Anti-Semitism of the Left? Norway and the Jews in the Worker Paper (1929-1930)

Øyvind Hoem Vaseng

Master's thesis in History

Spring 2020

Department of Archaeology, Conservation and History

Faculty of Humanities

The University of Oslo

Acknowledgements

I want to thank the teachers that have been involved in the University of Oslo's Master's programme, as well as the students which together have provided useful tips and comments. Most importantly I want to thank my supervisor, Patrick Bernhard, for helping me formulate my topic and thesis, and for his valuable guidance and critique through the whole process.

I want to thank my parents for their continued support and interest in my work. An extra thank you to my mum who helped me understand and translate outdated Norwegian!

Lastly, I want to thank my wonderful girlfriend Vitória, for backing my decision to apply for this programme, for giving me essential support and encouragement, as well as having the patience to listen to all my venting about the thesis process these past two years.

Summary

Interwar Europe, a hotbed of anti-Semitism. A prejudice and hatred which was characteristic of so many right-wing movements, particularly far-right ones. Meanwhile, left-wing movements called for international workers unity, regardless of race or nationality. But did they truly live up to the values of the slogan? This paper tries to answer this question by inspecting the Norwegian case of the Labour Party and its main party organ, the Worker Paper between 1929 and 1930. The thesis relies on a detailed qualitative analysis of the Worker Paper's contents as well as a shorter quantitative one. Because of the complicated nature of left-wing anti-Semitism, the thesis operates with a distinction between explicit and implicit anti-Semitism, where the latter becomes of most relevance. Possible cases of anti-Semitism are through argument determined as either explicitly anti-Semitic, implicitly anti-Semitic or neither. This way the thesis not only informs of the anti-Semitism the Worker Paper engaged in but also helps to define the boundaries of anti-Semitism. Cases where the Worker Paper opposed anti-Semitism are also examined and this apparent contradiction is clarified. The thesis concludes that opposition to anti-Semitism was quite representative of its contents, yet anti-Semitism was less than that: Somewhat representative, although explicit anti-Semitism was very rare. The level of anti-Semitism is regarded as too deep for the Worker Paper to be labelled "anti-anti-Semitic" in the period, and should instead be considered ambivalent towards Jews but more on the side of anti-anti-Semitism than anti-Semitism.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

The UK recently elected Boris Johnson as their Prime Minister, a figure with a history of bigoted statements, particularly from his work as a journalist. This was routinely brought up during the campaign season but did not prove as effective as it might otherwise have been if Jeremy Corbyn was not embroiled in a similar controversy: anti-Semitism. To many of his supporters, this accusation seemed unfair for someone who had made it a habit of speaking out against bigotry and racism. The examples of anti-Semitism that were cited did not make the controversy any easier to discern. One often-cited case was Corbyn's defence of a London mural which included anti-Semitic imagery. To a trained eye, the connection between the art and anti-Semitism was obvious, but to someone not very familiar with anti-Semitic imagery it could easily be conflated as generic art relating to conspiracy theories or anti-capitalism.

The London mural. Photo: Mike Kemp. Corbis News via Getty Images.

In the case of the left generally, which usually identifies itself with anti-racist and internationalist sentiments, in cases where it does not to live up to those ideals, as with the case of Corbyn, it is often an implicit contradiction. Accordingly identifying this type of anti-

Semitism can be a difficult task. Where exactly are the borders between explicit anti-Semitism, implicit anti-Semitism and none at all? I believe the following thesis can help clarify the dividing lines between these three categories.

1.1 Thesis

In this thesis I will study the case of the Worker Paper, the main party organ of the Norwegian Labour Party, in the period October 28th 1929 to October 28th 1930. My paper seeks to find out if anti-Semitism was characteristic of The Worker Paper's contents, and if so, to what degree. Accordingly, the thesis will operate with a fundamental division between two types of anti-Semitism: explicit and implicit. These two variants will be primarily defined through the use of examples from the Worker Paper. Additionally, the newspaper's anti-Semitism will be contextualised and compared to its espoused opposition to anti-Semitism. By defining the boundaries of anti-Semitism and by analysing the Worker Paper's contents, both qualitatively and quantitatively it will be determined how representative the anti-Semitic label would be. The thesis will argue that the Worker Paper leaned towards anti-anti-Semitism, yet overall had a rather ambivalent attitude towards Jews. Furthermore, it will make the case that anti-Semitism was somewhat present in its contents, particularly implicit anti-Semitism.

1.2 Previous Research

1.2.1 Norwegian Historiography

As any Master thesis is, this paper relates to a very specific subject that has not been written much about. My paper is the first which specifically deals with the subject of left-wing anti-Semitism in Norway. Relevant secondary sources would be those about labour history and Jewish history. There is an adequate amount of literature dealing with Norwegian labour history. The main work thus far on Norwegian labour history is *Arbeiderbevegelsens historie i Norge*. Its six volumes cover the ascent of the working class from 1850 to the modern day in 1990, when the last volume was released. It is only the two last volumes that go outside the period of relevancy. The editors do remain the same, but the writers change from each volume

so it is not coming from the same lens throughout the whole story. While the work is somewhat outdated (the first volume was released in 1985), it is more detailed and comprehensive than anything else on the matter. It is, therefore the most valuable source as of 2019. Newer works are still preferred when those are available.

Scholar Christhard Hoffmann conducted a study of Jewish historiography in Norway. He identified three traditions, (1) the Jewish integration story, (2) the self-critical story, and (3) the multiethnic Norwegian national story.[1] All three traditions can be attributed with their own view of Norwegian anti-Semitism. The first tradition takes the view of Norway as a «Jewish-friendly nation».[2] The second tradition disputes this notion, but this is its only qualification here, it does not mean the historian necessarily takes the opposite view, that Norway was an anti-Semitic nation. Jewish people are here described as victims of anti-Semitism and not much more. The third tradition is concerned with the problem of anti-Semitism, but mostly explains it through social relations between Jews and Gentiles.[3]

The integration story can be most clearly found in the work of Historian Oskar Mendelsohn. He wrote the most extensive piece on Jewish history in Norway, *Jødenes historie i Norge gjennom 300 år*, covering 300 years of history and released in two volumes. The first volume released in 1969 and the second in 1986.[4] Because the task of the work was to integrate Jews into the Norwegian nation, tensions and hostility between Jews and Gentiles were downplayed while unifying aspects of history were emphasised.[5] With the latter Norwegian resistance against Nazi attacks on Jews under the occupation years is an example. Mendelsohn then places himself within the larger historiographic tradition around Norway in WW2, where in the first few decades after it was seen as a period of «war and resistance».[6] Anti-Semitism was described as a phenomenon belonging to the small fascist party of Norway, National Union (NS), and the occupying German Nazis.

In the 1980s the second tradition appeared, starting with Criminologist Per Ole Johansen and his book *Oss selv nærmest: Norge of jødene 1914-1943.* The self-critical tradition focuses on the Holocaust and the question of Norwegian guilt. Johansen's book

[1] Christhard Hoffmann, "Nasjonalhistorie og minoritetshistorie: jødisk historiografi i Norge", trans. Andreas Snildal, in *Fortalt fortid: norsk historieskriving etter 1970*, edi. Jan Heiret, Teemu Ryymin and Svein Atle Skålevag, (Oslo: Pax forlag, 2013), 261-262.
[2] Hoffmann, "Nasjonalhistorie og minoritetshistorie", 253.
[3] Hoffmann, "Nasjonalhistorie og minoritetshistorie", 262.
[4] Hoffmann, "Nasjonalhistorie og minoritetshistorie", 243.
[5] Hoffmann, "Nasjonalhistorie og minoritetshistorie", 250.
[6] Hoffmann, "Nasjonalhistorie og minoritetshistorie", 250.

focuses on anti-Semitic beliefs in Norwegian society and within the state.[7] In the book, the left is mentioned quite a few times, but normally as a force in opposition to anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is generally attributed to right-wing sections of society and the bureaucracy. The descriptions are in line with the wider international view that claims the left was among the biggest opponents of anti-Semitism.[8] My work does not intend to necessarily become the anti-thesis of this general view. I rather seek to approach this with some scepticism and give a more nuanced picture on the question of anti-Semitism on the left. Authors who followed Johansen's lead target the bureaucracy and the police with their compliance to Nazi orders against Norwegian Jews, and question if more could have been done to avoid deaths. This question is also pointed towards the Norwegian resistance movement.

The third tradition works with Jewish history through an immigration narrative and uses tools from the social sciences. It tries to make Jewish history more personal, through the history of individuals and Jewish everyday life. Jewish people are the main actors in this story. Because it is a social history, anti-Semitism is explained through the social relations between Jews and Gentiles, especially economic ones.[9] While this avoids the problem with the second tradition, where Jews are faceless victims of anti-Semitism, it creates a new problem. The new problem is that such an explanation seems to imply that Jews can in some way be blamed for anti-Semitism. I think this can be avoided.

My explanation of anti-Semitism would only make social relations between Jews and Gentiles a small part of a multi-factored explanation, where previous history and general prejudices are regarded as more important. Moreover, my study will not so much be interested in the question of why anti-Semitism was present, but how present it was. Because the main actors in my story are not Jews, but leftists (although there is some overlap of course) the most appropriate tradition to put me in would be the second since their focus was on «Norwegians» and not Jews.

Hoffmann describes Jewish history in Norway as something that has played a marginal role, but not entirely insignificant.[10] And as a field of study, it is on the rise. Approximately with the beginning of the new century, there has been a noticeable increase in writing on Jewish history in Norway. This can in large part be attributed to the establishment of the

[7] Hoffmann, «Nasjonalhistorie og minoritetshistorie», 251.
[8] Einhart Lorenz, *Jødehat: Antisemittismens historie fra antikken til i dag*, edi. Trond Berg Eriksen, Håkon Harket, Einhart Lorenz, (Oslo: Cappelen Damm AS, 2009.), 475.
[9] Hoffmann, «Nasjonalhistorie og minoritetshistorie», 262.
[10] Hoffmann, «Nasjonalhistorie og minoritetshistorie», 262.

Jewish museums in Trondheim and Oslo, along with the Centre for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities. My thesis will in a minor way contribute to the trend of giving Jewish history in Norway heightened importance.

Hoffmann speaks of a linguistic turn that also showed itself in the field of Jewish history in Norway.[11] This manifested in the 2012 study *Jøden som kulturell konstruksjon i norsk offentlighet mellom 1814 og 1940*. The study inspects the depiction of Jews in Norwegian public life in the period 1814-1940. A part of this work includes Kjetil Simonsen's study of the agrarianist newspapers Namdalen and The Nation from 1920 to 1925. My work is certainly closely related to this. A difference between mine and Simonsen's work is that he is more concerned with the notion of what a "Jew" is.[12] I am also interested in this, but more as a means to interpret the primary sources instead of understanding it as a goal of the study.

Complementing Simonsen, there are a set of newer studies of a similar variety, analysing newspaper discourse on Jews in interwar Norway.[13] Some of these do rely on the Worker Paper as a primary source, but only as one of multiple. In Lars Lyngstad Sund's study of the Evening Post 1920-1925, he decided against a quantitative method, arguing that it struggles to capture the major differences between each case of anti-Semitism.[14] I recognise this issue and have taken steps to alleviate the issue by working with subdivisions of anti-Semitism: Explicit and implicit. But I think there are also issues with the qualitative approach. Claims of anti-Semitism representativeness of the Worker Paper contents would be based fully on my own perception. As much as we want to be objective as historians, there is never a truly "objective" approach we can take. What we can do is work with different perspectives which have certain qualities and certain flaws. I believe combining qualitative and quantitative analysis broadens the perspective and works better than merely relying on one of them. My quantitative chapter will help specify the conclusions of representativeness from the qualitative chapters.

Another decision Lyngstad Sund made was to use the method of word searches in the digital copies of the Evening Post. He argues that this is a more effective method as it allows him to work with a longer time span. But he also acknowledges that word searches fails to

[11] Hoffmann, «Nasjonalhistorie og minoritetshistorie», 245.
[12] Kjetil Simonsen, «"Den store jødebevægelse" Antisemittiske bilder av jøden i bondeavisene Nationen og Namdalen, 1920-1925», Master's thesis, University of Oslo, (2009): 2.
[13] See for example Foskum's «Nationen og antisemittismen», Lyngstad Sund's 'Aftenposten og «jødene»' and Banik, Lien and Syse's articles in «Norsk presses omtale av minoriteter», Pressehistorisk tidsskrift, nr. 24, 2015.
[14] Lars Lyngstad Sund, "Aftenposten og «jødene» En undersøkelse av holdninger til jøder uttrykt i Aftenposten fra 1920 til 1925", Master's thesis, University of Oslo (2014): 10-11.

capture context and those articles which do not use the words searched.[15] I more or less agree with his description. Nonetheless, I decided on my method, of reading through everything in the Worker Paper in the 1-year span, based on my expectation that anti-Semitism would mostly manifest implicitly. I can say with certainty that had I only used word searches I would have missed most of the cases of anti-Semitism that I found.

Lastly, Lyngstad Sund works with different categories of news topics. I would have liked to have done something similar, evaluating the degree of anti-Semitism in subcategories such as anti-capitalism, religious, etc. But due to the lower levels of anti-Semitism in the Worker Paper, there are not enough cases to generalise about the exact form of anti-Semitism the writers engaged in. Instead, I have made subcategories which could serve the purpose of understanding the limits of anti-Semitism. My thesis is part of a recent wave of inquiry relating to Jewish discourse in Norwegian interwar newspapers, but there are also aspects to my work which makes it unique.

1.2.2 International Historiography

Outside of Norway, the work I am most clearly an extension of is that of William Brustein and Louisa Roberts in *The Socialism of Fools?: Leftist Origins of Modern Anti-Semitism*. The book covers anti-Semitism on the left from the French Revolution to World War 2 in France, Germany and the UK.[16] A section of this book analyses a set of left-wing newspapers in those particular countries and discerns how anti-Semitic their content was. The general finding of the study is that left-wing newspapers were a major force for anti-Semitism, but this changed around the turn of the century. From there on until the Second World War, left-wing anti-Semitism is much more limited, although not non-existent.[17]

The newspaper studies start from the late 19th century to early 20th century, and each country case relies on multiple newspapers. The main focus of the study is the radical left, but more moderate left-wing newspapers are represented as well. Right-wing newspapers are analysed as well, serving as a point of comparison. Instead of analysing the entire period of focus, the authors pinpointed a set of events which gave Jews increased attention in the news. For instance in France, one of these was Léon Blum's election as France's first Jewish prime

[15] Sund, "Aftenposten og «jødene»", 8-9.
[16] William I. Brustein and Louisa Roberts, *The Socialism of Fools? Leftist Origins of Modern Anti-Semitism*, (New York City: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 4-5.
[17] Brustein and Roberts, *The Socialism of Fools?* 187-188.

minister in 1936. As soon as interest in the event disappears the study ends with it.[18] The quantitative analysis is complemented with a brief qualitative analysis. The latter serves to illustrate the reality behind the numbers and exactly what type of anti-Semitic rhetoric were popularised.

The Socialism of Fools? is not a standalone work though, it again builds on Brustein's earlier work of *Roots of Hate*. This book also analyses newspaper discourse on Jews, but not with any political ideology as the target of focus. As opposed to its sequel, the newspaper study stands for the entire period of 1899-1939, not a specific set of events.[19] Each year is represented through one newspaper edition for each month.[20] There is also a 7-day study of all newspaper copies with the events of Kristallnacht and the Evian Conference.[21]

My study can essentially be seen as an extension of this work, but inspecting a different case with Norway in the Worker Paper. As in these two books, I identify a critical discourse moment on Jews with the 1929 Wall Street Crash. This was intended to increase the number of relevant articles, but each article about the crash were not necessarily regarded as relevant. For it to be relevant it needed substance, either naming Jews or implying Jewish involvement. Due to a lack of connection between this story's development and anti-Semitism, the study does not end when interest in it wanes. Instead, it ends after a full year. My study then started with similar intentions to *Socialism of Fools?* (and the 7-day study in *Roots of Hate*), but became something of its own.

The alternative, of undergoing a study over years or even decades, was never really an option. Due to the low levels of anti-Semitism in the Worker Paper, representing a year through a few newspaper copies would have been faulty. Some years would have found anti-Semitism much higher to their true proportion and some years would have found no cases. A study spanning a few years and with a larger dataset from each would have alleviated some of these issues, but they would remain to some extent. The rapid developments of the interwar

[18] Brustein and Roberts, *The Socialism of Fools?*, 42.
[19] William I. Brustein, *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust*, (New York City: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 34-35.
It also includes two additional countries, Romania and Italy.
[20] Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 355.
[21] Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 19-20.

period would have made it more difficult to identify patterns.[22] I decided that continuity was the best way to represent the Worker Paper.

Brustein and Roberts' book essentially served as a response to a common view among scholars that anti-Semitism was only a minor problem on the left in the given period. The book identifies this position, the null hypotheses, with scholars such as Bernard Harrison, Gabriel Schoenfeld, Walter Laqueur, Alvin Rosenfeld and Leon Poliakov. Of the opposing view the scholars Edmund Silberner, George Lichtheim, Julie Kalman, Robert Wistrich, Jack Jacobs, David Cesarani and Michel Dreyfus are identified, although they are still in the minority.[23] The book derived from a scepticism of the null hyptheses and the findings serve as a refutation, although not fully.

The intention behind this thesis is the same kind of scrutiny. As I believe the case of Brustein and Roberts shows, the null hypotheses have been faulty. While the null hypotheses are a generalised notion, there is a Norwegian version of it as well. Before my thesis the empirical evidence has suggested that anti-Semitism was largely relegated to the agrarianist movement and the right, especially the Far-Right. This paper essentially contradicts what past investigations have suggested, as anti-Semitism is found to be somewhat of a problem in the Worker Paper.

In the contemporary debate on anti-Semitism, much of the focus has been on the left, especially concerning anti-Zionism. Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, there has been a debate about "New Anti-Semitism". There is great controversy involved with this specific term, and while my study is outside its period it will have some implications to this. Defining the borders of anti-Semitism, coincidentally to the case of a left-wing newspaper, will be most immediately relevant to this very debate. Applying the same reasoning that I employ in this thesis to the case of modern left-wing anti-Semitism one could examine the validity of the New Anti-Semitism thesis. Although modern anti-Semitism is claimed to be mostly manifesting in anti-Zionism, which naturally is much less the case for the interwar period, I think for the most part my method can be employed here as well.

There are certainly similarities between the proponents of the New Anti-Semitism thesis and the opponents of the null hypotheses. They both inspect the case of left-wing anti-

[22] I am here thinking of Labour's radicalisation of 1918-1923, the reunification with the Social Democratic Labour Party following it, the national debate over shechita 1926-1929, and the party's coalition government of 1935-1940. On the continent the 1933 Nazi seizure of power makes a major impact on Jewish-related coverage.
[23] Brustein and Roberts, *Socialism of Fools?*, 2 and 8.

Semitism and have found basis to claim it popular. But the similarities end here. Findings from the interwar years would not prove or disprove the claim of New Anti-Semitism. That would depend on the empiricism of its own period. One might claim that if one could trace New Anti-Semitism back to the interwar period it would strengthen the argument, as there would be continuity. The scholars of this view could very well make the argument, but it would be a connection they would make themselves and not one inherently implied by interwar research.

There is in reality little overlap between the two positions in the academic community, as any combination is possible. Brustein and Roberts names Wistrich as both a null hypotheses opponent and a New Anti-Semitism thesis proponent.[24] Juxtaposition this with Harrison who supports both theses,[25] and Brustein and Roberts themselves who found little evidence of left-wing anti-Semitism in their contemporary newspaper study.[26] One does not imply the other or share a historiographic tradition. This thesis was based on a scepticism of the null hypotheses, but this does not imply scepticism towards the critics of the term New Anti-Semitism.

1.3 Empirical Delineation and Primary Sources

The main body of this paper will deal with the period 28th October 1929 to 28th October 1930 of the Worker Paper's published newspapers. The master thesis started with the plan of examining interwar left-newspapers for anti-Semitism. Several start-dates were considered but ultimately I decided on the Wall Street Crash, which was intended to give more cases of anti-capitalist rhetoric devolving into anti-Semitism. The end-date serves to give one full year of source material, but it is also very close to the October 20th election loss which would lead to the Labour Party moderating its politics. This means that the party was more or less the same ideologically throughout the period.

The newspaper published daily, except on Sundays, but this is made up for with the Saturday editions which included a magazine of the same length. These magazines are

[24] Brustein and Roberts, *Socialism of Fools?*, 2 and 188.
[25] Bernard Harrison, *The Resurgence of Anti-Semitism: Jews, Israel, and Liberal Opinion*. (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 9.
[26] Brustein and Roberts, *Socialism of Fools?*, 195.

included in the study, and if counted the same as the ordinary newspaper copies, then the total number of copies is around 365. And an average edition of the Worker Paper had about 10 pages. The amount of material gained from this proved sufficient for the thesis.


Arbeiderbladet
Social-Demokraten
DET NYE OSLO
Finansdebatten i stortinget begynte idag
Arbeiderbladet
Lørdagskvelden
ØIENE I FJORDEN
I sommer og sol og sjø søker byens folk helsebot og samler krefter til den lange, strie vinter. Hytter og telt gir husly. Brune kropper og strålende fjes vrimler på strand og i sjø dagen lang.

Left: A normal edition of the Worker Paper. Arbeiderbladet, 11.02.1930. **Right**: The Saturday magazine. Arbeiderbladet, 12.07.1930.

The Labour Party was the one major left-wing party in Norway at the time and therefore quite representative of the Norwegian left. To use the Oslo-based Worker Paper seemed the best choice because it was the main party organ of the party. The contents of the Worker Paper are then more representative of the Labour Party than its other newspapers. All contents in the Worker Paper have been examined, mostly of a literary nature, but also some caricatures. Worker Paper copies were gathered from the online archive of the National Library of Norway.[27] On rare occasions, other primary sources will be referenced to make factual claims or to compare with the Worker Paper's contents.

[27] The newspaper archives of the National Library can be found here: https://www.nb.no/samlingen/aviser/.

1.4 Defining Anti-Semitism

When one works with anti-Semitism it is necessary to first define the term. And when one normally speaks of anti-Semitism one would use an easily understood popularised definition. For instance, this dictionary definition: "Hostility toward or discrimination against Jews as a religious, ethnic, or racial group".[28] Such a definition is a good starting point but within academic research, it is best to provide a more thorough and accurate description. With the term anti-Semitism, there is no scholarly consensus but I will here present the scholarly definition that I find to be the most practical, provided by Historical Sociologist Helen Fein:

> «a persisting latent structure of hostile beliefs toward Jews as a collectivity manifested in individuals as attitudes, and in culture as myth, ideology, folklore, and imagery, and in actions – social or legal discrimination, political mobilization against the Jews, and collective or state violence – which results in and/or is designed to distance, displace, or destroy Jews as Jews. (Herein, it is assumed that Jews are people who are socially labeled as Jews as well as people who identify themselves as Jews, regardless of the basis of ascription.)»[29]

This is a sociological definition of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism here is not simply a prejudice or hatred towards Jews, but a system. Individual prejudice is only one of its many components. Scholar Terje Emberland, describes Norwegian anti-Semitism in the period 1900-1940 as something latent and dependent on context. Such contexts, for example, could be one of competition around trade. Anti-Semitism is also described as a phenomenon predominantly manifesting in the form of texts. Emberland hesitates to give a more general characterisation of Norwegian anti-Semitism.[30] I essentially agree with Emberland's description, and along with Fein's definition of anti-Semitism, I characterise Norway in the interwar years as having a moderate system of anti-Semitism. The most extreme example of a system of anti-Semitism would be that of Nazi Germany. With this view of Norway I do not

[28] Marriam-Webster, s.v. "Anti-Semitism.", 14.04.2020. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/anti-Semitism.
[29] Helen Fein, "Dimensions of Antisemitism: Attitudes, Collective Accusations, and Actions" in *The Persisting Question: Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism*, vol. 1, edi. Helen Fein, *Current research on antisemitism*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), 67.
[30] Terje Emberland, «Antisemittisme i Norge 1900-1940» in *Jødehat: Antisemittismens historie fra antikken til i dag*, edi. Trond Berg Eriksen, Håkon Harket, Einhart Lorenz, (Oslo: Cappelen Damm AS, 2009), 401.

see examples of anti-Semitism as isolated incidents, but part of a larger system which to some degree, consciously or subconsciously, favours Gentiles over Jewish people.

On the usefulness of Fein's definition of anti-Semitism: It gives the needed admission that anti-Semitism operates in a way where all kinds of Gentile individuals can be branded as «Jews» by anti-Semites, and this is anti-Semitism too even if it does not attack an individual Jew. Anti-Semites often believe in conspiracy theories about Jewish world dominance. The paranoid element of this worldview often leads them to falsely accuse Gentiles in positions of power of being "crypto-Jews".[31] It can be compared to the well-known problem Barack Obama faced as president, of being seen by many Americans as secretly "Muslim". In part, this specific prejudice was built on Islamophobic fears about the "Islamisation of the West". Similarly, anti-Semites can completely fabricate someone as Jewish, or greatly exaggerate the Jewish component of someone's identity.

Who is a "Jew" in my study is not those who follow the religion, hold ethnic heritage or identify as such, but rather those that are expected to be perceived as Jews by the writers in the Worker Paper. This falls down to my assumptions of who the writers perceive as Jews. There are only a few exceptions where the perceived "Jew" does not overlap with Jew defined through religion, ethnicity and/or self-identification. For example, an ethnic definition of Jews would regard Jesus Christ as Jewish, but in this study, he is not assumed to be perceived as Jewish due to his heavy role in Christianity. I believe it would be faulty to interpret praise of Jesus Christ as proof of tolerance towards Jews. I will elaborate on this in chapter 6.

Complementing the general definition of anti-Semitism, I will be using a set of subcategories of as well. A commonly used division of anti-Semitism is that of scholar William Brustein, which operates with four variations (with some overlap) of anti-Semitism: religious, racial, political and economic.[32] I will be using these subcategories in my study only to a minor extent, as I will mostly focus on one I attempt to define myself. Following is a definition, but it will become clearer once it can be employed in specific cases later in the thesis.

