

# Détente or Destruction, 1955–57

Volume 29

*Edited by*  
Andrew G. Bone

The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell

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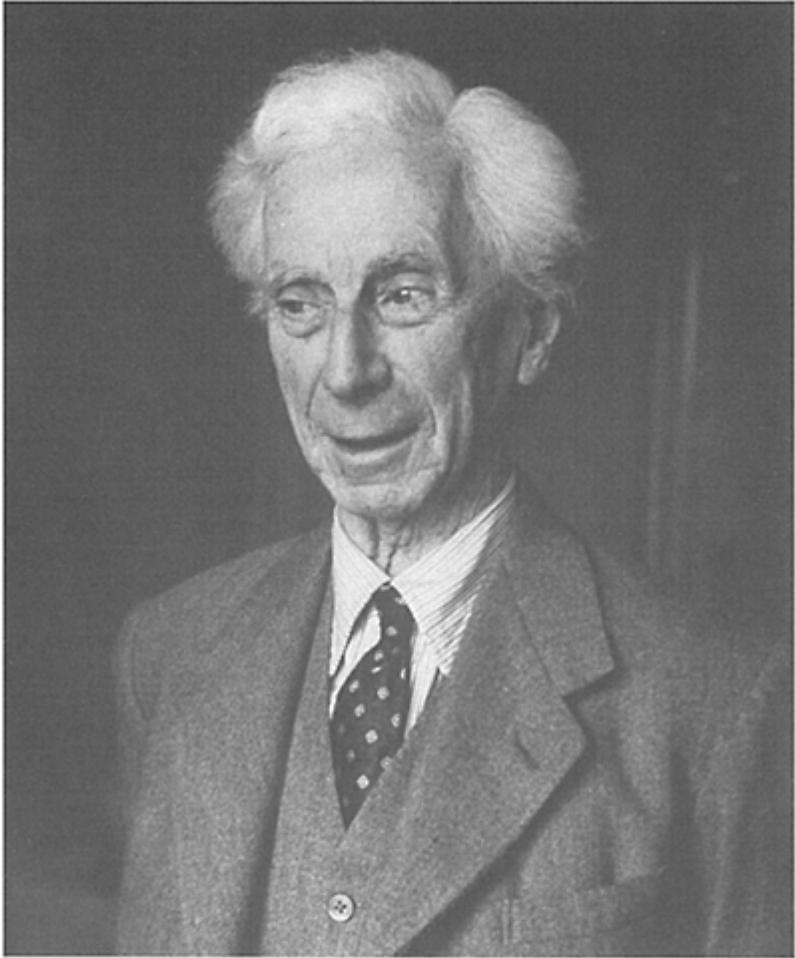
Volume 29 *Détente or Destruction, 1955–57*

*Bibliography, Volume I: Separate Publications, 1896–1990*

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An eighty-fifth birthday portrait, Plas Penrhyn, May 1957.

*BERTRAND RUSSELL*

# Détente or Destruction, 1955–57

Edited by

Andrew G. Bone



LONDON AND NEW YORK

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First published 2005 Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, ox14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge 270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group*

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2006.

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Bertrand Russell’s unpublished letters, Papers **1, 2, 6, 10b, 18, 25, 28, 32d, 38, 39, 43–46, 52, 53, 57, 59b, 60c** and Appendices VIII, X, XIII, XVI © McMaster University 2005. All other papers and appendices © The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Ltd. Editorial matter © Andrew G.Bone 2005.

Funds to edit this volume were provided by the Tokyo Club, Japan and McMaster University.

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*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data* A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data* A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 0-203-00455-8 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN 0-415-35837-X (Print Edition)

Set in 10 on 12 point Monotype Plantin (Postscript) by The Bertrand Russell Research Centre, McMaster University

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## Abbreviations

To GIVE THE reader an uncluttered text, abbreviations and symbols have been kept to a minimum. The few necessary to the referencing system are as follows.

The papers printed in the volume are given a boldface number for easy reference. For example, “Anti-American Feeling in Britain” is Paper **38**.

Bibliographical references are usually in the form of author, date and page, e.g. “Russell 1969, 80”. Consultation of the Bibliographical Index shows that this reference is to *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*. Vol. 3:1944–1967 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969), p. 80.

The abbreviation “*Papers*”, followed by a number, refers to a volume in this edition. The cited volumes are arranged in numerical sequence in the Bibliographical Index after the last entry by date under “Russell, Bertrand Arthur William, 3rd Earl”. The numbering of Russell’s publications, as in “B&R C57.22”, refers to the numbering scheme in the Russell bibliography, Blackwell and Ruja 1994.

Unless indicated otherwise, the location of archival documents cited in the edition is the Bertrand Russell Archives at McMaster University (“RA”). The following holdings in particular were indispensable to the editing of the present volume: Russell’s personal and publishing correspondence (respectively, RAI and RA2 710 and RAI 410); his dictation (RA2 750); the Pugwash (RAI 625), Congress for Cultural Freedom (RAI 580) and Morton Sobell case (RAI 841) correspondences; and the papers relating to Russell’s peace activities in 1955 (RAI 600) and his advocacy of world government (RAI 570). File numbers of documents in the Russell Archives are only provided, however, when manuscripts or typescripts of papers printed here are cited in Headnotes, or when files are difficult to identify. “RA REC. ACQ.” refers to the files of recent acquisitions in the Russell Archives. The abbreviation “EB” refers to the Eric Burhop Papers, MS ADD 385, University College London Manuscripts Room; “NAC” stands for the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

Cross-references to Headnotes are preceded by “H” and followed by a boldface paper number, as in **H43**. Cross-references to annotations are preceded by “A” and followed by page and line numbers (as in “A318:9”). Cross-references to textual notes are preceded by “T”. Further abbreviations are used in the Textual Notes, but they are identified at the beginning of each set of notes.

Abbreviations of organizations can be found expanded in the General Index.

## Introduction

IN MAY 1957 Bertrand Russell turned eighty-five. The occasion was noted, although with nothing like the pomp and ceremony of his birthday celebrations either five years before or hence. Typically perhaps, he was preoccupied at the time with arrangements for the upcoming conference of international scientists in Pugwash, although he had decided not to attend this meeting himself. One popular newsweekly did print Russell's birthday reflections on the gulf between the world of his ninth decade and that of his late-Victorian youth. In this article (17) he dwelt mainly on the dramatic changes that had occurred in domestic and international politics, rather than on his own eventful personal and intellectual odyssey—from Trinity College, Cambridge to Brixton Prison, from Bolshevik Russia to Cold War America, from idealism to logicism, from liberalism to socialism, and from a fairly closeted academic life to that of a renowned public sage. Perhaps he refrained from a mere summation of his life because, for all its variety and distinction, the octogenarian Russell—in accordance with his own prescription for a fruitful old age—still preferred to look ahead. Yet, when he did contemplate the future at the end of his essay, he saw it clouded by “the great shadow which darkens the lives of modern men. I mean the shadow of nuclear war”. He therefore remained “suspended between hope and fear” (17, p. 102).

For some time already Russell had been trying to combat this stark and terrible threat—to instil hope and to dispel fear. In donning the mantle of anti-nuclear prophet, he had effected a transformation in his public persona that was not fully grasped until after he assumed the presidency of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) early in 1958. Barely five months before then Russell had joked with an interviewer about how much he disliked being regarded as respectable. Brandishing a copy of his latest book, *Why I Am Not a Christian* (1957), he hoped that this compilation of freethinking essays would suffice to “undo my new respectability” (Appendix VII, p. 385). Religious sensibilities could certainly be offended still by such provocative unorthodoxy (see H15). In truth, though, the “respectability” enjoyed by Russell for much of the decade after the Second World War—and capped in 1949–50 by the prestigious laurels of Order of Merit and Nobel Prize—had been tarnished already by his increasingly vocal opposition to nuclear weapons. As he entered this political fray, Russell assumed a crusading guise which was unfamiliar (and perhaps a little unsettling) to a public that had grown accustomed to him over the past decade as “an intellectual ornament in something of the style of Voltaire” (Ryan 1988, 157).

The catalyst for Russell's new and urgent political quest had come from Bikini atoll in March 1954 with the first truly successful test of a hydrogen bomb. The United States had provided a frightening demonstration of this absolute weapon, whose technical feasibility Russell had grasped almost a decade before in a rare appearance in the House of Lords (see Willis 2002–03, 120). Ever since the Soviet Union's explosion of an atomic bomb in 1949, he had questioned whether victory as it was conventionally understood

could be achieved in a nuclear war. The development of the infinitely more destructive hydrogen bomb only magnified these doubts—which were entertained by political and military leaders as well as by ordinary citizens and peace campaigners. While strategists for the rival blocs looked for advantage in the Cold War arms race, or anticipated the stabilizing effects of a nuclear-armed stalemate, Russell sought a less precarious and more lasting basis for peace. In December 1954 he spoke eloquently on BBC radio about the looming threat to civilization posed by thermonuclear weapons. The extraordinary response to the sombre but hopeful message of “Man’s Peril” (16 in *Papers* 28) propelled Russell into a flurry of activism, which culminated in the release early in July 1955 of the scientists’ declaration known as “The Russell-Einstein Manifesto” (57d in *Papers* 28).

Russell remembered the “first two-thirds of the year 1955 (as) a period of hope” (1961a, 53). These eight months and the year which preceded them set the chronological parameters of *Collected Papers* 28. That volume concluded with Russell exhibiting a cautious optimism about the possibility of reducing the dangers to mankind from the nuclear arms race. At the same time, however, he was uncertain about his future political role. How could he help to sustain the momentum generated by the Russell-Einstein manifesto or by the portents of détente—admittedly fleeting—from the recent (July 1955) summit meeting of heads of state in Geneva? As for another initiative led by scientists, “I hope that the international conference envisaged in our joint statement will take place”, Russell told Joseph Rotblat, one of its signatories and his close political associate, but “it is for others to organize it” (24 July 1955).

It seems in retrospect that this hesitancy signified nothing more than a passing state of exhaustion after an extremely hectic few months. Russell’s political exertions did not continue at quite the frenetic pace he had set himself in the spring and summer, and the buoyancy of his mood was soon disturbed by the resurgence of familiar Cold War animosities (1, 2). Nevertheless, it was not long before he and others were plotting the next steps in precisely those directions mapped out by the famous declaration of scientists that Russell had written. After September 1955, the growing nuclear capabilities of the superpowers continued to feed the disquiet to which Russell had spoken in his manifesto. The scenario of global destruction sketched in this appeal and in other essays and articles from *Collected Papers* 28 was becoming increasingly vivid for a section of Western public opinion that was correspondingly eager to see international tensions diminished. By the end of the period covered by the present volume some of these apprehensions and hopes, in Britain at least; had begun to coalesce into a bona fide movement of anti-nuclear protest in which Russell would assume a prominent leadership role. The advent of CND would also signal a shift of emphasis in Russell’s thinking about nuclear weapons and political action, and revive his connection—firmly established during the First World War—with the British dissenting tradition.

## I. CONTENTS AND PRESENTATION

In terms of its central political theme—the nuclear peril—there is no clearly defined break between this volume and its predecessor. After September 1955 Russell continued

to follow paths charted by the anti-nuclear writings assembled in *Collected Papers* 28. There was no sudden change in his political understanding or priorities. A genuine world government backed by armed force provided the only sure guarantee of a stable peace (50, 52). In the short term, however, neutral states (or “uncommitted nations” as Russell preferred to call them) might help broker détente and arbitrate territorial disputes (5, 62). And the international scientific community, if properly mobilized, could enlighten official and public opinion about the precise nature and magnitude of the nuclear threat (3, 61). Such grounds for hope, however, could easily be undermined by the sources of fear, as Russell himself readily admitted. The international political backdrop against which he wrote and engaged in public affairs was not uniformly bleak throughout the twenty-seven months covered by *Collected Papers* 29. But the outlook was rendered distinctly threatening on occasion by developments addressed in the published and unpublished writings that are presented here.

Most generally, peaceful progress in international relations was constantly imperilled by the “mutual suspicions” (9, p. 39) of the rival blocs. This harmful legacy of mistrust impeded détente while accentuating the ever-present risk of nuclear war. Russell had a keen appreciation of the most volatile elements of international politics in the mid-1950s. The Cold War arms race was rapidly progressing towards a state of “mutual atomic plenty” (Wenger 1997, 102) in which both superpowers would have sufficient capacity to retaliate effectively against a preemptive nuclear strike. Some proponents of deterrence thought that these shared risks might create a peculiar sort of stability. The critics of nuclear weapons were not nearly so sanguine. But both parties could agree about certain dangers that were likely to persist until this position of nuclear stalemate was reached (i.e. in the mid-1960s). In March 1956 Russell correctly observed that “there is the knowledge on both sides that an immense and perhaps decisive advantage is to be gained by a surprise attack in the style of Pearl Harbor” (7, p. 33). Indeed, the Soviets and Americans were both striving desperately to achieve this strategic edge by developing missile guidance and delivery systems and by the increasingly frequent experimental explosion of their nuclear weapons. (The United States conducted thirty-two nuclear tests in 1957, compared to the eighteen that had been carried out the previous year, while the number of Soviet tests increased over the same period from nine to fifteen. The totals for 1958 were, respectively, seventy-seven and twenty-nine.) The successful development of a British hydrogen bomb (55, 56, 60), meanwhile, not only kindled the burgeoning worldwide opposition to atmospheric testing but also raised the spectre of an increasingly rapid and uncontrolled proliferation of nuclear weapons. Of equally acute concern was the prospect of a limited conflict such as Suez or Hungary escalating, either by recklessness or by inadvertence, into “the total and universal disaster that would result from a Third World War” (25, p. 131).

Although Russell was preoccupied in his political work with issues of war and peace, his writings continued to touch upon a wide variety of themes. The output and range would have been greater still if he had satisfied even a fraction more of the many solicitations received from publishers, editors, writers, broadcasters and sundry individuals and organizations the world over. Despite having passed “the high point of his career as a gad-fly, educator, counsellor to the perplexed, and intellectual entertainer” (Ryan 1988, 157), Russell was still prized as a provider of frequently provocative and

always elegant copy on a host of issues—historical and contemporary, enduring and ephemeral.

Having embarked on the venture which turned into the Pugwash movement, Russell may have preferred to devote more of his energy and attention to this political enterprise. Partly owing to the organizational difficulties of the project, however, 1956 was “a year of bits and pieces” for him (1969, 80). Amongst other things, he publicly protested the conviction and imprisonment of Morton Sobell (co-defendant of the executed “atom spies” Julius and Ethel Rosenberg) and became embroiled in an acrimonious dispute with the anti-Communist American Left (Part IV). Later in the year he was distracted briefly by the Suez crisis and the Hungarian uprising (Part in). Some of his time, both in 1956 and in 1957, was absorbed by the preparation of scripts for radio talks and by appearances as a panellist on *London Forum* (Part V) and the *Brains Trust* (Appendix XVI). Part II includes radio tributes to two old friends, George Trevelyan (13) and Gilbert Murray (18), as well as the six-part autobiographical series (16) that will be familiar to readers of *Fact and Fiction* (1961). Russell’s historical reflections on the foundations and spread of western culture (49 and 54) are presented in Part VI, along with a short message of congratulation to India and Pakistan on the occasion of their tenth anniversary of independence from British rule.

Between September 1955 and November 1957, Russell published some sixty-one articles, reviews, statements, contributions to books and letters to editors. Five of these texts are not reproduced here because they have been presented already in *Collected Papers* 11. The famous “Open Letter to Eisenhower and Khrushchev”, which was published on 23 November 1957, will appear in *Collected Papers* 30. Another five published texts have been omitted from the present volume because of their minor character, but they are nevertheless calendared in the Missing and Unprinted Papers section. Within the same twenty-seven-month span, Russell also managed to compose another fourteen pieces which appear in print for the first time in this volume. Paper 50 was written in September 1956 but remained unpublished until the appearance of *Fact and Fiction* five years later.

Five of the writings which have not previously appeared in print nevertheless reached an audience as talks aired by the BBC, while ten of the previously published papers also originated as radio scripts. Russell also participated with a variety of other speakers in ten radio discussions for *London Forum*. The edited transcripts of two of these programmes appeared subsequently in *London Calling*, the journal of the BBC’s Overseas Services. One of these publications is Paper 40; the other, a discussion of John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty*, features as Paper 67 in *Collected Papers* II and is therefore not printed in this volume. Two other papers in Part V (41, 42) have been published before, but the remaining six transcripts of these radio broadcasts have not appeared in print until now. The *Brains Trust*, a television programme on which Russell was a guest six times between February 1956 and October 1957, employed a similar but less narrowly focused discussion format. Abridged transcripts of five of these broadcasts have been assembled in Appendix XVI.

It became a source of growing frustration to Russell that he was able to talk about nuclear weapons and the Cold War only sporadically in this work for the BBC. International politics were debated in just one of the featured *London Forums* (44). As for the *Brains Trusts*, only a handful of the questions answered by Russell were concerned

with war and peace. In the summer of 1955 the director-general of the BBC had issued a directive “forbidding negotiations for broadcasts about nuclear weapons without prior approval by him of a general outline of both programme and speakers” (Clark 1975, 589). Only in Paper **57b** did Russell have an opportunity to expound upon his prescriptions for peace, and the idea for this talk came not from the BBC but from Russell himself. Although he lobbied strenuously for the broadcast to be repeated on the Home Service, it only ever aired to listeners overseas (see **H57**).

Russell was often interviewed by the British and foreign press; he also spoke at two public meetings (Appendixes VIII and XIII) and, more informally, on several other occasions as well. In addition, he issued a number of brief statements to be read aloud at public meetings hosted by organizations with whose objectives he sympathized. Finally, several authors, editors or publishers solicited short blurbs from Russell to help publicize a rather curious assortment of publications. These dimensions of Russell’s public and writing life are most fully documented in the Appendix section and in Missing and Unprinted Papers, although one of his commendatory writings has been included as a paper (**31a**).

## II. PERSONAL, DOMESTIC AND FINANCIAL CONCERNS

Even in his mid-eighties Russell continued to exhibit the zest which in *The Conquest of Happiness* (1930) he had judged as indispensable to a good and useful life. Russell’s first biographer, Alan Wood, had many informal encounters with his subject during these years and often found him in sparkling intellectual form:

Perhaps my most vivid recollection is of going to the theatre with him, going on to a late supper at which he recalled with precision some Greek tags which he had learnt as a boy, and then driving him home to Richmond at half past one in the morning, with Russell talking the whole time about the exact reasons why he was led to reject Hegelianism in the 1890s.... (Wood 1957, 241)

While Russell was still incredibly energetic, his vigour had been curbed somewhat by an undiagnosed throat ailment that was suspected of being cancerous. These suspicions were disproved by tests undertaken (on a grimly coincidental note) the day after Russell had recorded a discussion of “The Immortality of the Soul” for BBC radio (**43**). In spite of this favourable diagnosis, the condition did not ease and Russell endured it stoically for the remainder of his life. He rarely alluded to the associated discomfort and inconvenience—he became unable to take solid food, for example—except jokingly, on occasion, to remark how his “affliction has been brought on by my attempting to swallow the pronouncements of politicians...” (to Elizabeth Trevelyan, 15 Aug. 1957; Russell 2001, 508).

As he aged, Russell became increasingly reluctant to travel—except between London and Plas Penrhyn, the house in North Wales which had been leased in June 1955 and became his and his wife Edith’s principal residence the following July. Until then, when in London, Russell and Edith generally stayed at his house in Richmond, 41 Queen’s Road. After its sale was completed in August 1956, Edith and Russell’s flat at 29 Millbank, Westminster (acquired on a lease shortly after their marriage) became their sole London residence. Russell’s absence from the Pugwash meeting disappointed some of the participants in the conference. Privately, he had cited concern for his health as the reason for his unwillingness to attend, explaining to one of his collaborators on the project, Eric Burhop, that his throat problem was aggravated “if I am exposed to fatigue” (3 June 1957). Yet, even if he had felt strong enough to make another transatlantic journey, his plans would likely have been scotched by the serious heart attack which Edith suffered on 6 June. A month later Russell’s wife was still housebound and unable to stay out of bed for more than two hours; her normal activities (including taking Russell’s dictation) did not resume until mid-August.

Throughout and beyond the period covered by this volume the mental health of John Russell remained grave, and Russell’s relationship with his eldest son effectively non-existent. Since Susan Russell was no more stable than her ex-husband, Russell’s guardianship of their three young children had become, as he told his daughter on 24 May 1956, “unavoidably my sole responsibility”. Plas Penrhyn provided a haven of serenity for Anne, Lucy and Sarah (as it did also for Russell and Edith), but the move from London to North Wales, together with John’s breakdown, added another layer of bitterness to Russell’s rancorous dealings with his ex-wife Dora. Given Russell’s complete estrangement from John, Dora assumed the burden of caring for him, along with the strain of asserting his rights of access to the children. Russell was frequently uncooperative in the latter regard, but in November 1955 he did agree to pay Dora a £50 quarterly allowance to help support John (see Monk 2000, 368–72).

At least Russell could meet such financial obligations, not to mention those of raising and educating his grandchildren. The days of lucrative lecture tours were over, but the royalties flowed in steadily. There were disbursements of £1,000 from Allen and Unwin in October 1955, January 1956 and January 1957 and two much larger payments as well, of £2,796 in April 1956 and £4,339 the following April—a reflection, in part, of the healthy sales of his latest essay-collection, *Portraits from Memory* (1956). From October 1955 to August 1957, Russell’s pocket diary also records earnings of \$6,279 from Simon and Schuster. These handsome royalties from his principal English and American publishers were augmented by dozens of smaller payments from the BBC and from the vast array of publications for whom Russell had supplied or continued to supply articles. Despite these impressive earnings, Russell was not without financial worries. His responsibilities extended not only to three of his grandchildren, but also to his two surviving exwives, Dora and Patricia, and to both his sons. “This has absorbed almost all my capital”, he complained to Kate (in denying her request for assistance), “and my earnings barely suffice” (24 May 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 435).

### III. SCIENTISTS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

The Russell-Einstein manifesto had begun by urging scientists to “assemble in conference to appraise the perils that have arisen as a result of the development of weapons of mass destruction, and to discuss a resolution in the spirit of the appended draft”—a plea for the governments of the world to renounce war as a means of resolving disputes (Russell 1955e; *Papers* 28:318). A very preliminary meeting of this kind had been held, and addressed by Russell, at London’s County Hall in August 1955 (59 in *Papers* 28). But the grander occasion envisaged by the manifesto was still a remote prospect. Even the meeting that was eventually held in Pugwash, Nova Scotia, was conceived as a prelude to something else on a bigger scale. At first, those invited simply constituted an “initiating committee” which would be entrusted with plotting a future course of action. None of this is to suggest that in the mid-1950s it was at all novel for the scientific community to be engaged in the public discussion of political matters generally or of nuclear weapons in particular. From the very advent of the nuclear weapons age, scientists had been reflecting on their peculiar moral and social responsibilities, with distinguished figures like Russell, Einstein and Max Born providing a lead.

