

**History and National Identity in Scandinavia:
The Contemporary Debate**

By Stein Tønnesson

First lecture presented at the University of Oslo,
in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor Philosophiae,
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1. Introduction

Historians help to shape identities by rooting contemporary communities in accounts of the past. To participate in the formation of identities is - in my opinion - an almost unavoidable duty of our profession.¹ As researchers we may try to escape any sort of identity, devoting ourselves entirely to scientific classification and explanation of sources, but once we speak to a larger audience, we enhance our chance of being heard if we see ourselves as part of an imagined community.² To imagine a community means to name it, attribute certain features to it, and provide it with genealogy.

In the 1980s and even more intensely in 1990 and -91, five firmly established national communities in the Nordic region were brought into question, rivalled, defended, remodelled and researched to an extent unimaginable since the age of fascism. The present lecture will comment upon a selection of contemporary articles, books and publication projects which all deal with the question of historical identity. In addition I shall discuss the current curricula and textbooks for secon-

¹ According to the Swedish historian Kristian Gerner there are those who advocate the opposite opinion: "Somliga menar att historievetenskapens viktigaste funktion är att rasera och omöjliggöra nationella - nationalistiska - myter. I detta perspektiv blir en kritisk hållning till tysk historisk mytologi synnerligen viktig." "'Volk und Reich'. Den tyska frågan under mellankrigstiden", *Scandia*, Vol. 56, No. 1, 1990, pp. 89-107.

² The expression "imagined community" is taken from Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso, 1983. The word "imagined" does not mean that nations are false, unnatural, or artificial, but that the reality of a nation's existence resides in its being imagined by those who - thus - belong to it.

dary schools.³

I shall examine the way national values are tackled in school curricula, describe the forms and causes of the great identity debate, and shed light on the on-going rivalry between three competing identities - national, European and Nordic. Furthermore, I shall compare the basic attitudes of leading historians in Finland, Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Finally, I shall suggest how historians may utilize today's contradictory quests for identity and internationalization (both at the same time), in framing their research and publication projects.⁴

2. Course Plans and Textbooks

³ I shall deal with publications in four Scandinavian languages (Swedish, Danish and the two Norwegians), but not on publications in the other languages used in the Nordic countries: Finnish, Estonian, Icelandic, Faroese, Inuit, Saami, or in the languages of more recently established immigrant communities. The terms "Scandinavian" and "Nordic" are at times overlapping. While the former dominates in English, the latter is most frequently used in the Scandinavian/Nordic languages. In this lecture, I seek to use "Scandinavia" for Norway, Denmark and Sweden, and "Norden", "the Nordic countries" or "the Nordic region" when Iceland and Finland are included. In the title of the lecture, I use Scandinavia because it is better known to readers of the English language.

⁴ Three methodological concerns must be mentioned:

First, there is the representativity of the publications. They are few in number, so one prolific writer, or a little group of intellectuals, may dominate and convey a false impression of what the intellectuals of a given country actually think. It is also possible that the national identities of intellectuals concerned with matters related to national identity are at considerable variance with the identities of less interested intellectuals. This could be rectified by drawing a great number of newspaper articles into the study, or by examining publications where identities are not discussed but merely taken for granted. For practical reasons I have decided not to do this systematically, but just go through the most widely used textbooks in Scandinavian secondary schools. How do they distinguish between "us" and "them", and what have they got to say about crucial national events?

Second, there is the problem of how to exploit contemporary sources:

a) The sources can be used as indications of the **author's** attitude. Some publications openly advocate certain identities. Other publications reveal identities more or less unwittingly. The mere fact that a publication with "Europe" or "Norway" in the title exists, may indicate something about the author's orientation. To some extent it is legitimate to consider even an objective and fully detached treatment of a certain identity as an action in support of that identity. The mere fact of devoting a number of pages to for instance "Icelandic culture" does unquestionably promote Icelandic identity.

b) Publications can also be used as accounts of what their authors have found out about identities. In fact, one major problem is to decide if an author who describes the attitudes of a given historical epoch or personality, actually wants to contribute to the revival of those values or not.

Third, historians are not alone in providing people with social identification. Some of those who took part most actively in the discussion of national identities in the 1980s and early 90s were anthropologists, political scientists, authors and journalists. They are often quicker at taking up new trends, more sensitive to shifts in the public mood than historians are. The rewriting of history is an influential, but also a time-consuming way of remoulding national identities. Multi-volume history books, television series, not to speak of textbooks for schools and universities, are important ways of forming popular identities, but the ideas they advocate have normally been well established a good deal ahead of publication. The identity struggles of the 1980s will therefore probably not be reflected in schoolbooks until well into the 1990s.

Let me start by comparing the curricula, as they may reveal how the ideas of the 1970s were taught to teenagers in the 1980s. All five Nordic countries have an official course plan or curriculum for the teaching of history in secondary schools. It specifies goals and guidelines, and the main items to be taught. In Norway and Finland, textbooks are also subjected to government censorship. Of the five curricula, the Norwegian text comes out as the most unashamedly nationalistic. The current curriculum pays lip service to Nordic history, but "main emphasis shall be on Norway". The history of the other Nordic countries is to be taught only insofar "as it is natural". The other half of history - the history of the world - should be global, but with emphasis on Europe since that is where "our own culture has its roots".⁵ In 1991, a committee drafted a proposal for a new Norwegian curriculum, even more nationalistic than before. The proposal leaves out the Nordic neighbours and speaks unequivocally of history curriculum divided into two halves: Norwegian and world. The goal, says the committee, is to "create identity and a sense of belonging. Our national history must therefore be given a broad place".⁶ There was, however, an interesting disagreement as to whether the Saami population belongs to the Norwegian nation or not: a minority in the committee wanted the new curriculum to read: "Our national and Saami history must therefore be given a broad place" (my emphasis).

In the other Scandinavian countries, the curricula are less nationalistic. To be sure, the Danes and Icelanders also make a distinction between national and world history, but the Icelandic text speaks only vaguely of "our modern culture", and includes nothing on identity or values. The Icelandic text

⁵ Norway, current: "Samfunnsfag. Fagplan for eldre og nyere historie". Norway, proposal: FVS-1991-XX, "Læreplan for den videregående skolen, del 2, studieretning for allmenne fag, videregående kurs I og II, eldre og nyere historie", Rådet for videregående opplæring, mai 1991. Denmark: "Bekendtgørelsestekst ... Vejledende retningslinjer. Historie med samfundskundskap". Iceland: Læseplan for fortsættelsesskolen 3. udg. 1990 (translated into Danish from Icelandic). Finland: "4.16 Historia och samhällslära". Sweden: Läroplan för gymnasieskolan, Skolöverstyrelsen, Supplement 71, Fastställt 1981-03-24, Dnr S 81:717, Historia. Photocopies of the above texts were distributed at a conference of Nordic history teachers, held in Gothenburg 19-21.9.91.

⁶ "Historieundervisningen skal skape identitet og følelse av tilhørighet. Vår nasjonale historie må derfor ha en bred plass." Norwegian proposal, op.cit.

contains only one specifically pronounced value, and that is the scholarly one. Pupils must learn how to find and examine sources, think critically, know as much as possible, and understand. Such values are expressed in the other curricula too, but it is only in Iceland that they stand alone. Within the Icelandic curriculum, considerable emphasis is placed on the history of Western ideas, from Plato to Einstein and Sartre. The curriculum is generally Western in orientation; interestingly, it does not make one single reference to the culture to which Iceland belonged for so long: Denmark.⁷

The Danish curriculum does relate to the quest for identity, but in a cleverly neutral manner. Pupils are spoken of not in the first, but in the third person: learning history gives them a possibility to "strengthen their identity by knowing their cultural background..." (my emphasis). However, since Danish history is given much weight, and even more so in the primary schools, the cultural relativism of the curriculum may not mean much in reality. Like the new Norwegian proposal, the Danish text makes no mention of Nordic neighbours, but in contrast to the Norwegian proposal, the Danish text places Denmark in Europe. The curriculum hardly employs the word Danish without adding "...and European". The key words are thus Denmark in Europe.

The key words in the Swedish curriculum are Sweden and the neighbouring Nordic countries: ("Sverige och de nordiska grannländerna"). Sweden, as the central Nordic power, sees itself as having good neighbours all around. The word "Norden" is used more often than "Sverige". One subheading provides four levels of identity: World, Europe, Norden, and -- "hembygden" (the local community).⁸ The national level is not mentioned - an omission unthinkable in the other countries.

⁷ Then also, the main Icelandic textbook in history, Uppruni nútímans (The Origin of the Present Times) is written by a leading university professor, Gunnar Karlsson.

⁸ However, the Swedish moderate leader Carl Bildt (prime minister from Oct.1991), who used to be known as a fervent supporter of Nordic cooperation, published his memoirs in 19?? under a non-Nordic three-level identity title: Halländing svensk europé, Stockholm, Bonniers, 1991. Since there is virtually no mention of Halland (a Swedish - formerly Danish - landscape) inside the book, its inclusion in the title primarily serves to weaken the "svensk" to the benefit of "europé".

Only a truly self-assured central power can permit leaving out its own name. The Swedish curriculum does not include a word about Swedish identity, but draws attention to ongoing attempts to "find a European identity in the shadow of great power politics", and instructs Swedish teachers to help immigrants "retain and strengthen their ethnic identity".⁹ The curriculum thus confirms the proposition that "to be Swedish is unswedish".¹⁰ As of late, however, there have been signs that this may be about to change. In October 1991, a new exposition with an emotional approach to national history was opened in Stockholm's Nordic Museum, and a plan was announced for a systematic overhaul of Swedish historical museums with the aim that the Swedish people should "get its history back". In a presentation of the plan on television, the following argument was used: "The immigrants wonder to which country they have come, and we are unable to tell".¹¹

Both the Swedish and the Finnish curricula have scholarly pretensions. They include many difficult terms and emphasize historical method. The Swedish curriculum mentions "the writing of history in the service of nationalism" as a subject to

⁹ "Vidare bör undervisningen bidra till att ge elever med invandrarbakgrund möjlighet att bevara och stärka sin etniska identitet" Swedish directive, op.cit.