The paper's main purpose is to identify the Worker Paper as either explicitly/implicitly anti-Semitic or something else. It is then necessary to define the terms "explicit anti-Semitism" and "implicit anti-Semitism. Explicit anti-Semitism is essentially more egregious

[31] Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 271.
[32] Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 45-46.

manifestations of anti-Semitic sentiment. But to define its borders more clearly, explicit anti-Semitism would one that is evident to any person. Nazi racial hatred would be the epitome of this form of anti-Semitism. In the case of implicit anti-Semitism, it is only clear to those who have some familiarity with it. For example, being aware of a Jewish stereotype. The earlier example with the London mural represents implicit anti-Semitism to its fullest extent, bordering on the explicit.

An additional feature of this subcategory, although not inherent, is plausible deniability. With the London mural, this is not present, as there are simply too many signs of anti-Semitism to reasonably argue that it is coincidental. But what if it only one signifier was present? Then whoever behind it could argue that it was by mistake or that it is being misinterpreted. They might have created anti-Semitic imagery, but it would not be possible to prove beyond any uncertainty that they had anti-Semitic intentions. Implicit anti-Semitism which includes the plausible deniability component usually falls on the lower ends of the spectrum, bordering on being not anti-Semitic.

1.5 Method

The paper relies on two forms of analysis: qualitative and quantitative. For the most part, the former will be used with only the last chapter being dedicated to quantitative analysis. Outside of this chapter, I will be highlighting certain passages of interest through direct quotation. The passages will then be deconstructed and have their exact meaning explained. In doing this I will be referencing anti-Semitic beliefs and how a given example might fit into those. Additionally, I will analyse the use of certain terms and their implications. This goes under literary analysis but in a few cases, I will also have to analyse imagery. Lastly, a given example will be placed in one of four categories: explicit anti-Semitism, implicit anti-Semitism, non-anti-Semitic or anti-anti-Semitic. Their categorisation will be made clear through their inclusion in chapters pertaining to each category.

In the case of the quantitative analysis, I have created a dataset in addition to an estimate. The dataset has been created through notes of each case where a Jew or Jews are mentioned and scores the sentiment as either positive, neutral or negative. The methodology is heavily inspired by William Brustein's newspaper study in *Roots of Hate*.[33] As well as

[33] Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 17-19.

providing some insights of its own, it will also be compared in relation to the noted cases of anti-Semitism and anti-anti-Semitism. The estimate, on the other hand, will work with a much narrower scope, but one much more relevant to the question of anti-Semitism. Here mentions are replaced with articles and only those particularly politically relevant to Jews are considered. The dataset and the estimate will bring a new complementary angle to the larger qualitative analysis. Based on both of these methods an accurate final characterisation of the newspaper can be given.

1.6 Chapters and their Substance

The second chapter in this paper is one of prehistory, providing the necessary historical context for later chapters. The prehistory will be that of the Norwegian Labour Party, beginning with its founding in 1887 and the leadership of its co-founders Christian Holtermann Knudsen and Carl Jeppesen. Subsequently, I will describe the rise of the party from marginal beginnings to a parliamentary party to a major party at the end of the period. Moreover, the chapter will be dealing with the internal conflicts of 1918-1923 which lead to two schisms and how these impacted the ideology of the party. Lastly, ideological and political positions relating to Jews will be defined.

In the third chapter the qualitative assessment of the Worker Paper begins with inspecting cases of explicit anti-Semitism in its first part and a particular manifestation of implicit anti-Semitism secondly (defences of the Soviet religious persecutions). Each case will be discussed in detail, explaining whatever anti-Semitic tradition it fits into, how anti-Semitic the contents truly are, including a justification for their categorisation. In total 6 cases will be examined, with half pertaining to each distinct category. The chapter will conclude with a general assessment of how representative explicit anti-Semitism was of the Worker Paper in the period.

The fourth chapter deals with implicit anti-Semitism, but the provided examples will not always be categorised as such. Although partially explained in the previous chapter, this chapter gives an elaborate explanation of what implicit anti-Semitism is and what it is not. Not all implicitly anti-Semitic cases are discussed, but all those outside of the Soviet religious

persecution topic are. As with the previous chapter, it will conclude with a general descriptor of how representative implicit anti-Semitism was of the Worker Paper.

The fifth chapter highlights cases where the Worker paper rhetorically or effectively opposes anti-Semitism. This is intended to give a larger perspective on Jewish discourse in the Worker Paper. But this opens up a contradiction with the earlier cases of anti-Semitism. Therefore, the chapter aims to make sense of this contradiction. Secondly, it will conclude generally on how representative anti-anti-Semitism was of the newspaper.

The sixth and last chapter will introduce and discuss a dataset, in addition to an estimate. The first is based on a sentiment score system and will have implications on their own. The dataset will be used in conjunction with noted cases of anti-Semitism (and anti-anti-Semitism) to give more specific insights. The estimate will also have this goal in mind. Through quantitative analysis the chapter will conclude with specifying the conclusions of the three previous chapters. The conclusion will not only represent the chapter but the thesis as a whole.

Chapter 2: The Roots and Ideology of the Labour Party: 1887-1929

This chapter will give an overview of the prehistory of Norway and the Labour Party before the 1929 Wall Street Crash. The chapter will, for the most part, narrate Labour's history in chronological order. The chapter will give a brief introduction to Norwegian politics in the 1800s to give context to the Labour Party's founding. Next, I will cover the founding of Labour and its early years. Afterwards, a part will deal with Labour's electoral challenges and results. Subsequently, I will deal with some of the issues Labour gave importance. Then the rise of the radical wing inside the party and the schisms that followed will be discussed. Before lastly, a brief overview of the biggest Jewish political issue in Norway during the period and Labour's reaction to it.

I will regard the history of Labour between 1887 and 1929 as a struggle between four ideologically distinct groups: Left-leaning liberals, social democrats, radical socialists and Marxist-Leninists. The chapter will show that each ideological group had its moments but that by 1929 it was the radical socialists that were the dominating force. I will posit that from Labour's position in 1929-1930, one would expect a wide variety of left-wing opinion in its newspaper, the Worker Paper. Additionally, one would expect the Worker Paper to generally treat Jews according to inclusive internationalist values. But judging from some anti-Semitic incidents Labour's prehistory, one would also expect there to be a certain amount of anti-Semitism in the Worker Paper's contents.

2.1 The Context of 1887

An independent Norwegian kingdom can be traced back to the Viking era, but it is with the constitution of 1814 that the modern Norwegian state dawns, gaining independence from Denmark. The constitution gave Norway a political system heavily inspired by the liberal ideas of the Enlightenment. It gave Norway an elected national assembly, the Storting, working as the legislative branch of government. Norway remained a monarchy though and the executive branch was the business of the monarch. Norway lost its independence after a

few months, to Sweden. The two countries were conjoined through a loose personal union with the Swedish king as the head of state. This meant that the Swedish king and his appointed ministers served as Norway's executive branch.

The elected representatives in the Storting would be divided between liberals and conservatives, the latter being the strongest. With the gradual widening of voting rights and the political mobilisation of the peasantry and radicals, the liberal grouping came to be the stronger one in the last third of the century. In Norwegian historiography parliamentarism is said to have been introduced in 1884, when Johan Sverdrup became prime minister, holding majority-support in the Storting. That year the liberals and conservatives formally established political parties. The liberals came to be known as «Left»[34] (V), and the conservatives became «Right»[35] (H). The liberals had been the force of progress for decades following 1814, but they were soon to be outflanked by a more radical force that truly could be described as left-wing (at least with the more modern understanding of the term).

In the decades before the Labour Party's founding, the votes of working people leaned towards V, as it was the closest they had to a worker party. In the same year as V's founding, a national workers union was established as well: The United Norwegian Worker Societies[36] (DFNA). This organisation essentially held the ideology of V and was not a labour union in the modern sense, since much of the membership were not workers.[37] Much of the membership changed allegiance to the Labour Party in the years following its founding.

2.2 The Founding of the Labour Party

A third founding party of Norway came to be in 1887, named the United Norwegian Labour Party.[38] Already four years later it changed its name to the Norwegian Labour Party.[39] A minor event at its time, the party was founded by a mere 29 participants, in the city of

[34] Translated to Norwegian: Venstre.
[35] Translated to Norwegian: Høyre.
[36] Translated to Norwegian: De forenede Norske Arbeidersamfund.
[37] Einar A. Terjesen, «Arbeiderbevegelse og politikk i 1890-årene», *Arbeiderhistorie* 5, (1991): 27.
[38] Translated to Norwegian: Det Forenede norske Arbeiderparti.
[39] Translated to Norwegian: Det norske Arbeiderparti.

Arendal. 18 of those participating came from Arendal.[40] As the original name suggests, the goal was to unite worker organisations under one banner and party. Two men from Kristiania (Oslo), Christian Holtermann Knudsen and Carl Jeppesen became the early leading figures. The very next national conference in 1888 was placed in the capital.[41] This was to be the clear centre for Labour organising. In the third conference, the organisation showed its independence from the already-existing DFNA. On the question of DFNA entry, every vote cast was against. The programme also included its first socialist formulation.[42]

Norway now had at least one party that represented right-wing politics, left-wing politics and centrist politics. The main parties of each side, Labour, H and V, are the three most influential in Norway's history. Even today the parties stand for a combined 56,8% (V: 4,4%) of the popular vote and 102 (V: 8) of the 169 seats in parliament.[43] It would take some time though for Labour to reach the significance of V and H.

The official newspaper of the Labour Party became The Social-Democrat (Social-Demokraten). The newspaper was created by Labour's co-founder Knudsen in 1884 as Our Labour.[44] Jeppesen served as editor for the first four years, and again between 1906 and 1912. Knudsen was editor again for a year after Jeppesen's first period. [45] Despite both being members of the Labour Party, Knudsen and Jeppesen participated in the internal decision-making of DFNA. The general goal in leftism of worker unity was sought after in the Norwegian context too. Ideally, DFNA would join Labour on a socialist path and unite as one. The socialist wing of DFNA was influential and moved the union towards more radical politics. But it ultimately failed to make it socialist. At the DFNA's national conference of 1891, the social democrats had been too vocal and visible. To stop a socialist takeover, Labour Party members were banned from the organisation.[46]

---

[40] Edvard Bull Jr., *Arbeiderklassen blir til: (1850-1900)*, vol. 1, edi. Edvard Bull Jr., Arne Kokkvoll, Jakob Sverdrup, pho. edi. Lill-Ann Jensen, *Arbeiderbevegelsens historie i Norge*, (Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1985), 368.
[41] Arbeiderbevegelsens arkiv og bibliotek, Landsmøter: beslutninger og resolutioner vedtagne paa samtlige landsmøter fra og med 1887 til og med 1909, Olav Kringen, Det norske Arbeiderparti, 17.
[42] Arbark., Landsmøter, Kringen, DNA., 20.
[43] Valgdirektoratet, Stortingsvalget 2017, 01.06.2019. https://valgresultat.no/?type=st&year=2017.
[44] Translated to Norwegian: Vort Arbeid.
[45] Store Norske Leksikon, s.v. «Dagsavisen», by Øyvind Breivik Pettersen, 21.03.2019. https://snl.no/Dagsavisen.
[46] Einar A. Terjesen, «Demokrati og integrasjon: Sosialistiske og liberale partier 1890-1914», *Arbeiderhistorie* 19, (2005): 89.

The Kristiania chapter, which had 3000 of the 13600 total members, went on to leave DFNA in favour of the Labour Party.[47] Any hope of uniting the two groups into one was effectively gone. The other potential ally Labour had, V, rejected cooperation with them.[48] The Labour Party was now forced to go an independent route, without any cooperation with liberals, despite sharing similar goals on important issues, such as voting rights. After the socialist exodus from DFNA, Labour stood strengthened, but it had a long way to go before reaching political prominence.

At the very end of the 19th century, in 1899, a nation-broad labour union would be formed: The Workers' National Trade Union[49] (LO). This would go on to become, by quite some distance, the most important labour union in Norway, and remains to this day. LO was closely tied to the Labour Party. The Labour Party originally tried to mix the role of labour union and political party, but with the establishment of LO, Labour rescinded its union role in support of LO. A rivalling union of employers, the Norwegian Employers' Confederation[50] (NAF) was formed the very next year.

2.3 Start of Electoral Politics

The Labour Party's first obstacle was the electoral system, which favoured larger parties and had voting as a privilege for a minority of the population, rather than a right given to every citizen. In its founding political programme, the Labour Party then included a demand for universal suffrage.[51] In 1894 Labour began to enlist for national elections. This proved to be a failure, as the party as of yet only had the capabilities of enlisting in a few districts.[52] The second main component in the failure being that the country lacked full suffrage for men and women.

The voting rights battle was part of the Labour Party's founding, but with too little support it was unable to change the laws. Fortunately, V also supported universal suffrage. Thanks to V from 1898 and onwards men had full voting rights in parliamentary elections.

[47] Terjesen, «Arbeiderbevegelse og politikk», 27-28.
[48] Terjesen, «Arbeiderbevegelse og politikk», 39.
[49] Translated to Norwegian: Landsorganisasjonen i Norge.
[50] Translated to Norwegian: Norsk Arbeidsgiverforening.
[51] Bull Jr. et al., *Arbeiderklassen blir til*, 369.
[52] Bull Jr. et al., *Arbeiderklassen blir til*, 488-489.

The Labour Party thought this would result in its electoral breakthrough. They had to wait a little longer though, as they failed to win a single seat in the Storting in the 1900 election.[53] Their vote share laid at 5,2%, which was comparably a much bigger number than past elections.[54] As the only socialist party in the field, the potential was clearly there for big gains in the future. The political project could not be abandoned. The boost in support for Labour that should accompany universal suffrage was still not fully shown, as that political battle had not yet been fully won.

In 1901 Norway achieved full suffrage for men minimum aged 25. In 1913 women gained the same voting status as men. One last exception from voting rights need to be mentioned though (introduced in 1898): Poor people who depended on welfare at least 1 year before an election would have their vote suspended. With Labour as a party wanting to stand up for the downtrodden in society, this disproportionately would affect their voting base. The law stood until 1919. In the first parliamentary election with universal suffrage, in 1915, 47 000 votes were suspended as a result of this law. About 2/3rds of those votes suspended came from women. In 1920 the age requirement for voters was reduced to 23 years.[55]

With the century passing over the worker union DFNA developed into a political party independent from V.[56] This was one of three partitions V suffered in its first few decades of existence, the other two stemming from its moderate faction, first in 1888 then again in 1909. The new worker party came to be known as the Labour Democrats[57] and belonged to the old left section of V. The Labour Democrats gained parliamentary representation but was only a minor party in its whole existence. In none of the elections the Labour Democrats contested they managed to beat Labour's vote share. What it did do was split the worker vote further.

In the 1903 election, the Labour Party gained parliamentary representation for the first time, winning 4 seats in the 117 seats large Storting. The vote share increased to 12,1%.[58] It was through the northern region of Troms they could own their success: three of the MPs were elected there. The last MP, Jørgen Berge, represented a constituency which included

[53] Store Norske Leksikon, s.v. «Mandatfordeling på Stortinget 1882-1936», by Knut Are Tvedt 03.06.2019. https://snl.no/Mandatfordeling_p%C3%A5_Stortinget_1882-1936.
[54] SNL, s.v. «Stortingsvalg - resultater 1882-2017», by Knut Are Tvedt, 03.06.2019, https://snl.no/Stortingsvalg_-_resultater_1882-2017.
[55] Stortingets utredningsseksjon, Perspektiv 02.2013: *Stemmerettsjubileet 2013: Kampen for kvinners stemmerett*, Tanja Wahl, Jannike Wehn Hegnes and Gro Vilberg. 14.
[56] Terjesen, «Arbeiderbevegelse og politikk», 32.
[57] Translated to Norwegian: Arbeiderdemokratene.
[58] SNL, s.v. «Mandatfordeling», by Tvedt.

both Troms and Nordland. In 1905 MP Adam Egede-Nissen from V changed party allegiance to Labour. He represented the region of Finnmark.[59]

The breakthrough in Northern Norway was surprising as it was a region of fishing and farming. The big reason behind Labour's success was the former V man, Alfred Eriksen. Before the 1903 election, he had established several labour unions as well as the labour paper Nordlys. Eriksen campaigned not on typical socialist policies but focused on the important regional issues. For fishermen in the region, their trade with Russians was key. But this trade was under threat from a new law seeking to limit it. The second issue for the fishermen concerned the reduction in the whale population. This had lead to smaller fish moving further away from the coastline and making the job of fishermen harder. Fishermen wanted there to be protections on whales to solve the problem. Eriksen took the pro-fisherman stance on both cases.[60]

In the 1906 election, the party doubled its mandate to 10 seats out of the now 123 seats in the Storting.[61] The Labour Party also improved its percentage of the national vote to 16%. In comparison, this was about half of what the conservatives got.[62] The boost in seats came from wins in Southern Norway cities. One of the seats were held by co-founder Knudsen.[63] Labour looked more like the party of workers it was supposed to be.

The Labour Party's growth did not show signs of stopping yet, as 20,4% of the vote became the result of the 1909 election. Disappointingly only one more seat was gained from this. Another 6 percentage points were gained the election three years later, ending at 26,5%. The amount of Labour MPs was more than doubled, to 23. In the 1915 election Labour became Norway's third-largest party in terms of the popular vote, with 32,1%. H became third with 29% of the vote. The Labour Party was still the third-largest party in terms of its mandate, having one less seat than H.[64] The imbalance between the popular vote and parliamentary representation only became clearer in the next election of 1918, where Labour

[59] Anders Kirkhusmo, «Sosialister og nasjonalister? Det norske Arbeiderparti i 190», *Arbeiderhistorie* 19, (2005): 6.
[60] Svein Lundestad, «Fiskerbønder, arbeidere og arbeiderbevegelse i Nordland og Troms 1900-1940», *Arbeiderhistorie* 4, (1990): 177-178.
[61] SNL, s.v. «Mandatfordeling», by Tvedt.
[62] SNL, s.v. «Stortingsvalg», by Tvedt.
[63] Øyvind Bjørnson, *På klassekampens grunn (1900-1920)*, vol. 2, edi. Arne Kokkvoll, Jakob Sverdrup, pho. edi. Lill-Ann Jensen, *Arbeiderbevegelsens historie i Norge*, (Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1990), 226.
[64] SNL, s.v. «Mandatfordeling» and «Stortingsvalg», by Tvedt.

had the highest vote tally but remained third biggest in the Storting.[65] This was the last parliamentary election before proportional representation took over as the systemic norm.[66]

2.4 Dilemma of Nationalism

As seen in Labour's forming years, the key issue from the start was that of universal suffrage. When the Kristiania duo of Knudsen and Jeppesen took over, the party went down a socialist path. The socialist movement sought to be international since the struggle for progress was one fought between workers and capitalists. The natural kinship for a worker was then with their fellow workers, not with their nation. National kinship was a distraction from this. The just war was the class war, not the war between nations. This would become extra relevant when the First World War began. The Labour Party found itself in a difficult political climate as the national question in Norway was one of the most heated questions of the day. Although Norway was freer from Sweden influence in this period than in the union's early years, it was by no means an independent state.

The Labour Party's international sympathies can be shown in the fact that Jeppesen was a delegate at the Paris International Socialist Conference in 1889.[67] The Labour Party conference that same year declared support for the decisions of the Paris conference.[68] What was made evident was that the national issue in Norway would not simply go away unless it was resolved through the personal union's collapse. In the long term, it would be better to channel resources towards demolishing the union, so that it would not overshadow the more relevant issues of the working class for an eternity.[69]

Going as far as a war of independence, or any war for that matter, was something the Labour Party rejected. The party took a staunchly anti-militaristic stance: The Norwegian military should simply be disbanded. If a war between Norway and Sweden broke out, it would be an unwinnable one, Labour argued. No amount of military mobilisation would change this fact. The same conclusion must be given if any of the world's great powers

[65] SNL, s.v. «Stortingsvalg» and «Mandatfordeling», by Tvedt.
[66] SNL, s.v. «Stortingsvalgenes historie», by Marte Ericsson Ryste, 03.06.2019. https://snl.no/Stortingsvalgenes_historie.
[67] Bull Jr. et al., *Arbeiderklassen blir til*, 482.
[68] Arbark., Landsmøter, Kringen, DNA., 20.
[69] Bull Jr. et al., *Arbeiderklassen blir til*, 485.

decided to invade Norway. War was then a pointless exercise which also caused great harm.[70] While Labour went the nationalist route on the union question, they went the conflicting international and socialist route regarding war and military. This is further highlighted in the fact that the Labour Party sought to arm the working class. It was never an outright rejection of violence, but violence that served no purpose to the working class.

Fortunately for Labour, the union was disbanded peacefully and before the party achieved real prominence. Norway became a fully independent state from Sweden in 1905, after an extraordinary 99,9% voted for disbanding the union in a referendum. In the following referendum, on the question of Norway becoming a monarchy or a republic, 79% voted for a monarchy.

Arming of the working class was finally rejected by a big majority in the 1906 Labour Party conference.[71] This meant that Labour essentially became fully anti-militaristic. The party received a lot of backlash from the parties, labelling Labour national traitors.[72] This was not helpful publicity for the party, as it contributed to creating the dilemma for the working class of choosing between one's class or one's nation. The Labour Party refused to moderate and when WW1 broke out, the party took this as further proof that they were right all along.[73] It was certainly a principled approach, but not the most pragmatic for winning over voters.

2.5 Rising Radicalism

The radical faction that would eventually take over the Labour Party and make it a Comintern member in 1919 can be traced back to the party conference of 1903. In 1903 there was a change in leadership. The co-founders and most important figures of the early Labour Party, Jeppesen and Knudsen, lost their key positions in the party. Knudsen was stripped of his title as party leader, the more moderate former V politician Christopher Hornsrud took over. While Jeppesen was removed from the party's central committee. Along with Hornsrud, the moderate Marius Ormestad was made deputy party leader. Jeppesen and Hornsrud were

[70] Bjørnson, *På klassekampens grunn*, 332.
[71] Jorunn Bjørgum, «Unionsoppløsningen og radikaliseringen av norsk arbeiderbevegelse», *Arbeiderhistorie* 19 (2005): 42.
[72] Bjørnson, *På klassekampens grunn*, 348.
[73] Bjørnson, *På klassekampens grunn*, 335.

avowed social democrats and the new leadership meant the Labour Party was in danger of developing in the social radical direction of the Labour Democrats. The Labour Party was now open to allying with V. The party also came to favour the parliamentary route to power.[74] This opposed to the more ambiguous position of the previous leadership, who had established the Labour Party as a parliamentarian party as well as a union for worker organisations.

In the 1906 party conference, the latent discontent of the 1903 conference became a full conflict. With this conference, we can speak of three different factions inside the party. The first was that of the social democratic founders Knudsen and Jeppesen. The new wave of moderation that had taken over the party leadership was the second faction. The third and last faction first came to fruition with the 1906 conference. A key figure in this event and the later schisms of the party was Martin Tranmæl. He was a young radical who became a leader for the youth members in the party, who sought a new course. This third faction in the party had its roots in the debate concerning the dissolution of the personal union with Sweden in 1905. As part of its agreement with Sweden (the Karlstad Treaty), following the independence referendum, Norway had pledged to close down its fortresses alongside its southern border with Sweden. While the Labour Party officially endorsed the agreement, some members vehemently opposed it. Among those were the parliamentarian leader Eriksen and the Social-Democrat editor Olav Kringen.[75]

For the youth revolt, the critics of the Karlstad Treaty were nationalists, and nationalism had no place within a socialist movement. Not only were the Karlstad critics targeted, but also the party leadership who had allowed them to not stick with the party line. This was weak party leadership. Tranmæl emphasised the need for party discipline in these matters.[76] In order to limit the influence of the moderates and Karlstad critics, the youth faction sided with the old party leadership. Together they accomplished their goal. The party completely reversed the decisions of the 1903 congress, as Hornsrud and Ormestad were stripped of their mandates, while Jeppesen and Knudsen regained their prominence inside the party structure. Knudsen was now made deputy leader and Jeppesen again became the editor of the Social-Democrat as well as a member of the central committee. For the young Tranmæl, it was enough to be elected into the central committee.[77]

[74] Bjørgum, «Unionsoppløsningen og radikaliseringen», 32-33.
[75] Bjørgum, «Unionsoppløsningen og radikaliseringen», 34.
[76] Bjørgum, «Unionsoppløsningen og radikaliseringen», 36.
[77] Bjørgum, «Unionsoppløsningen og radikaliseringen», 34-35.