Notwithstanding the central place of science and technology in the Cold War arms race, Russell remained confident that scientific technique, if judiciously harnessed, would confer enormous benefits on humankind. At the same time, though, he was perplexed by the unstable “mixture of advanced knowledge with primitive, undisciplined passion...” (64, p. 354). This deficit of political wisdom to technical skill had always existed, but the gulf had widened dangerously. Even so, Russell still regarded the pursuit of knowledge not power as the primary responsibility of the scientist, although the “present system under which some men have the power and others have the knowledge is very dangerous” (31b, p. 144). Simply by ensuring that “important knowledge is widely disseminated and is not falsified in the interests of this or that propaganda”, scientists were performing an invaluable service (3, p. 18). In addition to these “more general duties of scientists towards society, they have a quite special and exceptional duty in the present critical condition of the world”—namely, to ensure that statesmen and peoples were reliably informed about the “universal destruction” of a nuclear war (3, p. 15).

Not only did scientists have a singular responsibility to strive for détente, Russell believed, but they were also uniquely suited to such a role. Some scientists thought that their specialized technical knowledge might contribute to the resolution of such contentious political problems as the verification of an arms control agreement or the monitoring of a nuclear-test moratorium. Russell also thought in more general terms, of the capacity for objectivity which he associated with the scientific outlook. “We all have our prejudices in favour of one side or the other”, he had written the French Nobel laureate (and Communist) Frédéric Joliot-Curie, “but in view of the common peril it seems to me that men capable of scientific detachment ought to be able to achieve an intellectual neutrality, however little they may be neutral emotionally” (4 Feb. 1955). On a practical level, Russell had already urged as a “first step” the preparation of a detailed

technical statement “by a small number of men of the highest scientific eminence as to the effects to be expected from a thermo-nuclear war” (1955h; *Papers* 28:356). Although he was initially hopeful that one of the neutral powers might sponsor such a commission of inquiry, by September 1955 Russell had come to regard the scientists’ movement as the proper vehicle for this endeavour.

It was imperative for political reasons that scientists were enlisted from both sides of the Iron Curtain. The cultivation of East-West contacts at all levels was regarded by Russell as essential for détente (see Appendix I). Establishing a basis for cooperation among scientists also promised to revive the genuine internationalism to which they had been accustomed before the Second World War. Having regarded scientific work as essentially an individualistic enterprise and its results as public and international assets, Russell naturally lamented the growth of scientific secrecy and the subjection of research activity to strict governmental control: “Groups of scientists are organized nationally and are subjected to severe restriction as regards the publication of their results. The collective aim of such national organizations is, not the advancement of knowledge, but the perfecting of means of slaughter in the hands of a nation or group of nations” (1955g; *Papers* 28:347). At the same time, Russell had a keen historical sense of how scientific technique had always been diverted to questionable military ends (3, p. 17). The intimate association of science and warfare had become even closer as the scope of governmental scientific activity had increased since 1945 and as technological capability had become perhaps the vital measure of strategic strength.

Almost immediately after the Second World War, scientists in Western countries had organized to denounce the bomb or, more modestly, to promote an informed understanding of nuclear weapons, radioactive fallout and the peaceful uses of atomic energy. They had achieved a modicum of influence in the early post-war years, although more with their peers than over governments or the wider public (see *Papers* 28: xli–xlii). The scientists’ movement was placed on the defensive in the early 1950s as fear of Communism trumped unease about the bomb. In the United States especially the political ambitions of the scientific community were scaled back by Cold War pressures. Instead of seeking purchase over vital areas of public-policy making, scientists were forced to defend the independence and integrity of their profession against the intrusive ethos of “loyalty-security”. The exposure of treachery by a few scientist-spies like Klaus Fuchs and Allan Nunn May had cast aspersions on the scientific community as a whole, while the protracted ordeal of J.Robert Oppenheimer (31) provided the most striking illustration of a government scientist’s loyalty being impugned.

The public image of Western science had been sullied not only by suspicion of some of its practitioners but also by what Russell had deplored as the “extraordinarily unjust” perception of scientists as “merchants of death, inhuman creatures with large spectacles, high foreheads, bald heads and feeble bodies, destitute of human feelings and interested only in their own ingenuity” (1955g; *Papers* 28:350). Scientists had become acutely conscious that they were habitually regarded with this mixture of awe and horror. “People hate scientists”, wrote Jacob Bronowski, a philosopher of science and director of research at the National Coal Board. “There is no use in beating about the bush here. The scientist is in danger of becoming the scapegoat for the helplessness which the public feels” (1956, 10). The scientists’ sense of isolation was sharpened, Russell felt, by widespread ignorance of science even at the highest reaches of politics and public administration. For

this problem to recede, it would be necessary “to make some of the fundamental ideas of science intelligible in the course of a cultural education and, conversely, to give more cultural background to the thoughts of scientists” (31b, p. 144).

This was the same case against educational specialization that would be set forth very famously in “The Two Cultures” by C.P.Snow, the novelist and senior civil servant with whom Russell discussed the issue of scientific education in Paper 46. Yet, the scientific community’s assessment of itself in the mid-1950s as an embattled and highly differentiated minority was belied somewhat by countervailing tendencies that were strong enough to convince Russell that scientists could be effective agents of political change. One commentator, an American sociologist, dismissed overt expressions of anti-scientific sentiment as merely “the Parthian shots of an adversary in retreat” during a decade of “greatly enhanced influence of scientists within public bodies and of a moderate but nonetheless unprecedented effectiveness of scientists outside the government seeking to influence opinion and policy” (Shils 1957, 15).

The leading organization of politically active scientists in the United States was the Federation of American Scientists (FAS), for which the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* served as an unofficial mouthpiece. Edited by the University of Illinois biophysicist Eugene Rabinowitch, this journal counted Russell among its more avid readers and exerted an influence far beyond its comparatively small circulation of 15,000 copies. The British equivalent of the FAS was the Atomic Scientists’ Association (ASA), which had been founded in 1946 (by Joseph Rotblat, amongst others) as a politically independent counterweight to the Association of Scientific Workers (ASW). The latter and more established body operated in part as a trade union of scientists and technicians and possessed a distinctly leftist orientation that was accentuated by its affiliation in 1946 to the newly-formed and Communist-aligned World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW). One of the leading figures in the ASW, Eric Burhop, became (like Rotblat) a prime mover of the scientists’ conference proposed by the Russell-Einstein manifesto. A third architect of the Pugwash movement, Cecil Powell, was chairman (and from 1957, president) of the WFSW’S executive council. Although Russell valued his personal connection with Burhop and Powell, he disliked the pro-Soviet bias of the WFSW and was acutely aware that his own efforts might be tainted by the appearance of too comfortable an association with an organization that spoke for so many Communists and fellow-travellers. At the same time, though, Russell was convinced that ideological and political diversity were of paramount importance to a successful peace initiative. With such an extensive membership in Communist countries, therefore, the WFSW gave Russell an easy entrée to scientific opinion behind the Iron Curtain. While the WFSW and its national affiliates might be seen as the scientists’ wing of the Communist-aligned peace movement, the orthodox pacifist persuasion was represented by the Society for Social Responsibility in Science (SSRS). The members of this predominantly American association were essentially the “conscientious objectors” of the scientists’ movement, pledged never to undertake research for military purposes.

The scientific community was not simply the peace movement in microcosm; its politics reflected a much broader swathe of opinion and interests. Many scientists were preoccupied almost wholly by research and other professional activities and therefore disinclined to enter the political arena. In addition, government scientists were often ideologically as well as professionally committed to the development of nuclear

weaponry or the associated technologies of the Cold War arms race. Yet, the boundary between “official” and “unofficial” scientific thinking on political matters was not always clear. The ASA, for example, had an active membership inside the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, and its roll of vice-presidents included one of the British Government’s most highly-placed scientific advisors, Sir John Cockcroft, director of the Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell. More generally, misgivings about continued nuclear testing had been voiced privately inside official circles as well as publicly by lobby groups like the FAS and ASA. It was a singular contribution of the Pugwash movement to join these two strands of scientific concern in the years before the Partial Test-Ban Treaty was signed in 1963. The scientists’ movement continued to address public opinion in the debate over radioactive fallout, while government scientists from both East and West laid the technical foundations of a workable international agreement (see Freeman 1986, 33–43).

#### IV. BEYOND “THE RUSSELL—EINSTEIN MANIFESTO”

In addition to pondering in a fairly abstract way the relationship of science to society, Russell was also considering what action scientists might take to foster peace. At the start of the period covered by this volume he was hesitant about leading any follow-up initiative to the Russell-Einstein manifesto, feeling that “further steps among scientists ought to be taken by scientists and that any further work by myself ought to be rather in the political field” (to Joseph Rotblat, 10 Sept. 1955). Yet, even by this date, Russell had already taken a few of these “further steps”, and for the next two years a lot of his political energy was expended upon planning what became the first Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs. This was very much a collaborative effort involving, besides Russell, two fellow signatories of the manifesto, Rotblat and Cecil Powell, and a physicist at University College London, Eric Burhop, who was also a close political associate of Frédéric Joliot-Curie. With the partial exception of Russell’s message to the first conference (61), the background to Pugwash cannot adequately be reconstructed from his published writings of the period. Paper 3, for example, examines the social responsibilities of scientists in the nuclear age and alludes to the “lead given by a small number of men of science of the highest eminence” (p. 16). For the most part, however, the progress towards Pugwash—as well as the setbacks en route—need to be charted from Russell’s private correspondence.

Two weeks after the manifesto’s launch at the Caxton Hall press conference, Russell contacted one of the joint statement’s American sponsors, Hermann Muller, about the proposed scientific congress. He was convinced that “if it is to be effective there must be no obvious preponderance either of Communists or of anti-Communists”. To achieve the requisite political balance, Russell suggested that arrangements be made by two separate branches: “The one branch being organized by Communists and the other by those whose sympathies are Western”. He wondered whether Muller might be prepared to “take the first steps towards the necessary organization” among American scientists of the

“Western outlook” (23 July 1955; 2001, 493–4). But Muller declined this request, claiming that his leftwing reputation would hinder his effectiveness (29 Aug. 1955, RA REC. ACQ. 812). This was a far from auspicious start to this new political venture. Moreover, Russell subsequently heard nothing from the three American scientists—Harrison Brown, Leo Szilard and Harold Urey—whom Muller had promised to approach on Russell’s behalf.

Some time after meeting Russell on 19 October, Rotblat and Burhop drafted a letter of invitation to prospective initiators of the conference. On 8 November Burhop reminded Russell that “the idea was that you should write to Born and suggest sending out a letter of this kind to the signatories of your appeal, the Lindau appeal (Appendix XIII.I in *Papers* 28) and some others”. Ideally, Russell informed Burhop four days later, these “others” should include “a Russian, a Chinese and an Indian”, since no scientists from these countries had signed the manifesto. On 3 November Max Born had written encouragingly to Russell about the widespread support among German and Austrian scientists for the Russell-Einstein manifesto and the declaration of Nobel laureates drafted by himself and Otto Hahn (i.e. “the Lindau appeal”). Securing the German physicist’s participation in any future action was essential because, if the ailing Joliot-Curie continued to be involved, the Frenchman’s pro-Soviet leanings would need to be balanced by the strongly Western orientation of somebody, such as Born, of at least equal scientific eminence. Russell’s covering note indicated to Born that Joliot-Curie had already registered his approval of the enclosed draft through Eric Burhop. He assumed that Born was of the same mind “in thinking that any appeal which is to be made must be neutral as between Communist and anti-Communists, and that the signatories should be so chosen as to make this neutrality evident” (12 Nov. 1955, RA REC. ACQ. 804).

With the above consideration in mind, it was helpful that a Soviet scientific mission was due to visit Britain. On 23 November Burhop notified Russell about his contact with this delegation. Its leader, president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences A.N.Nesmeyanov, had indicated that he and three other Academicians “would probably accept an invitation to join the Initiating Committee...”. The other names put forward by Nesmeyanov were those of the biologist, well-known in the West, A.I.Oparin, the oil chemist A.V.Topchiev, whom Russell had met early in August at the World Conference of Scientists in London, and D.V.Skobeltzyn, a senior nuclear physicist who had led the Soviet delegation to the recent UN Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. When Burhop had met Skobeltzyn at this meeting in Geneva in August 1955, “he definitely expressed his willingness” to help further the aims of the Russell-Einstein manifesto (to Russell, 20 Nov. 1955). Although Skobeltzyn had declined to sign the manifesto, Russell had received from him “a very sympathetic letter” (1955d; *Papers* 28:323).

Burhop had previously been instructed by Russell to compile a “tentative list” of all those scientists who might be asked to sit on the initiating committee (12 Nov. 1955). He had not been able to establish contact with any members of the Chinese scientific community. As for India, assuming that its most distinguished scientist in the field, H.J.Bhabha, still hesitated to commit himself, Burhop proposed inviting the Calcutta University physicist M.N.Saha. Burhop also reported Rotblat’s wish to approach Sir James Chadwick, “since he occupies a special place in British nuclear physics”. He then suggested that the American representation might be augmented by Victor Weisskopf, a

physicist at MIT and a regular contributor to the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (23 Nov. 1955). In his previous letter to Russell, dated 20 November, Burhop had already proposed contacting the *Bulletin's* editor, Eugene Rabinowitch, "since he has been the most active of the Americans in pushing the idea of the Conference".

Since Russell regretted that no Soviet scientists had endorsed his manifesto, the possibility of some joining the initiating committee was encouraging. Replying to Burhop on 25 November, Russell agreed that Rabinowitch should be approached, but he dismissed Chadwick as "too official to be likely to be willing to participate". He also wanted no prospective initiators to be contacted until he had received a "favourable" reply from Max Born. This letter eventually arrived late in November (there is no copy in RA), but it was "rather negative", reported Russell on 1 December, in forwarding copies of it to Burhop and Rotblat. Russell had not expected Born to commit, but "on the ground of health" rather than because of the German physicist's pessimistic appraisal of the current world scene (to Burhop, 12 Nov. 1955). Russell did not disagree with this assessment, telling his two associates on 1 December that "the present international situation is not propitious and that it may be wise to wait for a more favourable moment before taking further steps". (His thoughts on the "present international situation" were set down in Paper 2.) Burhop, however, tried to revive Russell's flagging spirits. The considerations which had prompted "Man's Peril" remained as valid as ever, he contended, and "having come so far in the way of getting scientists of east and west together...it would be a pity to give up at this stage" (8 Dec. 1955). He did accept, however, that the momentum had been stalled temporarily by Born's hesitation.

Before declaring his final intentions, the German physicist wanted first to discuss Russell's plan of action with Otto Hahn, who was then in the United States. On 10 January Russell asked Born about the outcome of these consultations. He also suggested that Joseph Rotblat might meet both of them when he travelled to Germany. Born accepted this offer but also communicated his own and Hahn's scepticism about the value of an international scientists' conference. While they were "very keen on keeping contact with our colleagues in the East...we both are not in favour of a conference of the kind envisaged by you". Hahn's contact with American scientists, continued Born, had persuaded him that a majority "would consider a conference of this kind as another communist move in the political game" and that a meeting without a strong American presence would be "futile" (21 Jan. 1956).

Russell again agreed that "the moment is unpropitious" and he restated this view in letters to Burhop and Rotblat bearing the same date as his reply to Born (26 Jan. 1956). But Burhop was not easily discouraged. He countered four days later by asserting that a small initiating committee of between twenty and thirty might still perform a useful role, whether or not its work prefigured a large Geneva-style conference. Born might even agree to sponsor such a "consilium", but some personal contact with him was clearly necessary. In that regard, his willingness to receive Rotblat was encouraging. But if Born's scepticism could not be overcome, Burhop continued, it was conceivable that his assigned role could be played by Hideki Yukawa. The "general approach would be somewhat similar to that of Born and so his adherence would not change the political complexion of the sponsorship" (30 Jan. 1956). Moreover, yet another of the manifesto's signatories, Cecil Powell, was in the Far East and intended to meet with Yukawa. Powell had already approached both Yukawa and the Science Council of Japan in his capacity as

chairman of the executive council of the World Federation of Scientific Workers, and he had secured their tentative backing for the kind of scientific inquiry urged by the Russell-Einstein manifesto.

Russell approved this stratagem, so long as Powell was willing “to explore the ground with Yukawa before I write...” (to Burhop, 9 Feb. 1956). First, though, Powell had to visit India, where he opened an even more promising line of approach. After securing an audience with Prime Minister Nehru, Powell presented him with an *aide-mémoire* of recent attempts to mobilize international scientific opinion around the issue of nuclear weapons. The memorandum concluded with a direct request for the Indian Government to host a gathering of the small but diverse group of scientists who would determine the scope of a full-scale scientific investigation. Ideally, this conference would be scheduled for December 1956, immediately before the annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress. Nehru had appeared “very sympathetic to the whole question”, Powell reported to Russell on 18 February, and had welcomed the suggestion that the initiating committee convene in India. This was a fillip to the collective efforts of Russell, Rotblat, Burhop and Powell. When the Indian Prime Minister had travelled to London for the Commonwealth Conference early in 1955, Russell had tried to persuade him to launch an exclusively Indian inquiry into the consequences of a nuclear war (see *Papers* 28:462–9). It seemed as if these overtures had failed, but the publication in August 1956 of *Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects* (India 1956) would show that Nehru had decided to proceed—albeit in a more low-key manner than envisaged by Russell.

“I think the suggestion of a meeting in India, if possible in December 1956, is good”, Russell told Burhop on 2 March. But the planning arrangements were not immediately accelerated by Nehru’s intervention. In fact, there was a two-month hiatus, during which Russell intervened publicly in the case of Morton Sobell (32), Burhop travelled to China for an executive council meeting of the WFSW, and Rotblat met Born and Hahn in Germany. When contact with Hahn again proved inconclusive, Burhop, for one, doubted whether another approach to either of the German Nobel laureates would succeed. The withdrawal of two such eminent scientific figures was obviously disappointing to Russell and his associates, although Born would later applaud the first Pugwash meeting as “at least a beginning of rational thinking in USA” (to Russell, 23 Nov. 1957). Born especially remained an important figure in the anti-nuclear movement, both in West Germany and internationally.

Burhop now proposed that the four principal organizers review “the present position” (5 May 1956). When they gathered at Russell’s Richmond home (on 25 May according to his pocket diary), it was decided to draft two separate letters of invitation. The first of these, signed by Russell, would be sent to the sponsors of the Russell-Einstein manifesto and remind them that their joint declaration had anticipated further action by scientists. Each signatory was asked, first, to join this committee; second, to endorse the other letter which (in the name of everyone who had signed the manifesto ideally) would invite another twenty-or-so eminent scientists to join the initiating committee; and third, to suggest other scientists whose enlistment should be sought.

Neither letter was drafted by Russell, but they were forwarded for his approval by Cecil Powell on 22 June. Powell wished to ease the administrative burden on Russell, who was grateful for the clerical assistance “as I have no one to assist me in this sort of work except my wife” (23 June 1956). On 2 July, shortly after receiving confirmation

that the Indian Science Congress would indeed host the meeting and that the Indian Government would provide limited financial support, Powell advised Russell that the letter and enclosure to the manifesto's signatories be dispatched immediately. They were sent out above Russell's signature four days later. Over the next few weeks replies trickled back, although few of these incoming letters are in RA as Russell seems to have forwarded them to Powell. On confirming his receipt of Linus Pauling's acceptance, Powell replied to Russell that all the manifesto's signatories had now answered. Only the Americans Hermann Muller and Percy Bridgman had declined to participate, although both, explained Powell, "are in favour of a conference being held and make a number of practical suggestions" (to Russell, 14 Aug. 1956). For all Max Born's earlier reservations and hesitation, he now offered his support. While the diminished level of American involvement was unfortunate, Powell continued, he nevertheless felt "that the response is encouraging and the signatures sufficiently representative to permit us to proceed". If Russell, Burhop and Rotblat were of the same opinion, he thought that the second set of invitations should be mailed as soon as possible.

After scrutinizing the replies to the first letter, Powell and Burhop felt that a few minor changes to the second one were in order. As Powell informed Russell on 18 August, Yukawa had "suggested that our projected conference should appear to be complementary to that of the United Nations". (A United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation had been set up in December 1955 in order to collate information gathered by many different national inquiries; it produced its report in 1958.) Powell also reported that Sir K.S.Krishnan "was very anxious that nothing should be said...which might seem to criticise the integrity of members of official delegations". Although Krishnan was not a signatory of the Russell-Einstein manifesto, the draft letter had been circulated to him because, as Powell explained to Russell, the distinguished Indian physicist was "in close touch with Mr. Nehru, and it is through him that we made our recent enquiries about the possibility of the meeting in India" (3 July 1956). Krishnan was also president of the Indian Science Congress, to whose annual meeting the initiating committee would be invited and which had offered to cover the subsistence and internal travel costs of delegates from overseas.

The revised letter was dated 29 August; it was signed by Russell and appeared above the names of seven other sponsors of the Russell-Einstein manifesto. Powell seems to have arranged for its dispatch to the twenty-seven scientists on the list of invitees, although Russell's Plas Penrhyn address appeared on the letterhead. It is worth quoting this letter at length, since it explained in depth both the rationale for the proposed conference in India and its terms of reference.

Although there has been an important degree of relaxation in the tension among the great powers in the year which has passed, we believe that there are still cogent reasons for holding such a conference. In particular, the continuation of tests of large hydrogen bombs has caused widespread and deep concern and the demand for more information about the biological and other effects of such tests.

As a consequence of this situation several Governments have established committees to study the biological effects of radiation, and a commission with similar aims, composed of delegates from fifteen

nations, has been set up by the United Nations Organization. Recently, reports have been published of the findings of some of the national committees. These make it clear that test explosions have resulted in the deposition of radioactive dust over the globe which, with further increase in the rate of testing, may result in many people contracting cancer or other diseases. Although the genetical danger appears to be small at present, it is not possible to obtain a full appraisal of this hazard unless a world-wide survey is made. The commission set up by the United Nations will doubtless produce very valuable results, especially since it may be hoped that all relevant technical data will be made available by the Governments represented. Nevertheless we believe that an independent enquiry, complementary to that organised by the United Nations and individual Governments, ought also to be made, and for the following reasons:

(a) The work of a commission of official delegates may sometimes be restricted by political considerations; its scope and its freedom to publish findings may thus be limited, even when the delegates personally may wish to see the fullest possible enquiry and widespread publication of its results.

(b) Unless the enquiry is urged on by public opinion, the complex machinery of such commissions may result in undue delays.

(c) A statement by a group of independent scientists, not representing Governments, and following the dictates of their own consciences, may find a wider and more ready acceptance by public opinion than official pronouncements.

In addition to the problems of the biological hazard from test explosions, the proposed conference could also concern itself with the following questions:

(i) The immediate effect, in the event of war with nuclear weapons, of radiation from the fall-out, as distinct from the long-term hazard.

(ii) The role of tests of nuclear weapons in contributing to a competition in armaments, and the resulting danger of an eventual unrestricted "nuclear war".

