

IRWIN ABRAMS—HISTORIAN AND CHAMPION OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

by Peter van den Dungen

Although the subject of much interest and admiration around the world, scholarly interest in the Nobel Peace Prize, as well as exploration of its potential as an instrument of peace education, has been limited. Irwin Abrams's many publications in the field, especially during the past quarter century, has made him both the prime scholar-historian of the prize, and its leading publicist and popularizer. His writings on the subject comprise three related but distinct aspects: documentation, education and outreach, and interpretation and evaluation.

While the history of pacifism and of the peace idea is a long one, that of the organized peace movement is confined to the last two centuries. The history of the Nobel Peace Prize is even shorter; the Norwegian Nobel Committee was established and the Prize instituted in the closing years of the nineteenth century, the first award being made in 1901. Many of the early laureates of the prize were prominent members of the international peace movement of the time, with strong connections to some of its leading organizations, especially the International Peace Bureau (IPB) and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). The creation of the prize itself cannot be separated from the general peace movement milieu—its organizations and leaders, as well as their campaigns and ideas—out of which it was born during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Alfred Nobel urged Bertha von Suttner to inform him of the work in which she and her fellow peace campaigners were engaged and to convince him of its effectiveness. She did, and the creation of the prize was the result.

Irwin Abrams's 1938 Harvard doctoral thesis, "A History of European Peace Societies, 1867–1899," covers precisely the period that laid the foundations for the organized international peace movement of the pre-1914 world and the milieu that gave rise to Nobel's prize. When Abrams started in earnest on his second career as a historian and scholar

of that prize—almost fifty years after his doctoral research and more than two decades after he had published two fundamental articles on the subject in 1962—he thus was very well prepared for it. During the 1980s and 1990s, and continuing to today, he has produced a corpus of scholarly writings on the prize that are unique—in both quantitative and qualitative terms. When *The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates: An Illustrated Biographical History, 1901–1987*¹ was first published, Jakob Sverdrup, the director of the Norwegian Nobel Institute, called its author “the leading authority on the history of the Peace Prize,” a view reiterated by Professor Geir Lundestad, Sverdrup’s successor, when the book’s centennial edition, *The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates: An Illustrated Biographical History, 1901–2001*, was published in 2001.² It is hard to think of a greater accolade.

Peace historians are hopeful that their scholarly work can contribute to a more peaceful world, even if only in modest ways. Abrams’s long preoccupation with the Nobel Peace Prize is the result of much more than a purely historical quest for truth. To be sure, for a subject that always has been surrounded by secrecy and speculation, uncovering the truth can be challenging. Much of the literature on it remains at a popular and journalistic level and is rife with errors—both of fact and interpretation.³ The prize and its history thus cries out for objective analysis and comment. But the nature of the subject also invites an engagement beyond scholarship. One aspect of such engagement is well summed up by Abrams in the title of his 1994 article, “The Nobel Peace Prizes as Teaching Tools.” It appeared in the “Peacemaking in American History” special issue of *Magazine of History*⁴—published for teachers of history by the Organization of American Historians—dedicated to Abrams on his eightieth birthday. Such teaching need not be confined to the classroom as Abrams’s many articles for the press—and interviews for radio and television broadcasts—testify. In addition to his use of the Peace Prize for teaching purposes, Abrams’s expertise on the prize also has led him to involvement in yet another aspect of it, namely the process of nomination of candidates. In half a century from now, Peace Prize historians will be able to discover to what extent his nomination, over many years, of President Jimmy Carter was instrumental in finally leading to his inclusion (2002) in the select pantheon of Nobel peace laureates.

A survey of Abrams’s writings on the Nobel Peace Prize suggests that they can be distinguished into several related yet distinct categories that can be summed up under the following three headings: documentation, education and outreach, and interpretation and evaluation. In each

of these areas he has shown great industry and has married scholarship with enthusiasm and imagination. We shall consider briefly each category.

DOCUMENTATION

The basic documentation for all the Nobel prizes—consisting of the lectures of laureates, the presentation speeches, and the biographies of laureates—are the annual volumes titled *Les Prix Nobel/The Nobel Prizes*, which have been published by the Nobel Foundation since the beginning of the awarding of the prizes. To make these materials more easily accessible, they also have been collected for each prize in a series of volumes published in the 1960s and 1970s by Elsevier on behalf of the Nobel Foundation. The *Nobel Lectures—Peace* (1901–1970) were published in 1972 in three volumes, edited—perhaps somewhat surprisingly, not by a peace historian—by a professor of communication arts at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, Frederick W. Haberman. In an article published in 1984, Abrams called these volumes “a valuable collection.”⁵ However, the fact that the present author has been unable to discover even one review of these volumes is an indication of the long neglect of the Nobel Peace Prize as a subject for scholarship and study—with the exception of Abrams’s trailblazing work.⁶ This neglect extends, surprisingly, even to the peace research community. One of its founding figures, Kenneth E. Boulding, has written, “Having been a member of the peace movement for more than fifty years and one of the very early members of the peace research movement ... I was a little shocked to find how ignorant I was of the history of one of the major concerns of my life. Reading Irwin Abrams’s history of the Nobel Peace Prize and the laureates ... has therefore been a most salutary experience.” Boulding wrote this in his Foreword to Abrams’s volume; it is also pertinent to quote what he wrote next: “What I confess surprised me a little was that this experience of learning turned out to be such a delight. Irwin Abrams writes with a succinct charm and brings every one of the ... Nobel award recipients to life.”⁷

In the 1990s the Nobel Foundation saw the need to update the series *Nobel Lectures—Peace* by publishing supplementary volumes covering the intervening years, so that “the intellectual and spiritual message to the world laid down in the laureates’ lectures ... will reach new readers all over the world.”⁸ It was only natural that the volumes on peace were entrusted to Abrams. The *Nobel Lectures—Peace* covering the years 1971–1995 were published in three volumes.⁹ In his foreword

to these volumes the chair of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Francis Sejersted, wrote, "It is to be hoped that the message conveyed in these lectures, eloquently expressed by the many outstanding laureates, will serve as an inspiration to all those, individuals and institutions, who in different ways and all over the globe are striving for the great cause of reconciliation, fraternity and peace."¹⁰ The inspiration provided by the laureates to encourage us to work for peace—in the first place through their work and the example they set but also through their writings and speeches—is a constant theme in and justification for Abrams's own preoccupations with the prize. Commenting on the laureates' acceptance speeches, he wrote in his introduction to the volumes collecting them: "There is eloquence here and high inspiration. No one can miss the sense of commitment which moves most of these speakers and the depth of their sincerity. Altogether the contributions collected here represent an unrivalled documentation of the many ways in which some of the noblest spirits of our time have worked on the most crucial problem facing humanity today, the restraining of violence and the building of peace based upon human solidarity."¹¹ Although these volumes differ somewhat as regards their format from the earlier ones (for reasons explained by the editor), they have been edited to the same high standard.