When the split between the social and the political fight for the working class became official with the founding of LO in 1899, there was little that people like Knudsen and Jeppesen could do to reverse it. For Tranmæl the division between the social and political was unreasonable, as they were both part of the same class war. Tranmæl did not necessarily want LO and Labour to merge, but their work to be tightly coordinated, although there was already a clear partnership with LO and Labour. The victory of the working class was to be done through revolutionary agitation.[78] Elections were then of less importance. In 1911 Tranmæl founded the Trade Union Opposition[79] with the task of taking over LO and make it a revolutionary organisation. LO leader and member of the Labour Party Central Committee, Ole O. Lian, was very much opposed to this.[80]

Norway's Social-Democratic Youth Federation (NSU),[81] which Tranmæl had relied on for support in 1906, did not agree with his stance on revolution through social agitation.[82] Regardless, they effectively continued to partner with Tranmæl as he was a leading radical figure in the party. In 1911 the organisation had a mere 650 members. Already at the end of 1912, this number had risen to 3000. And at the end of 1917, the year before the radical wing's takeover, the group had somewhere between 7000 and 8000 members.[83] In the 1912 Labour Party conference NSU member and friend of Tranmæl, Kyrre Grepp, was made a member of the central committee. Grepp was behind the proposal to boot Eriksen from the party the same year.[84]

With the start of WW1 in 1914, Norway became increasingly isolated from the continent, as foreign trade was severely limited. The results were especially harsh on the lower classes, as product shortages and inflation ensued. The government responded with measures to limit the harm caused by the war, but conditions remained tough. A revolutionary moment was there for the taking. In 1917 LO finally agreed to arrange a demonstration against the government, demanding 150 million kroner in grants to ease their financial burden. The most used estimate claims 300 000 people joined the demonstrations, which would be three times the number of unionised people. The government set up a compromise

[78] Jorunn Bjørgum, «Arbeiderpartiet og LO i historisk persepktiv», *Arbeiderhistorie* 22, (2008): 248.
[79] Translated to Norwegian: Fagopposisjonen.
[80] Bjørgum, «Arbeiderpartiet og LO», 247.
[81] Translated to Norwegian: Norges Socialdemokratiske Ungdomsforbund.
[82] Bjørnson, *På klassekampens grunn*, 527.
[83] Bjørnson, *På klassekampens grunn*, 527.
[84] SNL s.v. «Kyrre Grepp», by Jorunn Bjørgum, 28.05.2019. https://nbl.snl.no/Kyrre_Grepp.

solution, where only a bit over half of the demanded aid was given.[85] LO had promised to organise a second gathering in case their demands were not accepted by the government. But a new LO meeting was postponed by the leadership.[86]

This provoked the ire of many in the union, not just the Tranmæl opposition. The same year worker councils were set up in the country, much like the soviets in Russia. The radical wing of the labour movement failed to topple the leadership of LO, but it made up for this by taking over the Labour Party. In the 1918 Labour Party conference, the Tranmæl opposition took over the leadership positions, Grepp became party leader.[87] Not only that but also their proposal to emphasise social upheaval equally with parliamentary politics was approved. What was a compromised proposal from the radical wing was interpreted by the social democrats as virtually a condemnation of the parliamentary route to socialism.[88]

2.6 The Comintern Conflicts

What eventually lead to the first schism of the party has its roots in the Russian Revolution. As the first country of a lasting communist revolution and as a major country, the Bolsheviks had not just gained power over Russia, but unofficially that of the radical left. In order to make their international position official and to coordinate socialist uprisings, they established a third Socialist International of their own making, Comintern. The wish of the Bolsheviks was not just to lead socialist revolutions abroad, but in part to control them. This was made evident in the Comintern Second Congress of 1920. At the gathering, a set of 21 conditions upon membership were presented to the welcomed parties. The Labour Party had already joined the Comintern the year prior, but it was with this gathering that there would be major ramifications.[89]

Three of these conditions were of particular importance. Firstly, all member parties had to institute Lenin's doctrine of "Democratic Centralism", a highly hierarchical and centralised party structure which did not allow any discord once a party decision had been

[85] Bjørnson, *På klassekampens grunn*, 502.
[86] Yngvar Øian, «Olav Scheflo og den nye retningen 1914-1918», *Arbeiderhistorie* 10, (1996): 177.
[87] Bjørgum, «Arbeiderpartiet og LO», 42.
[88] Øian, «Olav Scheflo», 179.
[89] Åsmund Egge, *Komintern og krisen i Det norske arbeiderparti*, (Oslo: Universistetsforlaget, 1995), 12.

made. The two next conditions logically follow from this doctrine, the second being that the member parties were obligated to follow the policies of the Comintern. This would mean the loss of the Labour Party's independence and making the Comintern the highest party organ. The third condition would be the exclusion of the "reformists" who were against Comintern membership.[90]

The Labour Party was not willing to accept how rigid the Comintern's terms were. There were essentially three factions, the first being one which opposed the conditions altogether. The second being the faction which endorsed the conditions, led by figures like Jacob Friis and Olav Scheflo.[91] The former was Labour's representative at the Comintern Executive Committee from 1920 to 1921 and was replaced by the latter that year. Scheflo had before then been the editor of the Social-Democrat, which was taken over by Tranmæl. Tranmæl remained the editor of the newspaper until 1949, which was renamed to the Worker Paper.[92] This means he was the editor during the period the later chapters deal with. He was also the one to lead the third faction, which did not fully endorse the Moscow conditions. Despite Tranmæl's earlier history of emphasising party discipline, he felt the Comintern conditions were a step too far.

To find an alternative solution Tranmæl met with the Chairman of the Comintern, Grigory Zinoviev, along with Scheflo and Grepp. Zinoviev was presented with the proposition of Labour not as a member of the Comintern but aligned with it and provided with an advisory vote in its affairs. The Soviet hard-line did not falter, as the proposal was rejected.[93] The outreach was had little chance of succeeding since the Labour Party had no other Comintern parties to argue the case for advisory membership. Tranmæl then had a serious dilemma, he could either begrudgingly support the Comintern conditions, or he could oppose it and risk a communist exodus. In spite of the seemingly black-and-white nature of the situation, he again tried for a third option. The third option was to accept the conditions, but with a postponement in their implementation. In effect, this would mean that Labour's decision would not be final and could be reversed if the conditions remained as they were.

[90] Eirik Wig Sundvall, «Arbeiderpartiet og klassekrigen: Striden om Moskva-tesene i 1920 i en internasjonal kontekst», *Arbeiderhistorie* 31, (2017): 66.
[91] Egge, *Komintern og krisen*, 13.
[92] Per Maurseth. *Gjennom kriser til makt: (1920-1935)*, vol. 3, edi. Arne Kokkvoll, Jakob Sverdrup and pho. edi. Lill-Ann Jensen, *Arbeiderbevegelsens historie i Norge*, (Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1987), 177-178.
[93] Egge, *Komintern og krisen*, 13.

This second proposal was accepted by the Comintern. With very little opposition the slightly adjusted conditions were voted through at the party conference of 1921.[94]

For now, the communist wing of the party was content, but the compromise option would be the most disastrous one in terms of keeping the party intact. A communist exodus was of course not the only danger looming, there were also the moderates which had been side-lined and increasingly alienated by the party's new course. With the adoption of the 21 conditions, they would eventually have to be thrown out. Even before the 1921 party conference, the moderate faction had narrowly decided to form their own party, the Social Democratic Labour Party of Norway.[95] One disaster had already been confirmed and unless the Labour Party could alter the most important terms it would either lose its autonomy or have a second schism.

The Comintern was willing to be patient with the Labour Party, even though it represented a minor country. Through a vulgar interpretation of Marx and Engels' dialectical materialism, the Bolsheviks came to believe after their revolution that an international proletarian uprising was on the horizon. First there was the belief that the Great War could be turned into a proletarian war. But the Bolsheviks were forced to accept harsh peace terms, as the Red Army could do little to stop the rapidly advancing German forces. When the Great War ended a war with the now independent Poland ensued. The Soviets were capable of defending themselves but when they tried to seize Warsaw, they failed and Poland could keep their independence. Additionally, the communist republics that sprung up in Germany and Hungary were quickly suppressed, and in the Finnish Civil War, the Whites had defeated the Reds.[96]

The prospects for a proletarian world revolution looked bleak and the Comintern was the one remaining tool to achieving it. A violent uprising had succeeded in Russia but failed elsewhere. But this was only one half of the Bolshevik success story, as their rise would not have been possible without their electoral success in the Duma and the Soviet councils. In this way, the Labour Party represented something similar and therefore was one of the best chances of a new communist revolution. Remember, it was Norway's most popular party upon their entry to the Comintern. And by dismissing the Labour Democrats as bourgeois, the Labour Party in 1919 had for decades been the one unifying force for the (political) left. For

[94] Sundvall, «Arbeiderpartiet og klassekrigen», 77.
[95] Maurseth, *Gjennom kriser til makt*, 170-172.
[96] Sundvall, «Arbeiderpartiet og klassekrigen», 69-71.

certain, the Labour Party would remain the dominant party of the left, despite the exclusion of the social democratic minority. Not without merit, the Bolsheviks saw Labour as a springboard for spreading the revolution to all of Scandinavia. The Scheflo-wing would, like the social democrats, struggle if they had to form their own party. The balance between the Tranmæl wing and the Scheflo wing was unclear, therefore a hard-line approach would be a definite gamble. Furthermore, the Comintern saw Tranmæl himself as more or less aligned with their interests.[97]

The feeling went both ways since Tranmæl identified as a communist. Indeed, the Russian version of communism need not be the only form of communism. The Tranmæl-wing was full of these more moderate communists and the Labour voting record suggests this. Prior to the social democratic exodus, the proposal for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and a socialist economy based on workers' (soviet) councils were voted through with very little opposition. Only the social democrats had voted against, who advocated a reformist and democratic route to socialism.[98] The Comintern eventually accepted that the Labour Party would only adopt a moderated version of democratic centralism.[99]

Tranmæl had gotten some accommodations, but it proved to not be enough. The central issue that became increasingly heated was the demand of Labour's full subordination to the Comintern. The Comintern could tolerate Tranmæl, but the "Tranmæl-wing" was not as uniform as the Scheflo one, as it consisted of figures like the LO leader Lian. Lian had accepted the dictatorship of the proletariat but had a widely different interpretation of what that entailed. For him, it was a short-term dictatorship whose purpose was to defend the revolution against violent counterrevolutionaries. As soon as the threat had been dealt with the socialist government would have to be built on democratic support.[100] For this, the Comintern wanted his exclusion. For the Labour Party, this was out of the question because it could not afford to lose its essential ties to LO.[101] In addition to this incident, after the Second Comintern Congress, there had been made further demands of its member parties, which again caused disputes in the Labour Party.[102]

[97] Egge, *Komintern og krisen*, 125-126.
[98] Maurseth, *Gjennom kriser til makt*, 117-121.
[99] Egge, *Komintern og krisen*, 60.
[100] Maurseth, *Gjennom kriser til makt*, 169-170.
[101] Egge, *Komintern og krisen*, 30.
[102] Maurseth, *Gjennom kriser til makt*, 272.

At the 1923 conference, the Labour Party made the decision which would lead to its exclusion from the Comintern. Prior to the event, Tranmæl had articulated all his issues with the Comintern conditions, in what came to be known as the Kristiania Proposal. If passed, the Kristiania Proposal would require Labour's Comintern representatives to work to amend the Comintern conditions.[103] Due to the importance of the Labour conference, the Comintern had sent one of the Soviet leading figures, Nikolai Bukharin, to oversee its development. One of his acts there ended up having a major impact. Based on what he viewed as an anti-Semitic article in the Labour-affiliated journal "Mot Dag", he charged, in front of the conference attendees, that it was a potential breeding ground for fascism. Later he rivalled the Kristiania Proposal with one of his own but lost out 94 votes to 92. One of these votes had switched to the Tranmæl side after Bukharin's fascism charge.[104] The Tranmæl wing's victory allowed it to consolidate its hold on the party.

The Comintern eventually responded with an ultimatum: either follow its decrees or risk expulsion. This was one last bold attempt to shift the balance back to the Scheflo-wing.[105] The Comintern had already overstepped once and in this second display, it lost yet again but by a larger margin. The minority group left the party and formed the Communist Party of Norway.[106] The party only had some prominence in the first few years after forming and immediately after WW2 due to their important role in the Norwegian resistance movement. Outside of these few years the party was largely irrelevant in Norwegian politics and did little to hurt the Labour Party's popularity.

The second split opened up the possibility for a reunion with the social democrats. This was achieved in 1927 and electoral success immediately followed, as it exactly doubled its percentage from the 1924 election to 36,8%. With that, it became for the first time in its history the country's biggest party in terms of parliamentary representation, with almost double as many seats as its closest competitor.[107] The election would the next year lead to the first Labour government. The non-socialist parties forced it to step down only 18 days later, making it the shortest-lived government in Norwegian history. By the time of October 1929, the Labour Party was a diverse coalition of socialists. From everything between social democrats to its right and communists on the left. There were even some former Communist

[103] Maurseth, *Gjennom kriser til makt*, 284.
[104] Egge, *Komintern og krisen*, 80.
[105] Egge, *Komintern og krisen*, 104.
[106] Maurseth, *Gjennom kriser til makt*, 296-298.
Translated: Norges Kommunistiske Parti.
[107] SNL s.v. «Stortingsvalg» and «mandatfordeling», by Tvedt.

Party members which returned, like Scheflo and its first party leader Sverre Støstad.[108] It would only be with the electoral set-back of the October 1930 election, that Labour would start moderating its revolutionary politics.

2.7 The Shechita Debate

The most public issue surrounding Jews in Norway before the rise of Hitler was that of the legality of shechita, the Jewish method of animal slaughter. Jews are obliged by their faith and culture to not consume blood, therefore shechita involves a clean cut to the animal's artery and subsequentially tapping it of all its blood. In the late 19th century and the early 20th century Europe this method came under pressure for its perceived animal cruelty. But the debate was never simply about animals' wellbeing, as the shechita opposition was joined by anti-Semites that saw it as a chance to disenfranchise Jews and to stir up hatred. Indeed, the time in which the movement first gained momentum coincided with the rise of anti-Semitism in the 1870s.[109]

In Norway, the issue first appeared in the 1890s. Advocates did not seek a complete ban, but a guarantee that animals would be stunned before the undergoing of the procedure, which became law in neighbouring Finland the year 1902 (scrapped the following year). For Jews, the distinction did not matter much, as the regulation would take away the meat's Kosher status. Shechita first came up in the Storting in 1914, but the parliamentary process that eventually led to a stunning regulation started in 1926 (it became law 3 years later).[110]

The Labour MPs were quite mixed in their outlook on the shechita legislation. The Labour supporters of the bill did at times cross the line into anti-Semitic rhetoric. MP Johannes Bøe, for example, commented that the reason Jews did not consider making kosher food from just the animal's bottom half, was because it would be too costly (to remove its blood vessels) and «Jews live off and for business».[111] While many Jews in Norway were involved in trade, this quote generalises and stereotypes Jews as a profiteering class, which

[108] SNL s.v. "Olav Scheflo" and "Sverre Eilertsen Støstad". 26.05.2020. https://snl.no/Olav_Scheflo. https://snl.no/Sverre_Eilertsen_St%C3%B8stad.
[109] Michael F. Metcalf, "Regulating Slaughter: Animal Protection and Antisemitism in Scandinavia, 1880-1941", *Patterns of Prejudice* 23, (1989): 32.
[110] Metcalf, «Regulating Slaughter», 36-39.
[111] Per Ole Johansen, *Oss selv nærmest: Norge og jødene 1914-1943*, (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1984), 176-177.

neglects the variety in Jewish class background. Jews working in the factories would not be able to identify with this description. Bøe also used the connotative term «the moneyjews».[112]

Another Labour MP who used anti-Semitic language, although of a different variety, was Svend Skaardal: «What is it here that we really should give the highest priority: Either the Jewish Congregation's interests or the Norwegian people's?».[113] The quote indirectly states that Jews are not Norwegians, even if most Jews in Norway at the time did have citizenship. It's the kind of rhetoric that justifies discrimination because it also includes the notion that Norwegian interests should come first. But there were also MPs who understood that anti-Semitism characterised the debate. MP Sverre Støstad remarked in parliament that he suspected the real motives of the shechita ban was "racial hatred."[114]

2.8 Conclusion

The period covered in this chapter does not show a harmonious development. When the Labour Party began it was a tiny party with big goals. But a vacuum was filled by establishing Norway's first social democratic party and national union. A little more than a decade later though LO was formed and practically took away Labour's second function. In its first years, the Labour Party sought to infiltrate and take over DFNA, as well as engage in pragmatic collaboration with V. Little was achieved in these endeavours, as the liberal movement was quite hostile to socialism.

When the moderate faction of the Labour Party toppled the veterans, perhaps there was a change for the party to resemble that of the Labour Democrats. The moderates did not hold their positions for long, as an alliance between the social democrats and the radicals defeated them only three years later. For long then Labour was run by social democrats, until they were replaced by radicals in 1918, capitalising on the damage caused by WW1 and the rise of the Bolsheviks in Russia. Labour's new international ties forced the social democrats to establish their own party. Despite the party's more ambiguous relation to internationalism in its early years, the Comintern membership shows that Labour was a decisively

[112] Johansen, *Oss selv nærmest*, 65.
[113] Johansen, *Oss selv nærmest*, 70.
[114] Johansen, *Oss selv nærmest*, 69.

internationalist party. For the Worker Paper to engage in anti-Semitic prejudice it would have had to betray its internationalist principles to some extent.

Nonetheless, the enthusiasm towards Soviet communism quickly diminished, not by abandoning internationalist ideology, but because of the overbearing directives of the Comintern. Almost half the party was willing to accept Comintern's terms, but these were narrowly defeated and left to found the Communist Party of Norway. Due to its troublesome development, some Communists would return to Labour some years later. With the break from the Comintern, the way was open for reunification with the social democrats, which happened in 1927. The party's position as the biggest parliamentary party in the country from the October 1927 election until the October 1930 election signals the high-point of radical socialism in Norwegian history.

Finally, the Labour Party did not show a great interest in the issues of Jews, most probably due to their low numbers in Norway. Even so, an episode relating to anti-Semitism incidentally had a major impact in deciding the route of the party. Furthermore, when a Jewish issue, shechita's legality, became a national debate the Labour Party did not fully distance itself from the anti-Semitic elements of the debate and on occasion contributed to it. This history gives further reason to examine the contents of a Labour newspaper like the Worker Paper.

Chapter 3:

"The True Jew": Explicit Anti-Semitism and its Boundaries

This chapter will aim to establish the borders between explicit and implicit anti-Semitism. In doing so, it includes examples of both. The first subchapter pertains to explicit anti-Semitism and will showcase the three cases found in the Worker Paper. In the second subchapter, the particular topic of the Soviet religious persecutions and their relevance to anti-Semitism will be discussed. This half of the chapter essentially deals with implicit anti-Semitism on the border of the explicit.

There are few cases of explicit anti-Semitism found in the Worker Paper, but there are enough to analyse, and doing so in detail. In the implicit anti-Semitism subchapter, there are also only 3 examples, but they are chosen as the most relevant of a larger total. The explicit anti-Semitic cases include some comments about their placement as such, but since their categorisation are rather obvious, what defines explicit anti-Semitism can be more seen in its difference from the later examples of implicit anti-Semitism. Albeit there could be additional implicit anti-Semitic components to the explicit ones, in which case they will be clarified. The implicit subchapter will also explain the reasoning behind its categorisations. Additionally, the nature of implicit anti-Semitism will be elaborated on further in the next chapter.

This chapter will argue that the Worker Paper had a minor problem of explicit anti-Semitism in its coverage of Jewish issues. Furthermore, it will be argued that the second example of explicit anti-Semitism is a particularly severe one. The second subchapter will argue that, in terms of severity, its examples are the ones that come the closest. A characterisation of how representative implicit anti-Semitism was for the Worker Paper in 1929-1930, will be given in the next chapter.

3.1 The Explicit Cases

3.1.1 The "Silly Jew"

The first case of explicit anti-Semitism is a caricature and the only one in this category. Anti-Semitic imagery will be brought up again later in the next chapter, where the bigotry is not so evident. The caricature looks like the following:

To the **left**: Arbeiderbladet, 06.09.1930, 8. To the **right**: Smith's Weekly, 12.07.1930, 24.

The caption states:

> "The Jew: They snatched away my tie with the diamond pin in it. It was a very expensive one too – grey silk with blue stripes."[115]

The caricature was originally made by the Sydney-based newspaper Smith's Weekly and republished by the Worker Paper. But the Worker Paper version has a few changes to it. Firstly, in the original, the Jewish character is given a typical Jewish surname in "Cohen", while the republished version has changed this to the cruder "The Jew". Although I would nonetheless have argued that there are enough anti-Semitic signifiers to label it explicitly anti-Semitic, the fact that it outright states the character is Jewish makes the categorisation simple.

[115] Arbeiderbladet, 06.09.1930, 8.

It is an open depiction of a Jew in a very unfavourable and stereotypical light. The second change is the removal of the stereotypical Yiddish accent. The change in lighting is only caused by different printing standards. The changes made essentially balance each other out, one taking the drawing in a more anti-Semitic direction, the other in the opposite direction.

The comic strip joke is that the Jew is behaving excessively materialistic and silly. He reveals to the police officer that he lost a *diamond* pin but then feels the need to brag about how expensive and nice the actual tie was. The idea of Jews as a materialistic people is among the most common stereotypes of them.[116] There are also a few visual components which suggest affluence, and with it, highlight his materialistic character. Those being his clothes, being overweight and having a double chin. The latter also has the purpose of portraying him as ugly, along with his exaggerated nose and dark face.

Combined with some other details like thick lips, dark curly hair, short height and arguably pointy fingers, the Jew is highlighted as different and outside the national "normal". Although the comic strip is Australian and therefore has different notions of what the "national normal" constitutes, there is nonetheless much overlap. The Norwegian national ideal is thought of as tall, blond, slim and with a small nose.[117] In juxtaposition with the Jew, his differences are made clearer through contrast. Indeed, all the aforementioned visual details work to form, either directly or indirectly, an image of the unwelcome Jewish "other".

3.1.2 Fully Developed Anti-Semitism

The following example is the gravest found in the Worker Paper. It is a very long opinion piece discussing the justification for borders, their usefulness and potential harms. A section of the article is dedicated to borders as a tool for dividing nations and "races". This section starts as follows:

> "Naturally, there must also be borders between the races. […] You could tell us as much as you want about us all being brethren, […] you can never replace that feeling, or lack of feeling, a white man has towards a yellow or a black. People who claim they

[116] Lars Lien, "«Jøden» og det nasjonale i den norske dags- og vittighetspresse 1905–1925", *Pressehistorisk tidsskrift* 12, nr. 24 (2015): 35.
[117] Ingjerd Veiden Brakstad, «Jøden som kulturell konstruksjon i norske vittighetsblader ca. 1916-1926», In *Forestillinger om jøder – aspekter ved konstruksjonen av en minoritet 1814-1940*, edi. by Vibeke Moe and Øivind Kopperud, (Oslo: Unipub, 2011), 110.

> can mingle with Siamese and Negroes with the same comfort as whites, are lying or are living in a hallucinated state."[118]

This is an overtly racist statement, but does not necessarily include Jews as long as they are not considered a "foreign race". But the following paragraph makes it clear that it includes Jews:

> "No race in this sense has been more arrogant than the Jewish. No people have to this extent dared claim that it is God's chosen, Abraham's sons were going to be as numerous the stars of the sky and sand of the sea and rule the Earth. The true Jew despises all other races, and lets no chance go unused to punish them for their real and alleged misdeeds. Then it is not so strange that from the other side you would show a certain – and a wise caution. If borders are set for one side, then naturally it must impact the other as well. The Jews can be content with being chosen by Yahweh, if we do not have to choose them as well."[119]

The first paragraph attempts to rationalise a certain level of racism and xenophobia manifested through a feeling of superiority and/or seeing them as the "other". Yet in the second paragraph Jews are criticised for supposedly taking this too far. It is often pointed out by anti-Semites that Jews are "arrogant" due to exclusionist elements in their religion and culture. This particular anti-Semitic charge can be attributed to three things. Firstly, Judaism's more ambiguous relationship to the universalist doctrine, differentiating it from Christianity. A sort of xenophobia stemming from a Christianity-centric worldview.[120] But it is also a "damned if you do, damned if you don't" situation, since if Judaism was fully universalist it most certainly would have informed conspiracy theories about Jewish world dominance.

The second thing is the centuries of European discrimination against Jews, placing them in ghettos. This history would, if anything, lead one to instead stereotype Gentiles as exclusionist. Thirdly, the Jewish response to nationalist assimilation efforts in Europe, particularly Germany. Here the answer to the "Jewish Question" of how to integrate Jews into the nation and society, was to make them fully "German", to abandon their Jewish faith and culture. Many Jews did go along with assimilation, but most were unwilling.[121] That this

[118] Arbeiderbladet: Lørdagskvelden, «Grense og front», 11.10.1930, 4.
[119] Arbeiderbladet: Lørdagskvelden, «Grense og front», 11.10.1930, 4.
[120] When I say "Christianity-centric" this also encompasses secular Enlightenment thinkers. An alternative could be "culturally Christian", similar to the notion of being culturally Jewish.
[121] Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 85-88.

would be evidence of Jews as exclusionist is strange, as no cultural group would be fully willing to give up its culture if it was demanded of them. The "exclusionist" charge against Jews amounts to little more than a stereotype.

There is also an implication of a Jewish conspiracy in the author's writing. It is said that Abraham's sons were going to rule the Earth, but this is not the promise Abraham is given by God according to Judaism. Abraham is only promised a holy land from the Nile to the Euphrates.[122] God does give the Jewish people his blessings but their role was never to rule the world, only to be a "light unto the nations". The Jewish land with their people loyal to God would serve as a moral inspiration for the rest of the world.[123] Jews have been chosen by God for this mission but it does not follow from this that Jews have been given the role of ruling Earth. It is not an unusual charge for anti-Semites to twist the "chosen people" phrase as proof of a Jewish conspiracy.[124] The paragraph's last sentence seems to mean that to "choose the Jews" is to allow them inside Gentile countries, but considering past comments it also implies that Jews would seek to dominate Gentiles.

The charge that Jews exploit anti-Semitism to punish Gentiles is an odd one. It is not at all clear what the author is referring to. If "punishment" is simply to go through the legal process to seek justice for acts of anti-Semitism then that is only an issue from the perspective of an anti-Semite, with perhaps a small exception in these "alleged" cases. This is a position that is hard to defend, so it is more likely the author thinks of punishments outside the law. One could see how the author has additional reasons for wanting to separate Jews from Gentiles, not just because they are "foreign" and do not fit into society, but also because they are perceived as a threat.

The author sees borders as the solution, but it is not exactly clear what his border policy would look like. One possibility is that it is not much different from the one that was already present. Jews only constituted approximately 2000 people in Norway, so perhaps the author would accept small numbers of them as long as their numbers remained tiny.[125] But to not allow this from ever changing it would at least require a certain level of discrimination towards Jewish immigrants. Unless refugees were an exception, the author would in all

[122] Gen. 15:18.
[123] Leonard Rogoff, "Greater Heights of Spiritual Achievements A Jewish Light unto the Nations", in *Gertrude Weil: Jewish Progressive in the New South*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).
[124] Michele Battini, *Socialism of Fools: Capitalism and Modern Anti-Semitism*, trans. Noor Mazhar and Isabella Vergnano, (New York City, Columbia University Press, 2016), 23.
[125] Emberland, «Antisemittisme i Norge», 403.

likelihood have endorsed the Norwegian government's discrimination of Jewish refugees some years later, had he been alive to witness it.[126] The second option is to return to the Norwegian policy of denying Jews entry in the first part of the 19th century. Regardless of the severity, the author is not just spreading anti-Semitic prejudices with the article but also advocating anti-Semitic policies.

