

'Madness is now becoming more widespread.'

Peace and disarmament

Peace and disarmament issues have always played a prominent part in the Swedish and international labour movements. These were high on the agenda of the Socialist International as early as the years before the First World War. In 1912, when the international situation was looking ever darker, the International called its members to attend an extraordinary congress in Basel in order to 'discuss joint action for the preservation of peace'. It 'became something unique in external formality and as a political expression of the collective desire for peace among the working class,' wrote Zeth Höglund in his memoirs, *Från Branting till Lenin* [From Branting to Lenin]. '545 representatives from all over Europe were greeted by the government of the canton of Basel...' he continued. The representatives included August Bebel, Jean Jaurès, Keir Hardie, Viktor Adler, Troelstra and all the other big Labour leaders of that time. Eight delegates from the political and trade union labour movement, including Hjalmar Branting, Herman Lindqvist, Fredrik Ström and Zeth Höglund, came from Sweden.

Hjalmar Branting reported on his impression of the congress in a number of articles in *Social-Demokraten* [The Social Democrat]. In the first, dated 26 November 1912, he quoted the welcome speech to the congress given by Wullschlegel, Minister for the Interior.

*'With powerful action against warmongering chauvinism and capitalistic greed for profit, the International will serve not only the entire working class, which of course would suffer the most through the terrors of a war. It will also become the standard bearer of peace for the masses in town and country, who have every reason, all of them, to rise to their feet against becoming cannon fodder.'*¹

The biggest sensation of the congress, in the opinion of Zeth Höglund, was

...a woman who served as an interpreter – she was part of the Italian delegation and translated for her fellow countryman Agnini, who spoke in his native language with a sonorous eloquence that captured the attention of everyone, even those who did not understand him. But the little

dark woman with burning brown eyes and fervent delivery, who translated his words and alternated between German, French and English, without taking a single note and with fluent, captivating rhetoric, amazed everyone and gained their admiration. And then we found out that she was born in Russia but was a naturalised Italian – so she had a good command of at least five languages so perfectly that they could all have been her mother tongue. Her name was Angelica Balabanoff, she was a Marxist Social Democrat and one of the leaders of the Italian party.

Congresses and conferences

Angelica Balabanoff was one of the international contacts made by Swedish representatives when they attended various congresses and conferences overseas. Their personal archives often contain letters from many of the great names of the time in which topical matters were discussed. Among Zeth Höglund's papers are almost 200 letters from Angelica Balabanoff.²

Over the years up to the outbreak of war in August 1914 the congress in Basel was followed throughout Europe by numerous campaigns and conferences for peace and against war. The fact that this work was unsuccessful was disastrous for the future of the international labour movement. The attempts of Swedish and Dutch social democracy, headed by Hjalmar Branting, to bring about peace in 1917 are well known.³

In the period between the wars, disarmament issues came to play a major part in the debates on both domestic and foreign policy. This was influenced by the work of the League of Nations, formed after the war, where Swedish representatives Hjalmar Branting and Rickard Sandler were driving forces on many issues. Hjalmar Branting's papers in particular contain extensive documentation on the work of the League of Nations (series 4.3). The Swedish Parliament's decision on the defence issue of 1925 meant substantial disarmament for the Swedish Armed Forces. The people of Sweden had great expectations for the International Disarmament Conference held in Geneva in 1932. In 1931, in the first issue of *Morgonbris*, the newspaper of Socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundet

SSKF [Social Democratic Women's Association], an appeal was made by Internationella kvinnoförbundet för fred och frihet [International Council of Women for Peace and Freedom]; this said:

As we all know the intention is for a first Disarmament Conference, to include all states, to be called by the League of Nations, if possible in 1931. The men and women who are called to this conference in their capacities as representatives of their governments will take on the greatest task which can be imposed upon an assembly in these times. Courage, wisdom and good will will be required of them in unique measure. If they are to be able to complete their task, they must feel themselves carried by the desire of the people for peace. It is this desire for peace and reconciliation, often still bound up and instinctive, that the International Council of Women for Peace and Freedom has wished to arouse and is expressing by inviting the signing of an appeal to the Disarmament Conference. This work has begun all over the world. The voice of our people must not be lacking. We appeal to each man and woman over 18 years of age to unite with us so that the voice of Sweden may ring out loud and strong.