The collection, annotation, and publication of the Nobel peace lectures and associated documents of the last several decades are a major contribution to peace scholarship and concern documentation on a large scale. As an historian, Abrams's concern with proper documentation is reflected also at the micro-level as is demonstrated by the following three rather different examples. It is an indication of his thoroughness and persistence, as well as familiarity with the source materials, that he has uncovered a significant document overlooked by Haberman. This is the text of the speech that was given by committee member Professor Halvdan Koht on December 10, 1921, on the occasion of the award of the prize to Hjalmar Branting and Christian L. Lange. Haberman, in the belief that no text of the speech was available, provided a translation of the brief summary of it as reported in the main Oslo newspaper.¹² Abrams located the full text in another contemporary publication and, having had it translated into English, published that part of Koht's speech related to Lange as an appendix to his chapter on the Norwegian, which he contributed to *The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates: The Meaning and Acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize in the Prize Winners' Countries*.¹³ By making use of Lange's papers in the library of the University of Oslo, Abrams was able to shed new light on aspects of his subject's

biography, such as the circumstances that resulted in Lange's appointment as secretary-general of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). Many years before, when a young graduate student in Geneva in 1936, Abrams had interviewed Lange, who "left an indelible impression."¹⁴ His admiration for Lange, here as elsewhere, is obvious. For his 1921 Nobel lecture Lange presented a succinct account of internationalism that, Abrams now commented, "he himself had lived as well as studied as no one else had done."¹⁵

The second illustration concerns the origins of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), laureate of the prize in 1985. By drawing on the diaries of Dr. James E. Muller, Abrams was able to document the U.S. cardiologist's crucial role in the events leading to the founding of the organization and its early work, particularly the decisive meeting of American and Soviet doctors in Geneva in 1980. On this episode Abrams writes, "Muller's diary is the best written source we have, several of the entries being dated immediately after the events recorded."¹⁶ Also the dramatic incident during the press conference in Oslo marking the award of the prize—when a Russian correspondent suffered a heart attack and was resuscitated successfully—involved him in a central role that generally has not been acknowledged. Abrams shows that in its own publications, the organization has marginalized Muller's role; fortunately, "with the benefit of the Muller diaries, the future historian of IPPNW will be able to set the record straight."¹⁷ Doubtlessly Abrams's appreciation of Muller's personal diary is influenced by the fact that he himself has made skillful use of his own diaries and journals as sources of historical documentation. For instance, "Je Me Souviens ..." is a charming and very informative memoir of his early research experiences in Geneva, particularly in the archives of the International Peace Bureau, published on the occasion of its centenary.¹⁸

The authoritative nature of Abrams's writings on the history of the Nobel Peace Prize derives in the first place from his use of primary sources. Whereas the two previous examples concern official documentation and private diaries, respectively, our third example focuses on correspondence. For his classic article, "Bertha von Suttner and the Nobel Peace Prize,"¹⁹ Abrams was the first to draw extensively on the letters exchanged between Nobel and von Suttner in order to elucidate, in the first instance, the question to what extent she influenced him in his decision to create the peace prize. By drawing on von Suttner's letters, together with other contemporary correspondence, Abrams also was able to provide a trustworthy interpretation of Nobel's bequest for

peace—such as the view, firmly shared by Abrams, that Nobel wanted the prize to go to individuals rather than organizations.

Abrams's pioneering 1962 article is still valuable today, even though regarding the purely documentary part it recently has been superseded by the publication, for the first time, of the full correspondence between Nobel and von Suttner, edited by Edelgard Biedermann.²⁰ Biedermann's bibliography of secondary sources contains only two works in English, both by Abrams. In addition to the 1962 article, she refers to his contribution titled "*Chère Baronne et Amie ...*"—Letters of Alfred Nobel and Bertha von Suttner."²¹ It appears that Biedermann was inspired by the title Abrams had chosen for his article. Abrams writes that it represents a revisit of the correspondence he first analyzed thirty years before. He concludes, as before, "What does seem clear from these letters is that without Nobel's '*Chère Baronne et Amie,*' there would have been no Nobel peace prize."²²

Given this connection, it is only natural that Abrams has written extensively on the baroness and the novel that made her famous and that brought her to the forefront of the peace movement. He wrote the introductions for the 1972 reprints of *Memoirs of Bertha von Suttner* and *Lay Down Your Arms*, appearing in *The Garland Library of War and Peace*.²³ The former work represents, as Abrams noted, "a rich documentation of the young international peace movement."²⁴ He also authored the articles on von Suttner for the *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders*²⁵ and for the *World Encyclopedia of Peace*.²⁶ These articles are, invariably, very well written and succeed in capturing von Suttner's nobility and significance. Linus Pauling (Nobel laureate in peace, 1963, and chemistry, 1954) was honorary editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopedia*. His assistant at the Linus Pauling Institute of Science and Medicine in Palo Alto, California, Ruth C. Reynolds, contributed to the *Encyclopedia* all but two of the biographies of the Nobel Peace Prize laureates. Having received Abrams's manuscript article, she wrote to the commissioning editor in Oxford: "Nothing you could have sent me would so send my spirits soaring as has Professor Abrams's exquisite essay on Bertha von Suttner. Good prose fills me with delight. While I cannot hope to emulate this beautifully crafted piece, I can be inspired by it."²⁷ Many readers (including the present author) similarly have been inspired by his engaging portrayals of many of the laureates.

For the same encyclopedia Abrams also contributed a separate article titled "Die Waffen Nieder!" on von Suttner's famous novel, as well as an overview article titled "Nobel Peace Prizes."²⁸ Her novel was one

of only two books that were given their own entry in the encyclopedia (the other work being *Perpetual Peace* by Immanuel Kant).²⁹ Abrams provides a succinct justification for this exceptional treatment of von Suttner's novel when he writes that "it remains an historic document of prime importance"³⁰ while admitting that it was no work of great literary merit.³¹ Ten years later, he introduced the English translation of Brigitte Hamann's *Bertha von Suttner: A Life for Peace*.³² He comments that she has written "an outstanding book about a remarkable woman ... it is not likely to be surpassed."³³ Abrams already had written appreciatively but not uncritically on Hamann's biography in its original German version first published in 1986, ten years before the English translation appeared. His judicious comments appeared in an article titled "Bertha von Suttner (1843–1914): Bibliographical Notes" in *Peace & Change*.³⁴ The article, together with two others, appeared in a special section on von Suttner, belatedly commemorating the centenary publication of her antiwar novel (1889).