The last paragraph which pertains to Jews then paradoxically denounces the anti-Semitism of the Nazi Party in Germany:

> "But from the border standpoint to go to front war, to show personal shamelessness on the lower level, to political brutality on the larger level, pogroms at worst, that is an absurdity and an atrocity. When anti-Semitic thinking develops into a rawness like the one in our times, where in Germany a large party is built up on that filth, then you are beyond what is natural, you are in the middle of a war, a war which shares with all other wars that it is to everyone's detriment and to no one's gain."[127]

The passage differentiates between a "natural" form of anti-Semitism and a vile one in its most extreme manifestation, Nazism. And while it is possible to have these two ideas simultaneously, it is not without contradictions. Firstly, the separation of the two becomes more difficult considering that the Nazis were not fully pledged to genocide to begin with (although Hitler speaks of it in Mein Kampf).[128] Prior to the full development of the "Final Solution" there were plans to deport the Jews to Madagascar, or even Palestine.[129] This is more in line with the journalist's position. Furthermore, Nazi ideology would never have been able to develop without centuries of the type of anti-Semitism the author is defending. They are a necessary premise and if accepted then Nazism suddenly does not look that extreme anymore. The author essentially accuses Jews of wanting to dominate Gentiles and of persecuting them. One only has to slightly rephrase this to warfare, and it would quickly devolve into Nazism. If it is warfare then it would be absurd not to fight back. This is the danger behind the author's ideas and he would have to find a way to thread the needle.

In defending anti-Semitism and for advocating anti-Semitic policies, the author undermines the anti-Nazi message and instead unintentionally contributes to Nazi ideology. In

[126] Johansen, *Oss selv nærmest*, 90-104.
[127] Arbeiderbladet: Lørdagskvelden, «Grense og front», 11.10.1930, 4.
[128] Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1889-1936: Hubris*, vol. 1, (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 244.
[129] Peter Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, Trans. Jeremy Noakes and Lesley Sharpe, (New York City: Oxford University Press, 2012), 508 and 456.

order to fully reject Nazism one not only has to reject its conclusions but its premises as well. If the author had prefaced the anti-Nazi paragraph with a critique of anti-Semitism itself then the paragraph would have had the intended impact. This does not mean that the author's denouncement of the Nazis is meaningless or inauthentic. It is of some small value as the view of Nazism would have been an ambiguous one had it not been included. And with the rise of the German Nazi Party, opposition to it was a necessity in media to combat it. Yet overall, the article is more counterproductive than productive.

3.1.3 A Response to Early Zionism

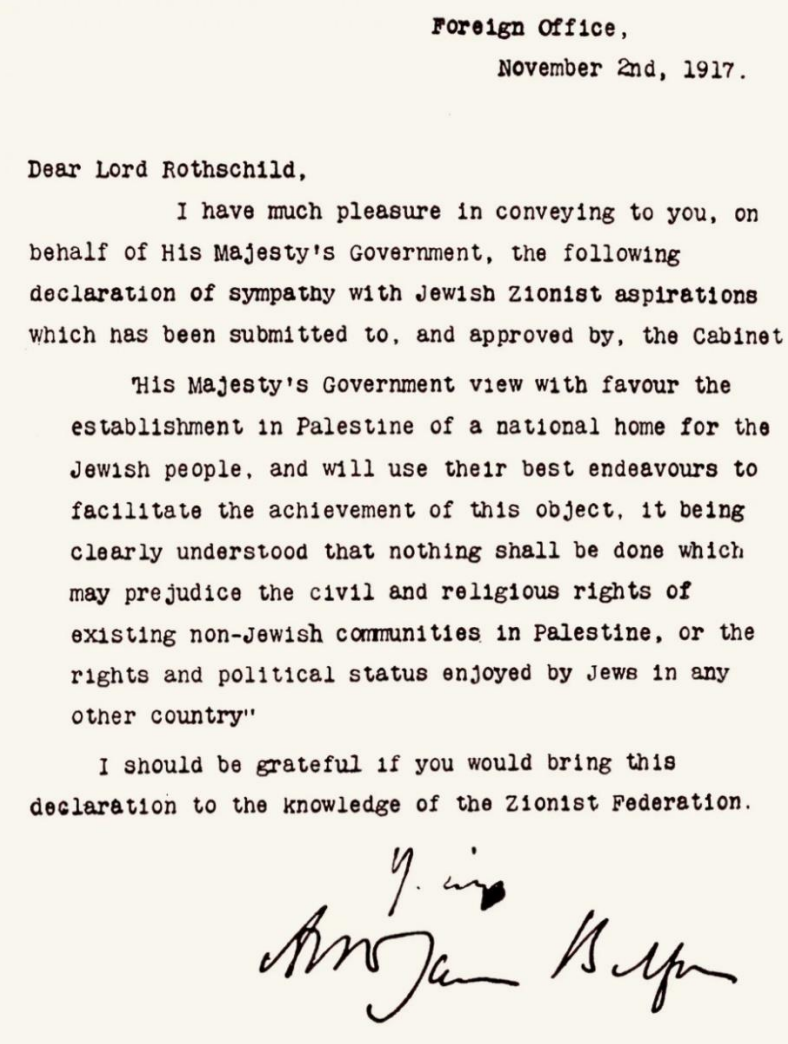
The only other openly anti-Semitic article found in the Worker Paper is one about the British Mandate for Palestine. The article mocks the idea that the mandate was established for humanitarian reason. In addition, the journalist (the same as the previous article), ascribes the British mission in Palestine as influenced by Christian religious motives and wanting to improve relations with "high finance":

> "Mr. Balfour wrote his famous note, where he promised that there would be created a national home for the Jews in their lost fatherland. Notes like these – despite their unconditional transparency – do not hurt the relationship to high finance, which truthfully do not themselves feel any overwhelming need to exchange their European castles with the huts by Jericho, but which would very much like seeing their less affluent countrymen seeking back to Jordan's river banks – then they are removed, or at least in appropriate distance."[130]

The term "high finance" is here not used its normal sense, but actually refers to Jewish high finance. This is made evident by the fact that the poor Jews migrating to Palestine are referred to as "their countrymen". With the chosen formulation, high finance is equated with Jewish high finance despite the latter only being a subdivision of the former. It builds on the stereotype of finance as the quintessential Jewish profession. Additionally, it relies on prejudices about the finance sector being Jewish-dominated, which reaches into anti-Semitic conspiracy theory territory.[131]

[130] Arbeiderbladet, «Mandat over Palestina.», 30.08.1930, 3.
[131] Steven Beller, *Antisemitism: A Very Short Introduction*, (New York City: Oxford University Press, 2007), 72-73.

More specifically the journalist is undoubtedly, at least in part, referring to British banker Lord Walter Rothschild. This is due to the Balfour Declaration being a publicised letter from British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to him personally:



Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country"

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

British Foreign Office, 02.11.1917, British Library.

Ironically, had the author been more explicit in this particular phrasing it would likely have appeared a lot less anti-Semitic, if at all. Nonetheless, the anti-Semitism later becomes more apparent:

> "Now the country had become Arab. The great majority of the population was, and has for centuries been Mohammedans. These people looked with great concern on the new colonisation, and the Jews, the new and the old, with great envy on the real natives. And when humbleness has never been a particular characteristic for the Jews, they did

not exactly behave nicely, certain as they were on having the British world power behind them."[132]

What initially might seem like a commentary on the contradictions of Zionism, claiming an already inhabited area as their national home, quickly devolves into anti-Semitic characterisations. Considering the subsequent sentence, and the prior article discussed, for the writer it is not a problem of Zionism but a problem with Jews. For him, the envy mentioned is a manifestation of the "Jewish loathing of other races".

But the past two specific quotes I have responded to could have been identified as anti-Semitic based on the prior article. It is with the next sentence that it becomes explicitly anti-Semitic, a negative generalisation of Jews as people. And where it perhaps would only have been a minor showing of bigotry removed from its context, through context it is easy to discern what is exactly meant by it. Beyond the implication already suggested in the preceding comment (of Jews as "xenophobic"), this is an accusation of Jews as excessively prideful. Indeed, the opposite of humility is arrogance. This is the type of anti-Semitism characteristic of secular Enlightenment thinkers and later in part echoed by Karl Marx.[133]

3.2 The Soviet Persecution of Religious Jews

Out of the positions that were repeatedly posited in the Worker Paper there was one of them which was especially detrimental to Jews. This was the position which it took on the ongoing religious persecutions in the Soviet Union, of which religious Jews were among its victims. Although Joseph Stalin himself held personal prejudices towards Jews, the anti-Semitism of his regime was rather toned-down in its early years. With its position as the dominant religious denomination in the country, the Orthodox Church and its believers were the main targets of the religious persecutions of the late 1920s and early 1930s.

The campaign's relevance to anti-Semitism is then not that Judaism was seen a bigger threat than the other religions, but that their particular persecution was partially justified on anti-Semitic notions (along with the general anti-religious notions).[134] Particularly the biggest

[132] Arbeiderbladet, «Mandat over Palestina.», 30.08.1930, 3.
[133] Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 87.
[134] Weinberg Robert, "Demonizing Judaism in the Soviet Union During The 1920s", Slavic Review 67, No. 1, (2008): 121-122.

supporters of the religious persecutions, the government-backed League of Militant Atheists, spread anti-religious propaganda of an anti-Semitic nature, through its various outlets.[135] In the anti-Judaism part of the persecutions, the daily Yiddish newspaper "Der emes", which was owned by the Communist Party, needs mentioning. Along with the later established (1931) Militant Atheist magazine "Der apikoyres", the persecutions were justified to a specifically Yiddish-speaking audience and included the use of anti-Semitic imagery.[136] The factor of anti-Semitism in the persecutions can also be seen in how they were especially forceful towards Reform Judaism, considering it "bourgeois".[137]

[135] Victoria Smolkin, *A Sacred Space Is Never Empty: A History of Soviet Atheism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 46.
[136] Weinberg, "Demonizing Judaism", 152.
[137] Heinz-Dietrich Löwe, "Reconstructing in the Image of Soviet Man: The Jews in the Soviet Union, 1917-1941", *Cahiers slaves* 11-12, (2010): 281.

A cover from one of the League of Militant Atheists' magazines, depicting Jehovah on the left as a grotesque Jewish caricature. Bezbozhnik, no. 22, 1929, New York Public Library.

The Worker Paper's position on the developments in the Soviet Union was somewhat ambiguous.[138] Articles on the subject could be placed in one of four categories. Firstly, critique and rejection. Only one article can be found in this category.[139] Secondly, total neutrality, to the point where the Soviet Union's statements of denial on the atrocities are effectively regarded of equal worth to the allegations against them. Thirdly, uncertainty about what was actually happening in the Soviet Union. And Lastly, suggestive or open denial of the campaign's severity.

Only of the two articles explicitly mention Jews or Judaism, but neither of these are in the denial category (or the critique for that matter). This is part of the reason why the Worker Paper's position cannot be regarded as explicitly anti-Semitic. Their comments are only implicitly about the Jewish victims. Secondly, since the persecutions were against religion altogether, and not separate but contemporaneous persecutions against different religions, the Worker Paper's stance is just as much anti-Christianity and anti-Islam as it is anti-Judaism. The only thing the Worker Paper is being explicit about is their anti-religious sentiment. It is only through, in effect, support of the anti-Semitic elements in the oppression of religious Jews, that the newspaper can at all be guilty of (implicit) anti-Semitism. While there is no anti-Semitism in their rhetoric, which is also different from the later chapter examples of implicit anti-Semitism, it is really the gravity of the position taken which makes them so unique in the category. There are only these articles that come close to the severity of the earlier article which argued for policies of discrimination towards Jews. The placement of these articles as close to explicitly anti-Semitic is also based on the likelihood that such had been present in some of the articles had Jews been given the same attention as Christians.[140]

[138] This is in line with the Worker Paper's view of religion outside this context. In the period 1929-1930 it for example platforms a back-and-forth debate on religion as an ill or a force for good.
[139] Arbeiderbladet, «Valg, henrettelser og menneskekokning.», 09.10.1930, 3.
[140] For example, one of the articles which mentioned Jews makes this peculiar comment:

> "Reports of ongoing religious persecutions in Soviet Russia have in the last few months been spread over the whole world and caused great outrage within the three religious categories it pertains: Christendom, Judaism and Mohammedanism. Especially within the first. The Jewish community has always been persecuted, and do not expect anything else. But is it not also strange that when the Jewish congregation was established and its theology developed ca. 500 years before Christ, it likely amounted to no more than 10 000 souls in the whole Persian Empire; today it stands at about 15 million?"

Likely a reference to the now largely discredited historiographic hypothesis that Ashkenazi Jews originated from the Medieval Turkic state Khazaria, around modern-day Southern Russia.
Quote: Arbeiderbladet, «Kampen om religionen.», 06.03.1930, 3.

It is the third category, of denial, that will be of interest to this subchapter. The total tally of articles in this category amounts to 10. Some of these include only very minor remarks on the situation and therefore will not be looked at in detail. The following provided examples are then not necessarily meant to be the most representative of the Worker Paper's position on the persecutions, nor category three, but simply the most interesting.

3.2.1 A Substantive Denial

The first article is the one that goes the furthest in denying the religious persecutions. It is a bit lengthy so certain passages need to be summarised instead of quoted. The opening paragraph outright denies the existence of the religious persecutions:

> "There are a lot of talk and writings on the religious persecutions in Soviet Russia. That the Orthodox Church is undergoing a major crisis, that is true. But that there are religious persecutions over there, that is an assertion which has nothing to do with reality."[141]

Subsequently, the article gives a brief overview of the historical relationship between the Orthodox Church and the state. As part of this, it is emphasised that the 1917 separation between church and state has worked as a catalysator for the new conflict, stripping the church of privileges it once had. The passage concludes: "It is not possible to label the consequences of the political conflicts between the reactionary part of the clergy and the state as religious persecutions."[142]

It is certainly true that the relation between the Orthodox Church and the Russian state has been uneasy for much of its history, from the power struggles of the Russian metropolitans with the grand princes, to the internal struggles following Peter the Great's incorporation of the Church into the state. From a historical view, yes, it is a continuation, but it is also a rapid escalation in tension. The conflicts between the grand princes and tsars with the Church were power struggles, but they always intended to coexist. The Russian rulers were all Orthodox Christians and many of them were deeply religious. Stalin, on the other hand, was an atheist and was ideologically committed to destroying all religion as an

[141] Arbeiderbladet, "Kirken i Russland før og nu.» 7.
[142] Arbeiderbladet, "Kirken i Russland før og nu.» 7.

institution. And following from this Stalin did not just target clerical elites, but priests and even worshippers.[143]

The Moscow correspondent continues: "The populace in Russia have complete religious freedom, something which is guaranteed in the republic's laws."[144] It is particularly curious that a newspaper which regularly criticised the excesses of the Soviet system, especially its authoritarianism, would uncritically present its laws as representative of how the country functions in practice. In fact, this basic scepticism towards the Soviet regime's version of events can be found in a Worker Paper article on the same subject.[145] The claim that the Soviet *laws* "guaranteed" freedom of religion is *essentially* true, but there were important restrictions that went beyond classic secularism. The first being that social organisations were prohibited from orchestrating public religious events. Additionally, not all religious activities in the private realm were legal, as such activities which "disturbed the social order" or "violated the rights of Soviet citizens" were prohibited.[146] The vague wording conceals the authoritarian nature of the law. The Soviet Union was at this point a de jure radically secularist (atheist) state.

But unsurprisingly, a little over a month later the de jure freedom of religion was essentially gone as well, as the right to "religious propaganda"[147] was removed from the Russian Soviet Republic's constitution. All the aforementioned rights prohibited for the religious were provided for atheists.[148] Accordingly, the law officially made the relationship between the two an unequal one. The charge of "religious propaganda" could essentially be used by the regime to target any form of religious practice. Uncritical references to Soviet laws are not made in the later Worker Paper articles.

The author's last argument attempts to explain the extensive closure of churches. Their first point is that the Orthodox Church has recently been severely disorganised. Their second point is that churches have had low attendances and that poverty in villages led the residents to stop paying the local priest's wages. The second argument is in fact precisely the same as

[143] Dimitry V. Pospielovsky, *A History of Marxist-Leninist Atheism and Soviet Antireligious Policies*, vol. 1, *A History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice, and the Believer*, (New York City: St. Martin's Press, 1987): 41.
[144] Arbeiderbladet, "Kirken i Russland før og nu.», 07.03.1930, 7.
[145] "[…] one has to meet with the utmost scepticism what is said and written in a state without freedom of press and discussion, where any dispute is a punishable act.", Arbeiderbladet, "Vatikanet mot Kreml." 17.02.1930, 3.
[146] Smolkin, *A Sacred Space*, 27
[147] Propaganda defined not according its modern negatively-charged usage.
[148] Smolkin, *A Sacred Space*, 27-28 and 46.

Soviet propaganda at the time.[149] Going by the statistics, there was a dramatic escalation in church closures from 1929 and forward. In 1914, a few years before the October Revolution, there were approximately 54 000 Orthodox churches in the country. By 1928 this number had been reduced to 39 000 and by 1941 there were a mere 4 200 such churches left. Incidentally, with Stalin's embrace of Russian nationalism as a mechanism for uniting the country against the German invasion, there is a stark increase to 16 000.[150] The closing of synagogues followed the same essential pattern.[151]

The League of Militant Atheists' propaganda claimed the portion of religious Soviet citizens only constituted approximately 20% in the late 1920s. Somehow, by 1938 their estimate had reached 50%. Their total uneven relationship to the number of churches shows that the closures were not a result mass deconversions, but rather a result of government policy.[152] Nonetheless, the correspondent concludes the article the following way: "To regard all of this as religious persecution, that is just to show that one does not know the circumstances, or does not understand any of it."[153]

3.2.2 The "Hypocrisy" Articles

Most of the articles mentioning the Soviet religious persecutions do not actually have it as their main focus. Out of the 17 total articles, 10 of them focuses more on the "hypocritical" reaction from the Norwegian right-wing press (most notably the Evening Post), parties and/or the Western churches. While they normally include denials about the religious persecutions, some of them ignore the question of their validity but merely point out hypocrisy, from neglecting atrocities in capitalist countries, to religious compassion not extending to workers' rights.

The first article of this kind that will be examined in detail is appropriately titled "Hypocrisy." and the opening paragraph states:

---

[149] Dimitry V. Pospielovsky, *Soviet Antireligious Campaigns and Persecutions*, vol. 2, *A History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice, and the Believer*, (London: Macmillan Press, 1988): 69.
[150] Paul Froese, "Forced Secularization in Soviet Russia: Why an Atheistic Monopoly Failed", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 43, No. 1, (2004): 42.
[151] Anna Shternshis, *Soviet and Kosher: Jewish Popular Culture in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939,* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2006), 7.
[152] Pospielovsky, *Soviet Antireligious Campaigns*, 70-71.
[153] Arbeiderbladet, "Kirken i Russland før og nu.», 07.03.1930, 7.

> "Today there was a big protest meeting in Calmeyer Street's Missions House against what they called «the Christianity persecutions» in Russia. Professor Olav Moe opened the meeting and Professor Karl Vold and Bishop Lunde preached. They were all mortified by the «Christianity persecution» which in their opinion was taking place in Russia."[154]

The paragraph does not outright deny the persecutions, but it is heavily suggested in the language used. In both instances where they are mentioned, they are put in quotation marks as well as characterised as "their opinion". In order to show doubts of the claim only one of these would be a necessary indicator, but the writer goes out of their way to show how much they distance themselves from it. Although only the Christian victims are mentioned, it would be fair to assume the author's opinion is not any different concerning religious Jews. They are never mentioned as an exception from the "false" religious persecution allegations. And considering the author's interest in pointing out hypocrisy, if they indeed believed Jews were persecuted, but not Christians, it most certainly would have been included. Regardless, the next paragraph uses language that would include religious Jews as well:

> "The Chairman of the People's Commissariat for the Soviet Union, Rykov, has nevertheless denied all these rumours that the capitalist press has spread. There is, Rykov claims, full religious freedom in Russia.
>
> After these statements there should be reason to gather further information about the actual situation. Priests, professors and bishops should be a bit careful with bearing false witness against their neighbour. It is a bit too irresponsible to build a protest movement on flimsy rumours."[155]

The writer generalises with little basis that the claims about religious persecution originated from the "capitalist press", which if taken for granted is supposed to seed doubt about the claims' validity. Instead of attacking the substance of the claim, the author goes after the press. We then are presented the same uncritical presentation of the Soviet claims of religious freedom as in the previous article. In actuality, three weeks prior (in January) the Communist Party had created a secret resolution proclaiming a "merciless war" on organised religion.[156] Moreover, the anti-religious campaign from 1929 and forward was only an escalation and

[154] Arbeiderbladet, «Hykleri.», 12.02.1930, 4.
[155] Arbeiderbladet, «Hykleri.», 12.02.1930, 4.
[156] Smolkin, *A Sacred Space*, 46.

widening of the one in the early years of the regime under Lenin.[157] The persecution claims were then not a sudden occurrence. They not only had factual substance in their own time but historical precedent. The latter was recognised in other Worker Paper articles.[158] And unless this specific writer denies the religious persecutions of the past, then the first reaction to contemporary assertions should be that it likely is true.[159] It would certainly not be a "flimsy rumour".

The second half of the piece is dedicated to building up the hypocrisy charge and therefore not of much relevance. But the article concludes with the same doubtful language of the first half: "But still these pretenders are rude enough to play indignant over «Christianity persecutions» in a different country".[160] And with that, the article becomes completely consistent in its application of quotation marks for the persecutions.

The last article that will be examined has many of the same characteristics. The article begins the following way: "It is consistent with the brand that «the Evening Post» is leading the Soviet-hostile agitation that has been raised in – Christianity's name. Christianity has since it became recognised been abused in the most shameful way by all oppressors and their accomplices."[161] "Soviet-hostile" is a peculiar phrasing and the strength of the term indicates that the author takes the Soviet side on this issue. Ironically it is the type of attack one would expect to find in the Worker (the Norwegian Communist Party's newspaper) against the Worker Paper. The attack on Christianity is a full manifestation of the anti-religious currents within the Labour Party. Religion as an evil was the first necessary premise in the Soviet war on religion. As will be shown later the author extends the arguments against Christianity for all religion.

As the earlier article, the writer points to all the times the Soviet critics have been silent about injustices. The following showcases the persistent use of strongly emotive and resentful language from the first paragraph: "Now even then could you hear anything from the clergy and the hysteric crowds in Europe, who now are so shocked over the events in Russia. Therefore they have to excuse most people for feeling disgust over their protest

[157] Smolkin, *A Sacred Space*, 29.
[158] See for example: Arbeiderbladet, "Prestene protesterer", 22.02.1930, 9.
[159] Unfortunately, the article is unsigned so I cannot find other writings from the writer to discern their view on the past persecutions.
[160] Arbeiderbladet, «Hykleri.», 12.02.1930, 4.
[161] Arbeiderbladet, «Næsten gods?», 15.02.1930, 4.

movement."[162] But of more interest is how the article concludes, with an elaboration on the anti-Christianity comments:

> "The battle in truth is not about Christianity or any other religions, but about materials things: about the right to exploit and plunder, or if the working people shall be given the fruit of their labour.
>
> This background also puts the official church's hysterical and hypocritical position in its right light."[163]

Religious institutions are then regarded as tools in the capitalist exploitation process. It is not a claim without merit. The Orthodox Church was for a long time an institution which legitimised tsardom. But this only means that religion was used to prop up the prevailing system. It does not mean religion is inherently antithetical to socialism, or even Marxism (albeit Marx's criticism of religion). Although the author would have to wait to witness it, in much of Latin America during the Cold War, Marxism-Leninism found combination with Christianity in the form of liberation theology.[164] And the Soviet Union had the same possibility, of creating new radical forms of the religions. Their war on religion was a choice, not a necessity.

3.3 Conclusion

The three cases identified as explicitly anti-Semitic in this chapter have all outright stated they are about Jews. Additionally, they have clearly communicated bigoted notions of Jews and open no possible interpretation where this is not the case. One case is a joke at the expense of a very stereotypical Jewish character. In doing so it spreads a racist and harmful idea of Jews which was the same used to justify the oppression and marginalisation of Jews in Europe. There is no overtly political statement in the strip, but it heavily implies that Jews deserve that sort of treatment. In the second case, the contents advocate anti-Semitic policies as well as showing clear contempt for Jews. The article criticises the Nazis for going too far in their anti-Semitism, but due to the author prefacing this with an anti-Semitism of his own, he does more

[162] Arbeiderbladet, «Næsten gods?», 15.02.1930, 4.
[163] Arbeiderbladet, «Næsten gods?», 15.02.1930, 4.
[164] Dirk Kruijt, *Guerrillas: War and Peace in Central America*, (London: Zed Books 2008), 48-53.

to contribute to the most extreme form of anti-Semitism. The third article essentially repeats an explicitly anti-Semitic notion from the prior one, as well as to imply some new ones. Since these examples exist, it can be said that the Worker Paper had a minor problem of explicit anti-Semitism. This means it is not very representative but not non-existent.