In the autumn of 1931 prior to the approaching conference, Landsorganisationen LO [Swedish Trade Union Confederation] and Socialdemokratiska arbetarepartiet SAP [Social Democratic Party of Sweden] prepared a manifesto 'to all labour organisations and friends of disarmament in the country'. The intention was that - during October, November and December - 'each and every organisation in favour of disarmament [was] to sign the petition on disarmament'. At the same time, 'special meetings in every town' were arranged where the petitions were accepted to be sent subsequently to the Executive of the Social Democratic Party. The manifesto read as follows:

So long as disarmament does not take place, peace is always in danger. The peace treaty has resulted in the compulsory disarmament of some countries and promised the disarmament of the others. However, the protracted negotiations in Geneva have to date had no tangible results. The burden of armament is growing. The patience of the people is being tried to the extreme.

Therefore, we demand of the governments represented at the Disarmament Conference that they at last take positive action. A treaty

must be concluded which secures a grand immediate reduction of armies, of munitions in all their forms, and of military expenditure, and which leads to complete general and controlled disarmament.

Thus the Disarmament Conference, which opened in February 1932, had been preceded by major campaigns to influence public opinion made by the labour movement, the peace, women's and temperance movements, and from the Church and the non-conformist societies. What were known as Geneva committees, which worked to promote disarmament, were formed throughout the country. Major campaigns to collect names were carried out. In Stockholm, a 'people's parliament for world peace' was arranged prior to the conference, supported primarily by the trade unions with, for example, Sigvard Cruse and Fredrik Ström, the chairmen of Typograförbundet [Printers' Union] on the organising committee. An exhibition entitled 'People disarm' by Informationsbyrån för fredsfrågor [Information Bureau for Peace Issues], the Morgonbris newspaper and the Executive of the Social Democratic Party was housed 'on the beautiful premises of the TUC building at 18 Barnhusgatan'.⁴ A special committee appointed by the liberal government of Carl Ekman prepared the Swedish disarmament programme for the conference. This committee included all party leaders and Per Albin Hansson. Members of the Social Democrats also included Rickard Sandler and Allan Vougt. In the period between the wars, disarmament issues were given top priority in Swedish foreign policy.

For anyone interested in how the peace and disarmament issues were dealt with by the Swedish and international labour movement, there is much information to be found in the various documents of the political and trade union organisations. There is everything from congress proceedings, executive minutes, circulars, letters and member journals to photographs, posters and pins. These issues were discussed by the highest decision-making bodies and were dealt with at local level at branch and club meetings.

Planning for after the war

The unsuccessful efforts in the 1930s to prevent armament and the war by means of international campaigns and agreements did not dim the hope of a peaceful world. As late as the year before the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, Stiftelsen Fredshögskolan [Peace College Foundation] was formed by, among others, Karin Boye, Anna-Lenah Elgström, Oscar Olsson and Fredrik Ström, with Greta Engkvist as a driving force. The aim of the Peace College was 'to educate people with a new dis-

A disarmament conference opened in Geneva on 2 January 1932. The man standing second from the left and in front is the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, Per Albin Hansson. In September of 1932 he became Sweden's Prime Minister. Standing with his back to Hansson is the then Prime Minister C. G. Ekman. Photo: J. Cadoux, Geneva.

position, open to national and international co-operation, by means of studies and lectures'. The Peace College was active until the end of the 1990s, when their documents were transferred to Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek ARAB [Labour Movement Archives and Library].

During the war years, the world that would emerge after the end of the war was discussed and planned. The group of refugees fleeing Nazism that gathered in Stockholm under the name of 'Lilla internationalen' [Little International], the most famous members of which were Willy Brandt and Bruno Kreisky, is renowned.⁵ Practical work for peace was started during the war years by composer and writer Wolfgang Sonntag, through what was called International work teams, where young volunteers took part in international aid and reconstruction work after the war.⁶ Sonntag's papers at ARAB contain documents on this work.

