had everything needful in my pockets."[94]

From Berlin, he continued north by train and then by ferry via Stralsund, Rügen, Sassnitz, Trelleborg, and Malmö, finally reaching his hometown,

Stockholm, the next morning, Tuesday, 6 August. In all, he had traveled on a shoestring for ten days with very modest belongings. His companions arrived home by car safe and sound one week later. However, their feathered mascot and fascist baby hawk Kamrat Flyg had not followed them back home to Sweden again. He became fully fledged in Nuremberg and fluttered away, out into full freedom of Bavaria: "He jumped off, somewhere down there in the world history."[95]

Conclusion

The rally in Nuremberg, 1–4 August 1929, including the Fourth Party Congress, was the most monumental, offensive, and violent Nazi gathering so far. It was also, as Alan Wykes underscores, "The first Nazi soap opera"[96]: dramatic, spectacular, superficial, and longwinded. For NSDAP, this was its endpoint as an unstable and untamed political outsider in the Weimar Republic and the starting point as the fascist mind of an ominous mass movement in the homestretch to the Third Reich. Hamilton T. Burden concludes his analyze of the rally of 1929 as follows: "It marked the end of the years of revolution, anti-government action, and petty fighting for power. The increased occurrence of violence foreshadowed the fierce battles of the future. The cynical denunciation of peace policies and the blunt praise of aggression and war to achieve national power forecast the frightening years to come.[97]" The rally resulted in great distress and financial costs for the town of Nuremberg. The terror and brutality of 30–40,000 rough-mannered and misbehaving SS- and SA-soldiers, and the vandalizing, assaulting, fighting, and drunkenness among the other participants led to deep embarrassment for the NSDAP. As a consequence, the city council banned it from arranging any future events of this type in Nuremberg.[98]

Nevertheless, the NSDAP continued "to attract even more followers" thanks to the Great Depression," which was to become a global economic crisis.[99] For Germany, the consequences were severe. Moreover, the increasing fascist violence at this time could be seen as a sociocultural catalyzer within transnational European fascism. As Aristotle Kallis stresses, violence was then "at the heart of the fascist history-making project"; in the pursuit of the fascist "new order" in interwar Europe, different fascists groups "facilitated

the circulation and radicalization of ideas of redemptive violence within their respective countries."[100] The early Nuremberg rallies were crucial events. For what came to be staged at the European continent during the 1930s and 1940s, the schooling in fascist violence in the late 1920s was a catastrophic but effective breeding ground. Peter H. Merkl shows how the "overwhelmingly masochistic" socialization of the violent stormtroopers within the Nazi movement in Weimar Republic Germany—"Glorying in violence for its own sake, and sneering at the 'weak-kneed old aunties'"—was in fact "an enforcer of the Third Reich" and "made it possible for them to work as concentration camp guards and other minions of the SS state."[101]

From an internal point of view, the rally of 1929 was considered a success.[102] In one of the 600 autobiographies of active members of the National Socialist movement in Germany in 1934 that Theodore Abel collected and analyzed for his study, a bank clerk praises the "party meeting of 1929" as something that "will remain ineffaceable in the memories of the old guard."[103] Moreover, he saw this event as a "mighty review of the brown army" from where they "gained the spirit which today excites the admiration of the whole world and with the help of which we were able to erect the gigantic organization of the totalitarian state."[104] The rally of 1929 even marked a turning point for Hallgren and his companions. Before the rally they were loosely organized and ideologically ambiguous though inspired by the core of early interwar European fascism: Benito Mussolini and Italy. After their fascist culture trip to Nuremberg, they were armed with new organizational and ideological impetus. Just a few months after their homecoming, they dropped the name SFKO and became the National Socialist People's Party of Sweden (*Sveriges Nationalsocialistiska Folkparti* [SNFP]), thereby forming the first real Nazi party in Swedish history. In 1933, the party split; the breakaway faction led by Sven Olov Lindholm grew and became, during the 1930s and 1940s, the largest and most well-organized popular fascist party.[105]

Lindholm went on to become one of Sweden's most well-known fascists: infamous and hated but also admired and mythologized as the intellectual and ideological ancestor of many Nordic (neo-)fascists/Nazis. He wrote poems and lyrics, as well as pamphlets and speeches, and he saw as his mission to put early fascist and Nazi ideas from the late 1920s into a Swedish context, something he called "Swedish Socialism." He claimed to never have abandoned the original ideas of National Socialism from its early days in the Weimar