In the stories related to religious persecution in the Soviet Union, Jews are normally not mentioned, and when they are there are no signs of prejudice specific to Jews. The Worker Paper failed to accurately report the atrocities in the Soviet Union. Although the newspaper was critical of aspects of the Soviet system, it was nonetheless sympathetic to what was seen as a real attempt to build socialism. Although not a dominant strain of Labour's ideology, there were anti-theist currents and this partially explains its coverage. For the Worker Paper it was difficult to take the condemnations of the USSR from the right-wing press seriously, as they associated such policies with the Labour Party. Although there is no anti-Semitism in rhetoric, it likely would have been if Jews were focused on more in these articles. This point will become more evident in the next chapter. While the Soviet Union's campaign was primarily motivated by anti-theism, there is no doubt there were anti-Semitic elements to it. Therefore, the Worker Paper, for whatever their motivations, did not just excuse a violent form of anti-theism, but also anti-Semitism. This cannot be considered explicit anti-Semitism but it should be seen as an implicit form of it.

Chapter 4: “Spiritual Aristocracy”: Implicit Anti-Semitism and its Boundaries

While the previous chapter ultimately categorised the defences and denials of the Soviet religious persecutions in the newspaper as implicitly anti-Semitic and not explicit, it merely helps to define the border between the former and the latter. In order to define the borders between implicit anti-Semitism and non-anti-Semitism, it would be beneficial to use the same formula of comparison. That is why this chapter, despite primarily being about implicit anti-Semitism, will include some cases of non-anti-Semitism which could be misconstrued as anti-Semitic.

The chapter will consist of four subchapters. The first subchapter will comment on intended and unintended implicit anti-Semitism. After this, each subchapter will pertain to a different manifestation of implicit anti-Semitism. The second subchapter will discuss when it is inappropriate to name someone as Jewish and how such a simple inclusion can have anti-Semitic connotations. The third subchapter will inspect a set of caricatures and identify anti-Semitic visual codes. Although there can never be an exact set of rules for this, it will help to formulate the extent of visual codes needed for something to be anti-Semitic. The fourth and last subchapter will deal with unfair accusations against Jews, and how this is often not a simple mistake but indicative of anti-Jewish bias. Beyond the first, each subchapter will present some cases of implicit anti-Semitism. Additionally, these subchapters include one example of non-anti-Semitism that could be mistaken for anti-Semitism.

The chapter will argue that the provided cases, along with those of the previous chapter, show that the Worker Paper had a problem of implicit anti-Semitism in its news coverage. Although often not present, there are enough cases of anti-Semitism to say that it was more than a minor issue.

4.1 Intended and Unintended Connotations

Concerning implicit anti-Semitism, and indeed implicit bigotry of any kind, there are essentially two forms of it. The introductory chapter commented on the different degrees in

the severity of implicit anti-Semitism, from easily identifiable to complicated when close to the border of non-anti-Semitism. Intended and unintended anti-Semitism generally conforms to these categories of degree, namely the former as more severe and the latter as less severe. But it is just generally the case, not necessarily. An often-used alternative term for intentional implicit bigotry is "dog-whistling". The term is a reference to actual dog-whistles, which can be heard clearly by dogs but not by humans. In the same way, the political version of the term refers to language which will be clearly understood one way by a wider audience, typically a literal interpretation, but understood very differently by a particular part of the audience. The actual intention is to send a message to this particular audience, but doing so under the veneer of acceptable discourse.[165]

Identifying the true meaning of dog-whistles can often be easily discerned if one is familiar with the codes its employs. But there are exceptions to this. A good example of the lines between dog-whistling and well-intentioned (in this case sign) language being blurred is the OK sign (👌). Although the "OK" meaning of it is not universal, and so is already dependent on cultural context for its meaning, I am here thinking of its recent use among white supremacists. Used with the right hand, the three exposed fingers are meant to depict a "W" while the circle a "P", together forming "WP", short for "White Power". Norwegian audiences were recently made aware of the fringe use of the sign, through its use in the highly publicised trial of white supremacist killer Philip Manshaus.[166] The sign's white supremacist connotations were clear in such an instance, but the sign thrives off ambiguity in other contexts.

By the fact that much of bigotry is cryptic, one could through ignorance employ similar language but without bigoted intentions. I would posit that despite non-nefarious intentions many of these instances then are effectually equal to dog-whistling. If one could *reasonably*[167] interpret something as bigoted then it is. This does not necessarily mean the person is bigoted but that they used bigoted language. I believe one need not be very familiar with the codes of dog-whistling, just a basic level of familiarity to be able to erase it from one's own language usage. From this expectation, it is relevant to bring up even the implicit

[165] Ian Haney López, *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Wrecked the Middle Class*, (New York City: Oxford University Press, 2014), 3-5.
[166] Mia Becker, «Dette betyr tegnet Manshaus viste i retten», *NRK*. 10.05.2020. https://www.nrk.no/norge/dette-betyr-tegnet-philip-manshaus-viste-i-retten-1.15007921.
[167] Much of my explanation rests on this specific word. It is through the analysis of the later provided examples of implicit anti-Semitism that it will be shown what I mean by "reasonably interpret".

cases of anti-Semitism which do not quite qualify as dog-whistling. If anti-Semitism is solely defined through intention then it becomes an incredibly difficult task to identify it, because we cannot examine someone's mind. What we can do is examine a piece of work they have created and the context surrounding it. Of the coming examples, three of them arguably falls into the unintended category but I would argue that most if not all of these three are at least informed by a subconscious bias.

4.2 "Jew-Naming" as Anti-Semitic Signifier

A common manifestation of anti-Semitism is to identify someone as Jewish but doing so to prove certain bigoted ideas about them. It is either meant to prove the "truth" of Jewish stereotypes, or more nefariously, to "expose" a Jewish conspiracy.[168] After the Bolshevik Revolution anti-Semites conflated it with a Jewish conspiracy. They made references to all the Jewish figures involved and how they had changed from typically Jewish names to Russian-sounding ones.[169] This is a more extreme manifestation, but likewise seemingly innocent descriptions of someone as Jewish could imply that they are "typically" Jewish or that their status as such explains their behaviour. "Jew-naming" can be difficult to identify as anti-Semitic, but a recent, less ambiguous manifestation of it among far-right online circles perfectly illustrates it as an anti-Semitic method. In this particular usage Jews are identified through triple parentheses. Instead of "the Jew banker" it becomes "the (((banker)))".[170]

The act of informing that someone is Jewish can often be a quite irrelevant fact, but it need not have this implication. These days we are more cautious in naming someone's race or nationality because we are more aware of the harmful implications that could come with it. This type of caution was much less present in 1929-1930 Norway, as it would often be the case that information like nationality, religious denomination, ethnicity and race would be provided without much reason. With the latter it would almost always be a racist element but

[168] Avner Falk, *Anti-semitism: A History and Psychoanalysis of Contemporary Hatred*, (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 5.
[169] Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 270-271.
[170] ADL, "Echo: General Hate Symbols.", 20.05.2020. https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/echo.

with the rest it normally would not be the case.[171] The usage of "Jew" does not smoothly fit into either of the four categories, but it would normally not have any bigotry attached to it. The fact that Jews would often be named as such without intended implications at this time makes it especially difficult to discern bigoted cases. With the following three examples I hope the exact line for when it is anti-Semitic to inform of a character's Jewishness and when it is not becomes clear.

4.2.1 The Sklarek Brothers

The first example is the one with the least controversy in categorising. This can be found in an article on the Jewish Sklarek brothers, who were behind a major corruption scandal in Berlin and was facing trial. The article begins with a very brief explanation of how «big capital» are the real foreign policymakers, clearly inspired by Vladimir Lenin's argument from *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Subsequently, it is then distinguished between capitalists influencing foreign policy and domestic policy. The former is characterised as «dangerous, but not revolting» while the latter is «completely revolting». After this the actors of the article are revealed:

> «In Berlin there was a firm, called the Sklarek Brothers, they had succeeded these handsome brothers – which in parenthesis are noted as true Jews[172] and faithful social Democrats – to obtain monopoly on the delivery of all textile goods in Greater Berlin commune.»[173]

The info that the brothers are Jewish is not relevant to the story and especially the added qualifier of "true". If they are Jews then that would obviously make them "true Jews" as well so that is not the meaning behind it. Instead, it is suggesting that there are Jews who are more Jewish than others, those that conform to Jewish stereotypes. The previous chapter's explicitly anti-Semitic article argues this idea more clearly.[174] In this article the reader is expected to make the connection on their own.

---

[171] For example, discourse relating to Romani, black and Asian people, etc. would often talk about them like they were a different species. This would be a consistent pattern throughout an article, but is especially apparent through the use of outdated dehumanising terms.
[172] The Norwegian term used (vaskeekte) cannot really be translated perfectly. The Norwegian term for "true" is "ekte" while "vaskeekte" is essentially a stronger version of the term. An English translation then somewhat diminishes the strength of the statement.
[173] Arbeiderbladet, «Kapitalismens virkemidler», 12.11.1929.
[174] See pages 36-40.

I have identified three possible counterarguments to my assertion that it is anti-Semitic. Firstly, that the brothers' identification as Jewish is coincidental, that it is just another case of the Worker Paper using a general descriptor without any clear reason, including anti-Semitic dog-whistling. The fact the article uses "true Jews" and not merely "Jews" already puts this counterargument on thin ice. But additionally, there is reason to believe that the second part of the parenthesis comment is not pointless either. The brothers' description as "faithful social democrats" is a sarcastic one, and is made more evident later when discussing the bribed politicians: "[…] there is a rich selection from all parties. In that way the Sklarek brothers have in running their deceitful business shown the most praiseworthy tolerance, both in terms of religion, race and point of view."

The "faithful social democrats" comment implies it is hypocritical for the brothers, who had publicly supported the Social Democrats, to have bribed politicians, all across the spectrum, for their own self-interest. If identifying the brothers as Social Democrats is not irrelevant then it is likely the same for identifying them as Jewish. This brings us to the second counterargument, that the Jewish comment implies hypocrisy or contradictory behaviour. The article goes through all the cases of bribery, which included large sums to the anti-Semitic German National People's Party.[175] It would be relevant and indeed the opposite of anti-Semitism if the Worker Paper intended to highlight that it is reprehensible for a group of Jews to fund an anti-Semitic party. But there is little validity to this interpretation. For one there would be no need to refer to the brothers as "true Jews" instead of simply "Jews". Secondly, it would assume that the reader knows that the German National People's Party is anti-Semitic, which only a limited amount of readers would actually know. If this was actually the writer's point the party should have been referred to as anti-Semitic. When it is not there it becomes a very obscure interpretation. A third interpretation is that the author is acknowledging the anti-Semitic reaction in Germany to the story.[176] But this is never mentioned and so there is no validity to this interpretation.

The article is in fact relying on stereotypes of Jews as deceitful and greedy capitalists. When the Sklarek brothers are called "true Jews" it is because they are seen as the perfect embodiment of Jewish nature: "It is the poison of hunger for profit and capitalism that ravages

[175] Øyvind Hoem Vaseng, "Ekstremisten i dress", unpublished Bachelor's thesis, University of Oslo, (2018), 2-12.
[176] Michael Berkowitz, *The Crime of My Very Existence: Nazism and the Myth of Jewish Criminality*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 19-20.

the [German] people."[177] I am not sure this additional stereotype is intended, but there is also the implication of conspiracy theories about Jews secretly controlling German and international politics.[178] The article says that as soon as the brothers are released they can go "buy a new city" with the millions they have gathered. The brothers had earned unfair trade advantages through corrupting city officials, but it is a great exaggeration to say they owned Berlin. This is not unique in the Worker Paper's anti-capitalist rhetoric, but there are added connotations when this is applied to capitalists named as Jewish. There were three other occasions were the Sklarek Brothers were written about. Each were negative, but there is nothing remotely anti-Semitic about the comments.[179]

4.2.2 The Fruit Merchant

The Sklarek example is quite simple to identify as implicitly anti-Semitic. The next example is not so simple, partially because it is a much shorter article. The article is so short I can quote it in its entirety:

> "A Jew from Oslo travels without police permission around in Bærum and buys rags and scrap, which he partially trades with fruit, which he brings along in the car. This fruit is stored next to the acquired rags. The case has now been reported to the police."[180]

As opposed to the Sklarek article, this one in purely descriptive and puts no judgement on the man in question. But it is a story about a man breaking the law and it is totally irrelevant to the story that he is Jewish. This would not necessarily be anti-Semitic, but it is an illegal act which falls inside stereotypical notions of Jews. The man is a trading dirty fruit which could cause illness and so is not engaging in ethical trading practices. The idea of the deceitful capitalist Jew applies to the practice of trade generally. And this specifically was one of the more common anti-Semitic prejudices in Norway, as Jews were a visible component of the

[177] Arbeiderbladet, «Kapitalismens virkemidler», 12.11.1929.
[178] For example, Ludendorff's "stab-in-the-back" or *the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, etc.
[179] Arbeiderbladet, «Pater peccavi.», 21.11.1929, 4.
«Berlin satt under administrasjon.», 21.12.1929, 2.
«Brødrene Sklareks bedragerier.», 16.01.1930, 2.
[180] Arbeiderbladet, «Filler og frukt.» 08.04.1930, 4.

trading community in the country.[181] Even in the case of the labelling being coincidental, the implication is too straightforward to dismiss.

4.2.3 Jewish Jeweller

In comparison to these two cases I have categorised as implicitly anti-Semitic, we have one which just falls short of the category in this article about the Hope Diamond and the myth of its curse:

> "The destitute forced him [the diamond's owner] to seek out a jeweller, where he offered the stone for the sum of 5000 pounds – ca. 90 000 kroner. The jeweller, a Jew by the name of Daniel Eliason, asked for time to think, and he quickly became aware of the diamond's high value. The jeweller was allowed to keep the stone in exchange for a receipt for the following day. Early that morning the Jew hurried to Boulien's [sic.] lodging to finalise the deal, but to his horror he found the man lying dead in his bed."[182]

In this example, as with the others, the naming of the subject as Jewish is not very relevant to the story. One could say that identifying an affluent merchant as Jewish reduces him to a stereotype. Now the reader can instead of seeing Eliason as a unique individual think of him through generalised prejudices about Jewish merchants. He becomes the "typical Jew". But unlike the previous article, Eliason does not really engage in unethical trading practices. Judging by the price Eliason eventually sold it for, $90 000, he was about to finalise a very good deal, but it would be an overstatement to call this unethical.[183] Eliason did not deceive Beaulieu into a bad deal, the diamond was offered at a great discount.[184]

Eliason's behaviour contradicts the stereotype so it is harder to interpret the passage as stereotyping. One could still say that it is stereotyping in a simpler sense, only suggesting a connection between Jews and merchantry, without the extra connotations, like deceitfulness. Alternatively, the article could nonetheless imply that Eliason is deceitful, he just did not show it on this occasion. As I have shown, these interpretations are not without problems but they are not entirely unreasonable. But they can be fully dismissed if they are also

[181] Johansen, *Oss selv nærmest*, 50-51.
[182] Arbeiderbladet, "Hope-diamantens forbannelse.", 5
[183] David Federman, *Modern Jeweler's Consumer Guide to Colored Gemstones*, (New York City: Vance Publishing Corporation, 1990), 67-68.
[184] If any party acted deceitfully it was Beaulieu, as he had originally bought the diamond from a thief.

contradictory to the author's intentions. It seems the author uses "Jew" similar to how they use nationality because Beaulieu received a very similar introduction: "The buyer, a Frenchman, had the stone partitioned by a jeweller [not Eliason] in Paris, […]"[185]

Since there is evidence to suggest the author does not intend anything bigoted by naming Eliason a Jew, and there were already issues with interpreting the article as implicitly anti-Semitic, it should not be considered as such. The cases which only comes close to implicit anti-Semitism can be referred to as imperfect communication, of which anyone can be guilty of. I want to show cases of anti-Semitism that could and should have been avoided and how they might contradict the internationalism and anti-anti-Semitism that the newspaper espoused. If I broaden the definition of implicit anti-Semitism further then the contradictions would be less meaningful and no one could expect the Worker Paper to be fully consistent.

4.3 Anti-Semitic Imagery

The preceding chapter looked at one example of anti-Semitic imagery and looked at some of its signifiers. But in that case, it was technically not necessary to point out the signifiers in the image to understand that it was anti-Semitic since the caricature was entitled "The Jew". The following examples are not so easy to interpret, and as with the just finished subchapter I will provide three examples, two implicitly anti-Semitic and one not.

4.3.1 Greedy Tailor

One such strip, originally from Dublin Opinion, looks like the following:

[185] Arbeiderbladet, "Hope-diamantens forbannelse.", 5.

Skibbrudden skredder: Nu, vi møttes da til slutt, hr. Nilsen. Kanskje De nu kunde ordne Deres regning? — Dublin Opinion.

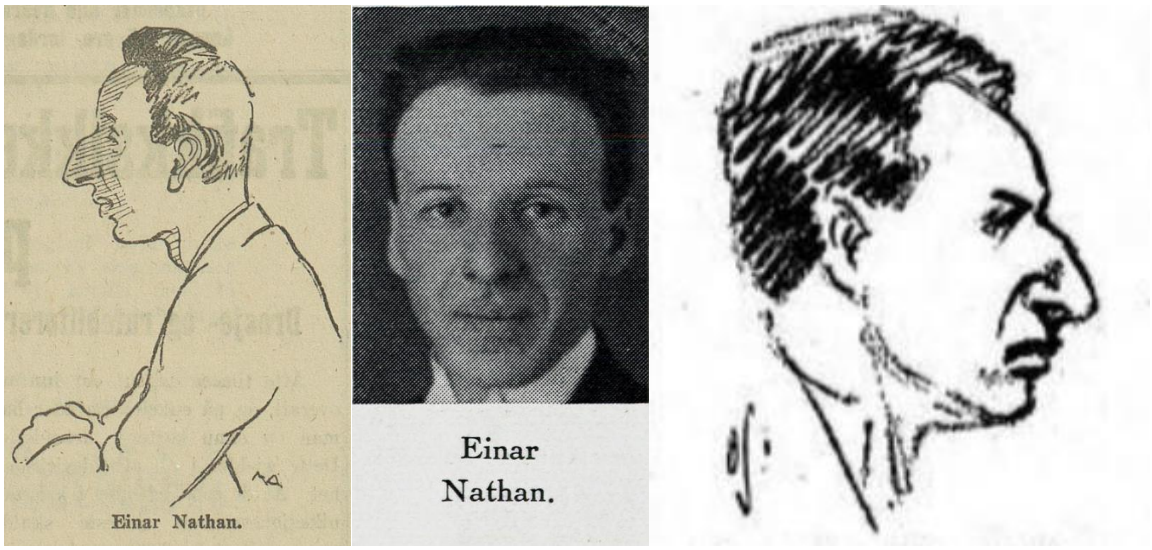
Arbeiderbladet, 19.02.1930, 10.

The caption states: «Shipwrecked tailor: We meet at last, Mr. Nilsen. Maybe you could pay your bill now?».[186] It appears that the character on the left is the tailor. The joke is that the tailor dares to ask for his money back when their ship has just sunk. So, the strip is depicting a greedy merchant tailor and there are physical features would suggest he is specifically a Jewish one. The most obvious being his nose. In fact, compared to the caricature of chapter 3, this nose fits more neatly into the classic description of the "Jewish" nose.[187] The nose includes all qualifiers, large, hooked and its tip pointing downwards. Two additional signifiers present are the drooping eyelids and the big lips.[188] These two along with the "Jewish" nose are among the most common tropes in anti-Semitic imagery. The drawing is not as cruel in its depiction of this character as the one in chapter 2, nor as full of signifiers, but it is quite easy to identify as anti-Semitic once examined in detail.

[186] Arbeiderbladet, 19.02.1930, 10.
[187] Raphael Patai and Jennifer Patai, *The Myth of the Jewish Race*, rev. edition, (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1989), 208.
[188] Brakstad, «Jøden som kulturell konstruksjon i norske vittighetsblader», 110.

4.3.2 Einar Nathan Trial

The second case of an anti-Semitic depiction can be found in an article about Einar Nathan, a Jewish lawyer who had been sued for allegedly not paying back a debt. The article describes a court proceeding where Nathan has an outburst against two journalists entering court. He recalls his poor treatment by the press some years back in one of his cases, accusing them of anti-Semitism and mentions the Evening Post by name. The tone of the article is sober and does not take a side in the conflict, but the drawing accompanying it includes Jewish stereotypes:



To the **left**: The Worker Paper's drawing of Nathan. Arbeiderbladet, "Dramatisk optrin i byretten." 18.06.1930, 2. **Middle**: a photo of Nathan. Christensen, *Våre Falne*, vol. 3, 353. To the **right**: An Evening Post drawing of Nathan. Aftenposten, "Jøden fra Karl Johan og strøgkafeerne." 27.01.1922, 4.

The drawing includes a very large hooked nose and the drooping eyelids trope. More specifically the eyes are small, which was one of the anti-Semitic signifiers in Norwegian caricatures.[189] A picture of Nathan shows that his eyes do not conform to the drawing. And judging from other newspaper drawings of Nathan it appears he incidentally did have a hooked nose, but the Worker Paper version still appears exaggerated and unrealistic. Caricatures exaggerate physical features so the Worker Paper drawing is not unique in this regard. The chance that the nose exaggeration is based on prejudiced intentions is just as

[189] Brakstad, «Jøden som kulturell konstruksjon», 110.

likely as it being coincidental. But here the quintessential Jewish stereotype is exaggerated about a Jewish person, which leaves less room for stereotyping than if it is a fictional character. And given how important Nathan's identity was in the news story, it is neglectful to portray him this way. The drawing from the Evening Post shows how Nathan could have been portrayed inoffensively.

4.3.3 The Creditor

The last implicitly anti-Semitic caricature is the most complicated and looks like the following:

Worker Paper version on the **left**. Arbeiderbladet, 26.03.1930, 9. Original die Muskete drawing on the **right**. Die Muskete, 06.03.1930, 6.

The caption states:

«"I lost my biggest creditor today."

"Is he dead?"

"No, I had to pay him back."»

The strip is taken from the Viennese satirical magazine die Muskete and republished by the Worker Paper. It is important to mention that Vienna was one of the most anti-Semitic cities of the early 20th century.[190] Anti-Semitic signifiers are much less likely to be coincidental from a Vienna outlet than from an Oslo outlet. Regarding the actual drawing, the most obvious anti-Semitic signifier in the is the hooked nose. Outside of this there are a couple of minor signifiers. The left-figure is tall and blond-haired, while the other appears shorter and dark-haired.[191] Although not evident in the Worker Paper version, the right-figure has a curly beard.[192] Lastly, his clothes suggest affluent status.

His behaviour is also in line with the stereotypical Jew, but the degree to which depend on interpretation. I have found reasonable two interpretations of the comic, neither of which the captions are a conversation between the two in the drawing. This is because the drawing appears to portray a monetary exchange between the two, like the captions state. The conversation is then between one of the characters in the drawing and a third person. The joke is that the third person misinterprets "lost" as meaning "dead". But if it is the right-person paying back his debt then the joke also depends on subverting anti-Semitic expectations. The third person misinterprets partially because he finds it hard to believe that a Jew would pay back his debt. His expectation is subverted when it is revealed that the Jew merely paid back his debt, but not due to goodwill but because he "had to". Although it subverts anti-Semitic expectation, it is not actually because the Jew is shown to not be greedy.

What seems more likely though is the interpretation in which the Jew is the creditor. Jews as (greedy) money-lenders is one of the most common and long-lasting stereotypes. Its roots lie in medieval Europe, where Christians were heavily discouraged from engaging in "usury",[193] and Jews were pushed towards moneylending due to their discrimination from a host of other professions. The epitomical depiction of this Jewish stereotype can be seen in the William Shakespeare character Shylock.[194] Considering this historical context it is more likely that the Jewish character is the creditor of the story. In which case the assumption that the creditor died is partially due to his older age. There might also be some implication of the

[190] Meredith Lee Duffy, "The Origins of Hatred: An Analysis of Antisemitic Political Cartoons in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna", Undergraduate Honors Theses, College of William and Mary, (2013): 11-12. 13.05.2020. https://scholarworks.wm.edu/honorstheses/617.
[191] Brakstad, «Jøden som kulturell konstruksjon», 110.
[192] Peter Kenez, *The Coming of the Holocaust: From Antisemitism to Genocide*, (New York City: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 98.
[193] Defined as charging interest, no matter the rate.
[194] Beller, *Antisemitism*, 13-14.

creditor charging high interests, and therefore the possibility of the debt being repaid seems more remote. Regardless, the creditor need not display greed for it to be a stereotypical character. There are enough clues to identify him as Jewish and therefore to categorise the strip as anti-Semitic.

4.3.4 Generic Anti-Capitalist Caricature

The two last caricatures could with some small changes fall outside the category of implicit anti-Semitism. My last example aims to portray how something like this would look:

Arbeiderbladet, "Vaare fornøielser", 04.01.1930, 1.

The character in question is the man with the cigar. There are a couple of signifiers here, most importantly he has "sleepy" eyes. There are also suggestions of higher status, his clothes, his cigar and being overweight. Although not very visible one could say he has a double chin, which was often used to highlight the "grotesque" appearance of Jews. But here is where the signifiers end. The man's nose is exaggerated, but the drawing shows multiple characters with

exaggerated noses, and it is also round. Instead of being a Jewish caricature it more closely follows the pattern of an anti-capitalist one. These were common in the Worker Paper, and albeit it shares some characteristics with anti-Semitic ones discussed in this chapter, it is a separate model of stereotyping.

4.4 Tactic of "Jew-Blaming"

4.4.1 "Spiritual Aristocracy"

A common manifestation of implicit anti-Semitism is to blame Jews for something unfortunate with little to no basis. One such case can be found in an article discussing the history and contemporary situation of the German "bourgeois left" parties. The author writes the following about the Free-minded parties of the German Empire:

> "It was not only to their benefit. The Free-minded got an element of spiritual aristocracy and a not insignificant degree of Judaism. That is nothing to blame them for, but it hindered them from getting a real influence over the electoral masses and tied them to finance capital in the same way that the National Liberals became the industry's people."[195]

To fully grasp how simplistic and wrong this phrasing it is required to look at some data for Jewish representation in finance. One estimate claims that at the end of the 19th century, Jews represented 18% of bank owners and directors in Germany and 33% in Berlin, but Jews only made up 1% of the total German population. These disproportionate numbers are not much different from industry. Of the largest German corporations in commerce and industry from 1900 to 1910, about 33.3% had Jews in leadership positions. Moreover, close to 25% of the board members in the top ten branches of German industry were Jewish. A different estimate on German finance might suggest that the total number was higher, as it tallies the Jewish representation in Prussia, a state that comprised most of Germany's population, at 43.2% in 1882 and 37.6% in 1895.[196] But there appears to have been a steady decline since then as the number was 17.9% in 1925.[197] Even if one makes the dubious claim that the Prussian numbers

[195] Arbeiderbladet, "Det tyske venstre.», 30.07.1930, 3.
[196] Richard J. Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich: How the Nazis Destroyed Democracy and Seized Power in Germany*, (London: Penguin Books, 2004): 87.
[197] Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 207-208.

are more representative for Germany at-large, the finance sector would not be fundamentally more Jewish than the industries.