When the Charter of the United Nations was signed in San Francisco on 26 June 1945, the 51 founding members of the organisation undertook by article 1 'to preserve international peace and security'. To achieve this, the General Assembly and the Security Council were given the task of paying particular attention to the issues of disarmament and arms control. Less than two months later, on 6 and 9 August 1945, the USA dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. With this new weapon of mass destruction, the discussions on peace and disarma-

ment took on a different dimension to that of the period between the wars. At the first session of the UN, which took place in London in January 1946, the first resolution of the organisation unanimously approved the proposal for the establishment of an Atomic Energy Commission. This would be entrusted with putting forward proposals on how atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction should be eliminated.

The decision of the Swedish Parliament in 1946 on membership of the UN meant that much of the Swedish commitment to peace in the future would take place within the framework of the UN. In 1947, Rickard Sandler was elected Sweden's delegate to the UN. He resumed his work from the League of Nations and soon became the person who 'was industrious in the UN's atomic debates, immersed himself ever deeper in the political, technical and scientific aspects of the issue. He soon emerged as one of Sweden's top experts in the field', as his biographer Yngve Möller wrote.⁷

During the post-war period, international issues – including those of peace and disarmament – took on ever greater importance in the work of the Social Democratic Party. Kaj Björk was appointed international secretary. In his correspondence in the party archives, as well as in his private papers, it is possible to follow how this work developed. The international material is also well represented in the papers of Tage Erlander, the new party chairman (1946-1969).

Peace campaigns and atomic weapons

At the first declaration of the new Social Democratic government's foreign policy at the Parliament in the autumn of 1945, Östen Undén warned that 'should, contrary to expectation, there appear to be a tendency within this organisation [the UN] toward a division of the great powers into two camps, our policy must be not to allow ourselves to be driven into such a grouping or the formation of blocs'.⁸ 'Contrary to expectation' turned out to be a pious hope and soon the antagonism between West and East became ever greater, and the Cold War began.

Atomic weapons, nuclear testing and various proposals on the disarmament issue became important instruments at an early stage in the struggle for international public opinion and became part of what the English socialist John Strachey called 'the political warfare' between East

and West.⁹ From the time of the formation of the Cominform in 1947, the Soviet Union, with its various front organisations, came,¹⁰ via a series of so called peace offensives, to play on people's genuine fears of a third world war in which atomic weapons would be deployed.

1949 saw the formation of the World Peace Council, perhaps the principal front organisation of the Soviet Union, with its Swedish offshoot Svenska fredskommittén [Swedish Peace Committee]. The records of the Swedish Peace Committee at ARAB includes 39 volumes containing documents from the early 1950s through to the 1970s, and a large number of posters. This archives includes documents relating to everything from international peace congresses to Baltic crossings. In the spring of 1949, the World Peace Council organised a major world peace congress in Paris. Per Anders Fogelström, in *Kampen för fred* [Fight for Peace], his historical account of the Swedish peace movement, tells how artist Bo Beskow, who attended the congress, was frightened by what he saw:

He said that information had been given that the new peace movement had 600 million affiliates (for North Korea, according to Beskow, a figure of 31 million was given – which was more than the population of the country). Beskow was of the opinion that there was no free discussion, there were no spontaneous contributions... 'Day after day, delegates were fed prepared speeches, which had been submitted in plenty of time because they had to be translated into five languages, and so they could be checked and approved.' He was of the opinion that 'the agitated, aggressive, warlike atmosphere at this peace meeting could not be described'. Beskow feared that the new movement was a threat to all peace work. 'Can the word PEACE be washed clean again?' he wondered.¹¹

At the end of March 1950, the World Peace Council arranged a conference in Stockholm where the famous 'Stockholm Appeal' for a ban on atomic weapons was adopted.¹² This Appeal is said to have been signed by more than 500 million people. In a critical speech at the General Assembly of the UN in the autumn of 1950, Östen Undén said:

Can it really be possible that people could be delivered from the evil of war through a general association with the Stockholm Appeal? Was this the case, the name of Sweden's capital city would be linked with the greatest miracle in the

history of humanity. I am sorry to say that I am compelled, rather, to think that the name of Stockholm has been borrowed to represent a superstition.