Republic. Moreover, he considered Hitler's political project in the Third Reich too bourgeois, conservative, and right-wing. In his old age, Lindholm made a paradoxical transformation, calling himself both communist and democrat, and he demonstrated for environmentalism and disarmament during the 1970s and 1980s. He never gave up his radical approach to politics, though it was from a completely different ideological angle.[106]

As a 26-year-old fledgling fascist in Nuremberg in 1929, he and his companions for the first time met the radical Nazi mind and experienced fascism as an explicit political behavior as well as experiencing the emotional tension between a multifaceted ideology and a violent social context. In contrast to how the surrounding world viewed this with fear and contempt, they were delighted and inspired, and acted thereafter with greater confidence in the Swedish public sphere. As a result, Nazis were more and more publicly visible in Sweden beginning in the autumn 1929. The most explicit sign of this was the rise of fascist-initiated spectacles and violence in the streets and squares countrywide, which ultimately led to increasingly frequent confrontations with various kinds of antifascist groups.

Enriched by his experiences in Nuremberg, Lindholm understood and positioned himself as a fascist intellectual: a violent, cynical, anti-bourgeois man "of both words and actions," one who was socially integrated and represented specific collective interests, who challenged the established structures of power in society from below, and who formulated alternative and new thoughts.[107] He continued to practice fascism in its true meaning, which I analyze as based on what Wilhelm Reich calls a "fascist mentality"; "the mentality of the 'little man,' who is enslaved and craves authority and is at the same time rebellious."[108]

During their eventful days in Nuremberg, the Swedes acquired some valuable experiences from the transnational interwar European context, of which Sweden and the Swedes had only limited knowledge. Further, their fascist culture trip enabled them to legitimize the NSDAP's aspirations and give the Congress an international aura and an illusory *Germanic* touch. Thus far, this transnational, boundless social dimension within interwar fascism has received little attention in most traditional historical research about fascism. However, its importance should not be underestimated. This additional perspective is essential for a deeper understanding of fascism and its treacherous attractiveness as a type of political behavior. As the Nazi rally

in Nuremberg demonstrated during the unusually stormy and turbulent summer of 1929, European interwar fascism was(is) not only an ideological and political project but also a radical and transnational sociocultural movement. In this sense, the fascist culture trip examined in this article was a journey into the homosocial, masculine, seductive, brutal, violent, and dark core of fascism. For Lindholm and the other Swedish participants (including Kamrat Flyg), the rally became an overwhelming, life-changing moment. For them, this was a hopeful and "new beginning."[109] For most others in Europe, this was the beginning of the end.

Notes

The author would like to especially thank José Pedro Zúquete at *Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa*, for his encouraging and skilled comments on a draft of this article at the Crossing Borders-conference in Lisbon in November 2016.

1. Richard McCleary, Michel Contat and Michel Rybalka, ed. *The Writings of Jean-Paul Sartre. Volume 2. Selected Prose* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1974), 210.
2. *Svenska Dagbladets Årsbok 1929* (Stockholm: Åhlen & Åkerlunds Boktryckeri, 1930), 164. (Translation by the author: "den atmosfäriska oron.")
3. Mark Mazower, *The Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000).
4. Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 218. This theoretical approach is also based on inspiration from Michael Mann's sociological analyses of fascist movements in Michael Mann, *Fascists* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1–30, from Roger Griffin's analyses of fascism 'as a generic term for a mythic, populist and palingenetic ultra-nationalism' in Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 26–55, and from Wilhelm Reich's psychological analyses in Wilhelm Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, 3rd ed. (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1970).
5. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1986), 3–23.
6. Jeremy Jennings and Anthony Kemp-Welch, "The Century of the Intellectual: From the Dreyfus Affair to Salman Rushdie," in *Intellectuals in Politics from the Dreyfus affair to Salman Rushdie*, ed. Jeremy Jennings and Anthony Kemp-Welch (New York: Routledge, 1997), 1–21.