In addition to the works mentioned already, Abrams has contributed articles on the Nobel Peace Prize, as well as on individual laureates, to another encyclopedia, *Protest, Power, and Change: An Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*.³⁵ He observes, "Notably missing from the Nobel rolls are the century's major advocates of nonviolence, Leo Tolstoy and Mohandas K. Gandhi,"³⁶ and he highlights those nonviolent activists who did receive the prize, including the two Quaker organizations who were awarded the prize in 1947. He concludes that the Nobel committees in Oslo "up until World War II ... largely overlooked advocates of nonviolence and practitioners of nonviolent struggle. In the subsequent forty years, this omission has been corrected."³⁷

Advocates and practitioners of nonviolent action represent one kind of peacemaker who has been honored by the award of the Nobel Prize. A second category consists of leaders of peace societies such as von Suttner. A third group is represented by parliamentarians who were involved actively in promoting internationalism and peacemaking and who were members of the IPU. In the 1990s the *Bulletin of the Inter-Parliamentary Union* published a series on leading personalities in the history of the IPU; Abrams contributed articles on William Randal Cremer, Paul Henri d'Estournelles de Constant, Henri La Fontaine, and Lange.³⁸ His biographical sketches were informed by his meetings, over half a century earlier, with the latter two as well as with the Englishman's last assistant, E. G. Smith.

Regarding contributions to encyclopedias, Abrams also has authored the article on the Nobel Peace Prize in the *Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations*,³⁹ as well as thirty-three entries for the *Encyclopedia Americana* (2001).

EDUCATION AND OUTREACH

The realization that the Nobel peace laureates constitute a pantheon of contemporary heroes and heroines, who can provide inspiring role models for the young generation of today, is one of the main reasons that has prompted Abrams to focus on them and to reach out beyond the scholarly community to a wider audience. In the preface to his 1988 book he wrote that when he received an invitation from the publisher G. K. Hall to write a biographical reference work on the Nobel Peace Prize winners, he “happened to be attending a conference where a report was presented on the results of a public opinion poll on the heroes of American teenagers. I was appalled by the list of film and television stars and rock and roll performers whom they seemed to want to emulate. Another report had it that American youth have no heroes at all! I could see that a book presenting Nobel heroes of humanity could make an important contribution.”⁴⁰

The same rationale underlies the publication of a unique reference work on “the Nobel peace prize from 1901 to today” in the German language: *Der Friedens-Nobelpreis von 1901 bis heute*.⁴¹ Written by leading historians and biographers from Germany and abroad, the twelve-volume series of profusely illustrated and beautifully produced volumes was conceived so as to appeal especially to younger readers. Abrams authored the chapters on four laureates: Lange, Ralph Bunche, Georges Pire, and Linus Pauling, all great favorites of his. Certainly his vivid portraits do full justice to their achievements and present the reader with inspiring life stories.

In *The Words of Peace*, Abrams brought together a selection of inspiring excerpts from the speeches of the winners of the peace prize. President Jimmy Carter contributed a foreword.⁴² The handsome volume reached its intended audience, the first edition alone having sold more than 11,000 copies. A reproduction of Picasso’s touching “Child with a Dove” painting graced the cover and doubtlessly enhanced its popular appeal. The book is currently in its third edition. An equally attractive and compact German translation, *Worte für die eine Welt: Aus den Reden der Friedensnobelpreisträger*, was published first in

1991.⁴³ Since the prize was founded to honor the heroes and heroines of peace, Carter appropriately started his foreword with some reflections on their importance in social life, and he noted, “Heroes of peace to be found in these pages represent a great diversity. ... We need many kinds of peacemakers.”⁴⁴ Underlying all peacemaking efforts, and fundamental to it, is the spirit of human fraternity. Carter’s concluding observations are worth quoting: “Many of the heroes of peace who speak to us in these pages have spoken far more vibrantly in their deeds, motivated by this spirit. As we have found inspiration in their work for peace, so may we find inspiration in this excellent collection of their ‘Words of Peace.’”⁴⁵ It is most appropriate that Carter’s own efforts for peace—particularly those undertaken as a private citizen since leaving his country’s highest office—have been recognized by the award of the 2002 prize to him. Abrams himself can take some of the credit for this, having nominated Carter for several years, as mentioned already.

The Words of Peace is part of the Nobel Prize Series official publications, designed to communicate the achievements of the laureates across the globe and developed by the International Management Group (IMG) with the assistance of the Nobel Foundation in Stockholm. Part of the same project is *The Nobel Prize Annual*, first published in 1989 with nine further annual volumes having been published.⁴⁶ The annual can be regarded as a popular version of the official annual publication of the Nobel Foundation. It presents lavishly illustrated stories of the laureates in the various fields and also includes reports and color photographs of the award ceremonies in Stockholm and Oslo. Abrams wrote for all ten volumes the chapters on the peace laureates. For the 1989 annual he contributed additionally a retrospective article on the 1935 peace laureate, Carl von Ossietzky (1889–1938), in celebration of the 100th anniversary of his birth. It is not the least of Abrams’s merits as a peace historian and peace educator that he aims to keep the memory of the heroes of peace alive through the celebration or commemoration of important anniversaries. Ossietzky is one of the most courageous and noble of the peace laureates, who was martyred for his opposition to Adolf Hitler. His friends abroad launched a campaign to have the Nobel Prize awarded to him in the hope that it would help to save his life.

In his article “Carl von Ossietzky Retrospective,”⁴⁷ Abrams tells the moving and dramatic story, pointing out also that the Nobel Committee displayed “Norwegian courage and independence” when it decided to award the prize to Ossietzky, despite intimidating threats from Hitler’s

Germany. It is likely that many readers of the annual will have heard first of his dramatic story through Abrams's evocative article. Abrams has attested to his own fascination with the Ossietzky campaign. "The Ossietzky campaign is unique in the history of the peace prize, and I have given it much study," he notes in his *Reflections on the First Century of the Nobel Peace Prize*.⁴⁸ He pursued research in archives in Amsterdam and Oldenburg and interviewed Willy Brandt. But it was his recent meeting with Konrad Reisner—the only survivor of the Paris group of German exiles who organized the campaign⁴⁹—that stimulated his interest in the story and its subsequent research, probably delaying the publication of his book by a year.⁵⁰

Abrams is one of the first historians to draw attention to the use of "The Nobel Peace Prizes as Teaching Tools" (in the words of his article aforementioned). He wrote there, "For teaching the critical issue of peace in a history course, the Nobel Peace Prize offers significant gateways. Its history spans the twentieth century, and the Norwegian Nobel Committee has set before us a variety of peacemakers treading very different pathways to peace."⁵¹ The awards made, he continues, "enable teachers to study with their students the lives and works of some unusual individuals and to consider a wide range of responses to the great question facing humanity: how can we live peacefully on earth?"⁵² Abrams implicitly expresses the hope and belief that what inspired the teacher is likely also to inspire his or her pupils: "For me personally it has been a privilege to work in this particular vineyard in the presence of some great human beings."⁵³ Since the focus of the journal issue in which his article appeared was "Peacemaking in American History," Abrams confines himself to prize winners from the United States, which has "the greatest number of awards for any one country, with seventeen individual recipients and one organization."⁵⁴ Ten years later, two more individuals can be added, namely Jody Williams and Carter.