¹⁰ Cf. the "mental map" chapter in Anders Linde-Laursen & Jan Olof Nilsson (eds.), Nationella identiteter i Norden - ett fullbordat projekt? Stockholm, Nordic Council, 1991, p. 9.

¹¹ "Svenska folket skall få sin historia tillbaka (...) Innvandrarerna undrar vart dom har kommit, och vi kan inte svara på det". Statements on the TV4 news, 21.10.91.

In the introduction to the parliamentary bill of February 1991 on the new Swedish secondary school system, the Minister of Education argued that pupils needed "a historical perspective not least out of concern for their own cultural identity as well as the understanding of other peoples and cultures" (my emphasis). The bill also spoke of "the Swedish cultural heritage". Harald Sundberg, "Historien i vågskålen i det Svenska gymnasiet", Klejo, No. 2, 1991, pp. 10-13.

It may also be indicative of an overture by Swedish historians to the Swedish public that, in 1991, the unique thing happened that an academically trained Swedish historian suddenly published a best-seller: Peter Englund, Poltava, Atlantis, 1988, a social history of the great defeat of Charles XII.

A statement by Professor Stig Strömholm, rector of the University of Uppsala, also seems to confirm that the Swedes now see a greater need for historical awareness than before: "Den relativa likgiltigheten gentemot det förflutna är störst där man haft minst anledning att vare sig kämpa för att vinna en identitet eller strida för att få behålla den eller få den erkänd. Det är därför inte förvånande att det på en gång sedan länge internationellt väletablerade och inte på mycket lång tid till sin existens hotade Sverige uppvisar det klaraste exemplet på en likgiltighet gentemot det egna förflutna, som för mindregynnade utländska iakttagare kan te sig som kulturfattigdom och barbari och som även för inhemska bedömare framstår som en beklaglig misshushållning med knappa men värdefulla kulturella resurser, som en lättsinnig försummelse av den egna personligheten och som en asvarlöshet gentemot ett arv som inga andra än svenskarna själva kan svara för. I det övriga Norden är situationen genomgående mindre påtaglig." Stig Strömholm, "Nordisk kulturidentitet - myter och realiteter", Nordisk kulturidentitet i ett föränderligt Europa, Stockholm, Föreningen Norden, 1991, p. 14.

be critically examined, and suggests - somewhat penitentially - that teachers might use old Swedish books about King Gustav II Adolf and King Charles XII, to illustrate how history can be exploited by nationalists. The Finnish curriculum also points to the emergence of "Finnish national thinking" as a subject for critical examination. Rather than national identity, Finnish pupils are expected to adopt a number of broader values; they shall learn how to base their outlook on the universal declaration of human rights, the interests of mankind, and the principles of democracy, equality, international understanding and peace. They are also expected to learn a "positive attitude to work" (my emphasis).¹²

It is surprising how the key formulations of the five Nordic curricula confirm widespread national stereotypes, with Norway as proudly Norwegian, Denmark as Danish in Europe, Iceland as an island of scholars, Sweden as Nordic in Europe, with self-criticism and tolerance towards immigrants, and Finland as the hard-working protagonist of universal human rights, equality, international understanding and peace. Let me now examine a sample of textbooks used in Scandinavian secondary schools. What do they have to say about their own and other nations?¹³

Finnish teachers can choose from four 6-volume textbook series. All are quite similar, however, since they follow the curriculum closely and have all passed the censorship. Only one of the four exists in a Swedish version and is thus read by all members of Finland's Swedish minority.¹⁴ The chapter on

¹² "Eleven tillägnar sig en på FN:s declaration om de mänskliga rättigheterna baserad livsinställning ... Eleven är mäktig en demokratisk verksamhet baserad på gemensamt ansvar och har positiva människorelationer såväl i sitt förhållande till närmiljön som hela mänskligheten: han förmår verka för jämlikhet, internationellt samförstånd och fred. Eleven har en positiv inställning til arbetet." Finnish directive, op.cit.

¹³ The development of attitudes to national questions in Norwegian primary school textbooks has been examined by Svein Lorentzen in two interesting articles: "Det nasjonale i grunnskolens historiebøker - et selvbilde i forandring", Universitetet i Trondheim, pedagogisk seminar, 1987; and "Norden i Norge, hva norske historiebøker forteller om de nordiske naboland", in Historiedidaktik i Norden, No. 4, report from a conference in Kalmar 1990, pp. 365-381.

¹⁴ Bo-Erik Gran, Hilding Klingenberg, Brita Krank, Folke Nyberg, Isabella Penttilä, Mark Wallenius, Människor och samhällen. Historia för gymnasiet, kurs 1-6, Borgå, Söderströms, 1981-84 (with later editions).

the formation of mediaeval states has a map where the name Sweden covers both today's Sweden and Finland. Finland is said to have been "a part of Sweden", and a distinction is made between two brands of mediaeval immigration: Swedish and "foreign" (meaning German and Russian).¹⁵ It would be interesting to know if the same distinction is made in the Finnish-language textbooks. The Swedish-language book affirms that historically and culturally, Finland belongs to "the Nordic and hence West European culture".¹⁶ The notion 'Finland' took shape in the 14th century, when it became a bishopric and a Swedish 'landscape'. Finland's 'separation' from Sweden in 1809 and 'elevation among the number of nations' by Tsar Alexander I, is dispassionately described, as is the Finnish national awakening later in that century. The last of the book's lessons is that, in the 20th century, Finland "found its place in Norden, but also in the world community".¹⁷

Both in Sweden and Norway, the textbook market has for quite some time been dominated by a single book only, and this is likely to remain the state of affairs well into the 1990s. Two or three attempts to launch competing textbooks in Sweden have failed. Alla tiders historia retains its hegemony.¹⁸ In Norway, three or four publishing houses are now preparing to challenge the hegemony of Cappelen.¹⁹ The two hegemonic textbooks are different in that the Swedish one encapsulates Nordic history into world history, whereas the Norwegian work

¹⁵ Volume 2, p. 23, Volume 3, p. 11, 31. However, another map which (incorrectly) sees the Swedish kingdom as consisting of two parts: Sweden and Finland, can be found in vol. 3, p. 62.

¹⁶ Vol. 3, p. 8.

¹⁷ Vol. 5, pp. 128-143. Vol. 6, p. 6.

¹⁸ Börje Bergström, Arne Löwgren, Hans Almgren, Alla tiders historia. Grundbok i historia för gymnasieskolan (brief version), and för gymnasieskolans humanistiska och samhällsvetenskapliga linjer, (long version), Liber Läromedel, latest ed. 1989. The title has a double meaning, "History of All Times" and "Wonderful History". The final paragraph of the long version reads: "The Nordic Association plays an important role in strengthening the feeling of community between the Nordic peoples in various fields" ("Föreningen Norden spelar en stor roll för att stärka känslan av samhörighet mellan de nordiska folken på olika områden").

¹⁹ Øivind Stenersen, Ivar Libæk & Terje Emblem, Norge 1, norgeshistorie før 1850; Terje Emblem, Tore Syvertsen & Øivind Stenersen, Norge 2, norgeshistorie etter 1850; Terje Emblem, Olaf Hetland, Ivar Libæk, Øivind Stenersen, Asle Sveen & Svein A. Aastad, Verden 1, norgeshistorie før 1850; Asle Sveen & Svein A. Aastad, Verden 2, verdenshistorie etter 1850, Oslo, Cappelen, 1989 (3rd. ed.).

divides history into two halves: Norway and world. The Nordic chapters in Alla tiders historia do focus mainly on Sweden, but this is to some extent camouflaged. The programmatic dissimulation of Swedishness must partly be seen as an effect of Herbert Tingsten's castigation of nationalistic history books: Gud och fosterlandet. Studier i hundra års skolpropaganda (first published 1949).²⁰

The Norwegian work certainly makes no attempt to conceal Norway, but the book has little to tell about the nation as such, or about the kind of nationalism that formed it. As in the Finnish and Swedish books, social and economic developments receive considerable attention. Nationalism is negatively commented upon in a chapter on the Saami and Kven ethnic minorities as well as in a chapter on "Arctic imperialism". Nationalism is also mentioned as a factor underlying Norway's secession from "big brother" Sweden in 1905: the nationalism of "little brother" fuelled "right wing forces in Sweden who demanded firmer control of Norway".²¹ When describing the 1972 referendum, however, where a majority voted against joining the European Community, the text says nothing about nationalism, but speaks about a popular movement defying central elites.²²

Danish teachers are less dependent on general textbooks. They feel free to compose their own courses from a variety of

²⁰ Göran Behre & Ola Lindqvist, "Forskning kring svenska historieläroböcker" Rapport nr. 1/1990 från projektet Europa och läroboken, p. 8. On the university level, the Swedes have separate textbooks on Swedish history and the history of the other Nordic countries: Lars-Arne Norborg & Lennart Sjöstedt, Grannländernas historia, Esselte Studier, 1970 (4th ed. 1987).

²¹ "Little brother" learns it this way: "I hele unionstida hadde nordmennene et slags "lillebror"-forhold til svenskene. nasjonalismen på slutten av 1800-tallet falt sammen med en betydelig norsk framgang innenfor kunst, næringsliv og vitenskap. Den såkalte "gullalderen" i litteraturen gjorde det lettere å framheve det norske. Det var særlig overfor "storebror" Sverige at slike nasjonalistiske tendenser kom til uttrykk. Dette gav næring til høyrekrefter i Sverige som krevde fastere kontroll over Sverige." Emblem, Syvertsen, Stenersen, Norge 2, p. 64. "Big brother" learns it the following way: ""Den pagt som vi forpestes i, den hader og forbander vi." Så skrev den norske forfatteren Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson om den svensk-norske unionen. Hans åsikt delades av de flesta norrmän i slutet av 1800-talet. Trots att Norge hade en tämligen stor självständighet, tyckte norrmännen att deras land behandlades som ett lydrike. (...1905...) Den norska aktionen väckte förbittring i Sverige, och i konservativa kretsar talade man om norrmännen som brutala revolutionärer vilka trampade lag och rätt under fötterna. Det fanns de som ville att den norska revolten skulle slås ner med vapenmakt. Men de flesta menade att norrmännen hade rätt till full självständighet om de så önskade." Bergström, Löwgren, Almgren, Alla tiders historia, (brief version), p. 253.