7. Carl Boggs, *Intellectuals and the Crisis of Modernity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 1–10.
8. The Swedish National Archive, Stockholm, Marieberg. Archives: *Sven Olov Lindholms Collection*, SE/RA/720834. Serie 1, *Diaries*, vol. 1, 1926–31, dates: 28 July 1929–6 August 1929 (limited access). Serie 3, *Notes*, vol. 3B, "Soldatliv och politik", vol. I (unpublished autobiographical manuscripts, limited access). The Royal Library, Stockholm. Editions: *Spöknippe*t, 31 July 1929 (N:o 31). *Spöknippe*t, 14 August 1929 (N:o 33). *Spöknippet*, 21 August 1929 (N:o 34). *Spöknippet*, 28 August 1929 (N:o 35). *Spöknippet*, 4 September 1929 (N:o 36). All translations from Swedish and German sources are by the author.
9. For similar perspectives, see for example Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, rev. ed. (New York: HarperCollins, 2017); Julie V. Gottlieb and Thomas P. Linehan, eds., *The Culture of Fascism: Visions of the Far Right in Britain* (London: IB Tauris, 2004); Victoria de Grazia, *The Culture of Consent: Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); J. A. Mangan, ed., *Superman Supreme: Fascist Body as Political Icon—Global Fascism* (London: Frank Cass, 2000); Sönke Neitzel and Harald Welzer, *Soldaten: On Fighting, Killing, and Dying: The Secret World War II Tapes of German POWs* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2012).
10. Paxton, *Anatomy of Fascism*, 218–20.
11. M. Rainer Lepsius, "The Model of Charismatic Leadership and its Applicability to the Rule of Adolf Hitler," in *Charisma and Fascism in Interwar Europe*, ed. Antonio Costa Pinto, Roger Eatwell, and Stein Ugelvik Larsen (New York: Routledge, 2007), 37–52; George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1975), 183–216; David Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 8–116; Klaus Vondung, *Magie und Manipulation: Ideologischer Kult und politische Religion des Nationalsozialismus* (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 70–112.
12. For historiography on the rise of the Nazis in the Weimar Republic, see pioneering work by Theodore Abel, *Why Hitler Came into Power* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986); Julia Boyd, *Travellers in the Third Reich: The Rise of Fascism through the Eyes of Everyday People* (London: Elliot and Thompson, 2018); Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power: How the Nazis Won over the Hearts and Minds of a Nation* (London: Penguin, 2006); Benjamin Carter Hett, *The Death of Democracy: Hitler's Rise to Power and the Downfall of the Weimar Republic* (New York: Henry Holt, 2018); Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); Ian Kershaw, *Hitler* (London: Penguin Books, 2009);

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13. Detlef Mühlberger, *The Social Bases of Nazism, 1919–1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 78, 79.
14. Abel, *Why Hitler Came into Power*, 120. See also Merkl, *Political Violence under the Swastika*, 658–59.
15. Jenny Jansson, "Manufacturing Consensus: The Making of the Swedish Reformist Working Class" (PhD diss., Uppsala University, 2012).
16. Claes Ahlund, ed., *Scandinavia in the First World War: Studies in the War Experience of the Northern Neutrals* (Lund, Sweden: Nordic Academic Press, 2014).
17. Jonas Frykman, "In Motion: Body and Modernity in Sweden between the World Wars," *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 22 (1992): 36–51; Mazower, *The Dark Continent.*
18. Alessandro Salvador and Anders G. Kjostvedt, eds., *New Political Ideas in the Aftermath of the Great War* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, 2017).
19. R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005); George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 155–80; George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Christina Wieland, *The Fascist State of Mind and the Manufacturing of Masculinity: A Psychoanalytic Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2015).
20. Lena Berggren, "Swedish Fascism: Why Bother?" in *Fascism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. 4: *The Fascist Epoch*, ed. Roger Griffin and Matthew Feldman (New York: Routledge, 2004), 177–201; Nathaniël D. B. Kunkeler, "The Evolution of Swedish Fascism: Self-Identification and Ideology in Interwar Sweden," *Patterns of Prejudice* 50 (2016): 378–97; Stein Ugelvik Larsen, Bernt Hagtvet, and Jan Petter Myklebust, *Who were the Fascists? Social Roots of European Fascism* (Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget, 1980); Stein Ugelvik Larsen, "Conservatives and Fascists in the Nordic Countries: Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland, 1918–45," in *Fascists and Conservatives: The Radical Right and the Establishment in Twentieth-Century Europe*, ed. Martin Blinkhorn (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 255–57; Ulf Lindström, *Fascism in Scandinavia, 1920–1940* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1985); Heléne Lööw, "Swedish National Socialism and

Right-Wing Extremism after 1945," in *Modern Europe after Fascism, 1943–1980s*, ed. Stein Ugelvik Larsen and Bernt Hagtvet (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 1127–83.