Abrams's conclusion reiterates what is for him a key notion: "If our national mood may be becoming less hopeful and idealistic than in [previous] time, it could be all the more important to acquaint our students with these great spirits in the hope that they may be infected by that same social idealism which inspired these Americans to work for a more equitable society and for peace on earth."⁵⁵ The same conclusion holds true, *mutatis mutandis*, for other countries and their laureates. But such national connection, although helpful, is not a prerequisite for teachers to be able to use the prize as a teaching tool, and the vast majority of countries are still without a winner of the prize. The world

as a whole and all its nations and citizens are able to be inspired and nurtured by the Nobel peace winners.

Indeed, the whole world frequently claims the Nobel peace winners as its own as is also shown by the use of their images on the postage stamps of many countries. Because of their worldwide fame and prestige, Nobel Prize laureates have frequently been depicted on stamps. Abrams has exploited this imaginatively to engage in a special kind of “visual” peace education. His *Postage Stamps and Peace Education: The Nobel Peace Prize*⁵⁶ is a fascinating and original account of the use of peace stamps to increase understanding about such issues as the nature and ideas of peace, the peace movement, leading peace figures, and the symbols of peace. Abrams reports that Scott London, his philatelist collaborator on this project, discovered that peace as a subject was not included among the hundreds of entries in the lists published for collectors by the American Topical Association (whereas war was well represented in these lists). Moreover, when he “posted an inquiry about peace stamps on the Internet, which went to tens of thousands of collectors, there was not one reply.”⁵⁷

Yet Abrams writes that “peace stamps have become increasingly common” since World War II⁵⁸, and he is able to illustrate his report with many pages filled with their reproductions. Abrams skillfully has woven into his report an account of the growth of the international postal system and the contributions of the mid-nineteenth century peace movement in its emergence and development.

In his discussion of stamps featuring Nobel peace laureates, Abrams has grouped them according to whether their peacemaking was largely “negative,” “positive,” or “fundamental.” He defines the latter as “building the spiritual foundations of peace” and singles out Mother Teresa and Albert Schweitzer—“perhaps the outstanding humanitarian in the Nobel peace list, certainly the one most highly honored in the stamps of many countries.”⁵⁹ For Abrams, occupation with fundamental peacemakers through stamps “not only can help us and our students better understand the movement for world peace; it may move us to partake of their inspiration and follow along one of these paths ourselves.”⁶⁰ The theme of peace as represented on stamps goes beyond the Nobel laureates and includes, for instance, also peace treaties, forerunners of peace, and peace leaders of the twentieth century who did not receive the prize. Abrams lists these and similar topics in an appendix, which promises collectors a rich and rewarding harvest. Peace educators and philatelists alike are in his debt for this admirable study, which is as informative as

it is original and which manages to entertain and to uplift in equal measure.

According to some reports, stamp collecting is in decline, but the same is not true for newspaper reading. Likewise, radio and television broadcasts, and now also the Internet, are reaching worldwide audiences in their hundreds of millions. The Nobel Prizes are mainly in the news every year on two occasions: when the announcements of the year's winners are made every October and when the award ceremonies are held on December 10 (in Stockholm and Oslo). Speculation centers mainly on the peace prize, especially in the days before the announcement from Oslo, while there is plenty of comment and discussion immediately afterwards. At this time the news media are solicitous of suggestions about the likely winner and comments on the winner, respectively. This is a remarkable feat indeed, and one that Alfred Nobel is unlikely to have foreseen: every year at this time, peace drives war from the daily news headlines. As the world's foremost historian and scholar of the prize—and undoubtedly the best-informed expert outside the Norwegian Nobel Institute (whose staff are sworn to secrecy)—Abrams is invariably much in demand at this time. He thus also has become the foremost propagandist of and educator about the prize through stimulating newspaper articles and interviews on radio and television. In addition, he has been a consultant as well as interviewee in various film documentaries about the prize.

It seems that for the past fifteen or so years he has contributed an opinion-editorial piece on each year's peace laureate for the *Dayton Daily News*. Also, the *Chicago Tribune* has published his articles, and his name crops up in many other papers and programs as well, and not just in his own country. Noteworthy are two popular, illustrated articles concerning Alfred Nobel that appeared in *Scanorama*, the Scandinavian Airlines' in-flight magazine. They appeared in November 1993 and 1994, respectively, at a time leading up to the award ceremonies in Oslo and Stockholm on December 10 when the Nobel prizes are in the news. The first one, "The Odd Couple," describes (in the words of the subtitle) how "The Nobel Peace Prize resulted from a strange kinship between the Dynamite King and an Austrian Countess." The second one, "Nobel's First Lieutenants," presents the equally dramatic story of how Ragnar Sohlman, Nobel's personal scientific assistant during the last years of his life who was also appointed coexecutor of his controversial will, succeeded in the Herculean task of having it accepted by the Swedish courts, the Swedish king, and Nobel's own Swedish relatives.⁶¹

A more usual readership for Abrams's writings is his fellow Quakers. Of special interest among his many contributions to Quaker journals are three articles in *Friends Journal* on aspects of the Nobel peace prize. "On Quaker Peacemaking"⁶² is a short but incisive answer to the all-important question, "What are we making when we try to make peace?" To the familiar notions of negative peace (e.g., stopping or preventing war) and positive peace (promoting social justice and human rights) Abrams adds a third one that he calls "fundamental peacemaking" and that he associates particularly with Quaker peace work. He defines it as "the generation of that spirit which gives life to the structures of positive peace."⁶³ Abrams writes that Gunnar Jahn, a former chair of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, described fundamental peacemaking at its best during his speech presenting the prize to the Quakers in 1947: "The Quakers have shown us that it is possible to translate into action what lies deep in the hearts of many: compassion for others and the desire to help them ... which, translated into deeds, must form the basis for lasting peace. ... But they have given us something more: they have shown us the strength to be derived from faith in the victory of the spirit over force."⁶⁴

The award to the Quakers in 1947 had been preceded by that to Emily Greene Balch the previous year. Abrams celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in an informative and inspiring article, again in relatively small compass, titled "The First Quaker Nobel Peace Prize Winner."⁶⁵ She was at the same time only the third woman to be so honored. Abrams reports that what attracted Balch to Quakers was not only their testimony against war and dedication to social reform but also especially "the dynamic force of the active love through which their religion was expressing itself" (Balch)—precisely the kind of "fundamental peacemaking"⁶⁶ that he has identified with Quakerism. The successful campaign that her friends initiated is well documented in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection and in the archives of the Norwegian Nobel Committee. Abrams was able to draw also on the latter, which had just been opened in accordance with the fifty-year rule.