²² Norge 2, pp. 218-221.

texts. Denmark has a truly competitive textbook market, which is able to reflect the latest intellectual trends (then also Danish secondary school students do not have to buy their own books). Today's Danish schoolchildren learn a lot about culture and mentalities. Over the last 10-15 years, some 150-200 titles have been published.²³ No single book can be seen as representative of Danish attitudes, but I have glanced through the volumes published so far of the most recent general Danish work in national and world history, and this confirms the impression of a movement away from social and economic history and towards an emphasis on culture and mentalities.²⁴ The final pages of the Danish history textbook are devoted to "fitness culture" and internationalization of music, food and sports. Danish nationalism is briefly - and negatively - described in a chapter dealing with the Danish-German war of 1864. The account is manifestly biased: however, the target of the author's spite is not the German enemy, but the stupid nationalist Danes who hated Germans, and the irresponsible Danish government which ordered the troops to stand and fight much longer than was militarily sound. The author conveys the impression that he regrets the 19th century division of the pluri-lingual Schleswig-Holstein community into Danish and German national sections. If this view is representative, it may reflect a contemporary trend towards closer ties between Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg.²⁵

None of the above-mentioned textbooks seem to have been influenced by the recent identity debate which started out in the early 1980s with articles and books by Hans Magnus Enzensberger, critical on Sweden and flattering on Norway.²⁶ The

²³ A few examples: Annette Løkke, Familieliv i Danmark, Systime 1986. Sven Sødring Jensen, Historie og fiktion. Historiske børneromaner i undervisningen, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, 1990. Tine Vammen & Carl Erik Andresen, Ungdommens historie 1880-1950, Borgen 1991. Erik Bach Nielsen, Sovjetunionens historie, Munksgaard 1990 (3rd ed.).

²⁴ Niels Bullberg-Hansen, Henrik Skovgaard Nielsen, Flemming Smith (red), Alle tiders historie, Danmarks historie 1-3 and Verdens historie, vols. 1-3, Copenhagen, Gjellerup-Gad, 1989- .

²⁵ Danmarks historie, vol. 2, p. 64.

²⁶ Essays on the characteristics of a number of European nations were published in Hansmagnus Enzensberger, Akk Europa, Oslo, Norwegian University Press, 1987, and Stockholm, Norstedt, 1988.

debate was partly linked to the crisis of the welfare state, partly to European developments, and partly to ongoing reinterpretations of national history in Finland, Norway, and Denmark. In Sweden the discussion mainly concerned European and contemporary issues. Only later did the un-historical Swedes also become interested in their own nation and its history.

3. The Great Debate

The great debate has taken many forms: theoretical exploration of the notions of "ethnicity" and "nationality";²⁷ reflections on the principle of national self-determination;²⁸ disclosure of national myths and general attacks on nationalism;²⁹ prudent warnings against believing that the days of the nation state are numbered;³⁰ defense of "progressive" nationalism;³¹ traditional accounts of national emancipation;³² exploration of the social and economic foundations for nationalist move-

²⁷ Rune Johansson, "Nationalitetsproblemets rötter: idéhistoriska aspekter", Aktuellt om historia, No. 1-2, 1990, pp. 11-20. Sven Tägil, "Vad konstituerar en etnisk/nationell minoritet?", in Nationale og etniske minoriteter i Norden i 1800- og 1900-tallet, rapporter til den XX nordiske historikerkongress, Reykjavik 1987, pp. 7-14; "Om etnicitet och konflikt. Några teoretiska utgångspunkter", Aktuellt om historia, No. 1-2, 1990, pp. 6-10. Uffe Østergaard, "Begrundelser for nationalitet. To definitioner af nationen i det 19. århundredes politiske tænkning", Scandia, Vol. 56, No. 1, 1990, pp. 79-88; What is National and Ethnic Identity, Arbejdsrapport 72, Center for kulturforskning, Århus 1990.

²⁸ Øyvind Østerud, Nasjonenes selvbestemmelsesrett. Søkelys på en doktrine, Oslo, Norwegian University Press, 1984.

²⁹ Anne Knudsen, "Fri oss frå nasjonalismen!", Syn & Segn, 4/1990, pp. 325-30. Thomas Hylland-Eriksen, "Ned med nasjonalismen!", Dagbladet 31.4.91. Henrik Kaare Nielsen, "National identitet?", in Anders Linde-Laursen & Jan Olof Nilsson (eds.), Nationella identiteter i Norden - ett fullbordat projekt?, Stockholm, Nordic Council, 1991, pp. 333-347.

³⁰ Øyvind Østerud, "EF 1992 - mot en europeisk superstat?", Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift, No. 1, 1990, pp. 59-70; "Norge i våre hjertes? Internasjonaliseringen og det nasjonale", Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning, 1990, pp. 211-225; "Europa og det nasjonale spørsmål", Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift, No. 1, 1991, pp. 3-10.

³¹ The Finnish veteran scholar of nationalism Aira Kämiläinen made a telling remark in 1984: "After the second world-war [sic] it has not been popular to be a student of nationalism if one has an impartial point of view and does not despise nationalism": "The Idea of Nationalism", Scandinavian Journal of History, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1984, p. 37. For a more recent defense of left wing nationalism, see Kåre Lunden, "Progressiv nasjonalisme - og kommunisme", Syn & Segn, 4/1990, pp. 318-24.

³² Pirkko Alhoniemi, "Att skapa en finsk identitet", in Anders Linde-Laursen & Jan Olof Nilsson (eds.), Nationella identiteter i Norden - ett fullbordat projekt?, Stockholm, Nordic Council, 1991, pp. 257-65.

ments;³³ comparison of Nordic nations and nationbuilding projects;³⁴ studies of new and traditional minorities in the Nordic countries;³⁵ descriptions and comparisons of non-Nordic nations and ethnic groups;³⁶ attempts to trace the myths or characteristics of individual Scandinavian nations, and how they were formed;³⁷ quests for new ways of asserting a national

³³ Trond Nordby, "Norsk nasjonalisme som historisk problem", Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift, No. 1, 1986, pp. 65-79.

³⁴ Øyvind Østerud, "Nationalism och modernitet. Ett skandinaviskt perspektiv" (mainly a comparison of Norway and Sweden), in Lycksalighetens halvö, Stockholm, FRN-Framtidsstudier, 1987, pp. 109-32. Gunnar Karlsson & Hans Jacob Debes, Island - Færøerne - Grønland, in Nationale og etniske minoriteter i Norden i 1800- og 1900-tallet, rapporter til den XX nordiske historikerkongress, Reykjavik 1987, pp. 15-43. Stein Tønnesson, "Nordlys. Sammenligning av nordiske nasjonalismer", Den Jyske Historiker, nr. 49, 1989, pp. 146-59. Fredrik Erfelt, "Kulturism - kulturer och turism. Specialstudie av dansk vintersportturism i Sverige"; Uffe Østergaard, "Hvorfor hader vi svenskerne? Danmarkshistorierne mellem svensk og tysk", both in Anders Linde-Laursen & Jan Olof Nilsson (eds.), Nationella identiteter i Norden - ett fullbordat projekt?, Stockholm, Nordic Council, 1991, pp. 117-48.

³⁵ Lorenz Rerup, "Nationale mindretal i Sønderjylland/Slesvig"; Einar Niemi & Helge Salvesen, "Samene og kvenene/finnene i minoritetspolitisk perspektiv"; Max Engman & Harald Runblom, "Invadrare i Norden efter 1850"; all in Nationale og etniske minoriteter i Norden i 1800- og 1900-tallet, rapporter til den XX nordiske historikerkongress, Reykjavik 1987. Tom G. Svensson, "Samisk identitet i vår tid", in Anders Linde-Laursen & Jan Olof Nilsson (see note 34), pp. 267-78.

³⁶ With the original (but later abandoned) intention of exploring the roots of fascism, the Århus journal Den jyske historiker started a systematic tour of the major European nations, with special issues on Italy, France, Germany, Great Britain, and planned issues on Central Europe and Scandinavia (a special issue on Spain was published before the national identity question arose). The special issues combine articles with bold statements and huge comparisons (generally signed Uffe Østergaard) and more empirical articles based on the most recent scholarly literature on the country in question. For a discussion of the project, see: Jan Ifversen, "Nationstater og politisk kultur", Den Jyske Historiker, No. 47, 1989, pp. 112-116. And in the same issue: Nils Arne Sørensen, "At skabe italienerne. Politisk integration i Italien 1860-1984", pp. 45-68.

The historical anthropologist Anne Knudsen did her research on Corsican nationalism: En Ø i historien. Korsika. Historisk antropologi 1730-1914, Copenhagen 1989. Based on her research, she reflected on "micro-nationalisms" in general: "Mikronationalismens dannelseshistorie", in Anders Linde-Laursen & Jan Olof Nilsson (see note 34), pp. 19-38. See also: Anne Knudsen & Per Øhrgaard, "Folk og riger", in Mogens Trolle-Larsen (ed.), Over hegnet, Odense, AIO Tryk, 1990, pp. 37-56 (this volume includes a comprehensive bibliography of the ten contributing authors' publications).

³⁷ DENMARK: Bengt Holbek, "Danske folkeminder og dansk nationalitet", Tradition, No. 10, 1980, pp. 53-63. Uffe Østergaard, "Hvad er det "danske" ved Danmark? Tanker om den "danske vej" til kapitalismen, grundtvigianismen og "dansk" mentalitet", Den Jyske Historiker, no. 29-30, 1984, pp. 85-137. Inge Adriansen, Fædrelandet, folkeminderne og modersmålet, Sønderborg, Museumsrådet for Sønderjyllands Amt, 1990.

ICELAND: Gunnar Karlsson, "Folk og nation på Island", Scandia, Vol. 53, No. 1, 1987, pp. 129, 145, 205.