All of these peace congresses, peace festivals, peace cross-

Booklet about the so-called Stockholm Appeal 1950. It contains the text of the appeal, press material, speeches and articles in connection to the appeal. The whole project was, according to the critics, a communistic manoeuvre orchestrated from Moscow.

sings and peace weeks led to countermeasures from the West. In the summer of 1950, at the same time as the outbreak of the war in Korea, the Congress for Cultural Freedom was formed in Berlin on the initiative of the CIA.¹³ A series of intellectuals of the time were present, such as Bertrand Russell and Karl Jaspers. They would all come to play an important part in the formation of public opinion against nuclear weapons over the years to follow. Sweden's representative was Ture Nerman, who later helped to form the Swedish subdivision Svenska kom-

mittén for kulturens frihet [Swedish Committee for Cultural Freedom]. The documentation from the archives of this committee was presented to ARAB in 1972. Further documents can be found in the archives of Ture Nerman and Helmut Rüdiger. The Nordic labour movement would also act in response to the Communists' peace propaganda and the Stockholm Appeal. That which became the peace manifesto of the Nordic labour movement was discussed from the autumn of 1950 to January 1951. This manifesto too came to achieve a relatively great international impact. Among others, the fonds of the Arbetarrörelsens nordiska samarbetskommitté SAMAK [Scandinavian Co-ordinating Committee of the Labour Movement], at ARAB contains documents relating to discussions on this peace manifesto.¹⁴

From Östen Undén to Alva Myrdal

In 1961, Östen Undén, Minister for Foreign Affairs, had decided that it was time for him to withdraw after many decades of active politics. He had regularly taken part in the annual UN sessions since 1946, and so now he wanted, in the autumn, to present a proposal in a last major speech to the General Assembly which could break the deadlock in the negotiations on disarmament.

Since the USA's test of a 15-megaton hydrogen bomb at Bikini Atoll in the spring of 1954, the issue of nuclear weapons had mobilised more and more people all over the world to take part in protests. The issue had taken on ever more importance in Sweden too, particularly in connection and with discussions on atomic bombs in the Swedish Defence Forces. The protest movements in the various countries made contact with one another. Aktionsgruppen mot svensk atombomb AMSA [Action Group against a Swedish Atom Bomb], Sweden's most renowned newly formed movement against atomic weapons, attracted numbers to its meetings. One of the most active people in this group was Bertil Svahnström. His very extensive records, which were transferred to ARAB in the early 1980s, contain a lot of material on the Swedish and international peace movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Like the papers of its chairman, Inga Thorsson, the fonds of Socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundet [Social Democratic Women's Association] also contains information on the issue of nuclear weapons in the 1950s.

In the summer of 1961, a group of people at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs worked on Östen Undén's next speech for the UN. This group included Alva Myrdal, whom Undén had given the special task of working on the disarmament issue after she returned to Sweden after six years as the Swedish ambassador to India. By close studies of the contemporary literature and through contact with the experts concerned in other countries, the group did further work on a proposal that the British labour move-

ment persuaded the Socialist International to adopt in 1959. The proposal was for a group of countries free of atomic weapons in a 'non-nuclear club'. This became the Undén Plan, in a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in the autumn of 1961. Alva Myrdal devoted the rest of her life to peace and disarmament issues, initially as the chief Swedish delegate at the international negotiations on disarmament that took place in Geneva between 1962 and 1973. She then became an author, lecturer and animator on the issue, not just in Sweden but all over the world, a fact to which the very extensive material in her papers bear witness. She entitled her first major public speech on the issue 'Nedrustningsfrågans internationella läge [International position of the Disarmament Issue]'. This speech was given at the major public peace meeting arranged by 18 women's organisations that took place in the Concert Hall in Stockholm on 30 October 1961. Here, Alva Myrdal said:

And so history repeats itself: every time an opportunity for mutual agreement is missed, the technological development of weapons continues until both parties achieve 'saturation'. No one dares allow himself to be locked out. And now they stand there not only with their capacity for retaliation secured but also with what the military call, in their somewhat brutal popular parlance, 'overkill capacity' – the ability to more than totally destroy one another. Does this sound as if there were no hope of disarmament?