The article speaks of a "spiritual aristocracy" and a degree of "Judaism" and from that the reader is supposed to see the formation of ties to the finance sector as natural. How could one connect "spiritual aristocracy" to a finance elite? There are no stereotypes about Christians in finance, but there are for Jews. It is precisely the reason why the religious term "Judaism" is chosen, Judaism is a component of the spiritual aristocracy. Moreover, the use of "non-insignificant" is not random either, it could mean anything from a 20% portion of the spiritual aristocracy to 90%. If the spiritual aristocracy is primarily made up of Jews then from common prejudices it is "natural" that they form a connection to finance. The term essentially serves as a euphemism for a Jewish elite. It is a spiritual aristocracy.

As the data shows, the idea of a special connection between Jews and finance is more based on prejudice than reality. The article essentially creates a dichotomy where the industries are the realm of Gentile elites, and finance the realm of Jewish elites. But all parts of the German economy had a Gentile majority in leadership. The Worker Paper could have made a simple explanation where, due to the Free-minded parties having members associated with finance, it formed connections to the finance sector. It would be a more direct explanation which conforms with reality and does not depend on prejudices to make the point. It also does not downplay whatever role Gentiles had in building ties with finance.

4.4.2 Blame for Jesus' Death

The other anti-Semitic case of this form is not as complicated. It can be found in an article published on Christmas which castigates Christian clerics as moral hypocrites, primarily for propping up capitalism and its oppression of workers. As part of the argument, it makes the following reference: "It is also no surprise that it was the Jewish priestly aristocracy and the scribes, the modern clergy's religious partners, that finally hanged the carpenter's son on the cross."[198] One of the common anti-Semitic beliefs is the Jewish "deicide" which blames Jews as a group, and all their descendants, for the death of Jesus Christ.[199] This would be an explicit anti-Semitic argument. But here that argument is not being made, but it gives a false account of the events of the Bible and overestimates Jewish responsibility. Ultimately, the

[198] Arbeiderbladet, «Jule-evangeliet.» 24.12.1929, 6.
[199] Battini, *Socialism of Fools*, 22-23.

decision was with the Gentile Roman governor of Jude, Pontius Pilate. The article ignores this essential fact and instead puts all blame on the Jewish clergy. It does not propagate the classic "Christ-killer" narrative but it reinforces and validates part of it, that Jews (not as a group) were behind Jesus' death. For this it qualifies as anti-Semitic.

4.4.3 Rothschild Conspiracy Theory?

Juxtaposition these two examples with the following, from an article mentioning the Austrian anti-Semitics groups Heimwehr and the Christian Social Party:

> "Seipel thought he could divide the working class, but instead it was the bourgeoisie he split. Heimwehr was supposed to crush the [Austrian] Labour Party, but instead strengthened it. The result of the whole politics was that one of the four great Austrian banks, and exactly the one which financed Heimwehr, collapsed, because of Europe's distrust of the uncertain conditions Heimwehr created. And the Christian Social Party, which arose through fighting the Jewish high capital, against Rothschild, now had to beg Rothschild to save their finances."[200]

On a surface-level, this could appear to be a classic Jewish conspiracy theory, where the Rothschild family (often the villains of the anti-Semitic worldview) are corrupting Austrian politics through monetary influence, even to the extent that they would fund a far-right group. The Christian Social Party founder and early party leader, Karl Lueger, who became the mayor of Vienna in 1897, did not end up as the great enemy of Jewish capitalists he had branded himself as. This apparent inconsistency between Christian Social anti-Semitic rhetoric and actual policies, led socialists to brand them "puppets" of Jewish capitalists. This socialist rhetoric lasted for decades, well into the 1930s.[201] It was an overly-simplistic view of their relationship, not recognising the possibility of a middle-ground between friend and foe. The tactic relied on arousing people's prejudices about the dominating role of wealthy Jews, especially the "villainous" Rothschild, in Austrian politics. But this is not quite the sort of rhetoric the Worker Paper used here. In order to distinguish this article from prejudices in the Austrian Social Democratic Party, one needs to understand the historical context the article came from, and precisely the claim it is making.

---

[200] Arbeiderbladet, «Det østerrikske arbeiderpartis landsmøte.» 29.10.1929, 12.
[201] Robert S. Wistrich, *From Ambivalence to Betrayal: The Left the Jews and Israel*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 265-266.

To begin, the ties between Heimwehr and the Christian Social Party were so elaborate and close at this time that it could be argued that the former was in effect the paramilitary branch of the latter.[202] When the article's writer is talking about the Christian Social Party going to the Rothschild bank for funding, it is not for themselves, but for Heimwehr. Two years prior to the events of the article (1929), Ignaz Seipel, the Christian Social party-leader, had met with bankers and manufacturers to encourage funding of Heimwehr.[203] The bank which funded Heimwehr, and which the article is referring to, was Boden Kreditanstalt. This bank was taken over by the Rothschild-owned Creditanstalt some weeks before the article's release.[204] Considering all of this, and the fact that Creditanstalt was the largest bank in Austria, it is far from a baseless assertion that the Christian Social Party then depended on the goodwill of the house of Rothschild to restore Heimwehr's funding.[205] Perhaps on further elaboration there would have been prejudices to detect, but in the form it was published there is no such thing.

4.5 Conclusion

The chapter has attempted to explain implicit anti-Semitism, its complications in relation to intentions and its boundaries with non-anti-Semitism. The chapter not just identified the remaining implicitly anti-Semitic cases in the Worker Paper, but through analysis of them aimed to work out a working definition. The definition depends on the reasonability of interpreting something as anti-Semitic. As with the case of historical interpretation, the reasonability of the argument rests on the context of the language, such as its period, its medium, its communicator, its relation to the full statement, etc. Without inconsistency in the interpretation, it can be regarded as reasonable. Reasonability can allow minor inconsistencies, as long as their presence can be explained and are to be expected. If the inconsistencies are too great, the interpretation becomes unreasonable and can be discarded. In which case the language could potentially be described as only imperfect, of which one can expect to appear from time to time. With implicit anti-Semitism one can expect to avoid

[202] Lewis, "Fascists and conservatives in Austria", 108.
[203] Jill Lewis, "Conservatives and fascists in Austria, 1918-1934", in *Fascists and Conservatives: The Radical Right and the Establishment in Twentieth-century Europe*, edi. Martin Blinkhorn, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2001), 110.
[204] Niall Ferguson, *The House of Rothschild: The World's Banker*, vol. 2, (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 460.
[205] Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 188.

engaging in it if you are not an anti-Semite and have a basic understanding of it. While this chapter deals with anti-Semitism, and so does not comment much on codes for other sorts of bigotry, its core essence in argument (reasonability) can be applied to interpreting other forms of implicit bigotry.

Beyond the implicitly anti-Semitic instances identified in the previous chapter, this chapter found seven other examples of this variety. Combined with the number from the USSR religious persecutions the total tally becomes 17. Although the USSR cases, for the most part, do not actually mention Jews or Judaism, it is important to mention that Jewish issues specifically were of relatively little interest to the Worker Paper. So, the fact that there were "only" seven cases in this chapter needs to be seen in that context. It is not an insignificant number. This particular context will be looked more at in chapter 6.

The third chapter concluded that explicit anti-Semitism was rare, but present in the Worker Paper, making it a minor problem in its coverage of Jewish issues. The increase from 3 cases to 17 is of noticeable significance. Following from this, implicit anti-Semitism was not just a minor problem in its discourse on Jewish issues. Normally though, it would not be present. The implicit anti-Semitism of the Worker Paper represents in practice a certain level of anti-Jewish bias and tolerance of anti-Semitism.

Chapter 5: "Workers of the World, Unite!" Opposition to Anti-Semitism in the Worker Paper

So far the paper has only focused on discourse that falls inside the category of anti-Semitism and that which falls just outside of that. But the mere focus on the Worker Paper's problematic aspects would not give an accurate overview of its attitudes towards Jews, as there are plenty of examples of the paper taking a stand against anti-Semitism. There are too many examples for me to showcase each one, so the examples provided will try to be as representative of the total number (37) as possible. The Worker Paper's advocacy against anti-Semitism most commonly took the form of anti-fascism. It is here that most examples will be left out.

This chapter will apply the distinction between explicit and implicit anti-Semitism and determine how reliable the Worker Paper would be in opposing either. Additionally, it will evaluate how effective the Worker Paper was in its rhetoric and advocacy in combatting anti-Semitism. The chapter will argue that the Worker Paper was quite reliable in opposing explicit forms of anti-Semitism, but not in its implicit forms. Furthermore, the newspaper was imperfect in rhetoric and advocacy but for the most part it was rather effective. Lastly, it will conclude that the best way to categorise the newspaper, in a general sense, would be ambivalent about Jewish issues but more on the side of opposition to anti-Semitism than for it.

5.1 Two Trials

5.1.1 The Dreyfus Affair

For the French Left, the Dreyfus affair was a major factor in turning it away from anti-Semitism.[206] The affair, where a French Jewish officer, Alfred Dreyfus, was wrongly convicted for treason and eventually exonerated, did much to highlight the prevalence of anti-

[206] Nancy L. Green, «Socialist Anti-Semitism, Defense of a Bourgeois Jew and Discovery of the Jewish Proletariat: Changing Attitudes of French Socialists Before 1914», *International Review of Social History* 30, no. 3 (1985), 390-391.

Semitism in France. The case ended in 1906, so my thesis cannot provide the Worker Paper's reactions to it as it unfolded and the possible mistakes that could have been done along the way. But due to the affair's importance, there are some articles in which the case is written about historically. One of which commemorates Mathieu Dreyfus (Alfred's brother) after his recent passing. Mathieu Dreyfus is described as having dedicated himself from the moment of his brother's arrest to his exoneration to "restoring the name of his brother and family". Mathieu Dreyfus pushed for the conviction of Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy, the true perpetrator of the crime which Alfred Dreyfus was charged with.[207] In the article, the Worker Paper describes the military trial against Esterhazy as "parodic".[208]

While the Dreyfus affair was ongoing there were anti-Semitic elements to the French Left's coverage of it, but this eventually diminished in the later years of the trial, as it was made more and more clear that Dreyfus was innocent and that the anti-Dreyfusards were highly motivated by anti-Semitism. There were still a few on the left which were still anti-Dreyfusard and engaged in anti-Semitism, like Henri Rochefort.[209] The Worker Paper in 1930 had the advantage of an historic perspective, not a contemporary one. Additionally, the Dreyfus affair was notorious for its anti-Semitism. The Worker Paper's position is then totally without controversy, but it is a stance against anti-Semitism nonetheless. And the article does employ strong language to condemn the prosecution of Dreyfus when it could have chosen to be less emotive.

There is one other example showing a pro-Dreyfus stance in the Worker Paper, which briefly mentions the affair and describes it as "being finally brought in order" with Dreyfus' exoneration.[210] The other few articles mentioning the affair are purely descriptive and do not take a position. There is a lack of recognition of the affair's anti-Semitic element, but this would likely not had been the case if there had been more articles to judge. The Dreyfus affair, albeit historic by 1929-1930, showcases opposition to anti-Semitism in the Worker Paper.

5.1.2 California Convictions

[207] Albert S. Lindemann, *The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs (Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank) 1894-1915,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 120.
[208] Arbeiderbladet, «Mathieu Dreyfus død.», 25.10.1930, 5.
[209] Brustein and Roberts, *The Socialism of Fools?,* 66.
[210] Arbeiderbladet, «President Loubet.», 21.12.1929, 3.

It is to be expected that the Worker Paper would describe the Dreyfus affair the way they did, but it is not the only example of this kind. The additional example is an article from The Open Forum, the newsletter of the Southern California chapter of the ACLU, republished by the Worker Paper. It is written by the prominent American socialist Upton Sinclair. The article is very critical of the trial's process, and seemingly this includes criticism of anti-Semitic aspects to it:

> "Again Southern California has acquired some political prisoners. What sense of security and relief will go through the good orange producers when they open their beloved "Times" and read that five Russian-Jewish worker women are sent to San Quentin, […] for the terrible crime of administrating a summer camp for working-class children – with Soviet Russia's flag swaying over it!"[211]

This is a passage undeniably deploying sarcasm and sympathising with the convicted Jews. But I do not provide this example simply because it is siding with Jews. Here the support is also an ideological opposition to anti-Semitism. Yet, the writer is arguing that the convicted were harmless and that the intentions behind the verdict were political, specifically anti-communist. At the time, anti-communist beliefs were widespread in the USA, and the writer is mockingly referring to those fears.[212] The last sentence is packed with references to socialism and the Soviet Union: "**Russian**-Jewish **worker** women […] **working-class** children […] **Soviet Russia**'s flag".[213] If the intention was merely to mention their nationality or ethnicity, as is often the case in news discourse, it would not be necessary to specify it beyond "Russian". Although they are only described as "Russian" later in the Worker Paper article, in the original version it is used twice.[214] The writer is likely not just referencing anti-communism but also anti-Semitism.

One of the most widespread anti-Jewish myths was the one of "Jewish communism", claiming communism was a Jewish ploy to dominate world affairs. The myth was particularly popularised in the aftermath of the Bolshevik revolution and through the propagation of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a fraudulent document of Jewish plans for world domination through, among other things, communism. No other text did more to spread the idea of a

[211] Arbeiderbladet, «Fengslenes og appelsinhavenes land.» 30.11.1929, 3.
[212] William Blum, *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*, part 1, (London: Zed Books, 2004), 6-9.
[213] Arbeiderbladet, «Fengslenes og appelsinhavenes land.» 30.11.1929, 3.
[214] Lauren Coodley (edi.) and Upton Sinclair, *The Land of Orange Groves and Jails: Upton Sinclair's California*, (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2004), 84.

Jewish conspiracy.[215] In the American context, this text was spread by industrialist Henry Ford.[216]

The aforementioned quote is so carefully construed to maximise condescension and to increasingly emphasise harmlessness and perceived prejudice. Even the inclusion of "women" seems to rely on the patriarchal notion of women as harmless.[217] The writer is accusing the legal process of having been corrupted through anti-communism and anti-Semitism. It is also levelled at the local business community, more specifically the staunchly anti-communist Better America Federation, which had a role in initiating the legal process.[218] The ACLU article exposes a grossly improper legal procedure, in which the police collaborated with the staunchly anti-communist veteran's group American Legion in raiding the colony.[219] [220] And after this incident, the defendants' ACLU lawyer was assaulted by the police chief's assistant. For any observer, it is obvious that anti-communism corrupted the legal process, and it is not much less unreasonable to assert anti-Semitism as an element as well.

There is one counterargument here which needs to be acknowledged: that the article's author, Upton Sinclair, has a history with anti-Semitism. 22 years before the article's writing, Sinclair had run a colony which had openly prohibited non-whites from joining. The policy was unclear about welcoming Jewish residents, but an individual case shows that the exclusion extended to Jews. In this case, where the colony denied a Jewish would-be resident on the basis that he was a Jew, Sinclair returned their entry fee of $10 and said it was not his decision but that of the majority.[221] But he owned 70% of the corporate shares, making his vote the decisive one in any of the colony's decisions.[222] Evidently, his excuse was not a fair one.[223] This means Sinclair either voted to deny Jews residency or he abstained and was willing to accept the will of the other members. It reflects either a deeply held anti-Semitism

---

[215] Battini, *Socialism of Fools*, 50-51.
[216] Beller, *Antisemitism*, 79-80.
[217] In the original text the author once uses "girls" instead of "women".
Coodley and Sinclair, *The Land of Orange Groves and Jails*, 88.
[218] Edwin Layton, "The Better America Federation: A Case Study of Superpatriotism", *Pacific Historical Review* 30, no. 2 (1961): 143.
[219] Alex Campbell, "The sociopolitical Origins of the American Legion", Theory and Society 39, no. 1 (2010): 1.
[220] This section of the National Library's exemplar of the Worker Paper is in poor quality and hard to read.
An English version of the article can be found here: Coodley and Sinclair, *The Land of Orange Groves and Jails*, 87.
[221] Perdita Buchan, *Utopia, New Jersey: Travels in the Nearest Eden*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007): 12.
[222] Anthony Arthur, *Radical Innocent*: *Upton Sinclair*, (New York City: Random House, 2007), 91-92.
[223] Matt Novak, "How Upton Sinclair Turned *The Jungle* Into a Failed New Jersey Utopia.", Gizmodo. 26.05.2020. https://paleofuture.gizmodo.com/how-upton-sinclair-turned-the-jungle-into-a-failed-new-1015213490.

or a tolerance of such. Regardless, whatever he did in 1906 does not necessarily reflect the man in 1929. It is then required to find any later contrary evidence.

In 1937 he wrote the semi-fictional book *The Flivver King*, based on Henry Ford and his company. The book covers Ford's development form "the best of employers to the worst", partially as a result of Ford's intense anti-Semitism. In the book, he is unfavourably depicted railing against a "Jewish-Bolshevist conspiracy".[224] This means that Sinclair was very much capable of critiques of anti-Semitism by the time of this book. It would be anachronistic to think this reflects Sinclair in 1929, but evidently, he became a critic of anti-Semitism. It seems plausible that the article in the Worker Paper then reflects this development. In which case it would be the only case where the Worker Paper opposes anti-Semitism which is not evident to all observers. Consistent opposition to anti-Semitism requires taking a stand against its implicit forms as well as the explicit.

5.2 Opposition to the Far-Right

5.2.1 The German Nazis

Particularly the Nazi version of anti-Semitism initially received little attention in the Worker Paper. This changes drastically after the 1930 Reichstag election, where the Nazi Party elevated from a minor party to the second largest in the country. And I would expect the Worker Paper's attention towards the Nazis only increases with their further popularity after this thesis' period. The attention is normally centred on the party itself or Adolf Hitler but in order to give a broader perspective, I have included two articles about Ludendorff as well.

I could not avoid the overwhelming impression that the Worker Paper was staunchly anti-fascist. There are a host of articles mentioning Mussolini and he is essentially presented as the main villain in international politics, at least until Hitler starts receiving extensive coverage. The term "fascist" is just as much a political descriptor as it is a pejorative. For instance, the term fascist is applied to the Fatherland League,[225] a national conservative

[224] Upton Sinclair, *The Flivver King*, (London: T. Werner Laurie Ltd, 1908), 214-215.
[225] Translated to Norwegian: Fedrelandslaget.

organisation which specifically campaigned against the Labour Party.[226] The group most opposed to the Labour Party were then identified with fascism.

Nazism is today widely considered the German manifestation of fascism, but the right application of these terms was a bit less clear in 1929-1930. The Nazis branded themselves as "national socialists" and their party programme included some economically left policies. It was never likely for the Worker Paper to be supportive of the Nazis, considering their violent street confrontations with socialists and communists. The danger instead was for the Worker Paper to view the Nazis with less suspicion than other fascists. But the Worker Paper took just as hard of a stance against Nazism as they had with Italian Fascism.

The Worker Paper was under no illusions about Nazism's placement in the wider fascist movement. There are several articles which call the Nazis fascists, indeed the day after the Reichstag election, the front page of the Worker Paper looked like the following:

[226] It would be an overstatement to call the Fatherland League fascist, considering it was meant as coalition of non-socialists.
SNL, «Fedrelandslaget.», by Daniel Sjulseth and Francis Sejersted. 27.04.2020. https://snl.no/Fedrelandslaget.

Lossalg 15 øre.

Arbeiderbladet

for Social-Demokraten

1. utgave

Nr. 252 | Hovedorgan for Det norske arbeiderparti | Oslo mandag den 15. september 1930 | Utkommer alle hverdager. Lossalg 15 øre, lørdag 25 øre. | 47. årg.

Desperasjonsvalg i Tyskland.

Nasjonalfascistene går veldig frem på mellempartienes bekostning.

Sosialdemokratene har noenlunde holdt stillingen som riksdagens største parti.

Kommunistene har hatt stor fremgang og blir riksdagens tredje største.

BERLIN, 15. septbr.

Det store resultat ved de tyske valg er at det fascistiske parti har tidoblet sine stemmer, fra 800,000 til 6.4 millioner, og vunnet 94 mandater, fra 12 til 106. Det er dermed gått frem til det mest sterke-ste parti i staten. Det eneste parti av de partier som står på republikkens grunn, som har formådd å bevde stillingen, er det sosialdemokratis parti, som dog har tapt ca. 600,000 stemmer og 11 mandater, og centrumspartiet, som har vunnet 15 mandater. Alle øvrige partier som står på republikkens grunn, statspartiet, folkepartiet, det bayerske folkeparti, konservative folkeparti, har alle tapt. Det kommunistiske parti er blitt det

Det kommunistiske partis fører, Thaelmann, er valgt som førstemann i Hamburg.

Valgresultatet er følgende: Sosialdemokratene 142 mandater (i 1928 153, tysk-nasjonale 41 (78), centrum 76 (61), kommunistene 77 (54), tyske folkeparti, som i mellemtiden er sprengt, 33 (45), statspartiet, som i 1928 var et demokratisk parti, 20 (25), økonomisk parti 23 (23), bayerske folkeparti 19 (17), nasjonalsosialistene 106 (12), bondeforbundet 18 (9), konservative folkeparti, som er sprengt ut av det tyske folkeparti, og således er et nytt parti, 5 mandater.

Av de største partier fikk nasjonalsosialistene 6.4 millioner stemmer, sosialdemokratene 8.5 milli-

ARBEIDERUNGDOMMENS DAG I OSLO

De forskjellige arrangementer på Arbeiderungdommens dag i Oslo — kjempemøtet i Cirkus verdenstenter, den vakre demonstrasjon fra Cirkus til Youngstorvet, friluftsmøtet i Birkelunden og ungdomsfesten — blev svært velykkede. Vårt billede ovenfor viser den store forsamling i Cirkus. I ovalen demonstrasjonstoget i Karl Johans gate. Vi henviser til referat anneteds i dagens avis.

Drap på Kirkenes.

Finne stukket i hjertet av en landsmann.

To finner anholdt av norsk militær mistenkt for mordet.

KIRKENES, 15. septbr.

Under en dansemoro natt til søndag i ungdomshuset i Langfjordalen i Sør-Varanger tett ved den finske grense, blev det begått et drap. En mann ved navn Osvald Kallisinen 28 år gammel, blev stukket av en finne i hjertet og avgikk ved døden på vei til Kirkenes sykehus. Det var kommet mange finner over grensen til festen, men de forsvant straks efter drapet. To finner blev anholdt av norsk militær og overlevert politiet i Kirkenes. Den ene av disse antas å være gjerningsmannen. Den uhyggelige begivenhet har opskaket bygdens folk. De to finner sitter nu arrestert, og efterforskning pågår. Finnene som er fra Helsingfors er for tiden i arbeid i Boris Gleb ved den norske grense.

Propagandamøte for øket trafikkkultur.

Front-page of the Worker Paper the day after the Reichstag election. German election headline to the left. Arbeiderbladet. 15.09.1930.

The headline reads: "Desperation election in Germany. National-fascists with a big increase at the behest of centre parties." The article repeatedly refers to the Nazis both as fascists and as national socialists, but the latter is only because it was the literal name of the Nazis. This is why the Worker Paper could use both terms without contradicting themselves, the Nazis are simply socialists by their own words, not by those of the Worker Paper.[227] A different article in the same newspaper copy makes this completely clear. Here the Nazis are called "so-called National Socialists".[228] The reason the Worker Paper corrects the Nazi Party name to "national fascists" initially is that it sees this as a truer representation of the party.

[227] It is possible to make a second interpretation, in which there is no contradiction in the Worker Paper's terminology because one does not see them as *inherently* contradictory. Although it is by no means a smooth synthesis, the Strasserite faction of the Nazi Party believed in such a synthesis, so it is possible. But this faction was marginal and at odds with the party line. My next quote from the Worker Paper refutes this interpretation.
[228] Arbeiderbladet, «De tyske valg.», 15.09.1930, 3.

Rejection of the notion that the Nazis are socialist is a constant theme in the Worker Paper. In an article reacting to the election, the Worker Paper calls for a united socialist front against the Nazis: "The fascists' great growth would not have been possible, if the German working class had a *unifying* [their emphasis] socialist labour party on class struggle basis."[229] It is not exactly clear if this is due to this proposed party capturing the proletarian votes of the fascists, or if it is due to this party successfully averting the economic crisis. Regardless, the passage dichotomises the Nazis and the two socialist parties (Social Democrats and Communists). An anti-Nazi socialist coalition would certainly be of great detriment to the Nazis, despite all the complications of keeping such a coalition together. And it is, in fact, a great concession on the part of the author: "Even if one cannot in any way recognise the Communists' hazardous methods and politics, their great rise is an expression of a desperate despair among German workers." The most important thing at this moment was to defeat the Nazis.

There is another article which makes similar points. In this one it is clearly recognised that the Nazis had a lot of working-class voters behind them: "A lot of labourers and commoners vote with the National Socialists."[230] But the Nazis only gave false solutions: "These voters are so disappointed over the mess and the drivel, the disunity and the ineptitude that they run towards this fascist trap."[231] Similarly, the writer has deep issues with the Communists but distinguishes them from the Nazis as well as the Social Democrats (referred to as "right-socialists"): "They [former Social Democratic voters now voting for the Communists] then stand in Germany despite all their insanity on class struggle basis."[232] The article calls for unifying the working class on true socialist principles. This certainly means the Social Democrats need to turn back leftwards but is not clear if Communists are included in this project.