(iii) The need for a new international code of law, covering the widespread use of radioactive isotopes in many fields and the dangers arising from their careless employment. (RA REC. ACQ. 369a; Russell 2001, 504–5)

The delegates would discuss this agenda in private and decide themselves whether or not to make public any of their findings. The invitation had also broached the issue of funding for the conference, hinting that “various private resources” might be tapped but that no such financial arrangements had yet been settled. Powell had estimated that £5,000 would have to be raised to cover travel expenses alone. He had told Russell about Hideki Yukawa’s acquaintance with “a well-known Japanese philanthropist interested in World Government”—probably Yasaburo Shimonaka, a wealthy publisher and chairman of the Asian Conference of the World Federation, whose assistance was acknowledged in the statement issued at the end of the first Pugwash Conference in July 1957. Powell also reminded Russell about the “American industrialist” who had already offered anonymously to finance a meeting of scientists at his lavish summer residence in Pugwash, Nova Scotia (18 Aug. 1956). Another prospective patron was the Greek shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis, who was willing to host the meeting in Monte Carlo. When Russell met with Burhop and Rotblat on 13 November, however, he said that it would be “very undesirable” to meet under the patronage of the Greek shipping magnate alone (Burhop to Biquard, 14 Nov. 1956, EB MS ADD 385/B1).

On 4 September 1956 Russell himself requested an £8,000 donation from the “American industrialist”—Cyrus S. Eaton, who was actually a Canadian-born businessman based in Cleveland. Eaton had been hugely impressed by the Russell-Einstein manifesto and had made his generous offer shortly after the release of this “brilliant statement on nuclear warfare” (to Russell, 13 July 1955). He had first encountered Russell almost twenty years before when, as a trustee of the University of Chicago, he had helped engineer Russell’s appointment there as a visiting professor. “The projected conference in India offers great possibilities”, replied Eaton to Russell’s request for a subvention (10 Sept. 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 174), but he was only willing to sponsor an event held in Pugwash—the picturesque fishing village on the Northumberland Strait where he had been born some seventy-three years previously. In each of the past two summers Eaton had hosted informal gatherings of scholars, educators and statesmen, and he was determined to transform his retreat and former ancestral home into a rather unlikely “home for thinkers” (*The Washington Post*, 25 March 1955, p. 38).

Eaton’s conditional offer of support was of no use to Russell and his associates, however, because by this time the meeting had been firmly scheduled for 9–12 January 1957 in New Delhi. As Burhop bluntly informed Pierre Biquard (secretary-general of the WFSW) on 16 October: “The finance remains the weakest point of the arrangements for the meeting” (EB MS ADD 385/B1). Nevertheless, two days later a draft agenda was circulated to the scientists who had agreed to sit on the initiating committee. A possible basis for discussion was enumerated under the following headings:

- 1) Destructive potentialities of nuclear weapons;
- 2) Peaceful uses of nuclear energy;
- 3) Problems of disarmament and international control;
- 4) The possibility of working out an effective scheme of civil defence against nuclear weapons;
- 5) Need for a new code of law (international) covering use of radioactive materials;
- 6) Maintenance of permanent contacts between scientists to deal with the above and associated problems. (RA REC. ACQ. 1,075)

In addition to calling for papers and soliciting advice about the proposed topics of discussion, Russell's covering letter to the draft agenda asked whether "some members of the committee may find it possible to secure travelling expenses from learned societies, or in other ways". So the financial situation remained uncertain and was improved only marginally by a \$100 donation received by Russell from James Warburg, a New York banker and devotee of world government.

Just as disconcerting as the inadequate financial backing for the conference was the fact that only a few acceptances had been received from the scientists to whom the second letter of invitation had been sent. Of particular disappointment, because of his immense prestige in the scientific community, were the regrets sent by Niels Bohr. The Danish Nobel laureate, who had also withheld his signature from the Russell-Einstein manifesto, hoped "wholeheartedly that your meeting may promote common understanding of the seriousness and urgency of the situation". But he had prior commitments and, "in view of the parallel endeavours organized by the United Nations, I feel therefore at the moment reluctant to join your Committee" (7 Sept. 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 369a). Also unable or unwilling to attend were the French physicist Louis de Broglie, Britain's Lord Adrian and Sir Cyril Hinshelwood, two Americans, George Beadle and Victor Weisskopf, and the German physicists Otto Hahn and Werner Heisenberg. The reaction of Heisenberg, reported Burhop to Biquard, was the "most adverse" of those received and "questioned the whole concept, largely on the grounds of the existence of the U.N. Committee on the Effects of Radiation" (16 Oct. 1956, EB MS ADD 385/B1). Notwithstanding the rather lukewarm response, Rotblat believed that it was still "worth while to go ahead", and he had suggested to Russell several alternates—including Robert Oppenheimer and Albert Schweitzer—who might be invited if too many scientists on the original list declined (1 Oct. 1956).

The prospect of a small or, even worse, an unrepresentative gathering in New Delhi perhaps explains Russell's overture (at Max Born's suggestion) to the distinguished Soviet physicist Pyotr Kapitza—an opponent of Stalin's nuclear weapons programme who had only recently been rehabilitated politically. At this stage (early October), affirmative replies had been received from none of the four Soviet scientists who had been formally invited. The Soviet authorities were still dubious about promoting scientific contacts between East and West, and the question of sending a delegation to New Delhi had even reached the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Although Kapitza's involvement was subsequently vetoed (see H9), the Central Committee had already (on 22 September) authorized Academicians Nesmeyanov and Skobel'tzyn to attend the conference. Instead of granting the same permission to the invitees Topchiev and N.I.Nuzhdin (a geneticist), the Central Committee decided that two other delegates chosen by them should travel to India: Academician A.I.Oparin and N.M.Sysakyan, a corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

On receiving a telegram from the Soviet delegation, Rotblat told Russell that he was now less concerned about the level of Soviet commitment than "whether we shall get enough Americans" (23 Oct. 1956). The only American scientists who had so far agreed to attend were Linus Pauling (one of the manifesto's signatories) and Eugene Rabinowitch. The disheartening possibility of a politically imbalanced initiating committee assembling in New Delhi was suddenly eclipsed, however, by dramatic but seemingly remote developments in the Middle East and Eastern Europe—namely, the

eruption of the Suez and Hungarian crises. The ensuing rise in Cold War tensions persuaded Russell and his collaborators to defer the meeting until Easter 1957.

## V. SUEZ AND HUNGARY

The Suez crisis and the Hungarian uprising were momentous episodes in the history of the twentieth century. They also directly affected Russell's political plans by forcing the postponement of the scientists' meeting towards which he had been working for more than a year. Suez exposed the lingering great power pretensions of Britain and France and was a significant milestone in both countries' retreats from empire. It boosted the cause of Gaullism and started France's slow disengagement from the NATO alliance. As for Britain, the crisis tested the strength of its supposedly "special relationship" with the United States and found it seriously wanting. Suez also opened some extraordinarily bitter divisions within British society, eventually reaching all the way up to Sir Anthony Eden's Cabinet. The Soviet invasion of Hungary, meanwhile, provided the West with a painful reminder of the limits of de-Stalinization inside the Eastern bloc. Coming so soon after Khrushchev's dramatic revelations about the Stalin era to the Twentieth Party Congress (A130:3-4), Hungary caused many Communists and fellow-travellers to reassess their political loyalties. Wholesale resignations from Western Communist parties followed, plus a great many personal disavowals of formerly pro-Soviet leanings. Radical politics were realigned as the New Left movements of the 1960s began to take shape. Some additional impetus for the British Left came from outrage at the attack on Egypt and alarm at the reorientation of Conservative defence policy in the wake of the Suez calamity (see below, pp. lvi-lviii). Russell and his domestic allies managed to channel some of this political indignation and disquiet into the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

As the two crises peaked early in November, Russell was more noticeably affronted by resurgent European imperialism in the Middle East than by Communist brutality behind the Iron Curtain. He subsequently provided a casually dismissive explanation of why he "did not at the time fulminate against the Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolt. I did not because there was no need. Most of the so-called Western World was fulminating" (1969, 83 n. 1). Although he feigned a lack of concern retrospectively, at the time Russell had been truly appalled by the ruthless Soviet response. On 16 November 1956 he expressed his wholehearted approval, albeit after the fact, of a declaration of support for Hungarian scholars which Michael Polanyi had hastily telegraphed to the Soviet embassy in London twelve days previously, almost immediately after the Red Army had entered Budapest. Polanyi had been writing on behalf of the organization of which he was chairman and Russell an honorary sponsor—namely, the Committee on Science and Freedom, an affiliate of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Russell also supported a similar statement which was to be presented to Ambassador Malik on 4 December by a delegation from the committee.

More significantly, the longest paper in Part III (25) is a vigorous condemnation of the Soviet Union's military intervention. Long after the dust from the invasion had settled,

Russell continued to show solidarity with Hungarian emigré intellectuals and to protest the Communist authorities' ongoing persecution of those who had been either unwilling or unable to choose exile (29, Appendix XII). Yet, these gestures seem comparatively restrained when the sheer scale of outrage at the Soviet Union—shared by many Western Communists and fellow-travellers even—is taken into account. Russell's intervention in the Suez debate must also be considered low-key. Even a short letter to an editor from Russell carried a certain weight, and he would later refine the means for reaching national and world opinion from the isolation of his North Wales retreat. Given the gravity of the Suez crisis, however, one almost expects him to have addressed one of the mass demonstrations of the "Law Not War" campaign in Trafalgar Square, or to have engaged in the emergency debate of Egypt in the House of Lords on 1 November.

Hungary and (especially) Suez also provided textbook illustrations of the potential for limited regional disputes to escalate into something more serious. Russell had long regarded the contested sovereignty of the Suez Canal Zone as a source of friction in international affairs. Early in 1954 he had included this arena of Anglo-Egyptian discord in a portfolio of exasperating "little quarrels" (1954c; *Papers* 28:5). An inconclusive round of negotiations had ended in deadlock in October 1953 with General Mohammed Neguib (Nasser's predecessor as President) holding out for "Egyptianization" of all military installations adjacent to the Franco-British owned canal. The basis for a permanent settlement seemed to have been reached, however, with the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of July 1954. By this agreement Britain promised a phased withdrawal from its military base in the Canal Zone—an evacuation which was completed in June 1956, just before the Suez crisis erupted. In return, Egypt provided guarantees that the Suez Canal would remain a free international waterway (as stipulated by the Constantinople Treaty of 1888), that British civilians would be able to maintain the base for seven years after the military withdrawal, and that British troops might reoccupy it should any Arab League country or Turkey (a NATO member since 1952) be attacked.

Colonel Nasser spoke warmly of the treaty as heralding "a new era of friendly relations based on mutual trust" (quoted in Dessouki 1989, 34). But he continued to regard Egyptian *ownership* of the canal (and the entitlement to levy lucrative user fees) as integral to a programme of economic and social development which he promoted as a model for the modernization of other Arab states. In foreign affairs, Nasser's pan-Arabism and his rejection of Cold War bloc politics clashed head-on with British strategy and diplomacy in the Middle East. The Egyptian President was vigorously opposed, for example, to the Baghdad Pact—a regional alliance system engineered by Britain early in 1955 (see A248:41). Nasser also threatened to disrupt Britain's hitherto friendly relations with Jordan and oil-rich Iraq.

A critical turn towards the Suez crisis was taken in September 1955 when Colonel Nasser disclosed that an arms deal had been struck between Egypt and Czechoslovakia the preceding May. For Nasser this contract was an entirely legitimate response to the Franco-British-American embargo of armament sales to Egypt, as well as to the exposure of security weaknesses by an Israeli raid on an Egyptian base in February 1955. Many of Nasser's supporters in the Arab world also welcomed the Czech arms deal as an assertion of independence from Western influence. To British eyes, however, the Egyptian President had transformed himself into an instrument of Soviet policy who seemed bent on undermining all Western interests in the region. This analysis was reinforced by the

British Prime Minister's intensely personal dislike of Nasser, with whom, as Foreign Secretary, he had negotiated the 1954 treaty. When Eden was not condemning Nasser as a Soviet stooge, he was comparing him to the fascist dictators of the 1930s: his quest for Arab unity supposedly concealed a restless expansionist ambition which needed to be checked—just like Hitler's and Mussolini's.

Eden had resolved that Nasser must be ousted long before 26 July 1956, when the crisis broke with the Egyptian leader's announcement that the Suez Canal had been nationalized. Although the Cabinet subsequently split over Suez policy, Nasser's declaration was regarded by virtually all of Eden's ministers as a direct challenge to Britain's political and economic stake in the region. Not only was the economy of Western Europe heavily dependent on shipments of imported oil through the canal, but the foreign earnings generated by British oil companies provided essential support to Britain's rickety international finances. But these vital national interests were not easily asserted under international law, so Britain instead played up the threat posed by Egyptian ownership and control to the guarantee of free passage through the waterway under the sixty-eight-year-old Suez Canal Convention of the Constantinople Treaty. The British and French Governments were ultimately prepared to transfer the Suez Canal Company to an international authority, but only after destroying the Nasser regime.

Russell's first public statement about Suez (22) was in response to British and French warnings that Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal Company would be forcibly revoked if necessary. His later denunciations of Franco-British policy were much more vehement, but he also lamented Nasser's repeated rejection of an international users' consortium to operate the canal: "The Middle East is entirely justified in resisting imperialism, whether Western or Communist; but no nation is justified in inflicting wanton damage upon the world at large in the supposed pursuit of purely national interests" (51, p. 291). He mistrusted Colonel Nasser as a dangerous adventurer who was "out for self-aggrandizement and has every prospect of securing it" (to James Warburg, 5 Oct. 1956). For Russell, the escalation of the crisis provided an uncomfortable reminder of the pressing need for more effective mechanisms of international governance—in the first instance for the purposes of mediation (22), and in the long term to restrict national sovereignty over areas like Suez, "where a general interest is involved..." (50, p. 285–6).

As successive attempts at mediation broke down (see A128:8–11), Britain and France began to refine their military plans while conciliatory elements inside both governments tried to contain the crisis. In a dramatic and unanticipated development late in October, Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion was secretly approached by his British and French counterparts to act in concert over Suez. Israel had already considered launching a preventive war against Egypt after the Czech arms deal was announced. Notwithstanding Israel's heightened sense of vulnerability—which the Nasser regime's rhetoric was hardly calculated to soothe—Ben-Gurion preferred to forfeit any strategic dividend from such military action for the political advantage of waiting for Egypt to act as aggressor. The Franco-British overture, however, presented Israel with a golden opportunity to strike at an implacable foe without assuming the diplomatic or military risks of acting alone. Overcoming his deep-seated mistrust of Britain, Ben-Gurion struck a clandestine agreement with the two European powers at a meeting in Sèvres on 22 and 23 October 1956. This secret protocol required Israel to attack Egypt first while Britain and France would respond with an ultimatum calling on both parties to withdraw ten miles from the

Suez Canal. If, as anticipated, Egypt rejected this demand, Britain and France would then occupy the Canal Zone. Paper 23 appeared three days after the activation of this Franco-British-Israeli plan. On 29 October Israel attacked Egypt, prompting France and Britain to issue their ultimatum the next day. Egypt refused to meet its terms, whereupon British planes (on 31 October) destroyed Egypt's air force in raids on airfields near Cairo and in the Suez Canal Zone. Russell's outrage at these acts of aggression was also voiced in Paper 24, which was read *in absentia* at two public meetings of protest and widely circulated in print.

On 5 November the Suez crisis intensified as French and British paratroopers were dropped over Port Fuad and Port Said. A larger contingent of troops made a seaborne landing the following day and began advancing rapidly towards the canal. Although military victory was in sight, France and Britain were under enormous pressure to halt and withdraw—not only from their domestic critics but also from nearly all members of the United Nations, including, of greatest significance, the United States. After the American position had become clear, Soviet Premier Bulganin dispatched menacing diplomatic notes to the British, French and Israeli Prime Ministers. But the Soviet Union had no serious intention of intervening on Egypt's behalf. Its belligerent public diplomacy (Bulganin's threats had been released to the press on 5 November) was intended more for the consumption of the developing world, where the actions of Britain and France had aroused near universal condemnation. The hostile attitude of the United States had much more bearing on the hasty institution of a cease-fire by Britain and France on 7 November. (Israel had suspended hostilities the previous day.)

The crisis had peaked; Britain and France now began a slow and undignified political retreat. An emergency session of the UN General Assembly on 2 November had demanded more than a cessation of military operations in the Suez area. The American-sponsored resolution (vetoed by Britain and France in the Security Council three days previously) also insisted upon the evacuation of all foreign troops from Egyptian soil. Until this withdrawal commenced, the United States refused either to support Britain's ailing currency (see A128:26–7) or to guarantee shipments of oil to Western Europe—where serious shortages now loomed following the closure of the canal and other disruptions to supplies from the Middle East (see A132:2–3). France and Britain nevertheless stalled for several more weeks. To no avail they sought representation on the United Nations Emergency Force that had been formed at the suggestion of Canada's Minister of External Affairs, Lester B. Pearson—partly as an instrument for keeping the peace but also to enable the two European powers to save some face. While France favoured continued defiance, Britain's treasury had been squeezed almost to breaking point by the burden of recalcitrance. The British Government was unable to counteract the huge weight of selling pressure on sterling, and in November alone about fifteen percent of its already shrunken gold and dollar reserves were depleted. At a crucial Cabinet meeting on 29 November the previously hawkish Chancellor of the Ex-chequer, Harold Macmillan, finally persuaded his colleagues that Britain must withdraw unconditionally from Suez. The French reluctantly followed suit, and the evacuation was announced on 3 December and started two days later. An emergency "oil lift" was then quickly put into effect, and on 10 December Britain obtained a \$561 million loan from the International Monetary Fund.

In addition to poisoning inter-allied relations, the Suez crisis polarized the domestic political arena. Something of the bitterness of these November weeks in Britain can be glimpsed from the short but angry salvos fired by Russell in his letters to the editor. Long before the humiliation of Britain and France was completed early in December, however, the world's attention had somewhat shifted from Suez to the equally dramatic and tragic situation unfolding in Hungary. Although the crises in Suez and Hungary developed independently, they were brought together, in a sense, by Western divisions over Suez. This disunity was exploited diplomatically by the Soviet Union and drew attention away from its military intervention in Hungary.

The seed for the Hungarian uprising had been planted during Imre Nagy's two-year term as Prime Minister after Stalin's death. The modest thaw ushered in by the Soviet Union's post-Stalin leadership collective also affected the satellite states and undermined the position of the late Soviet dictator's Hungarian protégé, Mátyás Rákosi. With Moscow's blessing, the reformist Nagy introduced a number of liberal economic, political and cultural changes. But his authority collapsed early in 1955 after Premier Malenkov—at that point the chief proponent of deStalinization inside the Kremlin—was ousted in a power-struggle with Khrushchev. Taking their cue from Moscow, Rákosi and his Stalinist allies in Hungary attacked the “revisionism” of Nagy and cleverly orchestrated his political downfall. Barely a year later, however, liberalization and reform were given fresh impetus by Khrushchev's ringing denunciations of Stalin (see A130:3–4). In Hungary, Communist intellectuals of the Petófi Circle revived the movement for change, and Nagy was soon anointed its unofficial leader. As a concession to the reformers, the Soviet Union arranged for Rákosi's removal from office in July 1956, but his replacement, Erno Gero, was again hand-picked by Moscow.

The mood of defiance in Hungary continued to spread, and on 6 October the reburial of the posthumously rehabilitated László Rajk (see A52:16–17) turned into a huge set-piece demonstration of reform sentiment. For the next two weeks the political atmosphere remained highly charged, and armed insurrection broke out following a march in Budapest on 23 October. Mass protests were staged in other Hungarian towns over the next two days. The Communist leadership—including at this stage Nagy, who had been hurriedly reappointed Prime Minister on 24 October—condemned these “counter-revolutionary” manifestations of discontent and requested assistance from the Soviet Union. In a dramatic turn taken on 27 October, however, Nagy distanced himself from Moscow and took the fateful step of backing the insurgents. He immediately announced the formation of a Hungarian Government that would include non-Communist representation, that all acts of rebellion would be amnestied, and that Soviet forces would be obliged to withdraw from Hungary. His challenge to Moscow culminated in a declaration on 2 November that Hungary had withdrawn from the Warsaw Pact. By this date the Kremlin had already decided to intervene militarily and Soviet tanks rumbled into Budapest two days later. Determined to reign in their rebellious satellite, the Soviet leadership was also confident that the West—distracted by Suez and simply unwilling to provoke war over Hungary—would stand aside. János Kádár, who had actually suffered imprisonment and torture during the first Rákosi era, was quickly placed in charge of a reconstructed government that was loyal to Moscow and assured of its support for the reprisals that followed the restoration of order.

Russell was disgusted by the indiscriminate use of military force and political repression in Hungary, which he judged to have “exhibited Russian Communism to all the world as a brutal, ruthless, hypocritical, and treacherous, conquering imperialism” (25, p. 129). In addition to this hitherto unpublished paper which he had submitted to the British Government’s Central Office of Information, Russell dispatched a very short statement about Hungary for publication in German in *Die Kultur* (Russell 1956r). A special issue of this periodical was being devoted to expressions by European writers and scientists of solidarity with the struggle and suffering of the Hungarian people. As dictated to Edith Russell on 19 November, Russell’s text reads thus: “I am in entire agreement with the triple declaration in your letter of November 15. I hope you will get a large response to your appeal.” The approval was so wholehearted because the third part of this “triple declaration” echoed his own desire for the evenhanded treatment of Soviet and Franco-British transgressions.

Russell’s determination to maintain a politically balanced approach on this score further widened the breach between him and the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), the organization of liberal anti-Communist intellectuals of which he had been an honorary president since 1951. As Soviet military operations against Hungary were beginning, the chairman of the organization’s executive committee, Denis de Rougemont, circulated throughout the CCF a highly personal statement of support for the Hungarian writers who on 4 November had broadcast a desperate eleventh-hour appeal for help from the West.

Henceforth, to shake the hand of a Western Communist who *freely* approves of his Party, is to salute an accomplice in the crime of Budapest. To publish his writings is to aid the type of intellectual propaganda which led to the crime of Budapest. To reason with him is to forget that he must of necessity *justify* the massacres of Budapest. To continue cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union under the false banner of the *thaw* which has just shown its true colors at Budapest, is to walk into a trap. To receive and to fête troops of pretty artists and subservient intellectuals sent to us by the Moscow regime and at the same time to forget the voice of the martyred writers who appealed from Budapest, is to betray their testament. (RAI 580)

This circular prompted Russell (in a letter of 19 November) to take umbrage at de Rougemont’s unfortunate silence on the equally appalling Franco-British-Israeli assault on Egypt. In a lengthy reply dated 5 December, however, de Rougemont defended his call for “a cultural strike, or boycott” of Western Communists and fellow-travellers. Russell disapproved, revealing perhaps a more acute understanding of the trauma of Hungary for the pro-Soviet left.

But I still think that to avoid contact with Western Communists is not wise. Such Western Communists as I have met since the Hungarian crisis began were deeply troubled and not impervious to argument. I think that many more Western Communists will break away from Moscow if we are prepared to reason tolerantly with them than if we are not. (10 Dec. 1956)

The other side of the Cold War divide was just as prone to selective political criticism. As Russell told Cecil Powell three years later, “our Communist colleagues are not equally willing to criticize Communist Governments. We think the subjection of Eastern Germany and Hungary to an alien military tyranny quite as bad as what the English and French intended to do in the Suez campaign” (17 Nov. 1959; quoted in Clark 1975, 546).