However, this was how she concluded her address:

I know only two things for certain. Firstly, that we will gain nothing by skirting around the difficulties and merely indulging in wishful thinking. Secondly, there is always something that we ourselves can do. In by far the most unpretentious form, this is how the exhortation runs: to study, to attempt to analyse various proposals against one another and weigh up the effectiveness of the solutions – even if they are not in themselves complete solutions. Otherwise there would indeed be nothing else to do but to give up. And giving up is not worthy of human beings.

From Inga Thorsson to Olof Palme

In 1973, Ambassador Inga Thorsson succeeded Alva Myrdal as the chief negotiator at the international disarmament

talks in Geneva. As mentioned above, in the 1950s she had played a prominent part in the fight against Swedish atomic weapons as chairperson of the Women's Association. Now she would soon become a respected name in international disarmament work; initially at the first conference to review the non-proliferation treaty of 1975. The opposition was so great that the conference was threatened with failure. Thanks to the chairmanship of Inga Thorsson and a proposal for a compromise, prepared by her, for a final document, the conference was a success.

Inga Thorsson's work as chairperson of the UN's special enquiry on 'disarmament and development' which ran between 1978 and 1981 with 27 government experts and around a hundred researchers involved, was highly valued. Of this study, she said:

This study taught us a lot. With the help of figures and clear facts, we could point out the negative economic effects on the economy. We concluded also that the world cannot afford – either in advanced nations or in developing countries – both to arm and at the same time to attempt to resolve the economic and social problems that are becoming ever more damaging.¹⁵

Like Alva Myrdal's papers, Inga Thorsson's contain very extensive information on international peace and disarmament work.

At the Social Democratic party congress held in the autumn of 1978, Olof Palme said:

About a year ago, I had a visit from two elderly gentlemen, both of whom had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. One of them was Philip Noel-Baker, the other Sean McBride. Noel-Baker, who has worked with disarmament issues all his life, said at that time, 'Now we really are in danger. Madness is now becoming more widespread. We have to put a stop to this now and the only chance we have is to mobilise people in favour of international disarmament. The politicians, the parliaments, the military and the UN are no longer enough. We have to mobilise the people, go directly to the popular movements, the trade unions, the Christian organisations and so on. We have to launch a campaign in which we mobilise all popular movements, encouraging them to fight the lunacy of armament.'

NOTES

1. Hjalmar Branting: Intryck från Baselkongressen [Impressions of the Basel Congress], in *Hjalmar Branting, Tal och skrifter IX, Internationalen* [Hjalmar Branting, Speeches and Writings IX, the International]. Stockholm 1929, p 294 ff.
2. Höglund's archive contains another volume of documents with archive fragments from Balabanoff (acc. no. 2000/22, volume 4a).
3. Martin Grass: *Friedensaktivität und Neutralität. Die skandinavische Sozialdemokratie und die neutrale Zusammenarbeit im Krieg, August 1914 bis Februar 1917* [Peace Activities and Neutrality. Scandinavian Social Democracy and Neutral Collaboration in the War, August 1914 to February 1917]. Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1975. See also Martin Grass: *Konferensen kom aldrig till stånd. Stockholmskonferensen 1917* [The Conference will never come off. The Stockholm Conference of 1917], in *Arbetarhistoria* 11, 1987, pp 13 ff, and Grass: *Fredsfrågan i Stockholm 1917 – ett hot mot de krigförande makterna*, [The Peace Question in Stockholm 1917 – a threat to the warring powers] in *Arbetarhistoria* 12, 1988, pp 9 ff.
4. *Morgonbris* 1932:2, p 2.
5. Klaus Misgeld: *Die 'Internationale Gruppe demokratischer Sozialisten' in Stockholm 1942-1945. Zur sozialistischen Friedensdiskussion während des Zweiten Weltkrieges* [The