NORWAY: Arne Martin Klausen (ed.), Den norske væremåten, Oslo, Cappelen, 1984. Brit Berggreen, Da kulturen kom til Norge, Oslo 1989. Nina Witoszek, "Der Kultur møter Natur: Tilfellet Norge", Samtiden, No. 4, 1991, pp. 11-19.

SWEDEN: Arne Ruth, "Myten om svenskheten", Vår lösen, 1985, pp. 5-6. Jonas Frykman & Orvar Löfgren (eds), Moderna tider. Vision och vardag i folkhemmet, Malmö 1985. David Gaunt & Orvar Löfgren (eds.), Myter om svensken, Stockholm 1985. Orvar Löfgren, "Nationaliseringen av Sverige", Ord & Bild, No. 3, 1987, p. 9. (special issue on whether Sweden exists: "Finns Sverige?"). Åke Daun, Svensk mentalitet. Ett jämförande perspektiv, Stockholm, Rabén & Sjögren, 1989 (for a critique of Daun's book, see Henrik Montgomery, "Myter om svensken", Ivårsnit, No. 3, 1989, pp. 38-44).

A number of other attempts to describe the national myths and characteristics of individual Nordic countries are assembled in A. Linde-Laursen & Jan Olof Nilsson (see note 34); Anders Linde-Laursen writes on Denmark; Jan Olof Nilsson and Orvar Löfgren on Sweden, Jens Kristian Steen Jacobsen on Norway, Brit Berggreen on Norwegian women, Finnur Magnússon and Gestur Guðmundson on Iceland, etc.)

profile;³⁸ cosmopolitan arguments for a multi-cultural society;³⁹ discussion or promotion of a European identity in competition with, or as a supplement to, the national;⁴⁰ affirmation of a Nordic identity, whether as a bulwark against Europe or as a road to Europe;⁴¹ disputes over key events in national history;⁴² and finally: empirical research on how and when national identities emerged, competed with each other,

³⁸ Ole Feldbæk, the editor of Dansk identitetshistorie, recommends (with a reference to Ludvig Holberg) a mild form of national emphasis in Danish schools: "Hvad skolen derimod kunne gøre, var at søge at forklare dobbeltheden i det nationale: 'os' og 'de andre', som den helhed, det faktisk er. At koble det nationale og det internationale. Og - så sært det end umiddelbart kan lyde - at lægge hovedvægten på det nationale... [but not let it] ...udarte til 'Had eller Afskye til Fremmede', "Dansk identitet - Udvikling og udfordring", Uddannelse, No. 8-9, 1991, pp. 488-500. A very different approach, not to teaching, but to marketing, can be found in: Anisdahl & Christensen, Projekt Norgesprofil, Oslo 1990.

³⁹ Thomas Hylland Eriksen, Veien til et mer eksotisk Norge. En bok om nordmenn og andre underlige folkeslag, Oslo, Ad Notam, 1991.

⁴⁰ See the publications from the Secretariat for Future Studies in Stockholm, mainly the five articles in Lycksalighetens halvö. Den svenska välfärdsmodellen och Europa, Stockholm, FRN-Framtidsstudier, 1987, in particular Pau Puig i Scotoni, "Europa som hot eller löfte. Likheter och olikheter mellan svensk och spansk europadebatt", pp. 133-49. Arne Ruth has also repeatedly discussed Sweden's position in Europe in his articles in Dagens Nyheter. See also Ord & Bild, special issue on "Ett nytt Europa", No. 3, 1982, and the several essays on European developments in Ola Tunander, Den svarta duvan. Essäer om makt, teknik och historia, Göteborg/Stockholm, Symposium 1985. In 1989, a research project on "Europe and the textbook" started at the Department of History, University of Gothenburg. It followed up the tradition from Herbert Tingsten, but in a different way: Göran Behre, Ulla Berglin, Ola Lindqvist, Reports 1-7, University of Gothenburg 1990-91. See also Janerik Gidlund & Sverker Sörlin, Ett nytt Europa: Identitet och suveränitet i den europeiska integrationen, Stockholm, SNS, 1991. See also below, notes 56-62.

⁴¹ Reiulf Steen, "Europa utfordrer Norden", Aftenposten 15.6.90. Special Report, Norden, Europe and the Near Future, Report from the Directors of Nordic Peace Research Institutes, Oslo, PRIO, 1991. Sverre Jervell, "Elementer i en ny nordisk arkitektur", ch. 7 in Norden i det nye Europa, report from the four Nordic Institutes of International Relations and the University of Reykjavik. Helsingfors, Copenhagen, Oslo, Reykjavik, Stockholm, 1991. Pia-Maria Gardberg, "Vår nordiska identitet"; and Oscar Hemer, "En nordisk offentlighet - utkast til en strategi" (herewith recommended); both in Anders Linde-Laursen & Jan Olof Nilsson (see note 34). Nordisk kulturidentitet i ett föränderligt Europa, (22 lectures at an August 1991 conference), Stockholm, Nordic Council, 1991. The main attempts to define a Nordic identity are to be found among the 15 essays (by Alf Henrikson, Erik Allardt, Karl-Olov Arnstberg, Jens Kristian Jacobsen, Allan Karker, Vigdís Finnbogadóttir, Gunnar Adler-Karlsson, Madeleine von Heland, Pertti Joenniemi, Jean-François Battail, Jón Sigurdsson, Jo Beniow, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, Kjell-Olof Feldt and laes Andersson) in Svenolof Karlsson, En okänd själ - på jakt efter det nordiska, Stockholm, Nordic Council, 1991. Most of these 15 essays have either a neutral or a pro-European flavour, but in October 1991, a front of anti-EC organisations in all the Nordic countries was formed at a meeting in Oslo: Aftenposten, 14.10.91.

⁴² NORWAY 1814: Torgrim Titlestad, "Den kalde krigen - og 1814?", Syn og Segn, 4/1983. Kåre Lunden, "1814 - "friheten i gave"?", Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift, 3/1984, pp. , republished as "'Friheten i gave"? Den norske revolusjonen i 1814", in Kåre Lunden, Dialog med fortida. Historie og historikarar frå 1184-1984, Oslo, Det Norske Samlaget, 1985, pp. 114-134. Torgrim Titlestad, "1814 anno 1986", Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift, No. 2, 1986, pp. 77-78. Øystein Sørensen, "Ernst Sars' teori om 1814 - et forsvar verd?", Historisk Tidsskrift (Norwegian), 4/1987, pp. 469-95.

FINLAND 1809, 1917: Special issue of Historisk Tidsskrift för Finland on "nationella ödesfrågor", Vol. 72, 1987, No. 3. See also the autobiographical: Olof Ruin, Spänningar. Finland speglat i en familj, Stockholm, Alba, 1987.

and spread, in specific historical periods.⁴³

As the debate goes on, historians also contribute to the reproduction of national identities through textbooks or other general accounts in which the nation is made the frame of reference.⁴⁴

How can we explain the emergence of the great identity debate?

First, by the impact of economic and social changes in Scandinavian society. Economic stagnation pulled out the tax carpet from under the Scandinavian welfare states, while the global turn towards liberalism reduced the appeal of the "Scandinavian model". This affected the Swedes more than anyone else, since their identity was mainly based on their economic success, social security and ability to solve con-

⁴³ The main innovative works up to now are included in Ole Feldbæk (ed.) Dansk identitetshistorie (4 vols), Copenhagen, C.A. Reitzel, 1991-92. Other studies based on solid empirical research are: Lorenz Rerup, Slesvig og Holsten efter 1830, Copenhagen 1982 (see also note 33); and Øystein Sørensen, Hitler eller Quisling. Ideologiske brytninger i Nasjonal Samling 1940-1945, Oslo, Cappelen, 1989. A forthcoming book by Kåre Lunden, Norsk grålysning. Norsk nasjonalmedvit 1770-1814, Oslo, manuscript, 1990, may also become a valuable contribution if the author can curb his desire to find as much Norwegian as possible as early as possible among as many as possible. A few smaller empirical studies should also be mentioned: Jan Lindroth, "Idrott och nationalism - några historiska exempel", Sveriges Centralförenings för Idrottens Främjande årsbok, Stockholm, 1979, pp. 1-15. Matti Goksøyr, "Popular Pastimes or Patriotic Virtues? The Role of Sport in the National Celebrations of Nineteenth-century Norway", The International Journal of the History of Sport, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1988, pp. 239-46. Sigurd Aa. Aarnes, "Wergeland-kultusen som nasjonsbyggende faktor", Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift, No. 2, 1990, pp. 145-54, and Bodil Stenseth, "Lysakerkretsen 1890-1940: En nasjonal linje", Samtiden, No. 4, 1991, pp. 2-10.

⁴⁴ The editors of the most recent Danish and Norwegian histories have sought to emphasize the international contexts far more than hitherto:

DENMARK: Søren Mørch, Den ny Danmarkshistorie 1880-1960, Copenhagen 1982. Olaf Olsen (ed.), Gyldendal og Politikens Danmarkshistorie (16 vols.), Copenhagen, 1988-91. It may be added that in 1988, for the 400 years anniversary of the reign of King Christian IV, at least 15 books (5000 pages) were published on the monarch and his contemporaries (3 biographies).

FINLAND: Matti Klinge, Rids af Finlands historie, (a brief introduction published in several languages), Helsinki, Otava (no year given).

NORWAY: Magne Skodvin (ed.), Norge i krig. Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945, (8 vols), Oslo, Aschehoug, 1984-87 (despite the title, the first volume provoked strong reactions in Norway because it spoke of the bravery of certain German units in Narvik in 1940). Berge Furre, Vårt hundreår. Norsk historie 1905-1990, Oslo, Det Norske Samlaget, 1991. In addition, a new multi-volume general Norwegian history, edited by Knut Helle, Knut Kjeldstadli and Sølvi Sogner, as well as a comprehensive history of Norwegian foreign policy, are underway.