## VI. CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Russell was certainly annoyed by the failure of Congress for Cultural Freedom to denounce the Franco-British attack on Egypt with the same vigour that it had censured the Soviet Union over Hungary. But Russell’s troubled relationship with this body is most clearly revealed by the allegations of anti-Americanism that were levelled against him by its fractious affiliate, the American Committee for Cultural Freedom (ACCF). This was not the first time in Russell’s public life that he had faced the charge of being anti-American. A general explanation of these latest complaints might be found in his autobiographical admission that, following the death of Stalin, he “came gradually to attribute, more and more, the danger of nuclear war to the West, to the United States of America, and less to Russia” (1969, 20). But his long association with the country—he visited it nine times in all between 1896 and 1951 and lived there for most of the Second World War—had always been punctuated by controversy. If Russell’s relationship with the United States was ambivalent, so was that of the United States with him. He had been feted as often as vilified—most recently in celebration of his eightieth birthday (see Monk 2000, 344–5).

Russell’s feelings about the country had been mixed ever since President Wilson had intervened on the Allied side in the First World War and the United States had emerged from that conflict as the world’s most powerful state. In the 1920s he began to examine in more depth his uneasiness about the inequities of the American power structure, the materialism of its culture and the pressures for conformity in its political and educational life. The audiences which he addressed either through the columns of American newspapers or via numerous speaking engagements on a succession of whirlwind tours did not always take kindly to such admonitions. Yet, even as Russell condemned certain aspects of American politics or culture, he also thought that the country—suitably transformed in a socialist direction—might use its burgeoning power wisely on the international stage. During his belligerent anti-Communist phase after the Second World War, Russell more than ever looked for American leadership in world affairs, although he was by then far less optimistic about the prospect of any accompanying internal reform. A decade later Russell was not yet the relentless scourge of American imperialism that he became in the Vietnam War era. The hopes which usually tempered his qualms about the domestic and foreign policies of the United States had not faded completely by the mid-1950s. But they had certainly been dampened by his perception of a growing recklessness in the conduct of its foreign affairs and of the harmful effects of McCarthyism at home.

The more proximate causes of these latest charges of anti-Americanism were Russell’s assertive defence of the convicted “atom spy” Morton Sobell (32, 36) and his related (and

sometimes polemical) observations about the erosion of civil liberties in the United States (34, 35). What especially irked Russell's critics was his blanket condemnation of American justice and his buttressing of this critique by reference to a reputed fellow-traveller, Corliss Lament. In his first public protest of the Sobell case, Russell provocatively compared "Nazi atrocities" with "atrocities committed by the FBI" (32a, p. 153). The insinuation that the United States was an oppressive police state not so very far removed from the totalitarian dictatorships of the inter-war period elicited a predictably indignant response—as it had five years previously when the same invidious analogy featured in Russell's fiery denunciation of the Indiana state educational bureaucracy (1951d). The chorus of complaints was led not by the most reactionary elements in American political life, but by the ostensibly liberal American Committee for Cultural Freedom. The organization's objections to the "false and irresponsible statements" contained in Paper 32a were forcefully registered in an open letter to Russell from their chairman, the novelist James T. Farrell (1956).

Russell had always been vexed by the aggressive anti-Communism of the ACCF, and his association with its parent body had been uneasy for several years (see Blitz 2001–02, 179). He now felt compelled by Farrell's *ad hominem* attack to relinquish his honorary presidency of the CCF, but was temporarily mollified by a letter of 12 April from Stephen Spender. This reported that the executive committee of the CCF—of which Spender was a member—"all appear to agree in deploring the letter of the American Committee to you" (quoted in Feinberg and Kasrils 1983, 80). Russell was regarded as an invaluable patron of the Congress (especially of its activities in Europe and Asia), even though its executive director, Michael Josselson, dismissed him as an "old fool". When the CCF's executive committee met in Paris on 24 April, therefore, it resolved to censure the ACCF for its intemperate repudiation of Russell. But the affiliated organization was neither disposed to apologize nor even to countenance a public reprimand. Sidney Hook, a director of the American Committee, had already warned Josselson that such chastisement might precipitate their secession from the CCF (Coleman 1989, 166). On 1 June the chair of the ACCF's board of directors, the literary critic Diana Trilling, sent this defiant reply to the mild (and private) rebuke which her organization had received from the secretary-general of the CCF, the composer Nicolas Nabokov.

Russell did not...confine himself to an evaluation of the evidence for and against Sobell, or even to a conscientious appraisal of the American judicial system. He published a fierce and totally ungrounded attack upon American institutions and freedom. And this attack constituted, we believe, an act of intellectual violence of a kind which puts it well outside the common realm of persuasive discourse...

...Surely those who are won to the support of the Congress by Russell's present-day opinions and activities may turn out to be very uncertain friends of what (the) Congress stands for tomorrow. (RA REC. ACQ. 870)

As Russell's future association with the Congress remained unsettled for several more months, both Hook and another director of the American Committee, Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas, continued to challenge Russell's dim view of American justice.

On 10 December Russell reminded Denis de Rougemont that he still intended to resign his honorary presidency unless the CCF “publicly dissociated itself from the action of the American branch”. Finally, on 24 January 1957, this draft statement for publication was forwarded to Russell by Nabokov.

Although we do not wish to enter into the debate on the substantive argument in the Rosenberg case, the Congress for Cultural Freedom wants to make clear that it did not approve the manner in which the American Committee conducted the polemic, and therefore dissociates itself from its action.

Already somewhat disappointed by the CCF chairman’s muted reaction to Franco-British intervention in Egypt (see above, p. xxxviii), Russell was further alienated by the organization’s lukewarm admonition of its American affiliate. The above statement had not even been drafted until after the ACCF had announced its intention to disband. Moreover, Russell continued to Nabokov, “though I do not contend that it was a duty of your Committee to review the evidence in the Rosenberg-Sobell case, I do think that it was your duty to make it clear that you consider the right to question a verdict an essential part of civil liberties” (28 Jan. 1957). In light of all these considerations, he reaffirmed his original decision to resign, and this was reluctantly accepted by the CCF on 12 February.

Russell’s break with the Congress for Cultural Freedom reveals how seriously the non-Communist left was divided over the issue of anti-Communism. The controversy had pitted Russell against liberal or social democratic intellectuals for whom he might otherwise have felt a certain affinity. As he told the Norman Thomas: “You and I are on the same side in most matters, and I have every wish to avoid magnifying our differences” (35, p. 175). Moreover, for all Russell’s purported anti-Americanism, it was difficult to smear the author of *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* (1920) as pro-Soviet. Unlike many of his left-wing critics, he could not be embarrassed by dredging up a former ideological dalliance with Marx. Russell had “always disagreed with Marx. My first hostile criticism of him was published in 1896” (12, p. 58).

What separated Russell from those such as Thomas and Hook was his unwavering anti-anti-Communism. In March 1954, for example, he had expressed contempt for the ACCF’s “red-baiting” of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a pressure group which had solicited a message from Russell for a conference on academic freedom at Princeton (see *Papers* 28:178–9). Two years later he reacted in much the same way when Hook and Thomas used Corliss Lamont’s fellow-travelling past to question Russell’s acceptance of him as an authoritative source on the state of civil liberties in the United States (see H34). Russell refused to reject an argument on the basis of who was making it. In Appendix III he again placed on record his criticisms of the FBI. After granting an interview to the radical New York weekly which Hook branded the “Communist *National Guardian*”, Russell’s former friend complained that he had become a dupe of the pro-Soviet press. But Russell was far from naive in his political dealings with Communists and fellow-travellers (see Appendix VIII). He strove for ideological diversity in his peace work but remained keenly aware that this approach might either tarnish his efforts as pro-Soviet or give undue leverage to the Communist-aligned peace

movement. And before agreeing to provide a foreword for Lamont's book, Russell privately asked the author to clarify his views on the Soviet Union.

Although Russell's more intemperate outbursts against the United States were sometimes dismissed as "rather foolish" (Moorehead 1992, 478), his underlying purpose was deeply serious. It derived from a fear that the prospects for détente were being imperilled by the excesses of the domestic anti-Communist campaign. After the First World War Russell thought that the United States might act benevolently in the international sphere, in spite of the defects which he felt afflicted the country domestically. But in the 1950s it was precisely such defects—reflected most glaringly in McCarthyism—that heightened his apprehension about the Cold War. Like other liberal critics of the phenomenon, he regarded unthinking anti-Communism as stoking the very cause its adherents so intemperately attacked. By exposing as hollow some of the most vaunted American values, such cases as those of Sobell "supply ammunition for Communist propaganda in Britain and Western Europe, and do far more than most Americans realize to help the Communist cause" (32b, p. 154).

Russell was not casually indifferent to the charge of being anti-American. It was a convenient smear that could be used to marginalize him politically. To forestall such criticism he had earlier felt compelled to draft this statement of clarification for distribution by his literary agent in the United States, Julie Medlock:

Lord Russell admits that he is anti-McCarthy, and those who identify McCarthy with America will therefore think him anti-American. He is not anti-American in any other sense. For the last forty years he has been in the habit of severely criticizing such British policies as he thought ill of, but is not on that account to be thought anti-British. Exactly the same applies when he criticizes policies of certain sections in America. (17 Feb. 1953; Feinberg and Kasrils 1983, 57)

After being accused by Norman Thomas of placing the United States in the worst possible light, Russell carefully rebutted this charge in his open letter of reply (35). In so doing he included a long quotation from a letter to *The Manchester Guardian* (27) in which he had applauded the Eisenhower administration's handling of the Suez crisis. He also tackled the issue of anti-Americanism in the less politically charged context of an opinion piece for *The New York Times* (37). Russell declined the newspaper's offer to extend his critique of McCarthyism, and in his abbreviated treatment of this contentious topic he was also quick to point out that "The inroads upon liberty from which our age suffers are...as far as the West is concerned, by no means confined to America" (p. 192). The article ended with an unequivocal expression of Russell's "profound belief that anti-Americanism is unwise, illiberal and unjust" (p. 193).

## VII. THE FIRST PUGWASH CONFERENCE ON SCIENCE AND WORLD AFFAIRS

After it was decided in November 1956 to postpone the meeting of scientists in New Delhi, Joseph Rotblat obtained confirmation that the Indian Science Congress would still be willing to act as hosts at a later date. Attempts to secure additional funding for a conference in India therefore continued. On 19 November Rotblat forwarded for Russell's signature three more letters to prospective donors and suggested three days later that the Aga Khan might be approached. Cyrus Eaton remained the most likely benefactor, but only if the venue as well as the dates of the meeting were shifted. Contacted again by Russell on 19 November, Eaton was now asked whether it might be possible to meet in Pugwash "some time during the Easter period". Eaton was enthusiastic, although he advised a further postponement until early in July. He promised to pay all hospitality and travel expenses and agreed with Russell on the paramount importance of ensuring the participation of scientists from both East and West. Since Canada had granted visas to the Soviet and Chinese scholars who had attended a symposium on the Middle East at Pugwash the previous summer, Eaton anticipated "no difficulty on this score in 1957" (3 Dec. 1956). As it turned out, though, leave to enter the country was subsequently extended to the Communist delegates only hesitantly by the Diefenbaker Government (see below, p. li).

Three weeks later, Burhop told Russell that he, Powell and Rotblat were favourably disposed to convening in Pugwash early in the summer. This plan "would be less expensive than meeting in India and would facilitate the attendance of more representative American scientists". Burhop's "own organization", the World Federation of Scientific Workers, was prepared to make an anonymous donation of £800 (22 Dec. 1956). Notifying eight of the federation's scientists about the postponement of the New Delhi meeting, Burhop had emphasized that "neither the WFSW nor any other body" had any direct connection with the Russell initiative (to D.V.Skobeltzyn, *et al.*, 11 Dec. 1956, EB MS ADD 385/B1). This approach was also influenced by Rotblat's reluctance "to accept help from any source which he may regard as associated with a particular political orientation". As Burhop had further explained in this letter to Pierre Biquard, Rotblat was desperate to enlist more American scientists, "and he quite sincerely believes that this is incompatible with any mention at all of the World Federation". Rotblat had indicated his position by spurning money set aside for the conference by the WFSW. These funds could easily be redirected to meet the costs of Burhop and WFSW chairman (president from 1957) Cecil Powell. The broader issue, continued Burhop to Biquard, was that financial opportunities were "being lost or delayed by this {Rotblat's} attitude" (16 Oct. 1956, EB MS ADD 385/B1).

Since the WFSW would have no direct association with the venture, Burhop told some of his colleagues that "the most effective way of drawing attention to the work of the Federation and the various bodies affiliated to it" would be for their scientists to supply some of the necessary background and working papers (to D.V.Skobeltzyn, *et al.*, 11

Dec. 1956, EB MS ADD 385/B1). Being relegated to this subordinate role was somewhat unsatisfactory to the WFSW. After the conference, Biquard complained to Powell that one published account of the proceedings (Rabinowitch 1957) had “indicated the position of certain participants in certain organizations, such as the F.A.S., or the British Atomic Scientists’ Association, but made not a single reference to your standing—as it then was—as chairman of the executive council of the W.F.S.W.”<sup>1</sup> (8 Nov. 1957, EB MS ADD 385/B4). On this occasion, Burhop (who had seen the letter to Powell) suggested to Biquard that Rabinowitch be given the benefit of the doubt, “as you know there have been attempts made in some American papers to denigrate Pugwash on the ground that it was Communist inspired and I suppose Rabinowitch was anxious not to say anything which would lend credence to this charge”.

However, Rabinowitch’s article does raise a serious dilemma for the WFSW as undoubtedly it will be difficult to make our affiliated organisations in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and China understand why no reference has been made to the Federation. It all reduces to a question of to what extent we are justified in belittling the role of the Federation in the interests of achieving a very broad conference. I must confess that I am very uncertain of the limits to which one should go in this direction. (14 Nov. 1957, EB MS ADD 385/B4)

Yet, Russell and Rotblat were determined to keep a respectable distance between their fledgling scientists’ movement and any established organization, and connections to such fellow-travelling bodies as the WFSW were precisely the associations that they wished to avoid. A different source of concern was the penchant for self-publicity of their host and patron Cyrus Eaton, to whom it was made plain that the conference would be quite distinct from the informal symposia which he had staged in Pugwash the past two summers. On 7 January 1957 Eaton telegraphed Russell for a definite decision on his offer, which had again been reviewed by Rotblat, Powell and Burhop. While in favour of acceptance, Rotblat reported to Russell, they were “a little bit worried...about his (Eaton’s) ideas for publicity... and we are just about to draft a letter suggesting to him that all matters of publicity be left to the delegates of the Conference” (9 Jan. 1957). This letter went out six days later above Russell’s signature.

Formal acceptance of Eaton’s offer was sent by telegram in Russell’s name on 11 January. In the longer communication Eaton was asked whether he could ensure that the meetings in Pugwash would remain of a “private character”. As Russell explained, he wished “to avoid attendance being limited by the fear of publicity, and to help in securing the widest possible representation at the conference” (15 Jan. 1957, RA REC. ACQ. 174). Eaton was perfectly amenable to the suggestions regarding privacy, so on 8 February a fresh batch of invitations was sent to most of the scientists who had been invited to New Delhi. These letters enclosed the same

1 The original reads: “certains participants avec l’indication de leurs fonctions dans certaines organisations, telles que le F.A.S., ou la ‘British Atomic Scientists’ Association’, mais ne fait aucune référence à votre qualité—à l’époque—de ‘chairman’ du Conseil Exécutif de la F.M.T.S.”

draft agenda as had been circulated the previous autumn (see above, p. xxx). Ultimately a total of sixty-four invitations were dispatched. Rotblat had not yet contacted “the Indians”, he told Russell (also on 8 February), probably because Powell had only just (on 6 February) notified Sir K.S.Krishnan, “with great regret”, about the change of venue (EB MS ADD 385/B2).

Rotblat had contemplated asking “one other Russian” to attend, he informed Russell, but thought that “perhaps we should wait to see whether we shall get more American representation” (8 Feb. 1957). This latter concern was increased when Linus Pauling gave notice on 4 March that prior commitments would make it impossible for him to be present. Pauling was a vigorous anti-nuclear campaigner and one of only two American scientists who had promised to travel to New Delhi. On 21 March Rotblat forwarded for Russell’s signature letters to two other Americans: Hermann Muller, a signatory of the Russell Einstein manifesto, “who previously refused but perhaps might be inclined to accept now”, and Charles C.Price, chairman of the Federation of American Scientists. A month later Rotblat was still “worried about...the very poor response to our invitations”—and not only from the American scientists who had been approached (29 April 1957). In this letter he also informed Russell that G.Brock Chisholm, a psychiatrist and former president of the World Health Organization, had been invited—partly in order to satisfy Eaton’s desire for at least one Canadian to be present. Rotblat thought that “we should also renew our invitation to Otto Hahn”, as he was one of eighteen West German physicists who on 12 April had issued a declaration against the deployment of intermediate-range American missiles on West German soil and against the Adenauer Government’s talk of equipping the Bundeswehr with tactical nuclear weapons. In the face of these twin threats to peace, the signatories of this Göttingen manifesto—who included four Nobel laureates (Born, Hahn, Heisenberg and Max von Laue)—called upon Bonn explicitly to renounce the possession of nuclear weapons.

Russell and his colleagues would have welcomed any of these eminent Germans to Pugwash, even though several distinguished scientists (including, most notably perhaps, Mark Oliphant, the Australian pioneer of radar technology and former Manhattan Project physicist) had already committed themselves to the enterprise. The exact number of participants, however, remained unclear even as the date of the meeting loomed. Throughout May Russell signed additional letters of invitation to prospective guests. Several more American scientists were recommended by the invitees Leo Szilard and Eugene Rabinowitch in letters to Russell of 23 and 24 May respectively. Even after Powell’s arrival at Pugwash early in July he telegraphed for Russell’s approval of last-minute invitations to David Cavers, the Harvard lawyer and disarmament expert, and to another American, Victor Weisskopf, a physicist who had previously declined an invitation to the aborted New Delhi meeting but was one of the names submitted to Russell by Szilard and Rabinowitch. Noteworthy among the late acceptances was Zhou Pei-yuan’s; he would be the lone Chinese scientist at Pugwash. The Polish physicist Marian Danysz was persuaded to attend by Rotblat when they met each other in Poland late in May. Danysz’s presence was helpful to the conference organizers as Leopold Infeld, the Polish signatory of the Russell-Einstein manifesto, had turned down his invitation.

The most notable absentee from Pugwash was, of course, Russell himself. He had expressed concern to Burhop “lest the people who come to the Conference... should

expect to find me present” (3 June 1957). Paper **61** was recorded as a message of greeting to the conference delegates in order to allay any disappointment occasioned by his failure to appear. Some confusion certainly surrounded Russell’s intentions. As late as 17 June he was listed by Eaton as one of twenty-two “definite acceptances” received (to Rotblat). This was not, however, the only misapprehension under which the conference host was labouring. Eaton had also placed Eric Burhop on the same list—understandably perhaps, given the British physicist’s central organizational role. But Rotblat (with Powell’s approval) had suggested to Russell that Burhop should go to Pugwash in a technical advisory capacity only. “For political reasons”, he argued, in reference, no doubt, to Burhop’s close ties to the Communist-aligned WFSW, “it would not be advisable to include him among the official members of the Conference...” (7 June 1957). Russell had hitherto valued his association with Burhop precisely “because of his contacts with Communists” (to Born, 10 Jan. 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 804). But according to Rotblat’s recollections, Russell now agreed that Burhop “might be harmful to the project” (Rotblat 1998, 11).

Burhop himself was not oblivious to these delicate political considerations and seems to have accepted without complaint his removal from the list of official participants. He subsequently claimed to his WFSW colleague Pierre Biquard that “this was entirely my own decision and was based on the ground that the addition of my name as well as Powell’s would have made the British delegation appear very left-wing and unrepresentative of British science” (14 Nov. 1957, EB MS ADD 385/ 64). The risk of such a potentially damaging perception had increased when, less than a month before the conference, the geneticist C.H.Waddington (a signatory of Appendix XI.2) had dropped out. Waddington’s unexpected withdrawal had left Burhop “a little anxious about the ‘left’ complexion of the British delegation” (to Biquard, 18 June 1957, *ibid.*, B3). These considerations may have weighed less heavily on Russell and Rotblat if another principal organizer, Cecil Powell, had not also been prominent in the WFSW. Participants from Communist countries were essential, but a surfeit of reputedly left-wing scientists from the West would provide an all-too-easy pretext for dismissing the meeting as a pro-Soviet front. Of course, the Pugwash movement *was* presented in this light for quite some time after the first meeting, but its credibility was gradually shored up by the transparency of its determination (especially Joseph Rotblat’s) to remain free from external political influences.

When the Pugwash conference started on 7 July, there were twenty-two accredited participants: seven Americans, three Soviets, three Japanese, two British, two Canadians and one each from Australia, Austria, China, France and Poland. They included fourteen physicists, two biophysicists, two chemists, a geneticist, a physiologist, a psychiatrist and a lawyer.<sup>2</sup> The guests were housed in Eaton’s white clapboard house (constructed by his shipbuilding great-uncle in the early 1800s) with overflow accommodation provided nearby in luxury railroad cars. A restored lobster factory served as the dining quarters, while the formal discussions took place in the village’s old Masonic hall. Although Russell was absent he was kept abreast of the discussions by telephone. Western scientists were definitely in the majority, but the Communist presence was not a token one. Russell and his fellow organizers could be satisfied with the extent of the cross-bloc involvement. The lack of any Indian representation was disappointing because of that

country's standing among the neutral powers, as was the absence of the German scientists who had signed the Göttingen manifesto.

"We find ourselves in a situation very like that between Athens and Sparta", Leo Szilard observed solemnly at the opening plenary session (see Eaton 1978, 38). The nuclear peril was touched upon only in a very general way. The basis for the discussions of policy and technical matters over the next few days was not the draft agenda that had been sent to the list of invitees early in February. The participants divided instead into three committees to examine radiation hazards, nuclear weapons control and disarmament, and the social responsibility of scientists. This committee structure was similar to that adopted for the World Conference of Scientists in London two years before (see *Papers* 28:341). The delegates continued to meet jointly in further plenary sessions, but the detailed work was tackled by the three committees.

The most headway was made by the committee on radiation hazards—not surprisingly, according to Joseph Rotblat, because its remit was "largely technical in nature" (1972, 15) and less affected by considerations of policy and ideology than those of the other two committees. Nevertheless, the deliberations did highlight some legitimate differences of scientific opinion on the evaluation of radiation hazards: the question of whether a "safe" level of radiation exposure could be determined, for example, or the problem of differentiating between radioactive fallout and naturally occurring radiation in any analysis of the somatic effects. The

2 D.F.Cavers (Law), USA; P.Doty (Chemistry), USA; H.J.Muller (Genetics), USA; E.Rabinowitch (Biophysics), USA; W.Selove (Physics), USA; L.Szilard (Physics), USA; V.Weisskopf (Physics), USA; A.M.Kuzin (Biophysics), USSR; D.F.Skobeltzyn (Physics), USSR; A.V.Topchiev (Chemistry), USSR; I. Ogawa (Physics), Japan; S.Tomonaga (Physics), Japan; H.Yukawa (Physics), Japan; C.F.Powell (Physics), Great Britain; J.Rotblat (Physics), Great Britain; G.Brock Chisholm (Psychiatry), Canada; John S.Foster (Physics), Canada; M.L.E.Oliphant (Physics), Australia; H.Thirring (Physics), Austria; Zhou Pei-yuan (Physics), China; A.M.B.Lacassagne (Medicine), France; M.Danysz (Physics), Poland.

committee did reach a broad measure of agreement on the *amount* of fallout released from nuclear tests carried out thus far and unanimity on the catastrophic effects—both somatic and genetic—of the massive fallout that would result from a nuclear war.