The following year he contributed another original and revealing essay, "Who Deserves the Nobel Peace Prize?: How the AFSC Makes Its Nominations."⁶⁷ Winning the prize allowed the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) to nominate candidates in future years, a privilege it has exercised virtually every year. In what appears to be the only case study of its kind, Abrams's article details the work of the AFSC's Nobel Peace Prize Nominating Committee. Moreover, the very existence

of the committee itself may well be unique among institutional nominators. In any case, no other institutional Nobel Peace Prize winner is likely to have created a nomination procedure that is as careful and purposeful as that of the AFSC. The strong similarities with the Norwegian Nobel Committee's own procedures suggest Abrams's close involvement in AFSC's Nobel Committee. Be that as it may, his active participation in the annual selection process in Philadelphia cannot but have sharpened his awareness of the field and his appreciation of the news emerging every October from Oslo.

As already noted, Abrams is not in favor of awarding the prize to institutions. In "Who Deserves the Nobel Peace Prize?" he observes, "Rather ironically, in its 45 nominations the AFSC has only four times submitted the names of other institutions"⁶⁸, and he infers that the AFSC's Nobel Committee seems to have acted in accordance with Nobel's wishes as expressed by von Suttner: "the soul of a society always resides in an individual. It is the energy, the dedication, the sacred fire which fills a heart and spirit, that is what propels a movement." Abrams concludes: "To me it is just such an individual whose life can inspire the rest of us to do better with our own. This is the reason I have given so many years to writing and speaking about the Nobel Peace Prize and its laureates, and why I feel so strongly that all the efforts of the AFSC Nobel Committee in discovering, researching, discussing, and finally publicizing the activities of such a person are well justified."⁶⁹ We are entitled to believe that members of the Oslo committee would express similar sentiments in explaining their own involvement in choosing a Nobel peace laureate.

The article on the AFSC's Nobel Committee appeared fifty years after the organization won the 1947 prize and can be seen as an anniversary tribute. More explicitly celebratory was a booklet titled *Drawing on Sources Eternal: Lectures Given on the Occasion of the Awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Religious Society of Friends in 1947*, published by the AFSC in Philadelphia in 1997.⁷⁰ The title refers to a line in a poem by Arnulf Överland, which was quoted by Nobel Committee chair Jahn at the end of his 1947 presentation speech: "The unarmed only can draw on sources eternal. The spirit alone gives victory."⁷¹ The booklet was introduced by Abrams, through excerpts from his much longer study, "The Quaker Peace Testimony and the Nobel Peace Prize," published the previous year in *The Pacifist Impulse in Historical Perspective*.⁷² This chapter provides rich documentation and analysis of a number of related issues such as the role played by the Quaker peace testimony—as distinct from Quaker relief work—in the

deliberations of the Nobel Committee in Oslo, the difficulties the committee faced in identifying the most appropriate Quaker institution to receive the prize (given the absence of a central Quaker organization), and the reactions among Quakers as well as in the general public to the award of the prize. Abrams also reported on the history of Quaker nominations as revealed in the archives of the Nobel Institute.

In what is a fairly recent development, Nobel peace laureates—aware of their international standing and also of the responsibilities and opportunities this honor entails—have united on several occasions in order to publish a statement on an important international issue or to endorse a specific global campaign or initiative or in efforts to bring pressure to bear on a political situation.⁷³ An instance of the latter was the attempt of a group of laureates to intervene on behalf of one of their number, Aung San Suu Kyi, with the military junta in Burma.⁷⁴ Conversely, in a world that is seeking desperately how to avoid war and to bring about a global community of justice and freedom without recourse to violence, many people look to the Nobel peace laureates for guidance. For it is the case that many laureates, faced with situations that seemed hopeless, have shown the way forward through their persistence, steadfast convictions, and creative approaches.

This leads us to another, very topical, endeavor to bring the ideas and proposals of Nobel peace laureates to a large public and in which Abrams has taken a major part. There is much food for thought—as well as action!—in a substantial and excellent volume that he has edited recently together with Professor Wang Gungwu, former vice-chancellor of the University of Hong Kong and a noted authority on the history and civilization of China. *The Iraq War and Its Consequences: Thoughts of Nobel Peace Laureates and Eminent Scholars*⁷⁵ comprises fourteen contributions from the former and nineteen from the latter and concludes with two inspiring sermons by Bishop Gunnar Stålsett, the bishop of Oslo and former deputy chair of the Norwegian Nobel Committee. Abrams points out in his introduction that the Nobel laureates represented here do not adhere to a common position. An interesting, perhaps predictable, division emerges: “those who have held political office ... tend to support U.S. policy. ... Those active in the organized peace movement ... are very critical of the United States.”⁷⁶ It is particularly in the contributions of the latter—such as those of Mairead Corrigan Maguire, Sir Joseph Rotblat, Cora Weiss (representing the IPB), and Jody Williams—that one finds a diagnosis or prescription that is commensurate to the challenges the world is facing. Together with the contributions from “eminent

scholars”—including Noam Chomsky, John Dower, Richard Falk, Frank von Hippel, and Akira Iriye—this stimulating volume deserves a large readership. One can only endorse the sentiments with which Abrams concludes his introduction: “May the essays by our authors play some part in helping us to think through the questions raised by the Iraq War and its consequences and to play our own part in the quest for world peace. Perhaps some day that unifying moment of sensing our common humanity after 9/11 can be recaptured and will endure.”⁷⁷

INTERPRETATION AND EVALUATION

The two previous sections have attempted to demonstrate that the Nobel Peace Prize has no more assiduous documentalist and historian, as well as educator and publicist, than Irwin Abrams. This last section will highlight briefly his equally unrivaled position as analyst of the evolution of the prize. This was already the subject of one of the two groundbreaking articles he wrote in 1962, “The Nobel Peace Prize—A Balance Sheet.”⁷⁸ The article consists largely of a judicious evaluation of the merits of the laureates and of the various categories they represent, such as leaders of the organized peace movement, statesmen, international jurists, religious leaders, and humanitarians. It also addresses broader issues such as the extent to which the Nobel Foundation statutes as well as decisions of the Norwegian Nobel Committee have deviated from Alfred Nobel’s wishes and the consequences of this. Abrams finds that the committee “struck out independently from the very beginning.”⁷⁹ By awarding half of the first award to Dunant and thereby recognizing the humanitarian work of the Red Cross, “the committee took the first step of broadening the interpretation of Nobel’s intentions which was to lead to a greater dignity for the prize in the years to follow.”⁸⁰ He writes, “Nobel was probably expecting the prize to go to peace workers like his friend Baroness von Suttner. ... The committee took the position from the first that there were no narrow limits prescribed, that statesmen were also eligible, and that the phrase ‘fraternity among peoples’ left them free to reward peaceful efforts of all kinds.”⁸¹ Abrams went on to quote Chair Fredrik Stang who memorably said in 1930, “It is incumbent upon the committee to seek out everything which gives a promise for the future.” In carrying out what Abrams refers to as “its self-imposed mandate,” the committee “has acknowledged many different roads that lead to peace.”⁸² He sums up the effect of this as follows: “Paradoxically, it has been in going beyond Nobel’s

wishes that the committee has made of the award a higher distinction than he could ever have hoped.”⁸³ In fact, “the prize has come to be the highest recognition one can receive for service to mankind in humanitarian endeavor.”⁸⁴