SWEDEN: Swedish historians do not have a tradition of writing history for the general public. This is left to publicists like Åke Henriksson. When the specialized Swedish historians sometimes write general histories of Sweden, these are university textbooks of a thoroughly unbiased (and also somewhat dull) sort. These publications are continuously revised and reedited and can therefore survive over 2-3 decades. This is the case with Sten Carlsson & Jerker Rosén (main authors), Den svenska historien, 15 vols (which is both a Swedish history and a history of Swedish historical research), Stockholm, Bonniers, 1966-68 (revised 1979) and the shorter version Svensk historia, 2 vols, Stockholm, Svenska Bokförlaget, 1961. The most recent university textbooks have been published by Almqvist & Wiksell: Thomas Lindqvist & Kurt Ågren, Sveriges medeltid, 1985; Göran Behre, Lars-Olof Larsson, Eva Österberg, Sveriges historia 1521-1809. Stormaktsdröm och småstatsrealiteter, 1985; Lars-Arne Norborg, Sveriges historia under 1800- och 1900-talen, 1988.

flicts through negotiation.⁴⁵ In the cultural domain, the breakdown of broadcasting monopolies was important. With access to a range of European channels, people in the Nordic countries no longer found themselves dependent on national television.⁴⁶ National institutions and media started to search for new ways of holding on to their customers, and of shaping a national profile in an internationalized, competitive environment. In Norway, these efforts are being linked to preparations for the 1994 Olympic Winter Games, which are widely expected to provide a test of the national capacity.

Second, there was the impact of the new liberation movements which had developed in the 1970s among national minority groups. In Norway and Finland, the mobilization of the Saami population provoked renewed interest in the concepts of ethnicity and nationality. Nationality movements also developed in Greenland, the Faroe islands and Åland. To some extent, the highly skilled leaders of such movements could use anthropo-

⁴⁵ Jan Troell's film Sagolandet was the main expression of the Swedish crisis and the emptiness that followed in its vein. The lack of national symbols and emotions in Sweden can be explained by two main factors: 1) since the age of Napoleon, Sweden has not been involved in war; 2) Social democracy, which has dominated Swedish politics, never needed national symbols to promote its cause; nationalism was seen as reactionary. The whole Swedish or "Scandinavian model" - "folkhemmet" - was modernizing and future-oriented, with little concern for tradition. The year 1980 marked a watershed in Swedish history, with the referendum against nuclear power, the largest strike movement since 1909, the submarine affair, the coup in nearby Poland, and an attack by four leading intellectuals in the conservative newspaper Svenska Dagbladet against the "mass media left". With hindsight, these events of 1980 can be seen to have signalled the crisis of the Swedish model which in a way had been taken for granted by leftists in the late 1960s and 1970s. With the crisis, some of the media also discovered a popular interest in national history, e.g. with heated discussions after a television programme over the old issue between Götaland and Svealand concerning the roots of the Swedish kingdom. I would like to thank Michael Löfgren, editor of Ord och Bild 1985-90, for allowing me to interview him about the Swedish 1980s in Gothenburg, 23.9.91.

In Norway, the crisis of the social democratic model seems to have been felt most strongly by those who linked their socialist ambitions to popular movements in the periphery. The socialists Ottar Brox (anthropologist) and Berge Furre (historian), who were instrumental in saving Northern and rural Norway from "Swedish" urbanization in the 1960s and 1970s, were in the following decades among those who expressed the strongest nostalgic feelings for crumbling social democratic values. In his history of Norway in the 20th century, Berge Furre eulogized: "Den sosialdemokratiske orden mista etter kvart si moralske berekraft som meningsgjevande visjon. Marknadsfetisjismen på åttitalet gav eit hardare samfunn med mange taparar. Mange meinte på slutten av åttitalet at samfunnet opplevde ei verdikrise. Sjølv spørsmålet etter mål og meining glei i bakgrunnen." He hoped that a new paradigm would emerge: "...må det truleg til eit mentalt oppbrot, eit nytt paradigme som gjev rom for eit politisk "grep" med moralsk og visjonær berekraft til å nytenkja økonomi og samfunn." Berge Furre, Vårt hundreår. Norsk historie 1905-1990, Oslo, Det Norske Samlaget, 1991, pp. 488, 494.

⁴⁶ Orvar Löfgren has argued that the 1950s and 1960s, with only one or two national television and radio channels, marked the apex of shared national culture: "Tentativt skulle jag vilja argumentere för att radions och TV:s storhetstid under 50- och 60-talen innebar något av en höjdpunkt för denna typ av nationell delaktighet." Orvar Löfgren, "Nationaliseringen av Sverige", Ord & Bild, No. 3, 1987, p. 9.

In January 1991, the conflict between national and international values became accentuated in Norway when people had to decide between watching the funeral of their beloved King Olav V on national television or the situation in the Gulf on CNN, BBC, SKY NEWS or one of the Swedish channels.

logical and historical theories of ethnicity and nationalism - as well as scholarly conferences - as tools and platforms in their struggle. At the same time, Sweden, Denmark and Norway experienced significant immigration from the Balkans, Northern Africa and the Near East. The influx of dark-skinned immigrants and refugees provoked xenophobic reactions from segments of the Scandinavian population. Immigration and minority issues were discussed by Nordic historians at several workshops and conferences.⁴⁷

Third, Scandinavian academe was influenced by external developments, such as the quest for a separate European, and even central European, identity under the "second cold war", and the upsurge of ethnic and national strife in many parts of the world: the order of the 1970s, with its division East-West and North-South, broke to pieces as newly industrialized countries rose to prosperity, Marxist governments fell, Islamic fundamentalists became powerful, and ethnic groups got at each other's throats in places such as Sri Lanka and on Africa's Horn. And then, with the disruption of the Soviet empire, the resurrection of the Baltic nations, and the war between Croats and Serbs, things all came very much closer.

Fourth, there was the challenge from the decision of the European Community to create a common internal market by 1992. The changes in Eastern Europe led Sweden to reconsider its former neutrality policy and apply for EC membership. This put a whole range of new questions on the agenda. What would be the role of the Nordic countries in the new Europe? The quest for a European identity became a matter of dispute.

Fifth, there was a change in the overall intellectual climate. Marxist terminology all but disappeared. Academics stopped talking about capital and classes, and spoke less than before about gender; this left a vacuum to be filled by con-

⁴⁷ There was a workshop at the meeting of Nordic historians in Reykjavik in 1987, a conference in Torshavn 1989, and several workshops within a Scandinavian-inspired minority network under the European Science Foundation. Gunnar Karlsson (ed.), Nationale og etniske minoriteter i Norden i 1800- og 1900-tallet. Rapporter til den XX nordiske historikerkongres, Reykjavik 1987. Stein Tønnesson, "Nordlys. Sammenligning av nordiske nasjonalismer", Den Jyske Historiker, nr. 49, 1989, pp. 146-159. Max Engman, "Jämförande forskning rörande etniska grupper", Historisk Tidskrift för Finland, Vol. 73, 1988, pp. 333-7.

cepts such as 'culture', 'identity', 'ethnicity' and 'nation'. With the disappearance of the 'class' concept, sociology lost some of its attraction; historians instead sought inspiration from anthropology and political science. British and German traditions of studies in ethnicity and nationalism were re-discovered and hotly discussed by young Scandinavians. Innovative theorists like Ernest Gellner, Ben Anderson and Bruce Kapferer rose to fame, and a new generation of "Fredrik Barths" set the tone in Scandinavian social sciences.

These five factors provide the background for the Scandinavian identity debate.

4. National Comparisons

Let me now consider the ways in which Scandinavian historians have handled the national question. I shall start by comparing Finland and Norway, two nations with parallel histories of emancipation. Afterwards I shall look at the two more traditional states: Denmark and Sweden.

Both in Finland and in Norway, the debate started by a positive revisionist interpretation of the period when the country was under Swedish, respectively Danish rule. In the years 1975-82, Professor Matti Klinge of the University of Helsinki/Helsingfors published a number of essays analysing the historically overlapping Swedish and Finnish identities.⁴⁸ In Norway, professors Sverre Bagge and Knut Mykland of the University of Bergen published a book on Norway during the "Danish Period" (Norge i dansketiden).⁴⁹

⁴⁸ The essays were reedited, in Finnish as: Kaksi Suomea, Otava, Keunur 1982; and in Swedish as: Runeberg's två fosterland, Borgå, Söderström, 1983. Cf. Max Engman's lucid review of Klinge's book: "Många Finland", Historisk Tidskrift för Finland, 2/1985, pp. 272-6. Later publications by Matti Klinge include: "Finska, svenska - majoritet, minoritet", in Nationale og etniske minoriteter i Norden i 1800- og 1900-tallet, rapporter til den XX nordiske historikerkongress, Reykjavik 1987, pp. 94-104, Let Us Be Finns. Essays on History, Helsinki, Otava, 1990; and a book on Finnish attitudes to Russian rule in the 19th century, Från lojalism till rysshät, Borgå, Söderström, 1988. For another discussion of the differences between eastern and western Finland, see the first essay in Johannes Salminen, Gränsland, Borgå, Söderström, 1984.

⁴⁹ Sverre Bagge & Knut Mykland, Norge i dansketiden, Copenhagen, Politiken, and Oslo, Cappelen, 1987. The book was commissioned by the Danish publisher Politiken as a supplement volume to its History of Denmark.