Much less progress was made by the second committee, mainly because its members accepted—as the concluding conference resolution stated—that "a completely effective and reliable control system appears to be no longer possible" (quoted in Rotblat 1972, 84). If the control of nuclear weapons was not amenable to a technical solution (as it may have been at one time when stockpiles of bombs and fissile materials were smaller), then the committee was obliged to address thornier questions of strategy and policy on which substantive conclusions would inevitably be harder to reach. Wisely perhaps, the committee simply acknowledged the complexity of the problems at issue and restricted itself to calling for an easing of Cold War tensions, an end to the arms race, and the "prompt suspension of nuclear bomb tests" as a first step towards building the mutual confidence that was a vital prerequisite of any workable scheme of arms control (*ibid.*).

The third committee's appraisal of the social responsibilities of scientists also seemed likely to expose divisions between the delegates from East and West. Eugene Rabinowitch had drafted an eleven-point working paper as a basis for discussion of

“beliefs shared by scientists of all countries, on which a long-range, world-wide educational program could be based”. Although the editor of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* did not intend this to be more than a “tentative first draft”, he hoped that his statement might nevertheless

add up to a consistent view of the world—different from that which now underlies the attitudes of nations and the relations between them. If taken seriously, and not as mere pious pronouncements of Sunday faith without relation to Monday’s realities, the eleven-point declaration would obligate scientists to work for radical change in the convictions of their peoples and the policies of their governments, and for a farreaching change in the education of youth, which carries these convictions from generation to generation. (Rabinowitch 1957, 247)

Given the time constraints on the discussion, most of the Western scientists accepted Rabinowitch’s text as drafted—albeit with varying degrees of enthusiasm or scepticism. One of the Soviet representatives did take issue with certain points and objected to the use of the term “scientific revolution”. As a result, Rabinowitch explained to Russell, the final version was “not fundamentally different from my draft, but the attempt to reach quick agreement with the Soviet scientists, led to some points having been considerably weakened, and others losing their logical relation to the whole” (14 Aug. 1957). Rabinowitch was nevertheless encouraged that common ground had been found in some controversial areas, notably in the ninth point’s contention that education must transcend “national boundaries and differences in economic and political systems”, and in the eleventh point’s insistence that science should be insulated from external dogmas and “permitted to question all postulates, including her own” (quoted in Rotblat 1972, 85)—no small concession from Soviet scientists still feeling the chill from the Lysenko affair (see A57:43–58:3). Rabinowitch thought that his statement would have to be thoroughly revised before being taken seriously, and it was accorded this further scrutiny at the third Pugwash Conference in Kitzbühel, Austria in September 1958. At this meeting, Rabinowitch’s eleven-point programme was transformed into the Vienna Declaration, which became possibly the best-known distillation of the movement’s guiding principles.

The final plenary session of the first Pugwash Conference (10 July 1957) was devoted to framing a statement for publication. Cecil Powell presided very skilfully over this concluding discussion, and the statement was accepted with near unanimity. The only abstentions came from Leo Szilard (who customarily refrained from endorsing conference resolutions, even if he had helped prepare them) and the Canadian physicist John S. Foster. The agreed text established the connection between the conference and the Russell-Einstein manifesto, summarized the conclusions of each committee and gave “expression to the high degree of unanimity we have found among all the members of the Conference on *fundamental aims*” (quoted in Rotblat 1972, 82). For Russell, the details of the resolution were not without significance. But the meeting “had a further and perhaps even greater utility”:

Eminent men from both sides of the Iron Curtain and from uncommitted countries met unofficially in a friendly spirit, not to haggle and bargain,

but to attempt to diminish the dangers which scientific ingenuity had been creating. In this way a beginning was made of the organized recognition of common human interests in East and West. It is the hope of those who participated that from this beginning a more cooperative spirit may grow up. (1958e, 145)

In light of the general political climate, the first Pugwash Conference could easily have degenerated into acrimony or empty ideological posturing. That this did not occur was attributed by one of the Soviet delegates to the fact that it had been a meeting of scientists who, despite being from “different countries, with different social and economic systems and different political convictions, can find a common language when the vital interests of all peoples are concerned” (Topchiev 1958, 120). Another crucial factor was the informal character of the proceedings, which enabled the participants quickly to strike up a good rapport with each other and to debate the issues of substance outside the sometimes stifling confines of the conference chamber.

Most of the credit for cultivating and preserving this atmosphere of constructive conviviality belongs to Cyrus Eaton and his co-host and future wife, Anne Jones. As he began publicly to flaunt his friendship with Khrushchev and attempted to interfere with the agenda of the fourth Pugwash Conference at Baden in 1959, Eaton’s patronage would become a source of embarrassment and irritation to Pugwash organizers. But he was pivotal to the movement’s launch and early growth, resisting stubbornly, for example, when the Canadian Government tried to pressure him into postponing the second Pugwash Conference, at Lac Beauport, Quebec, in the spring of 1958 (see Wittner 1997, 111). Another important presence at the inaugural meeting was Eugene Rabinowitch, not only for his creative input but also because of his fluency in French, German and Russian. Rabinowitch was therefore able to act as interpreter for many of his fellow guests. His knowledge of the Russian language (he had been born in St. Petersburg and attended the same high school as the Soviet delegate Dmitri Skobeltzyn) proved additionally useful, for at the first plenary session he noticed that the Soviet translator Vladimir Pavlichenko was adorning A.V.Topchiev’s language with party propaganda (see Rotblat 1998, 12).

The meeting was not cloaked in quite the level of secrecy that had been imagined when Eaton’s offer to host was accepted early in 1957. Attention was drawn to the gathering as soon as Russell agreed to Eaton’s request that his tape-recorded message of greeting (61) be made public. (It was excerpted in *The New York Times* and *Montreal Gazette* on 10 July.) The committee meetings and plenary sessions stayed closed, but a great deal of discussion (particularly in the larger forum) was centred on the preparation of a statement for public consumption. A number of reporters also descended on Pugwash while the meeting was still in session, and the coverage which appeared subsequently in *Time* and *Life* magazines (on 22 July in both publications) drew more favourable publicity to the event.

Not all the attention directed at Pugwash was friendly, however. The following spring Russell himself answered the case against Pugwash mounted by Walter Marseille, an old antagonist (see *Papers* 28:69) whose article Rabinowitch had magnanimously allowed to run in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. Marseille not only dismissed the conference resolution as “so vague as to be undistinguishable from the platitudinous generalities of

government conferences”, but he also questioned the very basis of the scientists’ meeting. The guiding spirit seemed to be that of the Russell-Einstein manifesto, with its flawed presentation of “the EastWest antagonism as a case of *folie à deux*” (Marseille 1958, 142, 140). Russell defended the constructive achievements of the conference while also challenging Marseille’s anti-Communist interpretation of the Cold War. In fact, far from all blame resting on the Communist side, Russell felt that Soviet “dealings with countries outside their sphere have shown, since Stalin’s death, more reasonableness than has been shown by either Britain or America” (1958e, 145).

At the official level, the Canadian Government might have been expected to take a somewhat sympathetic view of the proceedings. Canada was the host nation and had issued visas to the participants from Communist countries. Moreover, its then Minister of External Affairs, Lester B. Pearson, had in July 1955 called for a comprehensive review of the issues raised by the Russell-Einstein manifesto (see *Papers* 28:314). Although the scientists had assembled in Pugwash precisely for this purpose, the new Canadian Cabinet (formed by John Diefenbaker after his Progressive Conservative Party’s electoral victory early in June 1957) was wary of the connection to the conference of the World Federation of Scientific Workers. In Cabinet on 27 June 1957, acting Minister of External Affairs Davey Fulton had reported that, “While the Pugwash meeting could not be labelled a federation conference, it was possible that the organization had succeeded in getting itself well represented at Pugwash and would use the gathering for propaganda purposes”. Yet, to withhold visas from the Communist delegates “would likely result in charges that Canada had a form of iron curtain of its own”—although the policy of the recently ousted Liberal Government had been to deny entry to Canada to anyone travelling from the Soviet bloc under the auspices of Communist or Communist-front organizations. The Cabinet ultimately pursued the more liberal course, although not before concern had been registered that “statements on the nuclear tests might be made which would embarrass the United Kingdom and the United States” (NAC RG 2/1,892). As Eaton was preparing to host the second Pugwash Conference, at Lac Beauport, Quebec, the Diefenbaker Government again reviewed the issues raised by such meetings taking place on Canadian soil. The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs suspected that Russell was providing respectable cover to the WFSW but had “as yet...no evidence to suggest a link through Lord Russell, or otherwise, with a communist-front organization” (Jules Léger to Laval Fortier, 7 March 1958, NAC RG 25/7274/10438–v–3–40).

It is not clear exactly how the WFSW exploited the Pugwash meeting, beyond applauding the conference’s work at its fifth General Assembly, in Helsinki in August 1957, and endorsing the principle of international scientific cooperation. Having at first viewed the conference with a degree of trepidation, the Soviet Academy of Sciences now issued a laudatory acknowledgement of the importance of Pugwash to “the fight of world public opinion against atomic dangers” (*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 13 [Nov. 1957]: 316). The Soviet delegation had been picked with some care, and attendance by the maverick Kapitzka had been expressly ruled out. Yet, the Soviet authorities seem to have decided quite quickly that easing the isolation of its scientific community was an acceptable price to pay for maintaining Pugwash’s unofficial lines of communication to the West. This is not to suggest that the Soviet Union did not attempt to subvert the movement. Some of its delegates to future conferences were party hacks like the

translator Pavlichenko, although Rotblat thought that “the majority were genuine scientists and behaved as such” (1998, 12). In 1960 Pugwash delegates were invited to a World Congress on Disarmament in Moscow. Although the movement was sympathetic to the stated aims of this congress, the offer was spurned lest it compromise the independence of Pugwash.

Although it became patently obvious that Pugwash was not a Communist front, this did not stop the movement from being “honoured”, as Russell put it, (1961a, 71) with a Senate Internal Security Subcommittee investigation. The ensuing report painted the Pugwash scientists from the West as naive dupes and treated their goal of lessening East-West tensions as an object of ridicule at best, and as a potentially treacherous misjudgment at worst. Western Governments also tried to suborn as well as to intimidate the Pugwash movement. Joseph Rotblat remembers being “embraced by the Establishment, I began to be given unsolicited advice about who should be invited to Conferences, what topics we should discuss, what our line should be, and so on” (1998, 12). These overtures were so forthrightly rejected, however, that the British Foreign Office complained about Rotblat’s refusal “to pay any attention to what we think.... To get a new organizer for the British delegation seems to be the first need, but I do not know if there is any hope of this” (quoted in *ibid.*, 13).

## VIII. FROM PUGWASH TO CND

### a) *Pugwash Consolidated*

At the beginning of the first Pugwash Conference it was not clear whether this would be the start of something more permanent or simply a one-off occasion. Yet, as the discussions progressed, it soon became apparent that the meeting was not an end but a beginning. It was agreed unanimously at the final plenary session that further meetings should be arranged. The Soviet delegates were as enthusiastic about this prospect as anyone else, although their continued participation was far from assured. This was essential, however, if the questions of policy and strategy touched on by the second committee were ever to be tackled in other than a superficial way. To ensure that their work went forward, the Pugwash delegates had picked a Continuing Committee. Wisely perhaps, this included one of the Soviet participants, D.V.Skobeltzyn, along with Rabinowitch and two of the original organizers, Rotblat and Powell. Russell accepted the invitation to act as chairman, and he assumed this role when the Continuing Committee met for the first time in Rotblat’s office at St. Bartholomew’s Hospital Medical College, London, from 18–20 December 1957.

This important series of meetings established the pattern of future Pugwash activities. Until then no decisions about next steps had been reached. One suggestion, made at Pugwash and forwarded to Russell by Powell, was for “a conference of those scientists who are influential with governments” (22 July 1957). The author of the Göttingen manifesto, Carl von Weizsäcker, had apparently proposed something similar. Nothing seems to have come from this particular idea, although Leo Szilard, for one, was

frustrated by the emphasis on fashioning general statements for public consumption. He thought that striving for a consensus on broad matters of policy was a distraction from the main work at hand. Shortly after the conference, Szilard circulated a lengthy memorandum to all participants (plus several other scientists who had not been involved) in which he lamented that the Pugwash Conference had been “largely occupied with preparing a public state-ment. Had it not been for this preoccupation, it might have been more useful in other respects” (mimeograph, 29 July 1957, RAI 625). Szilard wanted all future meetings of scientists to remain small but to include a contingent of observers who, whether independent publicists or governmental figures, might help to shape public and official opinion. Better to stimulate the free-flow of ideas, Szilard concluded: “No attempt...must be made to issue a public statement representing the consensus of the participants” (*ibid.*). Russell regarded some of Szilard’s recommendations (which had been enclosed with a covering letter dated 15 August) as “very sensible” (to Rotblat, 26 Aug. 1957). But at the December meetings he came out strongly in favour of large-scale gatherings geared towards reaching world opinion through high-profile declarations like the Russell-Einstein manifesto.

Two other organizational possibilities were considered by the Continuing Committee: first, the kind of small meetings preferred by Szilard, where scientists would assess particular problems and attempt to shape official thinking about them; and second, slightly larger meetings, where the emphasis would be on reaching the wider scientific community. After a lengthy internal debate, the Continuing Committee decided that future endeavours should include both small and medium-sized meetings but not the grand public assemblies championed by Russell. As Russell stated in Paper 61, the invitations to the first Pugwash Conference had been “issued on an individual basis. The participants represent only themselves so that they may put forward their point of view with frankness...” (p. 343). This ad hoc approach became a distinguishing feature of the movement; Pugwash continued to eschew formal membership even as the growing frequency of its conferences necessitated an expansion of its permanent organization.

Russell had accepted the majority decision of the Continuing Committee in good grace, but thereafter he did not play a central role in the emergence of Pugwash as a respected and independent voice of reason on nuclear testing, disarmament and related Cold War issues. As a figurehead of world renown he remained important to this loose association of international scientists, and he would deliver keynote addresses to the Pugwash conferences in Austria (1958) and London (1962). It has been suggested, however, that Russell was temperamentally unsuited to the low-key modes of political action adopted by the Continuing Committee in December 1957.

He longed for something more direct, more dramatic, something that would, like “Man’s Peril” and the Russell-Einstein Manifesto, hit the headlines. Moreover, he wanted the general public, and the leaders of the world, to listen, not only to good sense and reason, but to *him*, Bertrand Russell. (Monk 2000, 380)

Russell himself admitted that as the Pugwash movement became “firmly established and part of the respectable progress of scientific relations with international affairs...[m]y interest turned to new plans towards persuading peoples and Gov-ernments to banish war

and in particular weapons of mass extermination...” (1969, 86–7). He also harboured serious misgivings about the signal political success of the Pugwash scientists—the Partial Test-Ban Treaty of 1963. But he may have originally distanced himself from Pugwash mainly for prosaic reasons. Joseph Rotblat recalls a “serious conversation” with Russell about political priorities shortly after the foundation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Russell, the newly elected president of CND, “felt that the two organizations may sometimes diverge in the pursuit of their objectives, and that it would be in any case wasteful for both of us to be active in both organizations”. As a result of these considerations, Rotblat resigned from the executive of the recently formed CND and Russell became an essentially titular chairman of the Continuing Committee of Pugwash (Rotblat 1998, 20).

### b) *Radiation Hazards and the British Hydrogen Bomb*

Even as Russell worked towards the first Pugwash Conference, he was contemplating other methods of protest. He had set great store by the mobilization of politically conscious scientists, but this was only one way forward in the wider struggle against the nuclear peril. Much of the broader debate had begun to dwell on the radioactive fallout from the experimental explosion of nuclear weapons. The presumed dangers of nuclear testing certainly acted as a spur to the Pugwash movement—one of whose first acts was to establish the common ground between scientists of East and West on the assessment of the risks posed by fallout (see above, pp. xlvii–xlvi). Obtaining a cessation became, thereafter, one of its most urgent political priorities.

Warnings about the tests tended to have more resonance for Western public opinion than did such general expressions of disquiet as the Russell-Einstein or Göttingen manifestos. Elsewhere, Asian countries were especially affronted by the testing of American and (later) British nuclear weapons in the Pacific. By 1956 the Indian, Japanese and Indonesian Parliaments had passed resolutions urging the suspension of all tests. Similar motions had been supported by these states and others at the UN General Assembly. The test-ban issue had even been brought to the forefront of mainstream American politics by the Democratic challenger for the presidency, Adlai Stevenson, who promised to institute a unilateral moratorium on hydrogen-bomb tests. The Eisenhower administration tended to play down the health and environmental risks of atmospheric testing while expressing a willingness to desist from the practice as part of a comprehensive and properly controlled disarmament agreement. The Soviet Union by contrast was prepared by 1956 to dispense with any such linkage between a nuclear test-ban and other disarmament measures but still hesitated to accept any form of independent monitoring. Even as an agreed cessation moved on to the international political agenda, however, neither superpower cut back its testing programme (see above, pp. xv–xvi). Moreover, after a thirty month hiatus since its last experimental explosion, Britain resumed testing in 1957 with an inaugural thermonuclear series in the central Pacific. Like many people both in Britain and overseas, Russell was deeply disturbed not only by the decision to carry out these tests but also by the wider implications of a British hydrogen bomb.

The mounting concern about fallout had been fed by a steady accumulation of scientific data since the American hydrogen-bomb test at Bikini atoll in March 1954. Popular fears were not easily deflected by the American and British Governments, although certain disturbing facts had been suppressed in a report issued by the United States Atomic Energy Commission in February 1955 (see A313:13–14). Later that year the National Academy of Sciences was commissioned to undertake a thoroughgoing investigation of the somatic and genetic hazards posed by nuclear radiation. The British Government, meanwhile, instructed the Medical Research Council to conduct a similar inquiry. After the simultaneous appearance of both reports (United States 1956 and United Kingdom 1956a) in June 1956, the politicians took solace from the generally reassuring conclusions about the longterm genetic effects of nuclear testing (see *Papers* 28:584). A less comforting picture was drawn, however, in a study by a committee of the British Atomic Scientists' Association chaired by Joseph Rotblat. This source of expert testimony predicted, albeit tentatively, that even low-level concentrations of the radioactive isotope strontium 90 (one of the more long-lived fission by-products of a nuclear explosion) would drastically increase the incidence of bone cancer in the present generation. The report (Atomic Scientists' Association 1957) was embarrassing to the British Government because some of its most senior scientific advisors were vice-presidents of the ASA, and the organization's general membership included a number of scientists employed by the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority (see Freeman 1986, 29, 32).

The risks of nuclear testing had been highlighted by Russell for some time, at least since he had become fully informed about the Bikini bomb (see A20:1–2). He not only regarded an agreed cessation as intrinsically worthwhile but also as something which might help to sustain détente. By building diplomatic trust, a test-ban might expedite the settlement of still thornier Cold War problems. Moreover, a workable agreement on this piecemeal issue could surely be struck more easily than on the comprehensive schemes of disarmament which both blocs had submitted to the UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee. In particular, negotiations could skirt “the difficult problem of inspection” (see A39:10–11) which had so impeded the discussion of more elaborate disarmament proposals. “There need be no fear of surreptitious bad faith”, Russell stressed in an unpublished interview conducted in June 1957, since a test-ban “could be largely self-enforcing” (RA REC. ACQ. 1,432). The Western powers, however, insisted that a cessation could be maintained only by intrusive monitoring and verification protocols, and no substantive progress towards an agreement was achieved until after the Soviets gave way on this point in June 1957 (see A339:13–14).

Russell's thinking about nuclear testing had actually undergone significant revision since his expression in March 1954 of this rather cavalier view: “Though, obviously there will come a time when these experiments are too dangerous, I don't think we have reached that point yet” (1954d; *Papers* 28:394). In April 1956 Russell was asked by the London agent of *Tokyo Shimbun* for his opinion of the refusal by the United Nations Trusteeship Council (a body dominated by proAmerican countries) to approve a request from the Marshall Islands for a cessation of thermonuclear testing in the Pacific. (The United States was actually poised to launch a further series of tests, Operation “Redwing”.) Russell's reply indicated that he now favoured “the prohibition by International agreement of all further Hbomb tests”. At this juncture he considered a

negotiated moratorium “preferable to unilateral renunciation” (to Yorke Henderson, 14 April 1956). By the following spring, however, he notified a different Tokyo daily (*Yomiuri Shimbun*) that, “even if such an agreement proves impossible, I should still wish my own country to refrain from adding to the peril” (to Nobuchika Ninomiya, 13 March 1957). He later authorized the same newspaper to reprint Paper 56, his most detailed analysis of the question, in which he again stated that, irrespective of Soviet pronouncements or actions, Britain “should explicitly and emphatically abandon H-bomb tests” (p. 314).

Although Britain’s first series of hydrogen-bomb tests was announced almost a year in advance, on 7 June 1956, the protests did not begin in earnest until early the following year. The tests were to be conducted in May and June adjacent to the uninhabited Maiden Island, four hundred miles south of Christmas Island in the central Pacific. Operation “Grapple” was the culmination of a process that had begun only in June 1954, with Churchill’s decision to develop a hydrogen bomb. It was a testament to the technical prowess of the British programme that a thermonuclear device was ready for experimental explosion within three years. The hasty arrangement of the Maiden Island tests also reflected political considerations. Both superpowers had hinted at the possibility of a moratorium on atmospheric testing, but the British Government was resolutely opposed to any such cessation coming into effect before its own thermonuclear weapons capability had been demonstrated satisfactorily. The sense of urgency also accounts for the lax safety procedures that were followed during the tests, although the consequences of this negligence were not really felt until ground-zero was moved to Christmas Island for subsequent “Grapple” operations carried out later in 1957 and in 1958. The ensuing exposure of servicemen and civilians to dangerous levels of radiation eventually erupted into a serious political scandal—but not for another thirty years. In giving notice of the tests, however, Prime Minister Eden had reassured the Commons that the proposed “high air bursts...will not involve heavy fall-out. All safety precautions will be taken in the light of our knowledge and of experience gained from the tests of other countries” (United Kingdom 1956, 1,283).

The central place of the hydrogen bomb in Britain’s future strategic plans had been proclaimed in April 1957 by the annual Defence White Paper. This sudden shift in defence priorities seemed like a muscular assertion, in the wake of the Suez fiasco, of Britain’s standing as a great power. In essence, though, this official statement “represented not some new strategic departure but rather a reaffirmation of existing trends well established in British defence policy...” (Navias 1991, 134). The new Minister of Defence, Duncan Sandys, had been instructed by Prime Minister Macmillan to conduct a thoroughgoing review of Britain’s armed forces. Sandys was guided in this exercise less by transiently pressing considerations of national prestige than by the accumulated economic burden (compounded by Suez) of Britain’s over-extended defence commitments. The new reliance on hydrogen-bomb deterrence was to be offset by drastic cuts—implemented over the vociferous opposition of vested interests in the forces and the defence industry—both to RAF Fighter Command and to military manpower, culminating in the phased withdrawal by 1960 of National Service. Much of the British defence establishment agreed with the minister’s budgetary case for deterrence, although the Sandys policy would not achieve its desired economic results. In fact, the gulf between the commitments and resources of British defence spending continued to widen.