Abrams regretted “the absence of war-resisters and nonresistants” such as Gandhi and Toyohiko Kagawa; “even less defensible,” he continued, “is the parochial neglect for so long of the non-western and non-Christian world.”⁸⁵ He expressed the hope that the prize to Lutuli—then the most recent one, awarded in 1961—“marks a new global perspective.”⁸⁶ This proved to be too optimistic: only during the last two decades of the twentieth century can it be said that the prize became characterized by a truly global perspective. But his overall evaluation was a very positive one: “On the whole, the Nobel Committee has done its work conscientiously and well.”⁸⁷ In his conclusion, Abrams raised the question of the meaning of the peace awards in a world which stood on the brink of annihilation. What was there to celebrate? His reply deserves to be quoted in full: “Who could despair of a civilization that could produce a Nansen, a Jane Addams, or an Albert Schweitzer? Or qualities such as the heroism of a von Ossietzky, the dedication of an Arthur Henderson, the infinite patience of a Ralph Bunche, even the humility of a Cordell Hull? Perhaps it has been the greatest service of the Nobel Committee over the years to hold up before men the hope and promise of what they can become.”⁸⁸

Five years before his article appeared, Abrams had addressed these same issues in a long and interesting letter to Jacob ter Meulen.⁸⁹ It was, in reality, a concise balance sheet of the Nobel Peace Prize where the author first formulated many of the ideas and expressions that later would appear in the published article. Perhaps not surprisingly for a Quaker addressing a Mennonite, Abrams raised the question why the Norwegian Nobel Committee had overlooked Gandhi and Kagawa—perhaps, he speculated, because the absolute pacifism with which they were identified closely “has always seemed too radical for the Nobel Committee.” He continued, “The only absolute pacifists honored, Schweitzer, Addams, and the Quakers, were not crowned for their absolute stand against war so much as for their humanitarian works. I personally favor such an interpretation, as you know, for I feel that the most effective pacifism should be a by-product of a whole way of life. We should not be spending our time war-resisting, but rather so engaged in works of affirmation that we have to say no when asked to take part in war and violence.” Even so, Abrams felt that “the absolute

anti-war movement was an important one in the 'twenties and later. Men like Pierre Cérésolle and Philippe Vernier, perhaps even Dick Sheppard, were worthy of consideration by the Committee."⁹⁰

When Abrams returned to Nobel scholarship two decades later, one of his first studies was a more systematic, and of course updated, account that should be regarded as another major contribution to the field: "The Transformation of the Nobel Peace Prize."⁹¹ He opened his article by noting, "It is almost 100 years since Alfred Nobel sat down at his desk in Paris in 1895 to draw up what has become one of the most famous wills of all time."⁹² With forensic-like rigor, Abrams proceeded by systematically documenting, analyzing, and interpreting the vital question to what extent the awards made by the Norwegian Nobel Committee have been in accordance with Nobel's intention and wishes as expressed in his will. Abrams addressed each of its key elements through seven questions regarding the age, nationality, and gender of laureates, as well as the nature of the achievement honored and the timing of such honoring in the career of the winner. Two further issues concern institutional awards and the question of non-awards. His careful discussion of each aspect led him to conclude that too many awards had been made to old, white males and, furthermore, that too many awards had been withheld, divided, or given to institutions. These findings support one of his main conclusions, namely "the independence that the committee has shown from the first in its interpretation of Nobel's testament."⁹³ In his 1962 study he had reached the same conclusion.

While Abrams has reasons to deplore that independence, at the same time he acknowledges that it also has brought advantages. He says, "Nobel's directive about the 'preceding year' is the one that the committee is most justified in interpreting very liberally."⁹⁴ He applauds the committee on its stance on a much more substantial—and at the same time less tangible—issue, namely its increasingly broad interpretation of what Nobel's will referred to as "fraternity between nations."⁹⁵ Such broad interpretation was already in evidence at the very beginning when the founder of the Red Cross was one of the two recipients of the prize. A broad interpretation of peacemaking has allowed humanitarian and human rights work to be honored. An indication of the scrupulousness of Abrams's analysis is his observation that Nobel's original Swedish expression "conveys a stronger sense of forging the bonds of brotherhood between peoples than does the official English translation, 'fraternity between nations.'⁹⁶ It is only fair to point out, as Abrams himself does, that some ten years before his article appeared, a somewhat similar

exercise had been undertaken by Solveig Häll. Abrams identifies her work, "Who is the Establishment Peacenik? A Study of Nobel Peace Prize Recipients,"⁹⁷ as "the first study [about the Nobel peace prize] to appear in a journal of peace research."⁹⁸ Although worthwhile, it has been superseded by Abrams's fuller, more original and systematic approach.

Ten years after the publication of Abrams's key article on the evolution of the prize he returned to the same subject. In "The Many Meanings of the Nobel Peace Prize"⁹⁹ he compared Alfred Nobel's meaning of the peace prize with that of the Nobel Committee. This time the question whether its decisions have resulted in "the kind of 'champions of peace' Alfred Nobel had in mind"¹⁰⁰ is approached not through a careful dissection of the relevant clauses in his will but through considering the different kinds of peacemaking honored. Abrams grouped laureates into one of seven categories, while admitting that many belonged to more than one. Distinguishing among the organized peace movement, women, statesmen, humanitarians, human rights advocates, practitioners of nonviolence, and institutions, he argued that "had the Norwegian Nobel Committees kept to a strict construction of what could be determined about Nobel's intentions, his Peace Prize would never have become what it is today, the most prestigious award in the world for service to humanity."¹⁰¹

In his "Reflections on the First Century of the Nobel Peace Prize,"¹⁰² Abrams reviews yet again the record of the Nobel Committee and comes to the same conclusion. He approvingly quotes former committee chair Fredrik Stang, who stated in 1930 the need for the committee "to seek out everything which gives a promise for the future."¹⁰³ A further rationale for the committee's broad interpretation of Nobel's expression regarding "fraternity between nations"—thereby allowing, e.g., the honoring of human rights work—was provided by a more recent committee chair, Egil Aarvik, who told Abrams, "Nobel's will does not state this, but it was made in another time. Today we realize that peace cannot be established without a full respect for freedom."¹⁰⁴ Abrams also reiterates a view expressed already in his 1962 article, namely "for me it is still the individuals who represent the glory of the Nobel Peace Prize"—individuals whose "sacred fire [von Suttner] fills the heart and spirit of so many of those ... whom the [Norwegian] Nobel Committees have set before us; despite the barbarism ... which we still see too much around us, they can still give us faith in and hope for humanity."¹⁰⁵

Many of the individuals whom the Norwegian Nobel Committees have honored with the peace prize during the last century (and continue

to honor in the new one, which is also a new century in the history of the prize) indeed are able to inspire and to encourage us. In a rather disbelieving age, they can be regarded as the nearest we have to saints. It is important that their lives and works are not forgotten but, on the contrary, are a continuing source for present and future generations in their attempts to fashion a world without war. It is Irwin Abrams's singular achievement that, with this goal in mind, he has done more than anyone else to acquaint the world more fully with the ideas, efforts, and deepest motivations of the Nobel peace laureates and to promote their legacy.