21. Dina Newman, "Ukraine Conflict: 'White Power' Warrior from Sweden," *BBC News*, 16 July 2014, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-28329329 (accessed 4 October 2018).
22. Arnd Bauerkämper and Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe, "Fascism without Borders: Transnational Connections and Cooperations between Movements and Regimes in Europe, 1918–1945," in *Fascism without Borders: Transnational Connections and Cooperation between Movements and Regimes in Europe from 1918 to 1945*, ed. Arnd Bauerkämper and Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), 6.
23. *Spöknippet*, 14 August 1929, 4.
24. During the 1920s, the number of registered privately owned cars increased many times in Sweden. Cars, by in the end of the decade, were no longer just an unreliable and uncomfortable means of transport or an exciting and exclusive toy for the upper class. Instead, the market for serial-produced cars had exploded and it became reasonable for frugal persons within the growing middle class to get one. The price for a brand-new Volvo PV651 (6 cyl, five seats, series 1) of model year 1929 was 6,900 Swedish crowns, which corresponds to around 200,000 Swedish crowns (around US $22.00) in 2019. The engine generated 55 HP (44 kW) and the maximum speed was 110 KM/H (68 MPH).
25. The name *Kamrat Flyg* is obviously ironic and associates to one of the most well-known communist politicians in Sweden at this time: *Nils Flyg* (1891–1943). His surname *Flyg* is a synonym that in Swedish also means "flying"/"flight."
26. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 29 July 1929. (Translation by the author: "med rasande fart.")
27. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "där vi höll på att råka i.")
28. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "kaffefrukost," "små idylliska städer.")
29. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "tullsnokarna.")
30. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 30 July 1929. "Ludendorffare" refers to supporters of the legendary Prussian general Erich Ludendorff (1865–1937). (Translation by the author: "han var ren hedning ['ludendorfare'].")
31. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 31 July 1929. (Translation by the author: "kaffefrukost.")
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "nästan svenska natur.")
34. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "Här slaktades åt oss 'den gödda kalven.'")
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "o blev smått rusig.")
37. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 1 August 1929. (Translation by the author: "Revelj.")
38. *Spöknippet*, 21 August 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "vi märkte denna aktning

och denna kraftiga anslutning till Hitlerrörelsen. Överallt på vår väg hälsades vi med uppsträckt höger arm och det nationalsocialistiska 'Heil!' Arbetare på vägarna och i fabrikssamhällena hälsade nationalsocialistiskt, från gatutrafikanter och skördefolk på åkrarna klingade detta stolta *heil* emot oss från morgon till kväll.")

39. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "med minnen för livet.")
40. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 1 August 1929. (Translation by the author: "Ofta var kor och hästar spända i par!")
41. *Spöknippet*, 21 August 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "den härliga stad som nu skulle bli skådeplatsen för en mobilisering av Germaniens bästa och starkaste blod.")
42. *Spöknippet*, 31 July 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "förebåda den nationalsocialistiska revolutionen.")
43. *Spöknippet*, 14 August 1929, 4. (Translation by the author: "måttlighet är en dygd för fascister och det måste vi visa särskilt i utlandet.")
44. *Spöknippet*, 21 August 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "denna aktning och denna kraftiga anslutning till Hitlerrörelsen", "borgerligt förslappade och s.k. 'kultiverade' parti-Sverige.")
45. *Berliner Volkzeitung*, 5 August 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "So würde es im Hitler-Staat aussehen! Schwere Ausschreitungen beim nationalsozialistischen Parteitag in Nürnberg—Sieben Gastwirtschaften demoliert—Auch ein Todesopfer?")
46. *Berliner Volkzeitung*, 5 August 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "Mit Pflastersteinen, Eisenstangen, Stich- und Schusswaffen suchten die Hitlerianer die Nürnberger Bevölkerung von dem hohen ethischen Wert ihrer Bewegung zu überzeugen.")
47. *Deutscher allgemeine Zeitung*, 5 August 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "den Kommunisten.") Swedish newspapers reported sparingly about the events in Nuremberg. But after 4 August they wrote brief notes about riots, assaults, shootings, arrests, and extensive police operations. They seem not to have known about Swedish participation. For example, see *Dagens Nyheter*, 5 August 1929. *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 5 August 1929. *Arbetet*, 5 August 1929. *Stockholms-Tidningen*, 6 August 1929.
48. For an example, see "1929 Nuremberg rally showing the blood-flag (Blutfahne) ceremony," 7 October 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QomozOnLK5c (accessed 2 October 2019).
49. Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 254–55.
50. For historiography on the early Nazi rallies, especially the one in Nuremberg, August 1929, see Hamilton T. Burden, *The Nuremberg Party Rallies: 1923–39* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1967), 47–55; Debra Crosby, "The Rise of the Nazi Party as a Rhetorical Movement: 1919–1933" (Masters' thesis, University of North Texas, 1975), 102–6; Joshua Hagen and Robert