This chronic problem was not really addressed until 1968, when the financial difficulties of the Wilson Government forced a drastic and abrupt contraction of all defence obligations “east of Suez”.

In the 1957 White Paper, Sandys attached great weight at the declaratory level of policy to Britain’s quest for “independence” as a nuclear power—i.e. for an arsenal sufficiently large to deter Soviet aggression even without an American nuclear guarantee (which might be withdrawn, it was feared, as the United States itself became increasingly vulnerable to nuclear attack). Although its nuclear stockpile amounted to barely twenty weapons, Britain’s strategic aspirations seemed plausible at first—especially in light of the forthcoming hydrogen-bomb tests and the deployment later in 1957 of long-range Vulcan bombers capable of reaching Moscow. Notwithstanding the optimistic assertions of Sandys and others, though, the “notion of future nuclear independence proved to be illusory except in the short run...” (Dockrill 1988, 70–1). Rapid technological change in the nuclear arms race soon outstripped British financial means and progressively increased its dependence on American warheads and delivery systems.

A crucial turn would come in April 1960 with cancellation of Britain’s unfinished but already obsolete Blue Streak missile programme. But the emerging pattern of strategic and technological dependence on the United States was already in evidence at the Bermuda Conference of March 1957, where Macmillan agreed to the stationing of sixty intermediate-range Thor missiles on British soil. Although these missiles were to be subject to a “dual-key” system of joint command, American freedom of action was not unduly constrained by strengthening the nuclear relationship with Britain. There was no question, for example, of an allied veto being placed over the use of nuclear weapons carried by American bombers flying from British bases. The narrow limits of British control over the nuclear arsenal of its American ally were starkly revealed in November 1957 when the nuclear-armed bombers of Strategic Air Command started continuous patrol flights over Britain. The objective of Operation “Reflex Alert” was to provide some retaliatory insurance against a surprise nuclear attack, but the Macmillan Government was roundly condemned by the Labour opposition for surrendering their country’s rights of consultation on a vital national interest (see Botti 1987, 204–6). Russell too (1958) was perplexed by this American strategic exercise, which he saw as a clear invitation to catastrophic nuclear accident. To offset Labour criticism, and to disguise their country’s clearly subordinate standing in the Anglo-American nuclear partnership, ministers kept up a rhetorical emphasis on the “independence” of the British deterrent.

However deceptive from a strategic viewpoint, Sandys’s promise of an enhanced deterrent role for British nuclear weapons gave immediate cause for alarm to many people, not least because it was accompanied by the kind of candid official admission that Russell liked to throw back at the authorities: “It must be frankly recognized that there is at present no means of providing adequate protection for the people of this country against the consequence of an attack with nuclear weapons” (United Kingdom 1957a). Together with the growing body of scientific evidence pertaining to the dangers of nuclear testing, Britain’s new defence policy fed the popular anxiety and outrage which Russell’s anti-nuclear writings had stirred and which soon found an organizational outlet in CND.

Three British hydrogen-bomb tests in all were carried out, on 15 and 31 May and 19 June 1957. Notwithstanding the huge weight of expectation shared by the scientific and military personnel involved—not to mention the anxieties of Russell and other critics—the “Grapple” series was “something of a damp squib” (Blakeway and Lloyd-Roberts 1985, 158). None of the air-dropped bombs reached the megaton range in explosive yield. The second shot, *Orange Herald*, came closest at 0.72 megatons. There was no public disclosure of these operational failures, for the British Government wanted to safeguard the prestige of its hydrogen-bomb programme. After the third test a statement released by the Minister of Supply, Aubrey Jones, congratulated those involved on “the successful conclusion of this operation” (*The Times*, 20 June 1957, p. 10). Although the scientific director of “Grapple” claimed that the radioactive fallout from the second test was “comparatively negligible” (*The Times*, 3 June 1957, p. 8), no hard facts about the size and nature of either this or the other two experimental explosions were released at the time. The inconclusive outcome of the tests did lead, however, to the scheduling of three further “Grapple” operations and, more significantly in the present context, to a strengthening of the anti-testing movement behind which Russell had thrown his weight.

In addition to facing a barrage of parliamentary questions tabled by the Labour Party’s left-wing, and public protests mounted by the new National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests (NCANWT), the British Government’s nuclear testing policy was also subjected to international censure. Before any of the experimental explosions took place in the central Pacific, the Japanese Government registered a strenuous formal complaint with Prime Minister Macmillan (see A309:8). Russell wholeheartedly supported these protests. He did have a slight concern, however, that the Japanese campaign, “both popular and governmental, has been given an anti-British flavour in spite of the fact that the Soviet Government has made many more test explosions than the British and at a much smaller distance from Japan” (to Kaoru Yasui, 24 May 1957). There is no answer to this letter in RA, but one explanation for the tendency lamented by Russell is that the Japanese Communist Party had gradually “tightened its grip” on the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs—the organization of which his correspondent was director-general (Wittner 1997, 91).

The domestic criticism of British policy (of which we see a glimpse in Part VII), was especially significant because opposition to the tests became *the* issue around which a broader anti-nuclear movement coalesced. In London on 29 November 1956, the National Peace Council (a small pacifist organization) staged the inaugural meeting of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests. Despite the single-issue focus of its campaign, the NCANWT was really an umbrella organization (although more metropolitan than national) uniting peace activists of various persuasions and groups. Its organizers felt that its simplicity of purpose would broaden its appeal. Very quickly they attracted the support of a number of eminent sponsors including, after some deliberation, Russell himself (see H60). By the spring of 1957 some seventy-five local branches of the NCANWT had been established. On 12 May—three days before the first “Grapple” test—the organization led a procession through central London and staged a rally in Trafalgar Square. At the same time the direct-action wing of the British peace movement was planning to disrupt the Christmas Island tests by acts of civil disobedience in the central Pacific. The NCANWT, by contrast, was firmly wedded to legal-constitutional methods. The Headnote to Appendix XI discusses more fully the somewhat uneasy

coexistence of rival tactical and ideological perspectives inside the British antinuclear movement. The NCANWT experienced only a short institutional life before it was assimilated into the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in January 1958. But this phase was significant to the growth of an anti-nuclear movement in Britain: “The NCANWT provided the basis from which CND itself grew. The formation, the priorities, the policies, and the projected image of CND—at least in the early days—derived directly from the NCANWT” (Taylor 1988, 15).

### c) *Disarmament and Unilateralism*

The argument that Britain could set a valuable example by refraining from further tests was soon applied by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to the more fundamental matter of the nuclear weapons themselves. By March 1958 Russell was urging the British Government “to lead the way towards sanity in this respect” by unilaterally renouncing the bomb. (1958b). From this position he moved towards a full-fledged neutralism, urging Britain to withdraw from NATO and to exert its influence in world affairs from the standpoint of non-alignment.

For my part, both as a patriot and as a friend of humanity, I should wish to see Britain officially neutral in the conflict between America and Russia. The patriotic argument is a very obvious one. No sensible man would wish to see his country obliterated without any gain to the kind of way of life that makes his country valuable... From the point of view of humanity in general, the hostility between Russia and America is what threatens disaster, and anything tending to mitigate this hostility is a service to man. (1960a; 1961, 269)

For nearly all the period covered by the present volume, however, Russell’s thinking on disarmament remained circumspect. He had consistently voiced misgivings about campaigning for a simple paper prohibition of nuclear weapons (see *Papers* 28, xxiv–xxvi). He tended to highlight the practical objections to this approach and enumerated these once again in Paper 58, barely six months before the advent of CND. He also mistrusted prohibition as “a policy much encouraged by Russia” (1955; *Papers* 28:248) and by the Communist-aligned peace movement in the West—which Russell wished to court, but only from a respectably safe distance. In addition, rather than dwelling on the peculiar wickedness of nuclear weapons, Russell preferred to stress the futility of a war in which “there can be no hope of victory for either side...” (3, p. 15). Responding to Paper 7, the Soviet Pugwash scientist D.V.Skobeltzyn criticized Russell’s “paradoxical thesis...that an agreement to ban such weapons will make the use of them ‘more probable’...” (1956, 9). At the very least, Russell’s pre-CND position on disarmament appears rather curious, especially since the organization of which he became president did draw support from individuals and groups attracted by the political directness or moral force of the “ban the bomb” formulation.

As for the diplomacy of disarmament, in March 1956 Russell doubted whether this “can be successful except as part of a general diplomatic détente which should involve an

attempt to settle, by means of a congress, all the main questions in dispute between East and West” (7, p. 34). He was reviewing the issue for the Soviet press as the UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee stood poised to resume its hitherto fruitless negotiations. Given the international disarmament bureaucracy’s dismal achievements thus far (see A33:1–3), Russell’s scepticism about the likelihood of a breakthrough was entirely justified. In September 1957, as a subsequent and much lengthier round of talks was drawing to a close without results (see A347:27–30), Russell reached this cynical verdict: “Nothing could be more futile than the successive armament conferences in which each side suggests methods disadvantageous to the other side and goes as far as it can without risking the acceptance of its proposals by the other side” (62, p. 347).

The session of March–September 1957 (comprising seventy-one meetings in all) was the subcommittee’s final failure. The focus of discussion inside the UN then shifted from comprehensive disarmament schemes which always seemed destined to founder on at least one of their constituent parts, to the narrower but still complex question of a nuclear test-ban. The deliberations of the Pugwash scientists had provided some direction to this change of negotiating course, and especially to the acknowledgement by experts on all sides that a sophisticated and intrusive set of controls would be needed to detect all possible violations of any future agreement. This was a breakthrough of sorts as the Soviets had insisted until June 1957 that a nuclear test-ban would be essentially self-policing. In July and August 1958 scientists from both East and West met in Geneva to assess the technical requirements of verification and inspection. In light of their encouraging feasibility report, the three nuclear powers then formed a Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests. This body convened under the auspices of the United Nations for the first time in October 1958 and effectively superseded the old UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee.

The major shift in Russell’s thinking about nuclear weapons in 1957 was represented by his addition of Britain to the international political equation. Prior to Britain’s Christmas Island tests, Russell had tended to assess the nuclear peril exclusively in terms of the two superpowers. Quite apart from the intrinsic hazards of these experimental explosions, they provided a blunt warning about the possible further proliferation of nuclear weapons technology—something which neither of the superpowers welcomed. In May 1956 Russell had told an interviewer that “soon every little country will have its own hydrogen bomb” (Appendix IV, p. 374). A more likely source of added tension and volatility in the short term was the arming of NATO forces in Europe with American nuclear weapons—agreement in principle about which was reached by NATO heads of state at their Paris summit meeting in December 1957. The retired American diplomat George F. Kennan had strongly discouraged such a move in his BBC Reith Lectures for 1957 (see Kennan 1958, 60–3)—a sustained and sober critique of Western strategy and diplomacy which earned Russell’s wholehearted approval (1969, 102). Russell examined the emerging threat of nuclear proliferation at greater length in his celebrated “Open Letter to Eisenhower and Krushchev”, which urged the two world leaders to act in concert “to put a stop to the diffusion of nuclear weapons” (1957g). But Britain too had a vital role to play in securing this objective: “British renunciation of the bomb would make it more possible for America and Russia to agree, as they easily could, that no other Power should possess the bomb” (1958c).

On this latter occasion, Russell added hopefully that such a bold step “would make more possible the ultimate renunciation of the bomb throughout the world” (*ibid.*). Generally, however, he refrained from ascribing such wider benefits to British unilateralism. Neither Russell nor the other founders of CND for that matter hoped or expected the two superpowers to disarm unilaterally after a British gesture. He particularly resented the imputation that he had “advocated a disarmament policy for the West alone, and not equally for the East...” (1959, 85). As this appendix to *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare* sought to clarify, Russell still thought that, before disarming, the Soviet Union and United States must work towards “lessening the East-West tension and then negotiating agreements on vexed questions on the basis of giving no net advantage to either side” (*ibid.*). Thus, the relationship of détente to disarmament in Russell’s political thinking was not completely reversed by his espousal of a unilateralist policy for Britain. It was more a case of him believing that “though little would be gained by the renunciation of nuclear weapons by the Great Powers, the USA and USSR, something at least would be gained by *Britain’s* renunciation of nuclear weapons” (Monk 2000, 387). As for a long-term prescription for peace, Russell continued to think that only an adequately empowered international authority could provide the necessary safeguards. “I am more firmly convinced than ever before”, he tried to remind readers of the Belgian press in May 1957, that world government “offers the only solution to the world’s problems and, more particularly, to the problem of nuclear warfare” (52, p. 295).

Although Russell’s assessment of the nuclear peril (and especially of how permanently to eliminate it) was not completely revised even after he became president of the unilateralist CND, his political tactics did change. This transformation began in 1957 with his enrolment in the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests (60a), followed by his endorsement of the Emergency Committee for Direct Action’s planned disruption of the British nuclear tests in the central Pacific (Appendix XI). The latter episode anticipated the rift in CND that would be opened by Russell’s embrace of the civil disobedience methods of the Committee of 100. The NCANWT and the larger organization by which it was absorbed (i.e. CND) exemplified a pressure-group politics which can be traced at least as far back as the Anti-Corn Law League and with which Russell had become acquainted through his defence of free trade, some sixty years after the Corn Laws were finally repealed. Participating in a popular movement was a radical shift of focus for Russell, preoccupied as he had been with mustering the world’s scientists. The involvement with CND also moved Russell back towards the heart of the British dissenting tradition. Forged by some of his political heroes—Paine, Fox, Cobden and Bright—the mantle of dissent had been inherited subsequently by “troublemakers” like Russell who had steadfastly opposed the First World War. Indeed, Russell himself had featured in a timely reappraisal of these determined and principled critics of empire and militarism that had been delivered at Oxford University as the Ford Lectures for 1956 by another prominent supporter of CND, the historian A.J.P. Taylor (1957).

According to Russell’s conception of British unilateralism, its main purpose was to break the Cold War impasse and to inhibit the spread of nuclear weapons to other states. Many followers of CND expected more dramatic peace dividends to flow from Britain’s lead. In fact, much of the peace movement exhibited the same fanciful view of their country’s international position as the politicians (of both major parties) who, above all else, Russell lamented, wished to keep Britain “in the same rank as Russia and America

among Great Powers” (63, p. 350). For those anti-nuclear campaigners who presupposed that Britain still carried significant political and moral weight in world affairs, “Unilateralism offered a political strategy, and one moreover which spoke directly to that nostalgia for a more glorious past which simmered below the surface of British political consciousness, on the left as much as on the right, in the aftermath of Suez” (Hinton 1989, 161). Russell was not quite so susceptible to these “imperialist pacifist” delusions of grandeur. He thought that Britain’s unilateral disarmament was a realistic political objective precisely because it would not have “any measurable effect upon the balance of power...” (1959, 86).

## CONCLUSION

Russell’s realistic appraisal of his country’s diminished standing in the world did not inhibit him from thinking that he personally might be able to influence affairs of state. This was neither glibness on his part, nor the vanity of an ageing philosopher whose opinions on a host of issues had been prized for decades. As the papers in the present volume demonstrate, Russell underestimated neither the dangers facing mankind nor the obstacles to their elimination. But he did feel compelled to confront the perils of the Cold War and the nuclear arms race—with whatever means were at his disposal. And this compulsion was evidently becoming stronger, not weaker, in the eighty-five-year old Russell. This tenacity can be seen most clearly in his patient efforts to foster East-West contacts in the scientific community and in the hardening of his opposition to nuclear weapons testing. With the “Open Letter to Eisenhower and Krushchev” (Russell 1957g), he found another outlet for a growing sense of political urgency. This heartfelt appeal for the leaders of the United States and Soviet Union to recognize their shared interest in the survival of the human race established a precedent for subsequent forays into the realm of personal diplomacy—most notably in response to the Cuban missile crisis and the Sino-Indian and Indo-Pakistani border disputes of the 1960s, but also, less publicly, on behalf of numerous Eastern European political prisoners.

Thus, at the end of the period covered by *Collected Papers* 29, the orbit of Russell’s political interests and activities was expanding not shrinking. He encountered fresh difficulties and setbacks in his future struggles—the fracturing of CND, the escalation of war in Vietnam—but he would respond not with resignation or despair, but with a strengthened political resolve and new ways of confronting the nuclear peril or the exercise of American power overseas.



## Acknowledgements

THIS EDITION OF Russell's writing could not have been started or continued without a succession of editorial grants awarded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. In addition, McMaster University has provided funding for the edition both before and during the periods of the Council's grants. Generous financial support for work on this volume was also received from the Tokyo Club, Japan. Work on the *Collected Papers* was placed on a more solid institutional footing with the establishment in 2000 of the Bertrand Russell Research Centre under the directorship of Nicholas Griffin. The then Dean of Humanities at McMaster University, Daniel Woolf, was instrumental in the creation of the new Centre, and I would also like to acknowledge the ongoing support of the Faculty both under acting Dean Howard Jones and Dean Nasrin Rahimieh.

Although any remaining errors and omissions are, of course, the editor's sole responsibility, I have received much guidance and assistance in the preparation of *Collected Papers* 29. Many changes, both minor and major, were made in light of the referee's meticulous and acute assessment of this volume. Nicholas Griffin also read closely all of the volume at various stages of its completion and he too provided a great deal of invaluable editorial advice. In expertly copy-editing all the editorial matter, Sheila Turcon made many corrections and helpful suggestions for improvements. I am also grateful to Louis Greenspan, Richard Rempel and Michael Stevenson for their insightful comments on the Introduction. Michael Stevenson made a number of important observations about other parts of the editorial apparatus as well. I have again benefitted from Kenneth Blackwell's unsurpassed knowledge of the Russell Archives and have consulted on numerous occasions the three-volume bibliography of Russell of which he is co-editor (Blackwell and Ruja 1994). I thank George Thomas and Miet Vanaudenaerde for translating, respectively, Appendix VI and Paper 47, John Slater for his additional work on the translation of Paper 47, and Stephen White for supplying the reference to the Soviet documents cited in H9 (Ilizarov, ed. 1995).

This is the fourteenth volume in the *Collected Papers* for which Arlene Duncan has prepared the camera-ready copy. The typographical and other demands of her work are many and complex, and she has fulfilled them, as usual, with great skill, dedication, patience and humour. Her contributions have enhanced the volume in numerous ways, and for this I am heavily indebted to her.

Much of the research was undertaken with the cooperation of Research Collections in Mills Memorial Library at McMaster. In particular, I would like to thank the Research Collections Librarian, Carl Spadoni, and his assistants Renu Barrett, Margaret Foley, Kathleen Garay, Sheila Turcon and, for her assistance with the photographic plates, Adele Petrovic. In the latter regard, I am additionally grateful to Media Production Services at McMaster University. I would also like to acknowledge assistance provided

by the BBC Written Archives Centre and the University College London Manuscripts Room.

I wish to pay tribute to the following students who have helped with the research for *Collected Papers 29* and otherwise assisted in its preparation: Sarah Halsted, Lindsay Holdworth, Sarah Hipworth and Sarah Shulist. Giselle Rampaul and Patricia Rosochowitz demonstrated extraordinary care and attention to detail in carrying out important work at the BBC Written Archives Centre.

For permission to use materials in their copyright, gratitude is extended to the following: the Isaiah Berlin Literary Trust (for Isaiah Berlin's contributions to **40**); Gustav Born (for Max Born's letters); Dom. Daniel Rees (for Abbot Christopher Butler's contributions to **43**); the late Lord Hailsham; Foreign Affairs Canada (for Jules Léger's letter); John Freeman (for Kingsley Martin's contributions to **38**); David Higham Associates, Ltd. (for Malcolm Muggeridge's contributions to **39**, **41** and **42**); Jane Panahy and Ann Hatt (for Cecil Powell's letters); Victor Rabinowitch (for Eugene Rabinowitch's letters); David Samuel, 3rd Viscount Samuel (for Lord Samuel's contributions to **45**); Curtis Brown, Ltd., London, on behalf of the Estate of C.P.Snow (for C.P.Snow's contributions to **46**); Verily Anderson Paget (for Lord Templewood's contributions to **44**); the New York Public Library (for Norman Thomas's letters); the Ustinov Foundation (for Sir Peter Ustinov's contributions to Paper **39**).

Acknowledgement is made also to the following publishers and journals which previously published some of the papers printed here: *Maclean's Magazine* (**51**); *The New Republic* (**31b**); *The New Scientist* (**56**); Simon and Schuster (**3**); Times Newspapers, Ltd. (**11**, **15**, **64**); and to the following institutions for the use of material in their possession: the BBC Written Archives Centre, (**38**, **39**, **43–46**); the Seeley G.Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University Library (for John Foster Dulles's letter).

# Chronology: Russell's Life and Writings, 1955–57

<i>Life/Related Events</i>	<b>Writings</b>
3–4 Mar. 1955	<b>3</b> dictated.
9 July 1955	Releases “The Russell-Einstein Manifesto” at press conference in Caxton Hall, London.
18–23 July 1955	<i>Conference of American, Soviet, British and French heads of state in Geneva.</i>
3–5 Aug. 1955	At World Conference of Scientists, County Hall, London.
8–20 Aug. 1955	<i>UN Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, Geneva.</i>
29 Aug.–5 Oct. 1955	<i>UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee in session in New York.</i>
1 Sept. 1955	<b>31a</b> and Appendix XV.6 dictated.
7 Sept. 1955	<b>19a</b> dictated.
15 Sept. 1955	<b>30</b> dictated.
21 Sept. 1955	<i>Soviets conduct underwater nuclear test in the Barents Sea.</i>
22 Sept. 1955	Extracts from <b>30</b> published.
24 Sept. 1955	<i>President Eisenhower suffers heart attack.</i>
27 Sept. 1955	<i>Egypt announces Czech arms deal.</i>
28 Sept. 1955	<b>10a</b> dictated.
3 Oct. 1955	Leaves Plas Penrhyn for London.
6 Oct. 1955	Speaks at Savoy Hotel, London, on receiving Silver Pears Cyclopaedia Trophy, in recognition of his work for world peace; is also interviewed by “William Hickey” of the <i>Daily Express</i> .