NOTES

1. Irwin Abrams, *The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates: An Illustrated Biographical History, 1901–1987* (Boston, MA: G.K. Hall, 1988). There were two further printings in subsequent years.

2. Sverdrup's commendation appeared on the book's front cover. Abrams, *The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates: An Illustrated Biographical History, 1901–2001* (Nantucket, MA: Science History Publications/USA). This book can be seen as a rich synthesis of the author's research and writings on the Nobel Peace Prize that first preoccupied him in the 1950s, as will be documented in the body of this article.

3. See, for instance, Burton Feldman, *The Nobel Prize: A History of Genius, Controversy, and Prestige* (New York: Arcade, 2000). Reviewing the book, Abrams writes that the author "frequently prefers a colorful anecdote to a matter of fact" (555). There are "many errors that mar his account," and Feldman "repeats gossip" (555). Abrams's conclusion is also applicable to much of the literature on the Nobel Peace Prize: "Feldman does write entertainingly, but the cost to accuracy is great" (556). Abrams, "Appraising the Prize: Three Books in Review," *Peace & Change* 26, no. 4 (2001): 553–556. For a particularly egregious instance where there is not entertainment but only exasperation, and involving a quality newspaper and prominent author, see Tariq Ali, "The Ignoble Nobel," *The Guardian*, December 7, 2002, and the rejoinder by Peter van den Dungen, "Hitler and the Nobel Peace Prize," February 22, 2003.

4. Abrams, "The Nobel Peace Prizes as Teaching Tools," *Magazine of History* 8, no. 3 (1994): 83–88. The issue includes also "Profile of a Peace Historian: Irwin Abrams," 40–41. For another profile, see Diane Chiddister, "Historian Irwin Abrams Captures Inspirational Work of Peacemakers," *PHS News—The Newsletter of the Peace History Society* 38, no. 1 (2002): 7–9.

5. Abrams, "The Transformation of the Nobel Peace Prize," *Peace & Change* 10 (Fall/Winter 1984): 23, note 4.

6. Before the 1980s, one of the very few articles on the Nobel Peace Prize to appear in a peace research journal was published in 1973 (see note 97). In 1984 and 2001 *Peace & Change* devoted two special issues to the subject. Since 2000, original and scholarly papers also have been published in the *Norwegian Nobel Institute Series*. For a good overview, see Abrams, "Bibliographical Notes," in *The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates* (2001), 33–36.

7. Abrams, *The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates* (1988), ix–x; (2001), xiii–xiv.

8. Lars Gyllensten (chairman of the board of the Nobel Foundation) and Stig Ramel (executive director of the Nobel Foundation) as quoted by Francis Sejersted in his "Foreword" to *Nobel Lectures—Peace (1971–1980)* (Singapore: World Scientific Publications for the Nobel Foundation, 1997), v.

9. Abrams, *Nobel Lectures—Peace* (Singapore: World Scientific Publications for the Nobel Foundation, 1997–1999). A fourth volume covering the years 1996–2000 is in preparation.

10. Cf. note 8.

11. Abrams, "Introduction," pp. ix–x in his (ed.) *Nobel Lectures—Peace*.

12. Cf. *Nobel Lectures—Peace, 1901–1925*, 323.

13. Abrams, "Christian L. Lange," in *The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates: The Meaning and Acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize in the Prize Winners' Countries*, ed. Karl Holl and Anne C. Kjelling (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994), 161–182, especially 178–182.

14. Abrams in Holl and Kjelling, *The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates: The Meaning and Acceptance*, 162.

15. *Ibid.*, 173.

16. Abrams, "The Origins of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War: The Dr. James E. Muller Diaries," *Medicine, Conflict and Survival* 15, no. 1 (1999): 23.

17. *Ibid.*, 29.

18. Abrams, "Je Me Souviens ... ," *International Peace Bureau Centenary Exhibition, 1892–1992*. Catalogue prepared by Verdiana Grossi (Geneva: United Nations Office & International Peace Bureau, 1992): 2–5.

19. Abrams, "Bertha von Suttner and the Nobel Peace Prize," *Journal of Central European Affairs* 22 (1962): 286–307.

20. Edelgard Biedermann, ed., *Chère Baronne et Amie—Cher monsieur et ami: Der Briefwechsel zwischen Alfred Nobel und Bertha von Suttner* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2001).

21. This article appeared in the exhibition catalog *Die Waffen Nieder! Bas les Armes—Lay Down Your Arms. Bertha von Suttner and Other Women in Pursuit of Peace* (Geneva: United Nations Library, 1993), 9–13.

22. Abrams, "Je Me Souviens ...", 13.
23. Abrams, "Introduction," in *Memoirs of Bertha von Suttner* (New York: Garland, 1972), 5–15; Abrams "Introduction," in *Bertha von Suttner, Lay Down Your Arms* (New York: Garland, 1972), 5–14.
24. Abrams, *Memoirs*, 5.
25. Abrams, "Suttner, Baroness von," in *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders*, ed. Harold Josephson (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1985), 921–924.
26. Abrams, "Bertha von Suttner," in *World Encyclopedia of Peace*, eds. Ervin Laszlo and Jong Youl Yoo, vol. 3 (Oxford: Pergamon, 1986), 201–204. See also the second edition: ed. Young Seek Choue: New York: Oceana & Seoul: Seoul Press, 1999, vol. 7: 47–50.
27. Ruth C. Reynolds to Geraldine Billingham, January 21, 1986. Personal archives.
28. Abrams, "De Waffen Nieder!", in *World Encyclopedia of Peace*, vol. 1: 252–253; Abrams, "Nobel Peace Prizes," in *ibid.*, vol. 2: 52–56. See also the second edition: vol. 2: 43–44 & vol. 3: 412–417, respectively.
29. First published in Königsberg in 1795.
30. Abrams, *Die Waffen Nieder!*, 252.
31. It is obvious that the selection of only two books was too restricted. Norman Angell (to mention one example) was the second author of a peace classic to win the Nobel Peace Prize. Contrasting *The Great Illusion* (1910) with *Die Waffen Nieder!*, Abrams called the former "a powerful appeal to reason and common sense, a hard-hitting elaboration by a top journalist of the thesis that war does not pay ... few writers have wielded a more talented pen in behalf of peace." "The Nobel Peace Prize—A Balance Sheet," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 21, no. 3 (1962): 235–236.
32. Brigitte Hamann, *Bertha von Suttner: A Life for Peace* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996), xii–xxi.
33. *Ibid.*, xiii, xx.
34. Abrams, "Bertha von Suttner (1843–1914): Bibliographical Notes," *Peace & Change* 16, no. 1 (1991): 64–73.
35. Abrams, "Nobel Peace Prize," in *Protest, Power, and Change: An Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, ed. Roger S. Powers and William B. Voegelé (New York: Garland, 1997), 354–357.
36. *Ibid.*, 354.
37. *Ibid.*, 357.
38. Abrams, "William Randal Cremer: Co-Founder of the Inter-Parliamentary Union," *Bulletin of the Inter-Parliamentary Union* 75 (3) (1995): 120–126; Abrams, "Paul d'Estournelles de Constant—The Vision of European