- 'International Democratic Socialists' Group' in Stockholm 1942-1945. On socialist peace discussions during the Second World War]. Uppsala/Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1976.
6. *Frivilligt arbete för fred – en bok om Internationella Arbetslag*. [Voluntary work for peace – a book on International Labour Team]. Stockholm 2000.
7. Yngve Möller: *Rickard Sandler. Folkbildare. Utrikesminister* [Rickard Sandler. Adult Educator Foreign Minister]. Stockholm 1990.
8. Östen Undén's archive is kept at the National Library of Sweden.
9. John Strachey: *On Prevention of War*. London 1962.
10. Natalia I. Egorova.: Stalin's Foreign Policy and the Cominform 1947-53, in *The Soviet Union and Europe in the Cold War, 1943-53*. Ed.: Francesca Gori and Silvio Pons. London 1996, pp 197-207.
11. Per Anders Fogelström: *Kampen för fred. Berättelsen om en okänd folkrörelse* [The Fight for Peace. An account of an unknown popular movement]. Stockholm 1971, p 243. The archive of Svenska Freds- och Skiljedomsföreningen [the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Association] is kept at the Stockholm city archives.
12. The archive of Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna [The Left Party - Communists (VPK)], volume F11:1, contains documen-

After the agreement on a partial test ban in the summer of 1963, the peace movement – which had been very active – had almost ceased to act. It was reactivated in the mid-1970s, and over the next few years would become more active than ever. In Europe, the USA, Australia and many other countries, protests against nuclear armament became more widespread. One direct reason for this was the thought that neutron bombs had been brought to the fore once again in the USA, while another was the deployment of thousands of nuclear weapons in Europe by the superpowers.

People became more and more anxious about a future nuclear war. Various professional groups such as doctors, lawyers, engineers and even the military formed their own organisations against nuclear weapons. One group in particular, women, took on responsibility in forming public opinion against the ever more grotesque armament efforts

of the superpowers. In the extensive fonds of Kvinnor för fred [Women For Peace], which was transferred to ARAB in 1994, it is possible to follow their work in their great international contact network and in international arrangements such as the famous peace marches. The trade union and political labour movements also devoted more and more resources to peace work in the 1980s. Arbetarrörelsens fredsforum [Peace Forum of the Labour Movement] was founded in 1981 with Alva Myrdal as chairman. Conferences, seminars, publications and international contacts were used to disseminate information on nuclear weapons and the consequences of nuclear war. The fonds of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation contains documentation from the peace delegations of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the European Trade Union College to Washington DC and Moscow, among other places, in the 1980s.

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tation on the Stockholm Appeal.

13. Peter Coleman: *The Liberal Conspiracy. The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe*. New York 1989; see also Nils Runeby: Klerkernas ansvar och frihetens organisation. Kring de intellektuellas mobilisering i 1950-talets Sverige [The Priesthood's responsibility and the Organisation of Freedom. On the mobilisation of the intellectuals in 1950s Sweden], in *Der nahe Norden. Otto Oberholzer zum 65. Geburtstag. Eine Festschrift* [The Near North. A Festschrift for Otto Oberholzer's 65th Birthday]. Frankfurt am Main 1985, pp 287-305; Matthias Hannemann: Kalter Kulturkrieg in Norwegen? Zum Wirken des 'Kongress für kulturelle Freiheit' in Skandinavien [Cultural Cold War in Norway? On the effect of the 'Congress for Cultural Freedom' in Scandinavia], in *Nordeuropa-forum* 2/99. Berlin 1999, pp 15-41. See also *Arbetarhistoria*, issue 100, 2001, several articles.

14. Klaus Misgeld: Den nordiska arbetarrörelsens fredsmanifest 1951. Ett dokument från Koreakrigets dagar [The Peace Manifesto of the Scandinavian Labour Movement, 1951. A document from the time of the Korean War], in *Scandia* 1985, issue 1-2, p 197-216.