13 Oct. 1955	Interviewed on BBC Finnish Service.	
14 Oct. 1955	Interviewed by unidentified Soviet journalist accompanied by Soviet embassy attaché (Appendix I).	
16 Oct. 1955		Appendix XV.1 published.
19 Oct. 1955	Meets with Eric Burhop and Joseph Rotblat.	
20 Oct. 1955	Meets Albert Schweitzer.	
21 Oct. 1955	Speaks at Central Hall, Westminster (Appendix VIII).	
24–29 Oct. 1955	<i>Fifth International Conference on Planned Parenthood, Tokyo.</i>	
26 Oct. 1955		Appendix VIII sent to Geneva Conference.
27 Oct-16 Nov. 1955	<i>Conference of American, Soviet, British and French foreign ministers in Geneva.</i>	
1 Nov. 1955		<b>31b</b> dictated.
2 Nov. 1955		<b>48</b> dictated.
6 Nov. 1955	<i>Soviets test boosted fission bomb in Kazakhstan.</i>	<b>10a</b> read <i>in absentia</i> to British-Soviet Friendship Society meeting at the Stoll Theatre, London.
8 Nov. 1955	<i>Molotov delivers speech on future of Germany to conference of foreign ministers.</i>	
9 Nov. 1955	Speaks to Parliamentary Association for World Government, Central Hall, Westminster (Appendix XIII).	
11 Nov. 1955		Extracts from <b>31a</b> published.
17 Nov. 1955		<b>1</b> dictated.
17 Nov.–c.3 Dec. 1955	<i>Soviet scientific delegation visits Britain.</i>	
18 Nov.–1 Dec. 1955	<i>Khrushchev and Bulganin visit India.</i>	
21 Nov. 1955		<b>31b</b> published.
22 Nov. 1955	<i>Soviets test airborne two-stage (fission-fusion) hydrogen bomb in Kazakhstan.</i>	
26 Nov. 1955		<b>47</b> published in Dutch.
Dec. 1955		<b>48</b> published; Appendix I published in Russian.
3 Dec. 1955	<i>UN Scientific Committee on the Effects</i>	

*of Atomic Radiation established.*

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|-------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 6 Dec. 1955                   |   | 2 dictated.               |
| 9 Dec. 1955                   |   | 5 dictated.               |
| 10 Dec. 1955                  |   | 3 published.              |
| 14 Dec. 1955                  | <i>Hugh Gaitskell elected leader of the Labour Party.<br/>Fourteen new member states admitted to UN.</i>  | 4 dictated.               |
| 21 Dec. 1955–<br>30 Jan. 1956 | At Plas Penrhyn.  |                           |
| 24 Dec. 1955                  | <i>Pope Pius XII calls for an end to the nuclear arms race in his Christmas message.</i>  |                           |
| Jan.–Feb.<br>1956             | <i>Soviet nuclear testing in Siberia.</i>   |                           |
| c.1 Jan. 1956                 |   | 4 published in Japanese.  |
| 21 Jan. 1956                  |   | 5 published.              |
| 23 Jan. 1956                  |   | 11 dictated.              |
| 29 Jan. 1956                  |   | 11 published.             |
| 30 Jan.–3 Feb.<br>1956        | <i>Eden visits Eisenhower in Washington D.C.</i>  |                           |
| 1 Feb. 1956                   | Returns to 41 Queen's Road, Richmond.   |                           |
| 2 Feb. 1956                   |   | 13 dictated.              |
| 5 Feb. 1956                   |   | Appendix XVI.1 televised. |
| 8 Feb. 1956                   | Joins National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment.  |                           |
| 10 Feb. 1956                  |   | 10b dictated.             |
| 16 Feb. 1956                  |   | 13 broadcast.             |
| 17 Feb. 1956                  | Interviewed by journalists from <i>Envoy</i> (Appendix II).   |                           |
| 18 Feb. 1956                  | Speaks at Parliamentary Association for World Government dinner in his honour at the House of Commons.<br><br><i>Cecil Powell meets Nehru in New Delhi to discuss the possibility of India hosting an international scientists' conference.</i> |                           |
| 25 Feb. 1956                  | <i>Khrushchev attacks Stalin in secret session of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.</i>  |                           |

28 Feb. 1956		Appendix XV.2 dictated.
2 Mar. 1956		<b>8</b> dictated.
7 Mar. 1956	Meets with Morton Sobell's mother.	
8 Mar. 1956		<b>6</b> dictated.
10 Mar. 1956		<b>7</b> dictated.
12 Mar. 1956		<b>6</b> recorded at United States embassy, London.
14 Mar. 1956		<b>32a</b> dictated.
16 Mar. 1956		Appendix XV.2 published.
19 Mar.–4 May 1956	<i>UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee in session in London.</i>	
c.20 Mar. 1956	<i>Soviets conclude a series of nuclear tests.</i>	
22 Mar. 1956		<b>10c</b> dictated, <b>12</b> published.
23 Mar. 1956		<b>59a</b> dictated.
26 Mar. 1956		<b>32a</b> published.
29 Mar. 1956		<b>7</b> published in Russian.
31 Mar. 1956		<b>32b</b> started.
Apr. 1956	<i>Executive council of World Federation of Scientific Workers meets in Beijing.</i>	
c.1 Apr. 1956	<i>Soviets conclude a series of nuclear tests.</i>	
5 Apr. 1956		<b>32b</b> published.
5 Apr.–11 May 1956	At Plas Penrhyn.	
12 Apr. 1956		<b>10c</b> published.
17 Apr. 1956		<b>32c</b> dictated.
18 Apr. 1956	<i>Cominform dissolved.</i>	
18–28 Apr. 1956	<i>Khrushchev and Bulganin visit Britain.</i>	
21 Apr. 1956	<i>Adlai Stevenson proposes a thermonuclear test-ban.</i>	
3 May 1956		<b>13</b> published.
5 May–21 July 1956	<i>United States conducts a series of seventeen atomic and hydrogen bomb tests (Operation "Redwing") at Bikini and Eniwetok.</i>	
14 May 1956	<i>Soviet Union announces a cut in its</i>	

*armed forces of 1.2 million men.*

- 15 May 1956 Records *London Forum* radio discussion of "On Liberty" with Lord Hailsham, Salvador de Madariaga and Edgar Lustgarten (**67**, *Papers II*). **32c** read *in absentia* to meeting sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell at Carnegie Hall, New York.
- 16 May 1956 *British atomic-bomb test (Operation "Mosaic G1") in the Monte Bello Islands, off Western Australia.*
- 17 May 1956 Interviewed by Cedric Belfrage (Appendix III).
- 20 May 1956 *United States drops its first airborne hydrogen bomb as part of Operation "Redwing".*
- 22 May 1956 **40** recorded.
- 25 May 1956 Meets with Eric Burhop, Cecil Powell and Joseph Rotblat.
- 26 May 1956 **32d** and Appendix XV.5 dictated.
- 30 May 1956 **49** dictated.
- c.June 1956 **8** and Appendix II published.
- 10 June 1956 Appendix XVI.2 televised.
- 11 June 1956 **49** recorded.
- 12 June 1956 *(American) National Academy of Sciences and British Medical Research Council simultaneously release reports on radiation hazards.*
- 13 June 1956 *Last British soldiers leave Suez Canal Zone, in fulfilment of AngloEgyptian Treaty of 1954. Anglo-American nuclear cooperation agreement signed in Washington D.C.*
- 16 June 1956 Speaks at annual dinner of Oxford University Voltaire Society at the Café Royale.
- 18 June 1956 Appendix III published.
- 19 June 1956 *British Rosenberg-Sobell Committee marks third anniversary of the Rosenbergs' execution with a public meeting at Conway Hall, London. British atomic-bomb test (Operation "Mosaic G2") in the Monte Bello Islands.* **38** recorded.
- 20 June 1956 *Morton Sobell's petition for a hearing rejected by Federal District Court, New York.*

22 June 1956		<b>32c</b> delivered <i>in absentia</i> to meeting of Bay Area Council of Sobell Committees.
26 June 1956		<b>34</b> dictated.
27 June 1956	<i>Petőfi Circle of Hungarian intellectuals publicly criticizes Hungarian Government.</i>	
28 June 1956	<i>Poznan Rising of Polish workers suppressed by Poland's military.</i>	
5 July 1956	Moves permanently from 41 Queens Road, Richmond, to Plas Penrhyn in North Wales.	
6 July 1956	Invites signatories of RussellEinstein manifesto to form an initiating committee of scientists to appraise hazards of weapons of mass destruction.	
12 July 1956	Interviewed by Milton Mayer at Plas Penrhyn.	
16 July 1956		Appendix XV.3 dictated.
18 July 1956	<i>Erno Gero replaces Mátyás Rákosi as leader of Hungarian Communist Party. United States withdraws funding from Egypt's Aswan Dam project.</i>	
18–19 July 1956	<i>Tito, Nehru and Nasser issue "nonalignment" declaration from Brioni, Yugoslavia.</i>	
19 July 1956		<b>9</b> dictated.
20 July 1956	<i>United States civil defence exercise (Operation "Alert") simulates attack over Alaska.</i>	
26 July 1956	<i>Nasser nationalizes the Suez Canal Company.</i>	
30 July 1956		<b>49</b> broadcast.
Aug. 1956	<i>Indian Government publishes "Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects".</i>	
6 Aug. 1956	Interviewed by George Bilainkin (Appendix IV).	
9 Aug. 1956		<b>22</b> dictated.
9–11 Aug. 1956	<i>World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, Nagasaki.</i>	
11 Aug. 1956		<b>14</b> and <b>22</b> published.
23 Aug. 1956	<i>Twenty-two nation conference of Suez</i>	

- Canal users in London forms committee under Australian Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies to negotiate with Nasser.*
- 24 Aug.–6 Sept. 1956 *Soviets conduct series of nuclear tests in Siberia.*
- 29 Aug. 1956 Twenty-seven scientists from thirteen countries invited by Russell and seven other signatories of Russell-Einstein manifesto to join an initiating committee of a scientific congress.
- 30 Aug. 1956 *Soviet hydrogen-bomb test.* **9** published.  
Sept. 1956
- 3–9 Sept. 1956 *Menzies-Nasser talks on Suez reach no agreement.*
- 4 Sept. 1956 Asks Cyrus Eaton to help finance the scientists' conference in India.
- 6 Sept. 1956 **49** published.
- 7 Sept. 1956 **38** broadcast.
- 10 Sept. 1956 Jacob Mindel released from prison.
- 11 Sept. 1956 Appendix IX published.
- 13 Sept. 1956 **33** published in *Portraits from Memory*.
- 16 Sept. 1956 **38** broadcast.
- 18–19 Sept. 1956 **50** dictated.
- 19–21 Sept. 1956 *Eighteen-nation Suez Canal Users Association set up at conference in London over objections of Egypt and the Soviet bloc.*
- 26 Sept. 1956 **42** recorded.
- 27 Sept. 1956 **41** recorded.
- 27 Sept.–22 Oct. 1956 *Britain conducts a series of four atomic-bomb tests (Operation "Buffalo") at Maralinga, South Australia.*
- 28 Sept. 1956 **39** recorded.
- Oct. 1956 Appendix XV.3 published.
- 3 Oct. 1956 **39** broadcast.
- 6 Oct. 1956 *Reburial of László Rajk, Hungarian Communist reformer purged then executed in 1949.*
- 9 Oct. 1956 **16a** dictated.

11 Oct. 1956		Appendix IV published.
15 Oct. 1956		<b>16b</b> dictated.
19–20 Oct. 1956	<i>Soviet leaders visit Poland; rehabilitated Communist reformer Wladyslaw Gomulka becomes first secretary of Polish Communist Party.</i>	
20 Oct. 1956		<b>16c</b> dictated.
21–24 Oct. 1956	<i>France, Britain and Israel plan military action against Egypt at secret talks in Sèvres.</i>	
22 Oct. 1956		<b>16d</b> dictated.
23 Oct. 1956		<b>40</b> broadcast.
24 Oct. 1956	<i>Imre Nagy appointed Hungarian Prime Minister.</i>	<b>16e</b> dictated.
25 Oct. 1956	Meets with Soviet scientist A.V. Topchiev in Llangollen.	<i>Logic and Knowledge</i> published.
26 Oct. 1956	<i>UN approves creation of an International Atomic Energy Agency to foster the development of nuclear power for peaceful purposes.</i>	<b>16f</b> dictated.
27 Oct. 1956		<b>15</b> dictated.
29 Oct. 1956	<i>Israel invades Egypt.</i>	
30 Oct. 1956	<i>UN Security Council resolutions demand Israel's withdrawal from Egypt; they are vetoed by Britain and France who call for the fighting to cease and their own forces to enter the Suez Canal Zone.</i>	<b>34</b> published.
31 Oct. 1956	<i>Britain and France bomb Egyptian airfields and are publicly denounced by Eisenhower.</i>	
1 Nov. 1956	<i>Soviet troops enter Hungary.</i>	<b>23</b> and <b>24</b> dictated.
2 Nov. 1956	<i>Special meeting of the UN General Assembly passes resolution calling for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egypt. Israeli forces achieve control over Gaza and the Sinai. Hungary withdraws from Warsaw Pact.</i>	<b>23</b> published.
3 Nov. 1956		<b>24</b> read <i>in absentia</i> at protest meeting in Penrhyndeudraeth.
4 Nov. 1956	<i>Soviet troops reach Budapest and install János Kádár as Hungarian Prime Minister. Soviet Union vetoes UN Security Council resolution condemning</i>	<b>24</b> published.

*this action and calling for an immediate end to the intervention; General Assembly passes similar resolution by a large majority. Egypt blocks Suez Canal.*

- 5 Nov. 1956 *Franco-British paratroopers land in Egypt.* **24** read *in absentia* at protest meeting at Guildford.
- 6 Nov. 1956 *Eisenhower achieves landslide victory over Stevenson in United States presidential election. Israeli cease-fire.*
- 7 Nov. 1956 *Franco-British cease-fire; UN sets up peacekeeping force (UNEF) to monitor the cease-fire in Egypt.*
- 7–14 Nov. 1956 At 29 Millbank, London.
- 10 Nov. 1956 **16a** and **16b** recorded.
- 12 Nov. 1956 **16c** and **16d** recorded.
- 13 Nov. 1956 Meets with Eric Burhop and Joseph Rotblat. **16e** and **16f** recorded.
- 15 Nov. 1956 *UNEF arrives in Egypt.*
- 18 Nov. 1956 *Agreement for equality in SovietPolish relations signed in Moscow.*
- 22 Nov. 1956 *Scientists' meeting in India cancelled.* **26** dictated.
- 29 Nov. 1956 *Founding meeting of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests.* **25** and **27** dictated.
- Dec. 1956 **26** published.
- 3 Dec. 1956 *France and Britain announce the unconditional withdrawal of their troops from Suez.* **10d** dictated.
- 4 Dec. 1956 **27** published.
- 5 Dec. 1956 *Mass arrest of anti-apartheid activists in South Africa.*
- 5–22 Dec. 1956 *Franco-British forces withdraw from Egypt.*
- 10 Dec. 1956 *Britain obtains \$561 million loan from the International Monetary Fund.* **36** dictated.
- 13 Dec. 1956 *NATO foreign ministers' meeting.* **28** dictated.
- 21 Dec. 1956 *Britain obtains \$500 million line of credit from the US Export-Import Bank.*
- 29 Dec. 1956 **26** read *in absentia* to Fifth Convention of Indian rationalists, Bombay.

30 Dec. 1956		<b>41</b> broadcast.
31 Dec. 1956		<b>16a</b> broadcast.
Jan. 1957		<b>10d</b> published. <i>Understanding History</i> published.
1 Jan. 1957		<b>28</b> published.
1–4 Jan. 1957	<i>Soviet bloc leaders meet in Budapest.</i>	
7 Jan. 1957		<b>16b</b> broadcast.
8 Jan. 1957		<b>51</b> dictated.
9 Jan. 1957	<i>Sir Anthony Eden resigns premiership and is succeeded the next day by Harold Macmillan.</i>	
11 Jan. 1957	Accepts Cyrus Eaton's offer of Pugwash, Nova Scotia, as venue for the scientists' meeting.	
12 Jan. 1957		<b>35</b> dictated.
13 Jan. 1957	<i>Duncan Sandys appointed Minister of Defence.</i>	<b>15</b> published.
14 Jan. 1957		<b>16c</b> broadcast.
19 Jan.–16 Apr. 1957	<i>Soviets conduct a series of nuclear tests in Siberia.</i>	
21 Jan. 1957		<b>16d</b> broadcast.
22 Jan. 1957	<i>Israeli forces complete withdrawal from northern Sinai.</i>	
28 Jan. 1957		<b>16e</b> broadcast.
31 Jan. 1957		<b>40</b> published.
1 Feb.–19 Mar. 1957	At 29 Millbank, London.	
2 Feb. 1957	<i>Macmillan cancels scheduled visit to Soviet Union.</i>	
3 Feb. 1957		<b>42</b> broadcast; Appendix XVI.3 televised.
4 Feb. 1957		<b>16f</b> broadcast.
6 Feb. 1957		<b>43</b> recorded.
7 Feb. 1957	Undergoes throat examination in University College Hospital.	
12 Feb. 1957	Resignation from Congress for Cultural Freedom accepted.	
18 Feb. 1957		<b>35</b> and Appendix X published.

21 Feb. 1957		<b>43</b> broadcast.
22 Feb. 1957	Appears on <i>Asian Club</i> on BBC television.	
25 Feb. 1957	<i>Britain obtains \$500 million line of credit from the US Export-Import Bank.</i>	
26 Feb. 1957		<b>17</b> dictated.
1 Mar. 1957		Appendix XV.7 dictated.
2 Mar. 1957		<b>51</b> published.
6 Mar. 1957		<b>56</b> dictated.
6–8 Mar. 1957	<i>Israeli forces withdraw from Gaza and the Gulf of Aqaba.</i>	
7 Mar. 1957		<b>16a</b> published.
11 Mar. 1957		<b>57b</b> dictated.
14 Mar. 1957		<b>16b</b> published.
18 Mar.–6 Sept. 1957	<i>UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee in session in London.</i>	
19 Mar. 1957		<b>55a</b> dictated.
spring 1957		<b>36</b> published.
21 Mar. 1957		<b>16c</b> and <b>55a</b> published.
21–23 Mar. 1957	<i>Macmillan hosts summit meeting with Eisenhower in Bermuda.</i>	
23 Mar. 1957		<b>55b</b> dictated.
25 Mar. 1957	<i>The six countries of the European Steel and Coal Community sign Rome Treaties to create European Economic Community and European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM).</i>	
26 Mar. 1957		<b>55b</b> published.
27 Mar. 1957	Joins National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests.	
28 Mar. 1957		<b>16d</b> and <b>56</b> published.
31 Mar. 1957		Appendix XV.4 dictated.
late Mar. 1957	<i>Formation of the Emergency Committee for Direct Action against Nuclear War.</i>	
Apr. 1957	<i>Imre Nagy and other leaders of Hungarian uprising returned from Rumania for trial.</i>	
1–15 Apr. 1957	At 29 Millbank, London.	

4 Apr. 1957	<i>British Defence White Paper published.</i>	<b>16e</b> published.
5 Apr. 1957		<b>57b</b> recorded.
7 Apr. 1957		Appendix XVI.4 televised.
8 Apr. 1957		<b>44</b> recorded.
10 Apr. 1957	<i>Suez Canal reopens. Soviet hydrogen-bomb test.</i>	<b>57b</b> recorded in German.
11 Apr. 1957		<b>16f</b> published.
12 Apr. 1957	<i>Göttingen manifesto released.</i>	Appendix XI published.
16 Apr. 1957	<i>Soviet nuclear tests in Siberia conclude with high-yield thermonuclear explosion.</i>	
18 Apr. 1957		<b>57b</b> broadcast.
21 Apr. 1957		<b>44</b> broadcast.
24 Apr. 1957	<i>Albert Schweitzer appeals for a nuclear test-ban.</i>	<b>60a</b> dictated.
30 Apr. 1957		<b>60a</b> read <i>in absentia</i> to NCANWT meeting at Friends House, London.
May 1957	<i>Harold Steele travels to Japan to protest British nuclear testing in the central Pacific.</i>	<b>59a</b> and Appendix XV.4 published.
3 May 1957		<b>60a</b> published.
5 May 1957	Interviewed by Allan Chappelow (Appendix V) and Arif Tanović and Gajo Petrović (Appendix VI).	<b>57b</b> broadcast in German.
12 May 1957	<i>NCANWT rally in Trafalgar Square.</i>	
15–23 May 1957	At 29 Millbank, London.	
15 May 1957	<i>First British hydrogen-bomb test at Maiden Island.</i>	Appendix V published.
17 May 1957	Interviewed with Alan Wood on BBC radio.	
18 May 1957		<b>17</b> published on Russell's eighty-fifth birthday.
19 May 1957		Appendix VI published; Appendix XVI.5 televised.
20 May 1957	Meets with Sibnarayan Ray. <i>Gilbert Murray dies.</i>	<b>18</b> dictated and broadcast.
27 May 1957		<b>19</b> dictated.
28 May-7 Oct. 1957	<i>United States conducts a series of twenty-four fission tests (Operation</i>	

“Plumbob”) at its Nevada test site.

30 May 1957 **52** dictated.

31 May 1957 *British hydrogen-bomb test at Maiden Island.* **58** dictated.

June 1957 **19** published in SerboCroat.

3 June 1957 **58** reviewed by committee of NCANWT.

6 June 1957 Edith Russell suffers heart attack.

14 June 1957 *Soviet delegate to UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee proposes test-moratorium supervised by international inspectors.*

15 June 1957 **59b** dictated.

18 June 1957 **59b** broadcast.

19 June 1957 *British hydrogen-bomb test at Maiden Island.*

22 June 1957 Interviewed by Homer A.Jack.

28 June 1957 **60b** read *in absentia* to public meeting in Bala, Merioneth.

July 1957 Appendix XV.7 published.

3 July 1957 *Khrushchev foils “anti-Party” plot against him led by Molotov and other Politburo hardliners.*

5 July 1957 **58** and Appendix XV.6 published.

7 July 1957 Edith Russell, convalescing, resumes very light activities. Recording of **61** played to Pugwash conference delegates.

7–10 July 1957 *First Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, Pugwash, Nova Scotia.*

10 July 1957 Excerpts from **61** published.

11 July 1957 **53** completed.

20 July 1957 **53** recorded in English and German in Bangor.

26 July 1957 *President Armas of Guatemala assassinated.*

Aug. 1957 *Fifth General Assembly of World Federation of Scientific Workers, Helsinki.* **37** dictated.

1 Aug. 1957 *United States and Canada activate “distant early warning” system against*

- nuclear attack.
- 2 Aug. 1957 **60b** published.
- 12 Aug. 1957 Edith Russell resumes taking Russell's dictation. Revised opening to **57b** dictated.  
*General Election in British Guiana.*
- 14 Aug. 1957 **53** broadcast.
- 15 Aug. 1957 *Tenth anniversary of Indian independence.* **53** broadcast in German.
- 21 Aug. 1957 *Soviet Union tests first ICBM. Western delegates to UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee propose renewable test-moratorium linked to a controlled cessation in the production of fissile materials.*
- 22 Aug. 1957 *Soviet hydrogen-bomb test in Siberia.*
- 28 Aug. 1957 **57b** circulated at seventh annual Grotius Day conference, Munich.
- 29 Aug. 1957 *United States proposes two-year moratorium on nuclear testing.*
- c.Sept. 1957 Interviewed by Irwin Ross (Appendix VII).
- 4 Sept. 1957 **62** dictated.
- 8 Sept. 1957 **37** published.
- 11 Sept. 1957 **60c** dictated.
- 14 Sept.–9 Oct. 1957 *Britain conducts a series of three atomic-bomb tests (Operation "Antler") at Maralinga, South Australia.*
- 19 Sept. 1957 *United States carries out first successful underground nuclear test as part of Operation "Plumbob".*
- 24 Sept. 1957 *Soviet hydrogen-bomb test in Novaya Zemlya.* **54** dictated.
- 26 Sept. 1957 **60c** probably read *in absentia* to meeting of the Peninsula Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Tests, possibly at Stanford University.
- 29 Sept. 1957 Accepts honorary vice-presidency of Sound Broadcasting Society.
- 1–24 Oct. 1957 At 29 Millbank, London.
- 2 Oct. 1957 *Polish Rapacki Plan for a nuclearfree Central Euronean zone presented to UN*

*General Assembly.*

- 3 Oct. 1957 *Aneurin Bevan speaks against Britain's unilateral nuclear disarmament at Labour Party Conference in Brighton.* *Why I Am Not a Christian* published.
- 4 Oct. 1957 "Sputnik" satellite launched.
- 6 Oct. 1957 Appears on BBC television's *Brains Trust*.  
*Soviet hydrogen-bomb test in Novaya Zemlya.*
- 7 Oct. 1957 **59a** published; **46** and **54** recorded.
- 8 Oct. 1957 **21a** dictated; **45** recorded.
- 10 Oct. 1957 **21c** dictated.
- 11 Oct. 1957 Meets with Joseph Rotblat. **62** published.
- 13 Oct. 1957 **21a** published.
- 15 Oct. 1957 **21c** published.
- 17 Oct. 1957 **21b** dictated.
- 20 Oct. 1957 **21b** published.
- 23–25 Oct. 1957 *Macmillan visits Eisenhower in Washington D.C. to review AngloAmerican nuclear cooperation.*
- 26 Oct. 1957 **63** dictated.
- 27 Oct. 1957 Alan Wood dies.
- 29 Oct. 1957 Appendix XII published.
- 1 Nov. 1957 **29** dictated.
- 2 Nov. 1957 **20** dictated.
- 3 Nov. 1957 "Sputnik II" launched.
- 4 Nov. 1957 **29** read *in absentia* to first anniversary commemorative meeting of the Hungarian uprising.
- 5 Nov. 1957 **20** published.
- 6 Nov. 1957 **64** dictated; Appendix VII published.
- 7 Nov. 1957 *Gaither Committee's top secret defence report submitted to National Security Council.*
- 8 Nov. 1957 *British hydrogen-bomb test at Christmas Island (Operation "Grapple X").* **21e** dictated.
- 9 Nov. 1957 **63** published.
- 10 Nov. 1957 **54** broadcast; **64** published.