Klinge examined the various meanings of the terms "Sweden" and "Finland". Until 1809, he said, "Sweden" was a monarchy with three central provinces: Götaland, Svealand and Finland (the southwestern coast of today's Finland, with Åbo as the main city). In addition to the three central provinces, the Swedish monarchy included a periphery, consisting of Småland, Norrland, Österbotten, Savolax, Västerbotten and Värmland (and, after the conquest from Denmark-Norway: Bohuslän, Jämtland and Härjedalen. Skåne, Halland and Blekinge were included in the central area). Klinge thus dissolved the Swedish-Finnish dichotomy which had formed the foundation of the Fennomantic version of national history. In Klinge's view, it would be obvious for an educated resident of Åbo in the late 18th century that he was Swedish, but he could very well also be Finnish since he lived in Finland, and if he was inspired by romantic ideas, he might even learn the Finnish language. In Klinge's view, today's Finland was created by Tsar Alexander I in 1809, when he decided not to assimilate the provinces he had conquered from Sweden, but instead create a grand duchy, to be called Finland. However, the formation of a Finnish national identity, with an anti-Swedish profile, did not come until much later, in the latter half of the 19th century. This, it may be added, was also when Norwegians became anti-Danish. Both in Finland and Norway, the main dividing factor was the striving towards one national language. Klinge's propositions have obviously been controversial in Finland, but his intellectual and institutional authority seem to have prevented open challenges, at least in other languages than Finnish. During the years when Klinge's essays were published, however, two more nationalist Finnish articles on nationalism appeared, one of them by a specialist on nationalism, Aira Kemiläinen. Without mentioning Klinge at all, she bluntly stated: "Under Swedish rule there was no period when Finland was assimilated to Sweden."⁵⁰ Kemiläinen's ap-

⁵⁰ Aira Kemiläinen, "The Idea of Nationalism" (full ref. in note 29), p. 43. The other article, written by Erkki Lehtinen, stated that "Finland acquired a distinct identity in international relations at least as early as 1742", and that "Finland" began to acquire a patriotic connotation already with the legend of Saint Henry, dating from the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century: "Notions of a Finnish

proach was in obvious conflict with that of Klinge. With hindsight, Matti Klinge looks like a pioneer, but he may rather have been a historian following his own personal line of development, which then happened to be joined by others a few years later. As early as in the mid-1970s, he escaped the straitjacket of national history, and concentrated on innovative research into concepts, culture and mentalities.

The Norwegian book was more in line with the general priorities of the 1970s in that it emphasized economic and social history. Knut Mykland pointed out that in the latter half of the 18th century, the Norwegian population was less heavily taxed than in any other European country (except the British colonies in North America). Norwegian peasants would have had a heavier taxload if a separate Norwegian state had existed. This argument was not in harmony with the popular idea of Danish colonial exploitation and therefore led to a controversy, indirectly also to a new discussion on the old subject of the causes of the Norwegian revolt in 1814. The main spokesman for the nationalist interpretation was Professor Kåre Lunden at the University of Oslo.⁵¹ Lunden actively sought to revive the anti-Danish evolutionist interpretations which had been advanced 100 years earlier by the nationalist historian Ernst Sars.

To conclude, then, both in Norway and in Finland, a well qualified reinterpretation of the pre-independence period led to reactions from a minority of nationalist historians. The general tendency remained a movement away from nationalist interpretations and towards broader, comparative analysis.⁵²

National Identity during the Period of Swedish Rule", *Scandinavian Journal of History*, No. 6, 1981, pp. 277-95. In an article published as late as 1991, Pirkko Alhoniemi presented almost the same viewpoints as Kemiläinen, also without any reference to Klinge: "Att skapa en finsk identitet", in Anders Linde-Laursen & Jan Olof Nilsson (see note 34), pp. 257-66.

⁵¹ See notes 31, 42-43. Lunden's radically nationalist views were mainly presented in the Oslo daily *Dagbladet*, e.g. "Norsk revolusjon på TV" (6.1.90) (a reaction to a Mykland-inspired television programme on the events of 1814) and "Kva er norsk?" (2.4.91), an attack on a lecture by Sverre Bagge.

⁵² It is a promising sign that two Norwegian and two Danish historians have now agreed to write a history of Denmark-Norway - together - covering the whole 1380-1814 period. Might not a similar Finnish-Swedish project be a good idea, perhaps including a contribution from an Estonian? It may be of less interest to write a joint history of the Swedish-Norwegian union which, according to Professor Göran B. Nilsson at the University of Linköping, never was a union: "Unionen som inte blev någon union", *Nytt*

Turning now to Denmark and Sweden, it will suffice at present to indicate one striking difference. Danish historians have thrown themselves into the study of their own and other identities more intensely than anyone else.⁵³ By contrast, Swedish historians seem thoroughly uninterested in the whole matter. Some of them discuss nationalism and ethnicity in relation to countries in the Third World, Eastern Europe or Nazi Germany;⁵⁴ but Swedish identity is either too vague, too unswedish, or not sufficiently scientific, to capture their interest: the subject is relegated to ethnologists.⁵⁵ It seems clear, however, that Danish and Swedish historians have one interest in common: the quest for a European identity.

5. The European Challenge

With Sweden's application for EC membership, the Nordic idea lost ground to Sweden's European ambitions.⁵⁶ In Sweden, there was no popular outcry against the idea of joining the EC, as there had been in Denmark and Norway 1971-72, and again - in Norway - from 1990; but Swedish journalists and academics

Norsk Tidsskrift, No. 4, 1985, pp. 14-20.

The authors of the Danish-Norwegian history are Kaj Hørby (1380-1536), Øystein Rian (1536-1645), Ståle Dyrvik (1645-1720) and Ole Feldbæk (1720-1814).

⁵³ The ethnic dimensions of the Danish-German conflict in Schleswig have been thoroughly researched, and the Danish Identity project, led by Ole Feldbæk, is bound to set the standard for future research. For references, see note 43.

⁵⁴ Ingemar Karlsson, Historien som biologiskt öde. Om perspektivförskjutningar inom mellankrigstidens tyska historieskrivning, PhD dissertation, University of Gothenburg, 1989. Contributions by Kerstin Nyström, Kjell Magnusson, Kristian Gerner, Stefan Hedlund and Klas-Göran Karlsson in "Østeuropa i förvandling", special issue of Aktuellt om historia, No. 1-2, 1990.

⁵⁵ In the mid-1980s, Danish professor Ole Feldbæk and Swedish professor Erik Lönnroth were asked by a German specialist on nationalism to write a chapter on their own nationalisms in the late 18th and early 19th century. Ole Feldbæk went into the archives and came out with a wealth of material that allowed him to write an innovative contribution and later to become a specialist in the field. Erik Lönnroth, however, contributed more of a general introduction to Swedish history: Otto Dann & John Dinwiddy, Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution, London, Hambledon, 1988.

⁵⁶ In April 1988, a Swedish Europe Club ("Svenska Europaklubben") was formed by a group of bankers, businessmen and university professors. The following reason was cited: "Sweden has an evident and natural community with Europe - historically, culturally, as well as politically and economically" ("Sverige har en självklar och naturlig gemenskap med Europa - såväl historiskt och kulturellt som politiskt och ekonomiskt"). Circular from Svenska Europaklubben, Handelskamarbyrå AB, Stockholm.

started to discuss where Europe was heading.⁵⁷ This was partly due to traditional differences between Sweden and Finland on the one side, Denmark and Norway on the other, but even more, it should be explained by a change in the concept of Europe. In the 1970s, Europe east and west was seen by Scandinavian intellectuals as pawns in the hands of the superpowers. They looked to China and the "third world" for their alternatives. In the 1980s a new more positive concept of an independent Europe emerged. This is evident from discussions that went on in Swedish intellectual circles;⁵⁸ In 1991, a group of historians at the University of Linköping launched a television course in European history, with an accompanying volume.⁵⁹

After the Danish EC referendum of 1972, much of the leftist intellectual elite in that country remained paralysed in relation to the EC. They entrenched themselves in a vain hope that it would fall to pieces or that it could be possible to get out again. This gradually changed with the impact of increased contact with other European academics, with the reunification of Germany, and with the East European revolutions. The extension of the EC eastwards, and Gorbachev's expression "The European House" provided the Danes with an opportunity to launch a broader and different concept of "Europe" than that prevailing in the still quite French-dominated EC.⁶⁰ References to European culture began to invade

⁵⁷ The Swedish Europe Club emphasized that by European cooperation, it meant not only in the EC, EFTA or Western Europe: "We need a comprehensive cooperation across borders in the whole of Europe within politics, business, science and culture." Ibid.

⁵⁸ See note 40. See also Ord & Bild, No. 2, 1990 (special issue on Europe).

⁵⁹ Sten Andersson, Carl Axel Aurelius, Ole Elgström, Arne Eriksson, Christer Knuthammar, Elfar Loftsson, Bengt Lärkner, Tidernas Europa. Europeiska brytningsskeden, Stockholm, Utbildningsradion, 1991. Thus Linköping did with Europe what Bergen was doing with Norway: Rolf Danielsen, Ståle Dyrvik, Tore Grønlie, Knut Helle, Edgar Hovland, Grunntrekk i norsk historie fra vikingtid til våre dager, Oslo, Norwegian University Press, 1991 (accompanying textbook for a television course). I would submit that the Norwegian book on Norwegian history is of much higher quality than the Swedish book on European history. The achievement of the Bergen historians demonstrates their leading position in Norwegian history. Professor Knut Helle, author of the first section, is the central operator in most ambitious historical publication projects in Norway and the most influential of all contemporary Norwegian historians.

⁶⁰ Cf. H. Boll-Johansen & Michael Harbsmeier (eds.), Europas opdagelse. Historien om en idé, Copenhagen, Christian Ejlens forlag, 1988.

the Danish textbook market;⁶¹ and in 1991, a group of Danish historians (including left-wingers who had formerly been staunchly anti-EC) launched a six-volume European history with the title "The European House" and the appealing slogan: "Open up for your European roots ... a Danish creation for Danish Europeans, complete in 6 volumes Spring 1992, before the internal market..."⁶²

This historical offensive of Danish Europeans must be seen as a response to a challenge from the multi-lingual European enthusiast Frédéric Delouche and the historian Jean-Baptiste Duroselle.⁶³ In 1988, these two men launched an ambitious initiative, subsidized by the EC Commission and based on a resolution of the EC ministers of education, dated 24 May 1988. The resolution declared inter alia that in all EC member states, the "European dimension" was to be included in the curricula for all relevant subjects: literature, language, history, geography, social science, economy, music, etc. The overall aim of the resolution, as well as of Delouche's initiative, was to promote European historical identity. Not only did Delouche and Duroselle publish, simultaneously in many European languages (including Danish), the richly illustrated Europe, History of its Peoples, written by Duroselle. They also produced a scriptshow on European history, scheduled to

⁶¹ Ulla Bondebjerg, Europa i revolution 1789-1871, Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1988. Geert A. Nielsen, Karen Schmedes, Niels Schon, Jens Sund, Din kulturhistorie, Åløkke, 1991. Virtually every chapter in the latter carries the words "Danmarks Europahistorie", and the positive message of the book is: "Den truende ensretning og kulturblindhed er afløst af en bred europæisk dialog."