About two weeks after the Reichstag election, an article centred on Hitler is full of harsh words and sees him as a great danger. "It is more and more clear that the German army, […], has been completely infected by the Hitlerist chauvinism, Jew-hatred and war insanity."[233] The author takes care to include anti-Semitism as one of the great dangers of Hitler's ideology. It is a strikingly negative phrasing, essentially describing anti-Semitism as

[229] Arbeiderbladet., «Tyskland -.», 24.09.1930, 3.
[230] Arbeiderbladet, "Lærdom.", 16.09.1930, 3.
[231] Arbeiderbladet, "Lærdom.", 16.09.1930, 3.
[232] Arbeiderbladet, "Lærdom.", 16.09.1930, 3.
[233] Arbeiderbladet, «Hitler.», 29.09.1930, 3.

an illness. One could argue that there are problems with this, namely that it undermines the agency of anti-Semites. If anti-Semitism truly is an illness then Jews are not its only victim, anti-Semites would be as well.[234] The empirical relationship between anti-Semites and Jews is one of the former as the aggressor towards the latter. A disease equation would misrepresent the relationship as one of partners in victimhood, that they, in reality, share the same enemy: anti-Semitism. It becomes too detached from reality to be a useful perspective.

This might be the logical conclusion of viewing anti-Semitism as an illness, but I do not think most who use this type of language mean it this way. The intention seems more to reject anti-Semitism in the strongest possible terms, as its usage is rarely followed up by this line of argument. And since it is not inferred it is not likely to be interpreted any different by the reader. It is an imperfect way to oppose anti-Semitism, but this disagreement is one had between opponents of anti-Semitism on how to be most effective in rhetoric. The Worker Paper's rhetoric here is clearly one of opposition to anti-Semitism regardless of one's view on the matter.

The second mention of anti-Semitism found is not as strong in its denouncement, but still anti-racist:

> "[His] Fight for racial purity, the pure Germanness, strangely enough paired with a desire for again having a few million Polish, French and Danes under German rule, war against the Jews who are blamed for all ills, the hatred for the republic which saved Germany from the chaos that the Kaiser left with […]"[235]

Although the part about Jews is not as negatively charged as some of the other parts of the sentence, it is included in what essentially is a listing of all their problems with Hitler. So even if it hypothetically was phrased most charitably, the context of the sentence and indeed the article would make it unfavourable to anti-Semitism regardless. But the Jewish part is not a purely descriptive remark, but formulated to suggest that Hitler's anti-Semitism is simplistic scapegoating. This would be in line with other remarks in the article, such as the one earlier about "war-insanity" and another which calls Hitler "strange".[236] These remarks were not meant to dismiss the threat Hitler posed, which was commonplace in the earlier years of the

[234] Beller, *Antisemitism*, 5-6.
[235] Arbeiderbladet, «Hitler.» 3.
[236] Arbeiderbladet, «Hitler.» 3.

Weimar Republic.[237] The article makes it very clear that Hitler is dangerous, and it is precisely because he is not a total lunatic. The author might describe Hitler's views as such, but these remarks are only used pejoratively:

> "Hitler's conditions have been fortunate. The economic misery, the parliamentary rubbish have turned many people under his banner. But he does nonetheless have to be some kind of flag-bearer. A complete nonsense, like he is often portrayed, he is certainly not. The apple did fall in Aladdin's hat, but this does not happen often. There is certainly something about Hitler, like with Mussolini. But Italian emigrants still tell us that Italy's dictator is an ordinary idiot. Then what are they themselves?"[238]

The passage is highly critical of the dismissive attitude mentioned earlier. And it would today be a rather uncontroversial point so say that this attitude contributed to the fall of the Weimar Republic. It is much easier for the author to say this in the immediate aftermath of the Nazi Party's breakthrough rather than before it. Furthermore, it is not as effective when done amid the Nazis' rise to power. But at the very least it is not done in its aftermath. And there were still those that did not take the Nazi threat seriously.[239] Therefore, it is certainly a valuable commentary and more so than a simple denouncement. It is not just a firm rejection of Hitler but also advice on how to combat him.

One last observation on this article, the use of "insanity" (in war-insanity) is similar to the one about "infection". But the article, in a quite detailed manner, makes the argument that Hitler is no fool. Mental illness and stupidity are of course not the same, but in terms of colloquial usage "insane" is essentially employed as a stronger version of "stupid". I believe that is how it is used here as well. Seemingly then there would be a contradiction in claiming Hitler has an insane notion of war but not be a fool. But no person does not believe in something stupid. If you are characterised as "smart" that is a general assessment and is not disproven by a few examples of the opposite. There is the option "insanity" referring to psychopathy, in which case there is no contradiction and would undermine my earlier argument about the language of "infection". There is also the option of seeing Hitler as not a true believer in Nazism, but merely an opportunistic demagogue. There is little reason to believe these two interpretations. Based on colloquial probability it is most likely that the

[237] Ian Kershaw, *The "Hitler Myth": Image and Reality in the Third Reich*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 28-29.
[238] Arbeiderbladet, «Hitler.» 3
[239] Kershaw, *The «Hitler Myth»*, 28-29.

author finds Hitler's policies extremely foolish, but not the man himself. Accepting this interpretation would instead further validate my earlier point about "infection". The use of insanity does not mean literal insanity, the same way infection is not literal either. The wider implications one could read into the use of such terms are not related to the point the Worker Paper is making.

Erich Ludendorff is another Nazi figure that receives his fair bit of condemnation. Ludendorff was a major actor in the dissemination of German anti-Semitism and in the early years of the Nazi Party. Ludendorff spread the conspiracy theory of "stab-in-the-back" in which it is claimed that Germany was on its way to win WW1 but was betrayed by Jews in their own government.[240] He also took part in the failed Nazi putsch of 1923 and otherwise had a leading role in the party in the 1920s.[241] In an article on the 1930 Reichstag election and DVP candidate General Hans von Seeckt, he is briefly compared to his military colleague. Von Seeckt is said to have a promising political career, as he is not "insane" like Ludendorff.[242]

A second article on Ludendorff is more neutral, but clearly makes the connection between his anti-Semitic propaganda and violence. The article briefly describes an event in Bucharest which a group of students attacked a Masonic lodge. Anti-Freemasonry at the time were usually conflated with anti-Semitism.[243] The group are described as anti-Semitic and having recently read Ludendorff's book on the Freemasons. Moreover, the title of the article is "When you read Ludendorff's book." which suggests Ludendorff was the root cause of the violence and correctly identifies his anti-Freemasonry as only being an extension of his anti-Semitism. It is a simple connection to make given the explicit nature of Ludendorff's bigotry, but it is a correct identification nonetheless. The article avoids any emotive language but is still framed in such a way that reflects especially poorly on Ludendorff.[244]

5.2.2 Heimwehr and Stahlhelm

[240] Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 150.
[241] Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 193-194 and 201-202.
[242] Arbeiderbladet, "Fremtidspolitikk." 11.09.1930, 3.
[243] Jan A.M. Snoek and Henrik Bogdan, "The History of Freemasonry: An Overview " in *Handbook of Freemasonry*, edi. Henrik Bogdan and Jan A.M. Snoek, *Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion*, (Leiden: Brill, 2014). 28.
[244] Arbeiderbladet, «Når man leser Ludendorffs bok.» 13.12.1929, 2.

The Nazi Party was the anti-Semitic group which received the most attention by the Worker Paper. There were, of course, other groups which received attention, but it was rather rare. In order to more accurately represent the Worker Paper's opposition to far-right anti-Semitism, I will include some comments on other groups. One such group was the previously mentioned Austrian paramilitary group Heimwehr. They are discussed in a long article, incidentally written by later post-WW2 Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen, on recent political developments in Austria.[245] Much of it is dedicated to Heimwehr and their conflict with the Social Democratic Party of Austria, where the former is roundly condemned while the latter highly praised throughout. A big part of this conflict was of a violent nature and there are multiple references to Heimwehr's use of violence, but one in particular of is of extra interest:

> "They [Heimwehr] have during their demonstrations shot down multiple workers and injured some. At the university in Vienna they stormed lecture halls and assaulted all socialist and Jewish students and finally hurled them out to the streets, often throwing them through the windows."[246]

This is a descriptive account but even so, it uses strong words when it could have chosen not to like "stormed" and describes the level of abuse down in detail when it could have been vaguer. In response to such attacks the Social Democrats had their own paramilitary group, Schutzbund, which Gerhardsen gives his full endorsement: "The party has waged a defensive battle against the fascists' offensive, which has been a joy to witness,"[247] Not only that, the article concludes on this note, encouraging the readers to arrive at the same position:

> "[…] there is one question which seriously presents itself to interested labourers: How would Austria have looked today – with the constitution, with the democracy, with the party and the labour unions – if the workers did not have its strong defence organisation – Schutzbund?"[248]

This Heimwehr article is an example where the Worker Paper not only condemns anti-Semitic fascists but also suggests the strongest possible course of action: the use of violence. The use of anti-fascist violence is a hotly contested topic these days, but our own political contexts are very different from those of interwar Austria and Germany. The far-right was already using

[245] An important detail to add is that Gerhardsen's anti-fascism during the Nazi occupation of Norway led him to be put in a concentration camp.
[246] Arbeiderbladet, «Forfatningskampen i Østerrike.», 22.11.1929, 6.
[247] Arbeiderbladet, «Forfatningskampen i Østerrike.», 22.11.1929, 6.
[248] Arbeiderbladet, «Forfatningskampen i Østerrike.», 22.11.1929, 6.

violence with great frequency. The choice for the Left was essentially to take a beating or to defend themselves.

The other anti-Semitic group I will highlight is that of Stahlhelm, more or less the German equivalent of Heimwehr. An article about this group shows its contempt for it through condescension:

> "There exists in that country [Germany] a number of groups that have openly declared their contempt for the current order and not for a moment concealed that they through violence and might will overthrow it as soon as given the chance. They are militarily organised and conforming to German custom ludicrously clothed. One of these groups, and one of the most brazen, call themselves «Stahlhelm»"[249]

But the condescension of the article becomes one of dismissive ridicule:

> "The Prussian government […] has nevertheless banned this Stahlhelm organisation. It might just as well had let it be and settled for laughing at it, but it has now nevertheless taken the case seriously. And does not wish to change their position."[250]

It is the kind of naïve rhetoric which only emboldens extremist groups. Although it earlier was spoken of in the context of the Nazis, it applies here as well, the most effective way of denying Stahlhelm power is to actively combat them. Banning the organisation would be one such measure. Dismissive ridicule, effectively non-resistance, is exactly what Stahlhelm would want from their opponents. Not long after the Nazis had taken power, Stahlhelm were integrated into the Nazi Party's military wing.[251]

5.3 Internationalism and Anti-Semitism

I have previously argued in this thesis that consistent application of internationalism would lead to anti-racism as well. Internationalism is a constant theme in the Worker Paper, but I could only find one case where it is conjoined specifically with opposition to anti-Semitism. This can be explained by the moderate amount of news articles about anti-Semitism. The one

[249] Arbeiderbladet «Stålhjelmene.», 17.07.1930, 3.
[250] Arbeiderbladet «Stålhjelmene.», 17.07.1930, 3.
[251] Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich*, 373.

article found is about the Bund, a left-wing Jewish political party in Poland, and its decision to join The Labour and Socialist International. The article introduces the situation of Jewish workers in Poland the following way:

> "As we know Poland has developed itself into a brutal militaristic and imperialist state. Labourers and peasants are subject to a limitless exploitation. The class struggle deepens further through the oppression of the national minorities and the foreign peoples i.e. the Jews.[252]

It is a rather typical socialist analysis, not distinguishing between race-based and class-based oppression but seeing them both as part of the class struggle. The fight against anti-Semitism should then be just as much a concern for the socialist movement. The conditions for Polish Jews were lagging behind much of Europe, as they were still not given the same legal rights as Gentiles.[253] Identifying Poland as an anti-Semitic state was an obvious point. The article continues:

> "The Jewish proletariat and the great Jewish working masses stand not just under double fire from capitalism and anti-Semitism, they have almost no opportunity to express their protest and their strong fighting spirit. For the Jewish labourers form a national minority in the country, and are not a great danger for the state, as long as - - - they do not act in a united front with the Polish labourers."[254]

Albeit they were all Polish citizens and Jews were not a nationality, this call for unity can essentially be seen as a manifestation of internationalism. It recognises that Jews and Gentiles share more as workers than they do any capitalists. There might be a problem with Jewish issues being side-lined if the Bund merged with a larger party, but the Worker Paper does not address this specific concern. Regardless, as with similar calls in previously reviewed articles, there is little doubt that socialist unity would be the most effective way of organising against anti-Semitism. The difference between this call for class unity is not any meaningfully different from one of Polish and German workers. It is technically not internationalism, but it is born out of internationalism. Ironically, the Worker Paper criticises the Bund for joining The Labour and Socialist International, and through it building ties with the Polish Socialist

[252] Arbeiderbladet, «Den annen internasjonale og de uavhengige partier.», 25.06.1930, 7.
[253] William W.. Hagen, «Before the "Final Solution":Toward a Comparative Analysis of Political Anti-Semitism in Interwar Germany and Poland», *The Journal of Modern History* 68, no. 2 (1996): 372.
[254] Arbeiderbladet, «Den annen internasjonale og de uavhengige partier.», 25.06.1930, 7.

Party. This is justified on the basis that the two groups are too reformist and that the Bund must continue its revolutionary socialist route.[255]

This case of the Worker Paper advocating, in practice, a less effective way of combatting anti-Semitism cannot be judged in the same way as the anti-Nazi examples. The Worker Paper had many concerns beyond combatting anti-Semitism, as did the Bund, and therefore it is not simply an instance of counterproductive advocacy. In the case of the Nazis, it simply was not the time and place for disunity between socialists. If the Nazis won then there would never be a chance for achieving any type of socialism. Polish socialists did not have this immediate threat and thus had the liberty to favour revolutionary socialist advocacy over "anti-anti-Semitic" advocacy. The Worker Paper, in effect, side-lining Jewish issues in this case will then be judged with some lenience.

5.4 Conclusion

In the course of the year studied, October 1929 to October 1930, the topic of anti-Semitism, and to lesser extent, Jewish political issues (for example Zionism) were not of great interest to the Worker Paper. And with only a few exceptions, it was in relation to other countries, usually European. This can be explained by the small number in Jews in Norway, only being 0.05% of the total population.[256] A large portion of each newspaper copy was dedicated to Norwegian affairs, meaning Jewish issues were always going to be marginally represented unless overrepresented in foreign affairs. This means that one has to generalise based on a relatively small sample.

In chapter 3 I found an instance of the Worker Paper reacting to explicit anti-Semitism with explicit anti-Semitism of its own. Acknowledging the existence of that article, which strangely enough attempted to argue against Nazi anti-Semitism, would still mean that the Worker Paper was overall quite reliable in opposing explicit anti-Semitism. But with regards to implicit anti-Semitism, I could only find one example which *specifically* which critiques anti-Semitic elements. Earlier in the thesis, I argued that left-bias and the religious debate in Norway could explain the lack of critique of the Soviet persecutions. The findings of this

[255] Arbeiderbladet, «Den annen internasjonale og de uavhengige partier.», 25.06.1930, 7 and 10.
[256] Emberland, "Antisemittisme I Norge 1900-1940", 403.

chapter suggest an inability to identify implicit anti-Semitism was just as much a factor. Indeed, it took a journalist from a country where anti-Semitism was much more prevalent for the streak to end.

In terms of rhetoric and strategy, the Worker Paper was overall quite effective in its opposition to anti-Semitism. Although it was by no means perfect, like for example alluding to anti-Semites as ill. The only case discussed that was truly counterproductive was the one about Stahlhelm, where the Worker Paper minimises the legitimate threat that the group posed. To conclude, the Worker Paper had a flawed record of opposing anti-Semitism but were clearly more on the side of opposing it than condoning it. This finding suggests that despite earlier chapters' cases of anti-Semitism it would be inaccurate to label the newspaper anti-Semitic.

Neither though, would it be accurate to label the newspaper anti-anti-Semitic, at least in the particular timeframe of this thesis. The gap between cases opposing anti-Semitism and those engaging in it is not large enough to speak of an erratic form of anti-anti-Semitism. The Worker Paper was certainly *ideologically* oriented against anti-Semitism but in its actual contents, it cannot in a general sense be described as anti-anti-Semitic.[257] What is quite likely is that had the period of study been on a later date, where the Soviet religious persecutions were given less attention in Norway, and where the Nazis were a regular news subject, the Worker Paper would have been labelled anti-anti-Semitic, or at least erratically so. But that goes outside the scope of this thesis and would have to be researched by others. For this period the best description would be an ambivalent attitude towards Jews, but more in the direction of tolerance than bigotry.

[257] Although the contradiction is not as stark, it can be compared to the Worker Paper's discourse on black people. The newspaper could for example in one article villify an instance of lynching in the US, and in another employ severly dehumanising language.

Chapter 6: The Full Discourse on Jews

So far I have qualitatively analysed cases pertaining to Jews, specifically ones relating to anti-Semitism. This is great for highlighting the most interesting and relevant stories, but it does not give a full overview, as it would not be possible to cover every single story in this detailed manner. To correct this I will present a dataset, based on the notes I have consistently made throughout, as well an estimate based on those.

6.1 Details of the Method

I have noted every single instance in which Jews (as a group) or Jewish individuals are commented on directly. Meaning that it needs to specifically mention Jews or Jewish individuals, a comment that merely in part is about Jews is not counted (for example: "The religious…"). The author need not explicitly use words like "Jew" or "Jewish", but merely mention a person who is Jewish to be counted. This means that in the notes a mention of Charlie Chaplin is numerically counted the same as something more political, like the status of Jews in Palestine. Furthermore, an article where three Jews are discussed is counted as one mention, unless the article takes steps to individualise these three persons. The article about the Sklarek brothers in chapter 4, for example, is counted as one mention because in the news story they essentially function as one actor. If I had not gone by this method certain mentions would be bloated in its significance and less could be gained from analysing the dataset.

Additionally, the notes include a simple characterisation of the overall attitude towards the Jews in question. These attitudes can fall into three given categories, positive, neutral or negative, inspired by Brustein's study of European newspapers in *Roots of Hate*.[258] A mention is considered positive if it is praising or heavily sympathetic in its contents, and vice versa for negative. Therefore, even if one could reasonably assume the author sympathises with a figure, for example a left-wing figure, if this is not shown in the actual contents it does not count as positive. The neutral category contains mentions that are either descriptive, not clear

[258] Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 17-19

enough to categorise either way or mixes positive and negative descriptions. Many of the cases in this category say very little beyond a sentence or two.

A decision I made which had a large effect on my dataset was to not include mentions of Jews from books that the Worker Paper republished in their entirety. While I had some interest in what the Worker Paper was willing to republish, it would simply have given the wrong picture if it had been included in the dataset. This is due to the Worker Paper republishing Andreas Latzko's novel *Seven Days* wherein the main character and many others are Jewish. Perhaps as many as half the mentions of Jews would have been from the novel and not the Worker Paper itself, had it been included in the study. I intend to analyse the Worker Paper and not *Seven Days*.

The introductory chapter mentions Jesus Christ as an example of how the dataset defines "Jewish". Jesus Christ is excluded from the working definition along with his followers in the New Testament, with the important exception of Judas. Judas' betrayal of Jesus and his prominent role in anti-Semitic thought means the data assumes he is perceived as Jewish by the Worker Paper writers.[259] Despite their important role in Christianity, figures from the Old Testament are noted as Jewish. Labelling them Christian and not Jewish would be fully anachronistic.

In addition to these Biblical exclusions, two others need to be explained. The first of which is Karl Marx. Marx can only be regarded as Jewish in the ethnic sense of the word, as both his parents came from Jewish families. But due to discriminatory laws in Prussia, his father converted to Christianity before his birth. His mother followed suit a couple of years after Karl's birth. This would mean that according to the Jewish definition of what constitutes an ethnic Jew, namely someone born by a Jewish mother, would apply. Karl himself though was baptised as a child.[260] In a cultural sense, he could not be regarded as Jewish. Neither does it apply in a religious sense because Marx became an atheist and sought the abolition of religion. In addition to his larger critique of religion, he specifically targeted Judaism and Jews in general in his anti-Semitic text "On the Jewish Question". Marx certainly did not consider himself Jewish.[261]

[259] Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 56.
[260] James Carroll, *Constantine's Sword: The Church and the Jews -- A History*, (New York City: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2002), 419.
[261] Mario Kessler, *On Anti-Semitism and Socialism: Selected Essays*, (Berlin: Trafo, 2005), 14-16.

Marx is usually relevant to the study of anti-Semitism because anti-Semites generally see him as Jewish. The claim that Marx was Jewish is key in building up the narrative the "Jewish communism" conspiracy theory.[262] But this is not exactly a form of anti-Semitism that one would expect to find in a socialist newspaper. I could find no instance where the newspaper refers to Marx as Jewish. Instead, he is regarded as an atheist. Generally, the Worker Paper is very favourable towards Marx and therefore his exclusion from the dataset means a substantial reduction in the positive references of Jews category.

The last important exclusion, C.J. Hambro, is based in similar reasoning. Hambro was president of the parliament and the party leader for the Norwegian conservative party (H) in the period this thesis covers. Hambro's Jewish heritage is very limited and comes through his Danish great grandfather who converted to Christianity before he immigrated to Norway.[263] The claim of Hambro as ethnically Jewish is then very dubious. This, of course, does not stop anti-Semites from making the claim since they are ideologically committed to validating their conspiracy theories and stereotypical notions. And Hambro did face anti-Semitism throughout his life. For example, one of the more prominent figures in the Labour Party at the time, Trygve Lie,[264] would in his later role as foreign minister (1941) make some very disparaging comments about Hambro: "He is an unusual mixture of intelligence, Jewish deviousness and evil".[265]

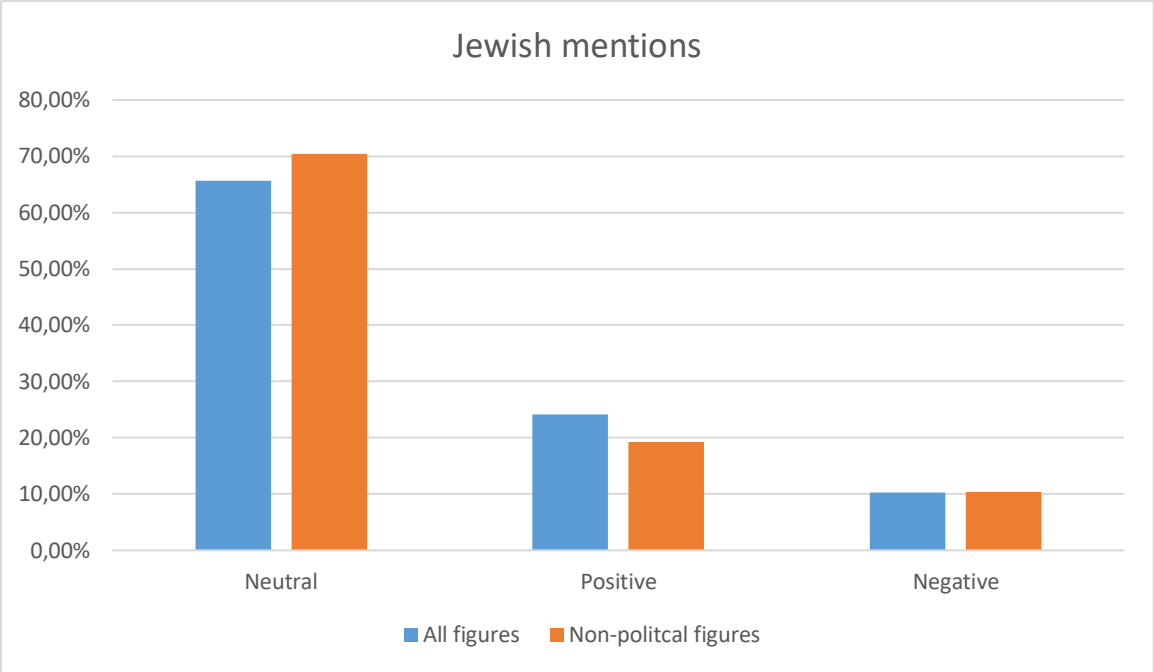
Therefore there would be reason to see how the Worker Paper wrote about Hambro. But here I could not find anything out of the ordinary. The closest the newspaper comes to seeing Hambro as Jewish is an article where it merely provides a lengthy quote which describes as him as such.[266] Had he been included in the dataset, there most certainly would have been a big increase in the number of negative mentions. The effects of the dataset's chosen definition more or less balance each other out.

6.2 The Data

[262] Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 419.
[263] Hambro, Johan, *C.J. Hambro: liv og drøm*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1984. 18.
[264] Maurseth, *Gjennom kriser til makt*, 173.
[265] Bodil Nævdal, *Drømmenes palass: Trygve Lie og Dag Hammarskjöld - en beretning*, (Oslo: Schibsted, 2000), 32.
[266] Arbeiderbladet, "To høireførere.", 25.02.1930, 7.