Ostergren, "Spectacle, Architecture and Place at the Nuremberg Party Rallies: Projecting a Nazi Vision of Past, Present and Future," *Cultural Geographies* 13, no. 2 (London: Sage, 2006): 157–81; Orlow, *History of the Nazi Party,* 167–71; Orlow, *The Nazi Party,* 113–17; Andrew Rawson, *Showcasing the Third Reich: The Nuremberg Rallies* (Gloucestershire, UK: History Press, 2012), 9–10; Stacey Reed, "Cathedral of Light: The Nuremberg Party Rallies, Wagner, and the Theatricality of Hitler and the Nazi Party," *Hohonu: A Journal of Academic Writing* 13 (2015), 74–80; Eric G. Reiche, *The Development of the SA in Nürnberg, 1922–1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 73–76; Alexander Schmidt and Markus Urban, *The Nazi Party Rally Grounds in Nuremberg: A Short Guide* (Nuremberg, Germany: Sandberg Verlag, 2009), 40; Alan Wykes, *The Nuremberg Rallies* (London: McDonald & Company, 1969), 104–17.

51. Orlow, *The Nazi Party*, 113.
52. Ibid., 114.
53. Kershaw, *Hitler,* 194.
54. Boyd, *Travellers in the Third Reich,* 162.
55. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 30 July 1929. (Translation by the author: "Allting var nytt för mig, som aldrig varit utomlands.")
56. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 1 August 1929. (Translation by the author: "Massor av 'brunskjortor' från hela Tyskland.")
57. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "proppfullt med nazister av alla grader.")
58. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "även 'der Habicht'—höken uppvaktades livligt.")
59. *Spöknippet*, 21 August 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "där vi intogo en enkel supé.")
60. Burden, *The Nuremberg Party Rallies,* 54.
61. *Spöknippet*, 21 August 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "är såväl ordets som handlingens män. De mätas ej med det parlamentariska samhällets vanliga mått, utan de ha vunnit sin ställning och sin ära på slagfältet eller i tåligt arbete i den politiska sanningens tjänst. I det dagliga livet—om de överhuvud taget ha någon tid övrig för annat än rörelsen—äro de vanliga, enkla människor.")
62. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "den svenska delegationen.")
63. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "en man av järn och hjärta", "en forskande, genomborrande blick.")
64. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary 1 August 1929. (Translation by the author: "Det var inte lätt att gå hem och lägga sig en sådan natt.")
65. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 2 August 1929. (Translation by the author: "kaffefrukost.")
66. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "förolyckats på färjan", "hela huvudet i bandage.")
67. *Spöknippet*, 21 August 1929, 3. (Translation by the author: "Vi svenska fascister fick—om vi

någonsin tvivlat därpå—klara belägg för att den nationalsocialistiska och den fascistiska folkrörelsen har fullkomligt samma strider att genomgå, samma slags fiender att besegra.")

68. Crosby, "The Rise of the Nazi Party," 104.
69. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary 2 August 1929. (Translation by the author: "ett väldigt 'Deutschland erwache' på himlavalvet.")
70. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "sånger o stridsrop o dånande marschmusik.")
71. *Spöknippet*, 28 August 1929, 1. (Translation by the author: "man fick det intrycket att endast nationalsocialister existerade i världen.")
72. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "Det var det största fackeltåg som ägt rum i Tyskland", "över 40,000 brunskjortor.")
73. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 3 August 1929. (Translation by the author: "smet ut med Lange på stan—det var roligare där bland den brusande soldatesken.")
74. *Spöknippet*, 28 August 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "Våra tankar voro hela tiden här hos Sveriges Fascistiska Kamporganisation och hjärtat slog mera av trotsiga löften till oss själva än av hänförelse, trots att vår hänförelse var stark.")
75. Mosse, *The Image of Man,* 155, 162.
76. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 3 August 1929. (Translation by the author: "satt vi sedan vid en liten nattvickning o pratade om våra upplevelser.")
77. *Spöknippet*, 28 August 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "den stora mobiliseringens sista och största dag.")
78. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "brunskjortornas.")
79. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "Hitler talade till sina kamptrupper.")
80. Wykes, *The Nuremberg Rallies*, 56–67, 95, 107.
81. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 4 August 1929. (Translation by the author: "Ropet 'Schweden-Schweden' hördes så fort våra blågula fanor syntes, och 'Heil Schweden,' för att upprepas överallt.")
82. *Spöknippet*, 28 August 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "Här var det—i detta hav, i dessa ständigt nya vågor av *Sturmjugend*—ett mera kamratligt och hjärtligt tankeutbyte än eljest, det var hand i hand o. brinnande hänförelse, kanske vårt vackraste minne från Nürnbergdagarna. Och om vi bli tusen år, skola vi aldrig glömma *hären vid Luitpoldshain* och det glödande havet av framtidssoldater och frontkämpar i en gemensam strid!")
83. Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 180.
84. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 4 August 1929. (Translation by the author: "de germanska folkens ödesgemenskap.")
85. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "han fick brakande applåder och heilrop.")
86. *Spöknippet*, 4 September 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "Han är Tysklands bäste talare—ingen kan rycka massorna med sig och elda upp dem som han.")

87. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "Herre, vi bedja inte, att Du hjälper oss, utan att du vakar däröver, att det väges rättvist—och nu lägger vi svärdet i vågskålen!")
88. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "hyllade sin ledare med brusande heilrop!")
89. Ibid. (Translation by the author: "den marxistiska republikens skyddsgarde.")
90. Burden, *The Nuremberg Party Rallies*, 51–55; Reiche, *The Development of the SA in Nürnberg*, 75.
91. *Spöknippet*, 4 September 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "Därför äro nürnbergdagarna inte heller för oss bara ett vackert minne, utan ett *framsteg* i strävandena för ett fascistiskt Sverige och en *kampsignal* för våra egna, en vinst för vårt eget fosterlands vaknande och livskraftiga folk!")
92. Sven Olov Lindholm, "Soldatliv och politik," vol. I, 46. (Translation by the author: "Tidningarna skrev att Hitler hade samlat sina vilda horder i Nür August 4mlade våra intryck och tänkte.")
93. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 4 August 1929. (Translation by the author: "omkramad av vänlighet.")
94. Sven Olov Lindholm, diary, 5 August 1929. (Translation by the author: "f.ö. reste jag utan bagage—hade allt behövligt i fickorna.")
95. Sven Olov Lindholm, "Soldatliv och politik," vol. I, 46. (Translation by the author: "den lille höken, som 'hoppat av' någonstans därnere i världshistorien.")
96. Wykes, *The Nuremberg Rallies*, 104.
97. Burden, *The Nuremberg Party Rallies*, 55. See also Crosby, "The Rise of the Nazi Party," 105–6.
98. Reiche, *The Development of the SA in Nürnberg*, 75–76.
99. Crosby, "The Rise of the Nazi Party," 106.
100. Aristotle Kallis, "Transnational Fascism: The Fascist New Order, Violence, and Creative Destruction," in *Fascism without Borders: Transnational Connections and Cooperation between Movements and Regimes in Europe from 1918 to 1945*, ed. Arnd Bauerkämper and Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), 41, 56.
101. Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 275, 281, 302.
102. Orlow, *The Nazi Party*, 116–17.
103. Abel, *Why Hitler Came into Power*, 285.
104. Ibid.
105. This party was initially named the National Socialist Workers Party (Nationalsocialistiska Arbetarpartiet [NSAP]) but the autumn 1938 it was renamed to the United Swedish Socialists (Svensk Socialistisk Samling [SSS]) due to Germany's increasing unpopularity,

stronger nationalist currents in the Swedish public opinion, and the worrying political developments in the nearby outside world.

106. Nathaniël D. B. Kunkeler, "Sven Olov Lindholm and the Literary Inspirations of Swedish Fascism," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 44 (Oxford: Routledge, 2019): 77–102; Victor Lundberg, "Within the Fascist World of Work: Sven Olov Lindholm, Ernst Jünger and the Pursuit of Proletarian Fascism in Sweden, 1933–1945," in *New Political Ideas in the Aftermath of the Great War*, ed. Anders G. Kjøstvedt and Alessandro Salvador (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, 2017), 199–217.
107. *Spöknippet*, 21 August 1929, 2. (Translation by the author: "såväl ordets som handlingens")
108. Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism,* xv.
109. Roger Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism: The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 275–76.