Unity,” *Bulletin of the Inter-Parliamentary Union* 77 (2) (1997): 76–81; Abrams, “Henri La Fontaine: A True International Man (1854–1943),” *Bulletin of the Inter-Parliamentary Union* 76 (2) (1996): 63–68; Abrams, “Nobel Peace Laureate Christian L. Lange, ‘Apostle of Concord,’” *Bulletin of the Inter-Parliamentary Union* 73 (1) (1993): 8–25.

39. Abrams, “The Nobel Peace Prize,” in *Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations*, ed. Bruce W. Jentleson and Thomas G. Paterson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997): 252–257.

40. Abrams, *The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates*, xii. It seems that this was hoping too much (if British teenagers are like their American counterparts). Almost twenty years later, a poll of more than 2,500 young Britons revealed that the top ten people most important to them comprised Hollywood stars, pop musicians, and a football player. “Nelson Mandela, in 14th place, emerged as the most popular politician and arguably the only person in the top 20 representing a clear moral or political ideology.” Tony Tysome, “Youth Drool at Cool,” *Times Higher Education Supplement*, January 30, 2004, 3.

41. Michael Neumann, ed., *Der Friedens-Nobelpreis von 1901 bis heute* (Zug: Edition Pacis, 1987–1993).

42. Abrams, *The Words of Peace* (New York: Newmarket, 1990, 1995, 2000).

43. Abrams, *Worte für die eine Welt: Aus den Reden der Friedensnobelpreisträger* (Freiburg: Herder).

44. Abrams, *Words of Peace* (2000), viii–ix.

45. *Ibid.*, x.

46. *The Nobel Prize Annual* (New York: International Merchandising Corp., 1989–1998).

47. Abrams, “Carl von Ossietzky Retrospective,” in *The Nobel Prize Annual 1989* (1990), 13–23.

48. Abrams, *Reflections on the First Century of the Nobel Peace Prize* (Oslo: The Norwegian Nobel Institute Series, 1, no. 5, 2000), 19.

49. He died November 19, 2003, at age ninety-five.

50. Abrams, “Reflections on the First Century of the Nobel Peace Prize,” *Peace & Change* 26, no. 4 (2001): 537.

51. Abrams, *The Nobel Peace Prizes as Teaching Tools*, 83.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*, 84.

55. *Ibid.*, 87.

56. Abrams, *Postage Stamps and Peace Education: The Nobel Peace Prize* (Malmö: Peace Education Miniprints, no. 79, 1995).

57. Ibid., 5.
58. Ibid., 7.
59. Ibid., 12.
60. Ibid., 17.
61. Abrams, "The Odd Couple," *Scanorama* (November, 1993): 52–56;
- Abrams, "Nobel's First Lieutenants," *Scanorama* (November, 1994): 18–20.
62. Abrams, "On Quaker Peacemaking," *Friends Journal* 38 (March 1992): 19.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Abrams, "The First Quaker Nobel Peace Prize Winner," *Friends Journal* 42 (December 1996): 18–19.
66. Ibid., 18.
67. Abrams, "Who Deserves the Nobel Peace Prize?: How the AFSC Makes Its Nominations," *Friends Journal* 43 (December 1997): 15–17.
68. Ibid., 17.
69. Ibid.
70. Gunnar Jahn, Henry Cadbury, and Margaret Backhouse, *Drawing on Sources Eternal* (Philadelphia: The Wider Quaker Fellowship & The American Friends Service Committee, 1997).
71. Ibid., 11.
72. Abrams, "The Quaker Peace Testimony and the Nobel Peace Prize," in *The Pacifist Impulse in Historical Perspective*, ed. Harvey L. Dyck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 207–222. This volume itself was published in celebration of Peter Brock's seventy-fifth birthday, thus bringing the two doyens of peace history in Canada and the United States together.
73. For a highly original elaboration of the wider aspects of this phenomenon, see Marilyn McMorrow, "The Nobel Peace Prize as Cognitive Institution" (paper presented at the Nobel Institute Research Seminar, Oslo, April 13, 2000). She argues that the Nobel Peace Prize has become an international institution in its own right which makes significant contributions to the conduct of world politics.
74. Sometimes Nobel peace laureates combine with laureates of other Nobel prizes. See, for instance, the letter titled "Nobel Laureates against the War" signed by Joseph Rotblat and eleven other laureates (representing chemistry, physics, physiology or medicine, and economics) published in *The Times*, February 15, 2003.
75. Abrams and Wang Gungwu, eds., *The Iraq War and Its Consequences: Thoughts of Nobel Peace Laureates and Eminent Scholars* (Singapore: World Scientific Publications, 2003).

76. Ibid., xi.
77. Ibid., xiv.
78. Abrams, "The Nobel Peace Prize—A Balance Sheet."
79. Ibid., 230.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., 227.
82. Ibid., 240.
83. Ibid., 227.
84. Ibid., 225–226.
85. Ibid., 241.
86. Ibid., 242.
87. Ibid., 243.
88. Ibid.
89. The letter, dated March 27, 1957, was written from Yvoire (France), where Abrams was spending a sabbatical (copy of letter in possession of the author). On ter Meulen, see the entries in the *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders* and in Warren F. Kuehl, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Internationalists* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983); also Peter van den Dungen, "Jacob ter Meulen and Bart de Ligt as Pioneers of Peace History," in *Pacifist Impulse*, 52–72.
90. Abrams to Ter Meulen, 3.
91. Abrams, "The Transformation of the Nobel Peace Prize."
92. Ibid., 1.
93. Ibid., 8.
94. Ibid., 19.
95. Ibid., 1.
96. Ibid., 7.
97. Solveig Häll, "Who is the Establishment Peacenik? A Study of Nobel Peace Prize Recipients," *Instant Research on Peace and Violence* 3, no. 2 (1973): 84–94.
98. Abrams, *Transformation*, 22, n. 1.
99. Abrams, "The Many Meanings of the Nobel Peace Prize," in *The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates*, 13–33.
100. Ibid., 13.
101. Ibid., 17.
102. Abrams, "Reflections."
103. Ibid., 526.
104. Ibid., 526–527.
105. Ibid., 545–546.