15. Lars G Lindskog: *Att förändra verkligheten. Porträtt av Inga Thorsson*. [Changing Reality. Portrait of Inga Thorsson]. Stockholm 1990, p 118.

A large number of organisations' archives and personal archives contain documentation (minutes, documents, letters and so on), in various series and various volumes, which at the same time also include documentation on other issues. Therefore, it is not possible to be precise about their scope. Examples of such archives are as follows:

Arbetarrörelsens nordiska samarbetskommitté [Nordic Co-operation Committee of the Labour Movement (SAMAK)]
Hjalmar Branting
Ingvar Carlsson
Tage Erlander
Per Albin Hansson
Zeth Höglund
Landsorganisationen i Sverige [Swedish Trades Union Congress] (LO)
Alva and Gunnar Myrdal
Ture Nerman
Olof Palme
Rickard Sandler
Sveriges kristna socialdemokraters förbund [Swedish Association of Christian Social Democrats] (SKSF),
Broderskapsrörelsen [the Brotherhood Movement]
Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti [Swedish Social Democratic party] (SAP)
Sveriges socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbund [the Swedish Social Democratic Women's Association] (SSKF)
Bertil Svahnström

ARCHIVES

Olof Palme had been working actively for peace in a variety of ways for many years. From 1977, he was more and more often to deal with the issue of disarmament in various speeches. This was partly due to the fact that the Socialist International had devoted itself ever more to the problems of disarmament after Willy Brandt became its chairman in the autumn of 1976. Olof Palme was one of the vice-chairmen of the International. The Socialist International congress held in Helsinki in 1978 was devoted entirely to the issue of disarmament. A special working group was appointed under the leadership of Finland's Kalevi Sorsa. The UN's first special session on disarmament also took place in 1978.

Olof Palme's papers contain a lot of material on the issues of peace and disarmament, as does the fonds of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues – generally known as the Palme Com-

mission – under his chairmanship, which was active in the 1980s. One important conclusion of the work done by the Palme Commission was that the position of the United Nations had to be reinforced if it were to be possible to preserve peace in the future. The results of the Commission were presented in a first report, Common Security, at the UN's second special session on disarmament, held in the summer of 1982. In the 1990s, Ingvar Carlsson, Olof Palme's successor as party chairman and Prime Minister, would head a commission for global cooperation where proposals for the future role of the UN were the main topic of discussion. The archives documentation from this independent commission, the Commission on Global Governance, until it was brought to an end in June 2001, is kept at Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek [Labour Movement Archives and Library].

Inga Thorsson

Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna [Left Communists Party]

Other archives contain more unambiguous material on the subject area. Examples of such archives are:

Arbetarrörelsens fredsforum [Labour Movement Peace Forum]

– around 6 shelf metres

Commission on Global Governance – 150 volumes

Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues

– 130 volumes

Kvinnor för fred [Women for Peace] – 107 volumes

Wolfgang Sonntag – around 4 shelf metres

Stiftelsen Fredshögskolan [Peace College Foundation]

– 22 volumes

Svenska fredskommittén [Swedish Peace Committee]

– 39 volumes

Svenska kommittén för kulturens frihet [Swedish Committee for Cultural Freedom] – 4 volumes

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Grass, Martin: *Friedensaktivität und Neutralität. Die skandinavische*

Sozialdemokratie und die neutrale Zusammenarbeit im Krieg, August 1914 bis Februar 1917. Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1975

Karlsson, Gunnel: *Från broderskap till systerskap. Det socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundets kamp för inflytande och makt i SAP*. Lund 1996

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Nilsson Hoadley, Anna-Greta: *Atomvapnet som partiproblem. Sveriges socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbund och frågan om svenskt atomvapen 1955-1960*. Stockholm 1989

Trönnberg, Stefan: *Nedrustning under mellankrigstiden. Sverige och nedrustningskonferensen i Genève 1932*. Kungälv 1985

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