An article by Arne Johan Thrane, chairman of the international committee in the Association of Danish Secondary School Teachers, is also indicative of the trend: "Selv om den europæiske dimension ikke skal være et fag, men en del af fagene, kan man godt indføre europæiske moduler for at skabe den europæiske bevidsthed. Ved at anvende en international udveksling af ideer og allerede eksisterende europæiske moduler vil det være nærliggende også at sætte fokus på det typisk danske (nordiske?), uden at man fortaber sig i den rene danske idyl og provinsialisme" (my emphasis). "Den europæiske dimension", Gymnasieskolen, Vol. 74, No. 17, 1991.

On a Belgian initiative, a European Association of History Teachers has been founded, with objectives such as "to develop an [sic] European approach to history", and "to promote a sense of European citizenship". There is also a "European Secondary Heads Association", which invites heads of secondary schools to contribute to the "unification of Europe through education", and a "European Curriculum Network" with a similar aim. Danish secondary schools are actively participating in these cooperative fora.

⁶² Søren Mørch, Lotte Hedeager, Henrik Tvarnø, Kai Hørby, Knud J.V. Jespersen, Karin Lützen, Bente Rosenbeck, Anne Knudsen, Jan Ifversen, Det Europæiske Hus, Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1991-92.

⁶³ Duroselle is one of the best known historians in France. If you enter a library and say the two words "L'abime" (adding, of course, "s'il vous plaît"), you will automatically be given a copy of his classic study of French foreign policy before and during the Vichy period.

be broadcast over ten evenings in 1992, simultaneously on as many European television channels as possible.⁶⁴ Delouche also managed to put together a group of historians and history teachers from many European countries (including a Dane), to edit a joint European secondary school textbook in history.⁶⁵ A cartoon version is being drawn up for the primary schools. Behind this comprehensive initiative was not only the institutions of the EC, but also such publishing giants as French Hachette, German Bertelsmann, British Viking, and Danish Lademann.

Duroselle's book provides an eloquent example of how a historian who wants us to imagine a certain community (here the EC) can transpose this community into periods of the past when it was not imagined. In the vision of Duroselle, France, Germany and England form the heartlands of Europe. He thus starts his history with the Celts, who inhabited the same territory, and not with ancient Greece. Furthermore, Duroselle leaves out Eastern Europe almost entirely, and ends up with an epilogue declaring that "Europe (which for the moment means Western Europe) and its overseas offshoots (the United States and the dominions)" can "peacefully and legitimately extend Eastwards, at least as far as the frontiers of the Soviet Union, and perhaps further if and when democracy does the same."⁶⁶ That Europe is hardly the same one that Gorbachev and the Danish left-wingers are thinking of when they speak of "The European House".⁶⁷

⁶⁴ The Delouche project may in fact compete with the Bergen project on Norwegian history, but the Linköping show was ahead of the two others: it started in September 1991 (see note 59).

⁶⁵ Johan Bender, "Det første fælleseuropæiske historiebogsforsøg", Noter, March 1990, pp. 13-17.

⁶⁶ Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, Europe. A History of its Peoples, London, Viking, 1990, p. 414. It was published in Denmark as Europa. Fra fortid i splittelse til fremtid i fællesskab, Copenhagen, Lademann, 1990. Swedish and Norwegian publishers seem to have rejected publication, doubtless to the chagrin of Frédéric Delouche, who happens to have a Norwegian mother and speaks Norwegian. Lars Roar Langslet, "Europas historie i et helt nyt lys", Aftenposten 22.3.91.

⁶⁷ Karl-Johann Hemmersham, "EC-ology eller Fælles Europæisk Hus? - den europæiske dimension i historieundervisningen", Noter, March 1990, pp. 8-11.

6. The Nordic Counter-Offensive

Another way of meeting the European challenge is to renew older attempts to foster a joint Nordic academic and cultural community. One hundred and fifty years ago, many academics here at King Frederick's University in Christiania imagined a community called Scandinavia. To impress their imaginary on a local-minded population, these intellectuals needed some kind of dramatic or traumatic event, on which to focus their Scandinavian emotions. Such an occasion came with the Danish-German war of 1864, but Scandinavians outside the Danish kingdom failed to sacrifice their blood. Consequently, Scandinavism lost out as a focus of identity, and the initiative was then left to separatist nationalists in each country.⁶⁸ In the 20th century, Nordic identity has in no way been able to compete with identities at the national level, although it has been promoted by Nordic Associations, the first of which was formed in 1919.⁶⁹ From 1952, the governments have had a Nordic

⁶⁸ Scandinavian Journal of History, special issue on Scandinavianism, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1984. See also note 74.

In Norway, the author Olaf Aasmundsen Vinje and the historian Ernst Sars were instrumental in abandoning Scandinavism preferring instead Norwegianism. Ottar Dahl, Norsk historieforskning i det 19. og 20. århundre, Oslo, 1990 (4th ed.), pp. 109-11.

The triumph of separatist Norwegianism happened in the main nationalist period of West European history, lasting from the mid-19th century to the end of the First World War. Whereas in this period a multitude of disparate local cultures on the continent amalgamated into huge imagined communities of Frenchmen, Germans and Italians, the culturally quite homogeneous Scandinavians split into four - and later five or more - separate nations. Says the Australian historian Tony Griffiths in his recently published historical presentation of exotic Scandinavia: "If Sweden and Denmark identified with Henrik Ibsen's character Torvald, reluctantly letting his spouse go, Finland and Norway were on the side of Nora, determinedly walking out." Tony Griffiths, Scandinavia, Kent Town, Wakefield Press, 1991, p. 24.

Britain's foremost expert on the history of nationalism and ethnicity, Anthony D. Smith, makes a general distinction between the separatist nationalisms of Eastern Europe and the Middle East and the unifying nationalisms of Western Europe. On the fringes of Western Europe, however, he sees instances of ethnic separatism of the East European type: in the Basque country, Catalonia, Brittany, Ireland, Norway and Finland. Anthony D. Smith, National Identity, London, Penguin, 1991, p. 126. For Smith's prominence in the field, see E.J. Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, myth, reality, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990, p. 2: "Professor Anthony Smith is at present the main guide in this field for readers of the English language".

⁶⁹ From 1933, one of the main activities undertaken by the Nordic Associations was to clean out negative statements about the neighbouring countries from all national textbooks. Göran Behre & Ola Lindqvist, "Forskning kring svenska historieläroböcker" Rapport nr. 1/1990 från projektet Europa och läroboken, pp. 5-7.

By the 1930s, the last of the major Scandinavian labour movements had turned away from its previous anti-national internationalism. There was a certain cooperation between the social democracies, but no real attempt to promote a Nordic identity. That was relegated to right wing political forces. In that connection it may be mentioned that from 1938, a Nordic journal, Le Nord, was published jointly by four major Scandinavian publishing houses (Ejnar Munksgaard Forlag, Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Norstedt & Söner (printed in Copenhagen), with articles in English, French and German. In 1940, after the end of the Finnish Winter War, it printed an article by Sven Tunberg, "Rektor der Hochschule in Stockholm", on "Die Schicksalsgemeinschaft der Nordischen Völker" (pp. 138-200). According

Council of Ministers, which has stimulated the writing of textbooks on Nordic history.⁷⁰ In general, however, history has mainly been written at the national level. Only very few Nordic histories have been published. The main one is a three-volume work by Johan Ottosen, published at the turn of the century, with an introductory chapter on "The Aryan Family of Languages".⁷¹ Ottosen's work was to provide the basis for a longlived Danish textbook in Nordic history by Peter Ilsøe.

Fascism and the Second World War made Scandinavian intellectuals more or less allergic to discussions about national identity or nationalism. The historians devoted themselves to studies of internal conflicts and developments in their respective countries. There were Nordic conferences and also joint comparative projects, but within them each historian wrote about his or her own country. The Danish Nordist Søren Sørensen forms an exception. With support from the Nordic Council of Ministers, he wrote a popular book ("Folkebog") and also a textbook on Nordic history. Both of them, however, went virtually unnoticed.⁷²

In 1991, a new Nordic intellectual offensive started, with two major publications from the Nordic Council of Ministers, one from the Nordic Association, one from the four Nordic International Relations Institutes and the University of Reykjavik, and one from four Nordic institutes of peace

to Tunberg, "...hat die Konzentrationsbewegung im Norden eine ausserordentliche Kraft entfaltet, und das Problem, wie ein nordischer Zusammenschluss am besten zu bewerkstelligen sei, ist von neuem lebendig geworden wie in längst verflossenen Jahrhunderten." The article was apparently written during the short interval between the end of the Soviet-Finnish war and the German occupation of Denmark and Norway. For the difficulties of Nordic cooperation during the Second World War, see Finn T.B. Friis, Nordisk kulturfællesskab og praktisk nordisk samarbejde, Copenhagen, Foreningen "Norden", 1941.

⁷⁰ In the early seventies, the Nordic Associations launched a series of proposals meant to stimulate Nordic teachers to emphasize the history of their neighbouring countries: Vagn Skovgaard Petersen (ed.), Nordens historie i skolen. Synspunkter og forslag til undervisningen i andre nordiske landes historie, Foreningerne Nordens Forbund, 1972.

⁷¹ Johan Ottosen, Vor historie. Den nordiske folkestamme gennem tiderne (3 vols) Copenhagen, Frem - Det Nordiske Forlag, 1901-04. Later on, Ottosen's book provided the basis for Peter Ilsøe's textbook Nordens historie, which was revised many times (9th edition 1965). A competing textbook was written by Kjell Winding.