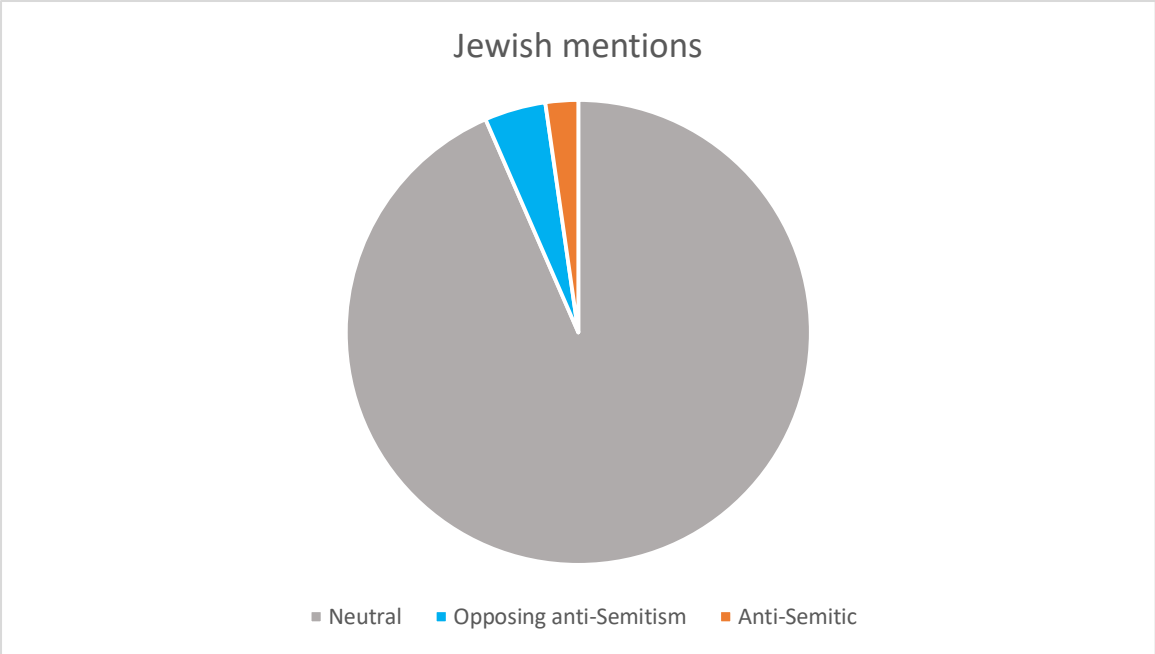
The total amount of stories about Jews stands at 352. This means that the average mention of Jews in an edition of the Worker Paper is about 1. Of the 352 total, 85 are noted as positive, 231 as neutral and 36 as negative. As percentages this correspond to 24,14% positive, 65,62% neutral and 10,22% negative. Most notable already is that the neutral proportion is much larger than the other two, comprising almost two-thirds. It is close to twice the amount of the positive and negative categories put together. This is unsurprising as the Worker Paper usually employed, despite its radicalism, quite sober language in its reporting. With regards to the negative number, it barely reaches above one-tenth. If the newspaper has an anti-Semitic bias then it certainly does not show itself often in its general reporting. From the following number, there is nothing which would suggest that the Worker Paper had an anti-Jewish bias. If anything it suggests there would be a pro-Jewish bias but the number is very likely coincidental considering the cases of anti-Semitic sentiment found in the newspaper.

One potential major impactor for the dataset's outcome is political bias from the writers. The Worker Paper represented a radical socialist party and therefore had interests in advancing the interests of their party as well as socialism generally. It is noticeable that a large portion of the mentions of Jews are socialist politicians or thinkers. There are far fewer mentions of non-socialist Jewish politicians and thinkers. The newspaper's more positive framing of Jews (compared to negative) could then be the result of political bias. To test this hypothesis I removed all mentions of Jewish politicians and thinkers. In the new dataset, the total has been reduced to 213 mentions, where 150 are neutral, 41 positive and 22 negative. This corresponds to 70,42% neutral, 19,24% positive and 10,32% negative. As you can see, there has been a decent decrease in the percentage of positive mentions, yet the negative category has been virtually untouched in terms of its proportion. There is still nothing to suggest an anti-Semitic bias.



Gathering up the positive/negative mentions can give indications of an underlying anti-Semitic sentiment, but these categories are by no means the same as anti-Semitism/anti-anti-Semitism. A more telling dataset would be one where the latter replaces the former, and so I have attempted to create this one as well. The new dataset will look at how the total 352 number compares to the noted cases of anti-Semitism and non-anti-Semitism. But the notes need to be adjusted somewhat since they include instances where Jews are not explicitly mentioned. If the original dataset had noted all implicit mentions of Jews it would have been dominated by it and had little relevance to the question of anti-Semitism. Implicit mentions of Jews are usually only relevant when of an anti-Semitic nature. Therefore, cutting down the examples of anti-Semitism and anti-anti-Semitism is the only option.

When doing this half of the anti-Semitic cases go away from the Soviet religious persecution stories alone. What remains is a total of 8 cases, corresponding to 2,27%. Meanwhile, for anti-anti-Semitism it has been reduced down to 15 cases, or 4,26%. The anti-anti-Semitic portion is then almost twice the size of the anti-Semitic one, but this does not mean the former cancels out the latter. Anti-Semitism could still have been an issue, although what these numbers suggest is that it was a very rare occurrence in the Worker Paper's overall news coverage. And that is true, but anti-Semitism should primarily be seen through stories in which it would be a lot more relevant. Therefore, anti-Semitism's portion in relation to political issues of particular relevance to Jews, like for example Palestine and Zionism, should be looked into.



6.3 An Estimate

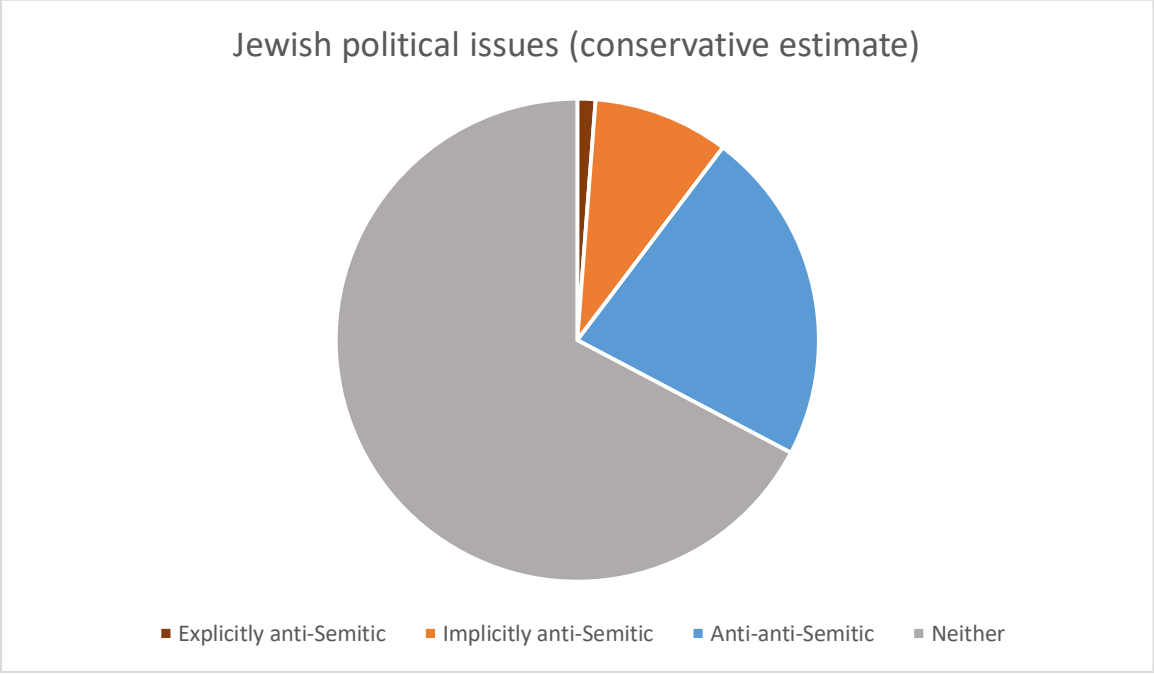
Compiling such a dataset would have required me to fully re-examine the Worker Paper's contents, as it was not part of my original method (I only later noticed how anti-Semitism generally manifested through political issues). Since this would require too much work I instead have to rely on the notes I do have.[267] Firstly, I will define "Jewish political issues" as those where the writer gives Jewish identity a *particular* (not just mentioning a Jewish person or without any relevance bringing up that they are Jewish) relevance to the story, or it is of particular relevance to Jews, despite not being mentioned. With this definition the earlier provided example of the Jewish fruit merchant would be included, (the writer makes an otherwise purely judicial case political through anti-Semitic framing). But anti-Semitic framing does not inherently make something political, and therefore all the caricatures have been excluded. Moreover, all stories relating to the Soviet religious persecutions and the Nazis would be included. With the new definition, there would be 17 cases of anti-Semitism to compare the total number of Jewish political issues. For anti-anti-Semitism the number returns to its original form, 37.

The total amount of articles is not known *exactly*. One would expect three major factors to have an impact on the new total number compared to the original dataset. Firstly,

[267] The stories mentioning Jews or were of interest to the qualitative analysis.

the inclusion of all Soviet religious persecution articles and all Nazi-related articles that were originally excluded (54). Beyond this, one would expect only a few more inclusions. At the other end, the change from a mere "mention" to "article", would lead to a substantial reduction in the total number. Also, the change in focus to a much stricter "Jewish political issues" would have the same effect. Based on my perception of the Worker Paper's contents, these issues were not of great interest. The new focus would, in total, in all likelihood lead to a major reduction in the total number.

According to my notes, there are 110 articles about Jewish political issues. If the Worker Paper's contents were fully re-examined this number would be higher, so it should be regarded as the minimum tally. Therefore, at most, the anti-Semitic portion is 15,45% and the anti-anti-Semitic one 33,63%. But in order to conclude with a good level of certainty, I will base it on a very conservative estimate, of 55 articles left out. With this estimate, the anti-Semitic portion becomes 10,30% or about one-tenth. For anti-anti-Semitism it would be 22,42%. Whether the anti-Semitic portion is 15,45% or 10,30%, it makes no difference to my conclusion. Finally, by dividing anti-Semitism in the subcategories of explicit and implicit, the former's portion becomes 1,21% and the latter 9,09%.



6.4 Final Conclusion

This thesis sought to highlight a particular strand of anti-Semitism which has been understudied in Norway, namely anti-Semitism of the left. The thesis wanted to test the claim that anti-Semitism was largely relegated to the right. Compared to newspaper studies of the agrarianist and right-wing newspaper, anti-Semitism was certainly less prevalent in the Worker Paper. Nonetheless, this study suggests that the issue was not a minor one. Further work will be needed for the future in finding out if 1929-1930 was an outlier or in fact representative of the interwar years generally.

In the course of this paper, I have identified 20 cases of anti-Semitism in the Worker Paper between October 28th 1929 and October 28th 1930. 3 of these have been subcategorised as explicitly anti-Semitic and the remaining 17 as implicitly anti-Semitic. Meanwhile, I found 37 cases which suggestively or openly oppose anti-Semitism. When inspecting all of the Worker Paper's mentions of Jews, and rating them through the categories of positive, neutral and negative, there is no noticeable anti-Jewish bias. This remains the case even if adjusting for political actors, which in the original dataset is disproportionately made up of left-wing actors. Furthermore, if the original dataset's categories are replaced with the categories of non-anti-Semitism, anti-Semitism and anti-anti-Semitism, then the latter two are very marginally represented. Instead though, it would be better to assess the Worker Paper based on its contents related to Jewish political issues

The three previous chapters concluded that, (1) explicit anti-Semitism was a minor issue, (2) that implicit anti-Semitism was more than a minor issue, and (3) that the attitude towards Jews was one of ambivalence but more in the direction of tolerance than bigotry. Based on the estimate there is no further information gained from the third conclusion. But the other two can be specified. The first conclusion can be slightly specified to emphasise just how marginal explicit anti-Semitism was. The final conclusion is that explicit anti-Semitism was a very minor issue. The second conclusion could say little beyond it not being a minor issue and it not being a major issue. In the final conclusion this is specified to implicit anti-Semitism being somewhat representative of the Worker Paper's contents. Ignoring the division between explicit and implicit, the overall characterisation becomes the same. And in terms of anti-anti-Semitism it can be characterised slightly stronger: Quite representative.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Aftenposten 27.01.1922. National Library of Norway. 26.05.2020. https://www.nb.no/items/1949ebe6a59da943d47e1619b2559b10?page=3&searchText=.

Arbeiderbladet October 28th 1929 – October 28th 1930. National Library of Norway. 26.05.2020. https://www.nb.no/search?mediatype=aviser&series=arbeiderbladet&fromDate=19291028&toDate=19301028.

Arbeiderbevegelsens arkiv og bibliotek, Landsmøter, Olav Kringen, Det norske Arbeiderparti. 1887-1909. 26.05.2020. https://www.arbark.no/Digitale_dokumenter_Landsmoteprotokoller_Arbeiderpartiet.htm#nil.

Bezbozhnik no. 22, 1929. New York Public Library.

British Foreign Office 02.11.1917. British Library.

Die Muskete 06.03.1930. Austrian National Library. 27.05.2020. http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=mus&datum=19300306&seite=6&zoom=33.

Smith's Weekly 12.07.1930. 27.05.2020. National Library of Australia. https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/234422033.

Literature:

ADL, "Echo: General Hate Symbols." 20.05.2020. https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/echo.

Arthur, Anthony. *Radical Innocent*: *Upton Sinclair*. New York City: Random House, 2007.

Battini, Michele. *Socialism of Fools: Capitalism and Modern Anti-Semitism*, trans. Noor Mazhar and Isabella Vergnano. New York City, Columbia University Press, 2016.

Becker, Mia. «Dette betyr tegnet Manshaus viste i retten». *NRK*. 10.05.2020. https://www.nrk.no/norge/dette-betyr-tegnet-philip-manshaus-viste-i-retten-1.15007921.

Beller, Steven. *Antisemitism: A Very Short Introduction*. New York City: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Berkowitz, Michael. *The Crime of My Very Existence: Nazism and the Myth of Jewish Criminality*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Bjørgum, Jorunn. «Arbeiderpartiet og LO i historisk perspektiv». *Arbeiderhistorie*, 22, (2008): 240-255. 22.05.2019. https://www.arbark.no/Arbeiderhistorie/Arbeiderhistorie_1999.htm.

———. «Unionsoppløsningen og radikaliseringen av norsk arbeiderbevegelse». *Arbeiderhistorie*, 19, (2005): 29-49. 22.05.2019. https://www.arbark.no/Arbeiderhistorie/Arbeiderhistorie_2005.htm.

Bjørnson, Øyvind. *På klassekampens grunn (1900-1920)*, vol. 2, edi. Arne Kokkvoll, Jakob Sverdrup, pho. edi. Lill-Ann Jensen, *Arbeiderbevegelsens historie i Norge*. Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1990.

Blum, William. *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*, part 1. London: Zed Books, 2004.

Bogdan, Henrik and Jan A.M. Snoek "The History of Freemasonry: An Overview " in Handbook of Freemasonry, edi. Henrik Bogdan and Jan A.M. Snoek, Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion. Leiden: Brill, 2014. 13-32.

Brakstad, Veiden Ingjerd. «Jøden som kulturell konstruksjon i norske vittighetsblader ca. 1916-1926». In *Forestillinger om jøder – aspekter ved konstruksjonen av en minoritet 1814-1940*, edi. by Vibeke Moe and Øivind Kopperud, 109-125. Oslo: Unipub, 2011.

Brustein, William I.. *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust*. New York City: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

——— and Louisa Roberts, *The Socialism of Fools? Leftist Origins of Modern Anti-Semitism*. New York City: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Buchan, Perdita. *Utopia, New Jersey: Travels in the Nearest Eden*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007. 26.05.2020. https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.uio.no/stable/j.ctt5hj8xk?refreqid=excelsior%3A911f71ce300c54f89c37ea3c5f2f0a8d.

Bull, Edvard Jr. (edi.), Arne Kokkvoll, Jakob Sverdrup (edi.) and Lill-Ann Jensen (pho. edi.), *Arbeiderklassen blir til: (1850-1900)*, Vol. 1, *Arbeiderbevegelsens historie i Norge*. Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag: 1985.

Campbell, Alex. “The sociopolitical Origins of the American Legion”. *Theory and Society* 39, no. 1 (2010). 1-24. 26.05.2020. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40587556?seq=1.

Carroll, James. *Constantine's Sword: The Church and the Jews -- A History*. New York City: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2002.

Coodley, Lauren (edi.) and Upton Sinclair. *The Land of Orange Groves and Jails: Upton Sinclair's California*. Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2004.

Duffy, Meredith Lee. "The Origins of Hatred: An Analysis of Antisemitic Political Cartoons in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna”. Undergraduate Honors Theses. College of William and Mary. 2013. 13.05.2020. https://scholarworks.wm.edu/honorstheses/617.

Egge, Åsmund. *Komintern og krisen i Det norske arbeiderparti*. Oslo: Universistetsforlaget, 1995.

Evans, J. Richard, *The Coming of the Third Reich: How the Nazis Destroyed Democracy and Seized Power in Germany*. London: Penguin Books, 2004.

Falk, Avner. *Anti-semitism: A History and Psychoanalysis of Contemporary Hatred*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008.

Federman, David. *Modern Jeweler’s Consumer Guide to Colored Gemstones*. New York City: Vance Publishing Corporation. 1990.

Fein, Helen. “Dimensions of Antisemitism: Attitudes, Collective Accusations, and Actions”. In *The Persisting Question: Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism*, vol. 1 edi., Helen Fein, *Current research on antisemitism*, 67-85. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987.

Ferguson, Niall. *The House of Rothschild: The World’s Banker*, vol. 2. London: Penguin Books, 1998.

Froese, Paul. “Forced Secularization in Soviet Russia: Why an Atheistic Monopoly Failed”. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 43, No. 1, (2004): 35-50.

Green, Nancy L.. «Socialist Anti-Semitism, Defense of a Bourgeois Jew and Discovery of the Jewish Proletariat: Changing Attitudes of French Socialists Before 1914». *International Review of Social History* 30, no. 3 (1985). 26.05.2020. https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-review-of-social-history/article/socialist-antisemitism-defense-of-a-bourgeois-jew-and-discovery-of-the-jewish-proletariat/F77EF1E170DAB7D91DC06927E0903486.

Hagen, William W.. «Before the “Final Solution”:Toward a Comparative Analysis of Political Anti-Semitism in Interwar Germany and Poland». *The Journal of Modern History* 68, no. 2 (1996): 351-381. 22.05.2020. https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdfplus/10.1086/600769.

Hambro, Johan. *C.J. Hambro: liv og drøm*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1984.

Harrison, Bernard. *The Resurgence of Anti-Semitism: Jews, Israel, and Liberal Opinion*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2006.

Johansen, Per Ole. *Oss selv nærmest: Norge og jødene 1914-1943*. Oslo: Gyldendal, 1984.

Kenez, Peter. *The Coming of the Holocaust: From Antisemitism to Genocide*. New York City: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Kershaw, Ian. *Hitler 1889-1936: Hubris*, vol. 1. London: Penguin Books, 1998.

———. *The "Hitler Myth": Image and Reality in the Third Reich*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Kessler, Mario. *On Anti-Semitism and Socialism: Selected Essays*. Berlin: Trafo, 2005.

Kirkhusmo, Anders. «Sosialister og nasjonalister? Det norske Arbeiderpartiet i 1905.» *Arbeiderhistorie*, 19, (2005): 5-27. 22.05.2019. https://www.arbark.no/Arbeiderhistorie/Arbeiderhistorie_2005.htm.

Kruijt, Dirk. *Guerrillas: War and Peace in Central America*. London: Zed Books 2008.

Layton, Edwin. "The Better America Federation: A Case Study of Superpatriotism". *Pacific Historical Review* 30, no. 2 (1961). 137-147. 26.05.2020. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3636698?seq=1.

Lewis, Jill. "Conservatives and fascists in Austria, 1918-1934", in *Fascists and Conservatives: The Radical Right and the Establishment in Twentieth-century Europe*, edi. Martin Blinkhorn. Abingdon: Routledge, 2001.

Lien, Lars. "«Jøden» og det nasjonale i den norske dags- og vittighetspresse 1905–1925". *Pressehistorisk tidsskrift* 12, nr. 24 (2015): 33-44. 26.05.2020. http://www.pressetidsskrift.no/tidsskrift/pressehistorisk-tidsskrift-nr-24-2015/.

Lindemann, Albert S.. *The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs (Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank) 1894-1915*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Longerich, Peter. *Heinrich Himmler*. Trans. Jeremy Noakes and Lesley Sharpe. New York City: Oxford University Press, 2012.

López, Ian Haney. *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Wrecked the Middle Class*. New York City: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Löwe, Heinz Dietrich. "Reconstructing in the Image of Soviet Man: The Jews in the Soviet Union, 1917-1941". *Cahiers slaves* 11-12, (2010): 259-303. 16.05.2020. https://www.persee.fr/doc/casla_1283-3878_2010_num_11_1_1100.

Lundestad, Svein. «Fiskerbønder, arbeidere og arbeiderbevegelse i Nord-land og Troms: 1900-1940». *Arbeiderhistorie*, 4, (1990): 174-200. 22.05.2019. https://www.arbark.no/Arbeiderhistorie/Arbeiderhistorie_1990.htm.

Marriam-Webster, s.v. "Anti-Semitism.", 14.04.2020. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/anti-Semitism.

Maurseth, Per. *Gjennom kriser til makt: (1920-1935)*, vol. 3, edi. Arne Kokkvoll, Jakob Sverdrup and pho. edi. Lill-Ann Jensen, *Arbeiderbevegelsens historie i Norge*. Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1987.

Metcalf, Michael F.. "Regulating Slaughter: Animal Protection and Antisemitism in Scandinavia, 1880-1941". *Patterns of Prejudice* 23, (1989): 32-48. 26.05.2020. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0031322X.1989.9970018.

Novak, Matt. "How Upton Sinclair Turned *The Jungle* Into a Failed New Jersey Utopia". Gizmodo. 26.05.2020. https://paleofuture.gizmodo.com/how-upton-sinclair-turned-the-jungle-into-a-failed-new-1015213490.

Nævdal, Bodil. *Drømmenes palass: Trygve Lie og Dag Hammarskjöld - en beretning*. Oslo: Schibsted, 2000.

Patai, Raphael and Jennifer Patai. *The Myth of the Jewish Race*, rev. edition. Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1989.

Pospielovsky, Dimitry V.. *A History of Marxist-Leninist Atheism and Soviet Antireligious Policies*, vol. 1, *A History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice, and the Believer*. New York City: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

———. *Soviet Antireligious Campaigns and Persecutions*, vol. 2, *A History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice, and the Believer*. London: Macmillan Press, 1988.

Rogoff, Leonard. "Greater Heights of Spiritual Achievements A Jewish Light unto the Nations", in *Gertrude Weil: Jewish Progressive in the New South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017. 26.05.2020. https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.uio.no/stable/10.5149/9781469630809_rogoff.1?refreqid=excelsior%3A5302a4ab660a5a788b1f1a174cad48a9&seq=5#metadata_info_tab_contents.

Simonsen, Kjetil. «"Den store jødebevægelse" Antisemittiske bilder av jøden i bondeavisene Nationen og Namdalen, 1920-1925». Master's thesis. University of Oslo. 2009.

Shternshis, Anna. *Soviet and Kosher: Jewish Popular Culture in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2006.

Sinclair, Upton. *The Flivver King*. London: T. Werner Laurie Ltd., 1908.

Smolkin, Victoria. *A Sacred Space Is Never Empty: A History of Soviet Atheism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Store Norske Leksikon, s.v. «Dagsavisen», by Øyvind Breivik Pettersen. 21.03.2019. https://snl.no/Dagsavisen.

———, «Fedrelandslaget.», by Daniel Sjulseth and Francis Sejersted. 27.04.2020. https://www.snl.no/Fedrelandslaget.

———, s.v. «Kyrre Grepp», by Jorunn Bjørgum. 28.05.2019. https://snl.no/Kyrre_Grepp.

———, s.v. «Mandatfordeling på Stortinget 1882-1936», by Knut Are Tvedt. 03.06.2019. https://snl.no/Mandatfordeling_p%C3%A5_Stortinget_1882-1936.

——— s.v. "Olav Scheflo". 26.05.2020. https://snl.no/Olav_Scheflo.

———, s.v. «Stortingsvalgenes historie», by Marte Ericsson Ryste. 03.06.2019. https://snl.no/Stortingsvalgenes_historie.

———, s.v. «Stortingsvalg - resultater 1882-2017», by Knut Are Tvedt. 03.06.2019, https://snl.no/Stortingsvalg_-_resultater_1882-2017.

———. s.v. “Sverre Eilertsen Støstad”. 26.05.2020. https://snl.no/Sverre_Eilertsen_St%C3%B8stad.

Stortingets utredningsseksjon, Perspektiv 02.2013: *Stemmerettsjubileet 2013: Kampen for kvinners stemmerett*, Tanja Wahl, Jannike Wehn Hegnes and Gro Vilberg. 20.05.2020. https://www.stortinget.no/globalassets/pdf/utredning/perspektiv-02-13.pdf.

Sund, Lyngstad Lars. “Aftenposten og «jødene» En undersøkelse av holdninger til jøder uttrykt i Aftenposten fra 1920 til 1925”. Master’s thesis. University of Oslo. 2014.

Sundvall, Eirik Wig. «Arbeiderpartiet og klassekrigen: Striden om Moskva-tesene i 1920 i en internasjonal kontekst». *Arbeiderhistorie*. 29, No. 1 (2017): s. 65–83.

Terjesen, Einar. «Arbeiderbevegelse og politikk i 1890-årene». *Arbeiderhistorie*, 5, (1991): 21-52. 22.05.2019. https://www.arbark.no/Arbeiderhistorie/Arbeiderhistorie_1991.htm.

———. «Sosialisme og demokrati: målet og veien for norske sosialdemokrater». *Arbeiderhistorie*, 28, (2014): 52-77. 22.05.2019. https://www.arbark.no/Arbeiderhistorie/Arbeiderhistorie_2014.htm.

Vaseng, Øyvind Hoem. “Ekstremisten i dress”. Unpublished Bachelor’s thesis. University of Oslo. 2018.

Weinberg, Robert. “Demonizing Judaism in the Soviet Union During The 1920s”. Slavic Review 67, No. 1, (2008): 120-153. 16.05.2020. https://www.jstor.org/stable/27652771?seq=1.

Wistrich Robert S.. *From Ambivalence to Betrayal: The Left the Jews and Israel*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012.

Øian, Yngvar. «Olav Scheflo og den nye retningen: 1914-1918». *Arbeiderhistorie*, 10, (1996): 172-183. 22.05.2019. https://www.arbark.no/Arbeiderhistorie/Arbeiderhistorie_1996.htm.