⁷² Søren Sørensen, Nordens historie. En folkebog, Copenhagen 1987. Non-Scandinavian experts on Scandinavia have at least on two occasions written comprehensive surveys of Scandinavian history: T.K. Derry, A History of Scandinavia. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1979. Tony Griffiths, Scandinavia, Kent Town, Wakefield Press, 1991.

research.⁷³ It is interesting to note that some of the most eager proponents of Nordic cooperation now seem to be in Oslo. Formerly, Norway was a reluctant Nordist because of its western alliance, but with NATO's rapid loss of relevance, and the likelihood of Swedish and Finnish EC membership, the urban elite in Norway has become distinctly nervous: in their nightmares they see themselves as fishoil-quaffing chieftains in a Norwegian-Icelandic Federation somewhere out in the Atlantic, while the Swedes and Danes and Finns are eating cherries on the continent. This must be why they now so frantically remind the Swedes and Danes of the need to keep Norden together.

Paradoxically, overall competence in Nordic and European history seems to have deteriorated throughout Scandinavia in the postwar period, despite a considerable growth in the number of historians. The 1960s and 1970s were inward-looking decades. Those who did venture to look out saw beyond Europe to North America or the "Third World". The lack of competence in European history was not realized as a problem until the mid-1980s, when internationalization became the password for all Scandinavian funding agencies. This being said, let me now present a proposal for the internationalization of Nordic history.

7. A Five-Point Programme

In periods of dramatic change, with competing identities at various levels, the need for history is accentuated, and historians have a major chance to influence the way communities are imagined. I think we should take up the challenge. My intention, however, is not to revive the evolutionist Norwegianism of Ernst Sars, the Aryan Nordism of Johan Ottosen, or the Celtic Europeanism of Jean-Baptiste Duroselle.

⁷³ For references, see note 41. The initiative behind the publication from the International Relations Institutes was taken by Sverre Jervell, while on leave from his position in the Norwegian Foreign Ministry. The main initiators of peace research initiative was the Norwegian director of the institute in Oslo (Sverre Lodgaard) and the Swedish director of the institute in Copenhagen (Håkan Wiberg). See also: Ola Tunander, "The Two Norden", Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Vol. 22, No. 2, March 1991, pp. 55-64.

Instead I propose a five-point programme for a transborder regional approach to Nordic history:

1. The competitive Danish textbook model should be adopted in the other Nordic countries, and government censorship abandoned. Instead of just one national textbook, or a few similar ones, history teachers ought to be able to choose from a multitude of publications. Nordic book publishers should cooperate in making translations available from one language to the other;

2. Instead of contributing to endless conceptual or kaleidoscopic discussions of "ethnicity" or "nationality", historians should engage in empirical research on how identities were conceptualized and propagated in well defined historical periods. Above all we need empirical studies of what happened to right wing Swedish nationalism in the first half of the 20th century. The standard for such empirical studies has been set by Professor Ole Feldbæk with his Danish Identity History project.

3. Graduate and post-graduate students in the Nordic countries should be stimulated to do research on and in other Nordic countries than their own;⁷⁴

4. After the publication of the multi-volume Gyldendal and Gad's Danish history and Aschehoug's Norwegian history, it is time to consider a major research and publication project on Nordic history. The region should be analysed with full consideration for its internal diversities, along and across national boundaries, and with the focus on the interplay of Nordic states with the three main neighbouring powers: Russia,

⁷⁴ I know of only two contemporary Scandinavian-born historians who have conducted independent research on the history of another Nordic country than their own. Characteristically they are both Swedes: Sven Tägil, Deutschland und die deutsche Minderheit in Nordschleswig, Lund 1970. Harald Gustafsson, Mellan kung och allmoge - ämbetsmän, beslutsprocess och inflytande på 1700-talets Island, Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1985.

Ironically, even the main studies on Scandinavianism have been conducted on the national level by an author belonging to the same nation: Åke Holmberg, Skandinavismen i Sverige vid 1800-talets mitt (1843-1863), Gothenburg, Elanders, 1946. John Sanness, Patrioter, intelligens og skandinaver. Norske reaksjoner på skandinavismen før 1848, Oslo, Norwegian University Press, 1959. Henrik Becker-Christensen, Skandinaviske drømme og politiske realiteter. Den politiske skandinavisme i Danmark 1830-1850, Århus, Arusia, 1981. The exception from the rule is Halfdan Koht's dissertation from 1908: Die Stellung Norwegens und Schwedens im Deutsch-Dänischen Konflikt, zumal während der Jahre 1863 und 1864, Kristiania, Jacob Dybwad, 1908, an example of how history can be written from an international perspective (nationalist historians did that before they became too many and their nationalism too unconsciously self-evident).

Germany and Britain/USA.⁷⁵

5. The European challenge should not be resisted by Nordic historians through reinvigoration of separate national identities. Instead we ought to take up the challenge and counter it with an offensive Nordic approach, combined with an effort to publish Nordic history internationally. As a matter of course, Nordic history must still be written primarily in the Nordic languages, but it is a shame that so little of the eminent Nordic historical scholarship is available in the

⁷⁵ For preliminary, stimulating attempts in this direction, see Jon Bingen, Norden, Europa og nordisk samarbeide i et historisk perspektiv, Oslo, Norwegian Institute of International Relations, 1991; Beate Børresen, Enhetstanken i Norden - fra Kalmarunionen til Napoleonskrigene, Oslo, Norwegian Institute of International Relations, 1991, and Sverre Jervell, "Norden og samarbeid mellom nordiske land", ch. 2 in Norden i det nye Europa, (full ref. in note 41).

Some of the best arguments for a Nordic approach were advanced in 1864, by C.F. Allen: "At Fordelene ved en Fælleds-Behandling [sic] af Nordens Historie ville være store, er let indlysende. Mangt et Forhold, baade ydre og indre, mange Begivenheder, som fra et blot dansk, eller norsk, eller svensk Synspunkt ville være uforstaaelige eller halvt forstaaelige, ville klare sig under det Lys, som strømmer fra Betragtningen af hele Nordens Historie; megen Hildethed og Ensidighed vil svinde, og for mangfoldige Forhold vil man vinde et nyt og rigtigere Syn, naar det enkelte Lands Historie ikke blot behandles af den indfødte Historiskriver, men Frændelandenes Historikere tillige drage den ind under deres Forskning og gjøre den til Gjenstand for Fremstilling. Selve Kildernes Beskaffenhed opfordrer hertil, idet de jævnlig oplyse alle tre Rigers Historie; og til det Samme leder den Maade, hvorpaa Kilderne, navnlig de utrykte, ere blevene samlede og bevarede: Kilderne for en stor Deel af Danmarks Historie maa søges i svenske Arkiver, for en stor Deel af Norges og Sverrigs i danske. De Grunde, som tale for en Fælleds-Behandling af Nordens Historie, ere, som anført, hentede fra denne Histories egen Beskaffenhed og fra Folkenes og Landenes naturlige Sammenhørighed; Virkningen deraf og Indflydelsen paa den Enkelte kan understøttes ved hvad man kalder skandinaviske Sympathier; men denne Understøttelse behøves ikke, den historiske Interesse alene er tilstrækkelig. Og det er heldigt, at det er saa, thi efter vore Dages bittere Erfaringer synes det, at ligesom i den gamle Tid Tvedragtens onde Aand, saa skal i Nutiden den kolde Egoisme og den snæverhjørte kortsynede Beregnings fordømmelige Aand være den "skandinaviske Tankes" Forbandelse, mægtig til at kvæle den, naar den vil hæve sig." C.F. Allen, De tre nordiske Rigers Historie under Hans, Christiern den Anden, Frederik den Første, Gustav Vasa, Grevefeiden, 1497-1536, Kjøbenhavn, Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1864, pp. II-III.

As Uffe Østergaard recently pointed out, a model for a multi-national approach to Nordic regional history can be found in a multi-national approach to the history of the British Isles, particularly: Hugh Kearney, The British Isles. A History of Four Nations, Cambridge 1989. See Uffe Østergaard, "Ukania. Det britiske perspektiv på Englands historie", Den Jyske Historiker, No. 54-55, 1991, pp. 9-26, and "Hvorfor hader vi svenskerne?", in Anders Linde-Laursen & Jan Olof Nilsson (see note 34), pp. 42-3. Great Britain can in fact be fruitfully compared to the Nordic countries, with England in the role of Sweden. Just as English historians have tended to confuse English and British history, saying British when in fact they meant only the English, the Swedes have shown a tendency to confuse Swedish with Nordic, saying Nordic when in fact they meant Swedish. The difference, of course, is that Sweden and Denmark grew apart in the 16th century while England and Scotland were unified as of 1603. Furthermore, in the age of nationalism, only Ireland broke out of Britain, while Norway, Finland and Iceland demanded and got their independence.

Professor Berge Furre of the University of Oslo argues explicitly for continuing to write national history. He asks rhetorically: "Gjev det meining lenger å skriva norsk historie når vårt samfunn er så tett vove saman med andre land?" (Furre's emphasis), and replies with a clear yes: "Det er viktig å sjå kva vi har saman med andre, og kva vi har fått av andre. Men det norske samfunnet har sine særdrag, og det er viktig nok å granska dei om vi skal vita kva som er verdt å ta med til i morgon. Og det er ingen andre som gjer det for oss." (my emphasis - perhaps an international comparative perspective would make it easier to find out what is particularly Norwegian). Berge Furre, Vårt hundreår. Norsk historie 1905-1990, Oslo, Det Norske Samlaget, 1991.

world's predominant scholarly communication language: Eng-
lish.⁷⁶

As a student of a major nationalist and communist liberation movement, the Viet Minh, I am fully aware that programmes must be condensed into slogans. So my slogans are:

- Write more textbooks!
- Dig into past identities!
- Study your neighbours!
- Synthesize from a Nordic angle!

and finally:

- Publish in English!

⁷⁶ If this is rectified, it will no longer be possible to publish books on European history with maps leaving half of the Nordic region outside: J.-B. Duroselle, Europe. A History of its Peoples, London, Viking, 1990, pp. 21, 26-7, 42, 85, 88, 92, 103, 139, 147, 169, 177, 184, 193, 223, 236, 249, 260, 272-3, 288, 327, 333, 356, 366, 371, 385. Exceptions can be found on p. 71, a map on heresies in the Middle Ages, and on p. 115, on the Vikings - both of these subjects that are well covered in non-Scandinavian languages.