- 10 Nov.–15 Dec. 1957 *George Kennan's Reith Lectures on "Russia, the Atom and the West" delivered on BBC radio.*
- 13 Nov. 1957 *Dissident Hungarian writers imprisoned.*
- 15 Nov. 1957 **29** published.
- 16 Nov. 1957 **54** broadcast; Appendix XV.8 dictated.
- 17 Nov. 1957 **45** broadcast.
- 21 Nov. 1957 **54** published.
- 23 Nov. 1957 "Open Letter to Eisenhower and Krushchev" published; **21d** dictated; **21e** published.
- 26 Nov. 1957 Appears on *Voices in the News* on BBC radio's North American Service. **21d** published.
- Dec. 1957 *Gaither Report leaked to the American press.*
- 9–c.20 Dec. 1957 At 29 Millbank, London.
- 10 Dec. 1957 Attends meeting of future leaders of CND at Kingsley Martin's London home.
- 16 Dec. 1957 **54** recorded in German.
- 16–19 Dec. 1957 *NATO heads of state meet in Paris.*
- 17 Dec. 1957 *United States conducts first successful test of its "Atlas" ICBM.*
- 18–20 Dec. 1957 *Pugwash Continuing Committee meets in London.*
- 28 Dec. 1957 *Soviet nuclear-test in Siberia: its fifteenth experimental explosion of the year.*
- 29 Dec. 1957 **46** broadcast.



Part I  
The Prospect and Illusion of  
Détente



# 1

## Failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva [1955]

THIS UNPUBLISHED LETTER to the editor of an unidentified newspaper was written at the conclusion of the meeting of American, Soviet, British and French foreign ministers in Geneva from 27 October-16 November 1955. This gathering had been arranged as a follow-up to the Geneva Conference of heads of state from 18–23 July. This earlier summit had been the first meeting of the great powers at this level since the Potsdam Conference at the end of the Second World War. As such, it had been a noteworthy international occasion, keenly anticipated as soon as an agreement to convene had been reached in May 1955. Russell's optimism had been tempered by a realistic sense of the attainable: "It would be a pity", he had written a few days prior to the conference, "if excessive expectation caused unreasonable disappointment at the outcome" (1955f). He seemed reasonably satisfied after the talks concluded, even though "nothing was settled at the meeting of the Big Four except that war must be avoided" (1955i). In Paper 1, however, he is clearly frustrated that this shared recognition of the nuclear peril had not yet produced a breakthrough on any of the substantive issues broached at the July summit—namely, Germany and European security, disarmament, and East-West contacts. Understandably absent here is the hopeful note struck by Russell and his co-signatories of the message to the foreign ministers that is printed as Appendix VIII. Although he holds all parties accountable for a potentially tragic misreading of new strategic realities, Russell seems to have regarded Vyacheslav Molotov as especially culpable for the failure of the conference (see Headnote to Appendix VIII, p. 394). On 8 November the Soviet foreign minister had delivered a long speech (Molotov 1955) in which he so flatly rejected the possibility of German reunification that the Western delegations decided that further discussion of this key item on the agenda was futile. It is not known whether Russell simply refrained from sending his letter or whether it was withheld from publication by the newspaper to which it was sent.

The copy-text is the typescript letter, dated 17 November 1955 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RAI 220.021391).

SIR,—The failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference, though regrettable, is not surprising. It seems to me to have resulted from the fact that all the Great Powers are out-of-date as regards military strategy. The peace of the world depends at present upon the fact that each side has the power to destroy the other, but not to defend itself. Each side would still retain this power if it sacrificed what used to be important strategical advantages. Germany may remain divided as at present; it may, as the West desires, be unified and become a member of NATO; or it may, as Russia would prefer, be unified as a disarmed and neutralized 10 State. Whichever of these three courses might be adopted, the Great Powers on both sides of the Iron Curtain would still be able to exterminate their

enemies. The whole problem of German unification has therefore not the international importance which the Big Four apparently believe that it has. Similar considerations apply to the British in Cyprus and the Americans in Formosa. It is therefore no longer worth while for either side to be insistent about such matters. If this were understood, agreement would become less difficult.—Yours etc.,

**BERTRAND RUSSELL.**

17 November, 1955. 20 41, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.

## The Dilemma of the West [1955]

THE GENESIS AND purpose of this hitherto unpublished paper are somewhat obscure. Nothing in Russell's correspondence indicates that he was preparing a broadcast on this theme for the BBC. Moreover, the typed note in the upper-left corner of the copy-text—"Not for publication"—implies that this typescript was either a draft to be reworked later or that Russell did not wish to publicize its frank, if not downright pessimistic, assessment of the international situation after the disappointing foreign ministers' conference in Geneva. As first dictated to Edith Russell, Paper 2 singled out the Soviet Union for particular criticism (see Textual Notes). Although the final version apportioned blame for the continuing Cold War impasse much more evenly between East and West, perhaps Russell was still disinclined to circulate this revised assessment. His closing statement that "it is to the existence of nuclear weapons on both sides that we owe the preservation of peace" (7:9–11) also strikes a discordant note with its implicit validation of the strategic doctrine of deterrence.

The copy-text is the typescript, dated 6 December 1955 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RAI 220.021410).

THE TWO GENEVA Conferences have left the Western Powers faced with an apparent deadlock from which the issue is by no means obvious. Broadly speaking, the Conference of Heads of State agreed that a great war would not profit anybody, and many people hoped that this would inaugurate a period of amicable co-existence. Others, however, interpreted the renunciation of war differently. If a great war is not to be feared, they saw no reason to pay any respect to the wishes of the other side and no limit to covert aggression. So long as the renunciation of war by one side but not by the other is considered absolute, there is no issue from the situation except the ultimate complete subjugation of the more peaceful side. So long as one side regards the other's reasonableness as merely an invitation to aggression, it is clear that that side must either go under or abandon its conciliatory attitude. If the threat of war is to be abandoned as a means of settling disputes, some other means must be found. The threat of war cannot be removed until both sides have agreed to some method of settling disputes. It is clear that no such method will be acceptable unless it provides that disputes shall be decided in a manner giving no important net advantage to either side. Another important condition is that there should be no powerful discontented group. A 20 third condition is that where the parties cannot reach agreement by direct negotiation, they should invite a neutral Power or group of Powers to offer an impartial solution. But until some such principles are adopted by East and West alike, the threat of war, however concealed and however much in the background, is the only alternative to absolute submission which is open to either side.

Such a policy is faced by a difficulty. It seems highly probable that a great war with modern weapons would do more harm than would be done by complete submission to the Communist Powers. A rational man therefore will not threaten war. What I think the Western Powers can say is 30 that, if they are irritated beyond a point, it is likely that

they will cease to be rational and will resist by force of arms at no matter what hazard. For this reason the Communist Powers, if they wish to avoid extermination not only of the West but of themselves, must practise a certain degree of moderation.

Meanwhile, until East and West have agreed on some peaceful method of settling disputes, the West would be very ill advised to diminish the strength of its defences.

The application of the above principles, especially that of giving no net advantage to either side, may involve some modification of Western as well as of Eastern policy. This is particularly true as regards Germany. To ask the Russians to abandon Eastern Germany is to demand a great sacrifice. The only adequate *quid pro quo* would be the neutralization of Germany under a collective guarantee. To ask the Russians to give up Eastern Germany while we expect united Germany to be a member of NATO, is to ask a sacrifice which could only be expected after defeat in war.

As regards nuclear weapons, the Russians demand that they should be renounced. This would be a very important military gain to the Russians owing to Russian superiority in man power and to their propinquity to Europe. I cannot think of any equal compensating gain to the West except the evacuation by Russian forces of all the Satellite States and the substitution in those States of Governments created by free election. This, of course, the Russians would never agree to. Meanwhile, it is to the existence of nuclear weapons on both sides that we owe the preservation of 10 peace.

### 3

## Science and Human Life [1955]

THIS PAPER OPENED *What Is Science?* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955; London: Victor Gollancz, 1956), a collection of twelve essays edited by James R. Newman (1907–1966), an American lawyer and government official who had sat on the editorial board of *Scientific American* since 1948. Newman also possessed expertise in two areas of special interest to Russell, namely mathematical logic and atomic energy policy. The book was described to Russell by Newman as “a survey for the general reader of knowledge in the main departments of science, with articles by persons in the forefront of each branch” (1 Dec. 1954). Russell’s contribution—pp. 6–17 (B&R B111)—is preceded by a three-page biographical sketch, written, presumably, by the editor. He had contacted Russell on 1 December 1954 to offer an initial payment of \$250 for a 3,000–5,000 word “unifying essay, dealing with the social bearings of science”. Russell accepted the commission five days later, describing Newman’s proposal as “attractive”. He had two alternative titles in mind when on 3 March 1955 he dictated these enumerated “Headings for Science and Society or Science and Human Life”:

- I Science has already changed society more than it has been changed in the previous 4,000 years, and it is likely to go on changing it with increasing speed.
- II Can one species adapt itself to such a change in the environment? Dinosaurs.
- III Exhaustion of soil and raw materials.
- IV War.
- V Labour and robots.
- VI Necessary limitations of freedom—e.g. power stations. Restraint of anarchic impulses.
- VII Effects of science not those intended by scientists who put tools in the hands of the unscientific. Power of producing social change not proportional to intellectual value.
- VIII Social responsibility of individual scientists? Cannot consider on each occasion whether new knowledge beneficial—but perhaps should sometimes.
- IX Is a scientific society compatible with art, etc.

When science has triumphed, shall we die of boredom?

Needn’t, but shall if we have not less strenuous values than heretofore—not paid only for work. (RAI 220.021280)

On 6 March 1955 he sent a typescript of his finished article to Newman’s Washington D.C. address. Newman next contacted Russell on 21 March to ask that he lengthen his contribution by a thousand words. As was his wont, Russell reminded Newman that his 3,351-word essay had not fallen short of the original request. But in this letter of 25 March he also made a practical suggestion for incorporating some additional text: “The only way I can see to expand the article is to say more about the responsibility of scientists in the matter of war, especially in the present world situation. This could be added to the paragraph ending with the word ‘moment’ {12:12} at the top of page 5 of

the typescript.” Newman was perfectly amenable to this proposal, although he did recommend that the insertion be made nearer the end of Russell’s current draft (see T12:12 and T15:21–18:3). A typed copy of the new material was mailed to Newman on 8 April, just prior to Russell’s departure for a conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Rome (see 53 in *Papers* 28).

This seems to have been Russell’s last contact with the paper until he corrected the galley proofs some four months later. A few changes were necessary, he explained to Newman on 19 August, “because some of the things which I hoped might happen at the time of writing have since happened. Events are moving so fast that it is difficult to keep pace with them in print”. These proofs are no longer extant, but the emendations that were made to take account of the appearance of the Russell-Einstein manifesto are indicated by the readings from the published version at T16:15, T16:17 and T16:18 (see also A16:15 and A16:17–18). *What Is Science?* was published in the United States on 10 December 1955. Newman was anticipating some healthy sales as rights to the symposium had been purchased by two book clubs, and by 30 December he had fielded “dozens of enquiries” regarding its distribution overseas. Russell’s pocket diary records the \$250 which he was advanced by Newman on his share of the royalties in March 1955 and additional remuneration was conceivably included in one of the payments received from Simon and Schuster in 1956.

The first, shorter version of this paper had been dictated to Edith Russell on 3 and 4 March 1955. In her hand there is also a dictated manuscript of the section that was added on 8 April (RAI 220.021280). At the same archival location are the typescript carbon and typescript carbon addition which together constitute the copy-text.

SCIENCE AND THE techniques to which it has given rise have changed human life during the last hundred and fifty years more than it had been changed since men took to agriculture, and the changes that are being wrought by science continue at an increasing speed. There is no sign of any new stability to be attained on some scientific plateau. On the contrary, there is every reason to think that the revolutionary possibilities of science extend immeasurably beyond what has so far been realized. Can the human race adjust itself quickly enough to these vertiginous transformations, or will it, as innumerable former species have done, perish from lack of adaptability? The dinosaurs were, in their day, the lords of creation, and if there had been philosophers among them not one would have foreseen that the whole race might perish. But they became extinct because they could not adapt themselves to a world without swamps. In the case of man and science, there is a wholly new factor, namely, that man himself is creating the changes of environment to which he will have to adjust himself with unprecedented rapidity. But, although man through his scientific skill is the cause of the changes of environment, most of these changes are not willed by human beings. Although they come about through human agencies, they have, or at any rate have had so far, something of the inexorable inevitability of natural forces. Whether Nature dried up the swamps or men deliberately drained them, makes little difference as regards the ultimate result. Whether men will be able to survive the changes of environment that their own skill has brought about is an open question. If the answer is in the affirmative, it will be known some day; if not, not. If the answer is to be in the affirmative, men will have to apply scientific ways of thinking to themselves and their institutions. They cannot continue to hope, as all politicians hitherto have, that, in a world where everything has changed, the political and social habits of the eighteenth century can remain inviolate. Not only will men of science have to grapple with the sciences that deal with man, but—and this is a far more

difficult matter—they will have to persuade the world to listen to what they have discovered. If they cannot succeed in this difficult enterprise, man will destroy himself by his half-way cleverness. I am told that, if he were out of the way, the future would lie with rats. I hope they will find it a pleasant world, but I am glad I shall not be there.

But let us pass from these generalities to more specific questions.

One of the most obvious problems raised by a scientific technique is that of the exhaustion of the soil and of raw materials. This subject has been much discussed, and some Governments have actually taken some 40 steps to prevent the denudation of the soil. But I doubt whether, as yet, the good done by these measures is outweighing the harm done in less careful regions. Food, however, is such an obvious necessity that the problem is bound to receive increasing attention as population pressure makes it more urgent. Whether this increased attention will do good or harm in the long run is, I fear, questionable. By a spendthrift use of fertilizers, food production in the present can be increased at the cost of food production in the future. Can you imagine a politician going to his constituents and saying: “Ladies and Gentlemen, it is in your power to have abundance of food for the next thirty years, but the measures that will give you this abundance will cause scarcity for your grandchildren. I am therefore proposing measures to insure frugality in the present in order to avoid famine in the somewhat distant future.” Is it possible to believe that a politician who said this would win elections against one less addicted to foresight? I hardly think so, unless the general level of political intelligence and virtue can be very considerably increased.

The question of raw materials is more difficult and complex than the question of food. The raw materials required at one stage of technique are different from those required at another. It may be that by the time the world’s supply of oil is exhausted, atomic power will have taken its place. But to this sort of process there is a limit, though not an easily assignable one. At present there is a race for uranium, and it would seem likely that before very long there will be no easily accessible source of uranium. If, when that happens, the world has come to depend upon nuclear energy as its main source of power, the result may be devastating. All such speculations are of course very questionable, since new techniques may always make it possible to dispense with formerly necessary raw materials. But we cannot get away from the broad fact that we are living upon the world’s capital of stored energy and are transforming the energy at a continually increasing rate into forms in which it cannot be utilized. Such a manner of life can hardly be stable, but must sooner or later bring the penalty that lies in wait for those who live on capital.

In primitive times, when the human population of the globe was small, such problems did not arise. Agriculture, it is true, was practised in ways that exhausted the soil for a time, but there were usually new vacant lands available; and if there were not, the corpses of enemies sufficed as fertilizers. The system was “conservative” in the physicists’ sense. That is to say, energy on the whole accumulated as fast as it was used. Now, this is not the case; and, so far as one can see, it will never be the case while scientific technique continues.

All this however, you may say, is distant and doubtful: we have more pressing matters to consider. This is true, and I will proceed to consider some of them.

The problem which most preoccupies the public mind at the present moment is that of scientific warfare. It has become evident that, if scientific skill is allowed free scope, the human race will be exterminated, if not in the next war, then in the next but one or the next but two—at any rate at no very distant date. To this problem there are two possible

reactions: there are those who say, "let us create social institutions which will make large-scale war impossible"; there are others who say, "let us not allow war to become *too* scientific. We cannot perhaps go back to bows and arrows, but let us at any rate agree with our enemies that, if we fight them, both sides will fight inefficiently." For my part, I favour the former answer, since I cannot see that either side could be expected to observe an agreement not to use modern weapons if once war had broken out. It is on this ground that I do not think that there will long continue to be human beings unless methods are found of permanently preventing large-scale wars. But this is a serious question as to which I will say no more at the moment. I shall return to it presently.

The substitution of machines for human labour raises problems which are likely to become acute in the not very distant future. These problems are not new. They began with the Industrial Revolution, which ruined large numbers of skilled and industrious handicraftsmen, inflicting upon them hardships that they had in no way deserved and that they bitterly resented. But their troubles were transitory: they died; and such of their children as survived sought other occupations. The sufferers had no political power and were not able to offer any effective resistance to "progress". Now-a-days, in democratic countries, the political situation is different and wage-earners cannot be expected to submit tamely to starvation. But if we are to believe Norbert Wiener's book on Cybernetics—and I see no reason why we should not—it should soon be possible to keep up the existing level of production with a very much smaller number of workers. The more economical methods, one may suppose, would be introduced during a war while the workers were at the front, if such a war were not quickly ended by H-bomb extermination, and when the survivors returned their former jobs would no longer be available. The social discontent resulting from such a situation would be very grave. It could be dealt with in a totalitarian country, but a democracy could only deal with it by radical changes in its social philosophy and even in its ethics. Work has been thought to be a duty, but in such a situation there would be little work to do and duty would have to take new forms.

Changes in political philosophy are necessary for several reasons. One of the most important is that modern techniques make society more organic in the sense that its parts are more interdependent and an injury to one individual or group is more likely than it formerly was to cause injury to other individuals or groups. It is easier to kill a man than to kill a sponge because he is more highly organized and more centralized. In like manner it is easier to inflict vital damage upon a scientific community than upon a community of nomads or scattered peasants. This increase of inter-dependence makes it necessary to limit freedom in various ways which liberals in the past considered undesirable. There are two spheres in which such limitation is especially necessary: the one is in economics; and the other, in the relation between States.

Take economics first. Suppose, as is not improbable, that most of the power used in industry comes to be distributed from a fairly small number of atomic power-stations, and suppose that the men working in these stations retained the right to strike. They could completely paralyze the industrial life of a nation and could levy almost unlimited blackmail in the form of demands for higher wages. No community would tolerate such a state of affairs. The workers in power-stations would have to have under-10 studies like actors in a theatre, and the forces of the State would have to be employed if necessary to enable the under-studies to replace workers on strike. Another example, which war has already brought to the fore, is the supply and use of raw materials. Whenever raw materials are scarce their distribution has to be controlled and not left to the free play of

unfettered economic forces. Scarcity of this sort has hitherto been thought of as a transitory phenomenon due to the needs and ravages of war. But it is likely to remain, in regard to many essentials, a normal condition of highly developed industry. Some central authority for the allocation of raw materials must therefore be expected as a necessary limitation of economic freedom. Another unavoidable limitation comes from the vastness of some obviously desirable enterprises. To bring fertility to the interior of Australia and to parts of Siberia is almost certainly possible, but only by an expenditure far beyond the capacity of private enterprise. One may expect that the progress of science will increase the number of such possible enterprises. Perhaps it will be possible in time to make the Sahara rainy, or even to make Northern Canada warm. But, if such things become possible, they will be possible only for whole communities and not for private corporations.

Even more important than the limitations of economic liberty are the limitations on the liberty of States. The liberal doctrine of nationality, which was preached by liberals before 1848 and embodied in the Treaty of Versailles by President Wilson, had its justification as a protest against alien domination. But to allow *complete* liberty to any national State is just as anarchic as it would be to allow complete liberty to an individual. There are things which an individual must not do because the criminal law forbids them. The law and the police are in most cases strong enough to prevent such things from being done: murderers are a very small percentage of the population of any civilized country. But the relations between States are not governed by law and cannot be until there is a supra-national armed force strong enough to enforce the decisions of a supranational authority. In the past, although the wars resulting from international anarchy caused much suffering and destruction, mankind was able to survive them, and, on the whole, the risks of war were thought less irksome than the controls that would be necessary to prevent it. This is ceasing to be true. The risks of war have become so great that the continued existence of our species either has become or soon will become incompatible with the new methods of scientific destruction.

The new dangers resulting from our more organic society call for certain changes in the kind of character that is admired. The bold buccaneer, or the great conqueror such as Alexander or Napoleon, has been admired and is still admired although the world can no longer afford this type of character. We come here upon a difficulty. It is a good thing that people should be adventurous and that there should be scope for individual enterprise; but the adventure and enterprise, if they are not to bring total disaster, must steer clear of certain fields in which they were formerly possible. You may still, without harm to your fellow men, wish to be the first man to reach the moon. You may wish to be a great poet or a great composer or a man who advances the boundaries of scientific knowledge. Such adventure injures no one. But if Napoleon is your ideal, you must be restrained. Certain kinds of anarchic self-assertion, which are splendid in the literature of tragedy, have come to involve too much risk. A motorist alone on an empty road may drive as he pleases, but in crowded traffic he must obey the rules. More and more the lives of individuals come to resemble the motorist in traffic rather than the lonely driver in an empty desert.

I come at last to a question which is causing considerable concern and perplexity to many men of science, namely: what is their social duty towards this new world that they have been creating? I do not think this question is easy or simple. The pure man of science, as such, is concerned with the advancement of knowledge, and in his professional moments he takes it for granted that the advancement of knowledge is

desirable. But 30 inevitably he finds himself casting his pearls before swine. Men who do not understand his scientific work can utilize the knowledge that he provides. The new techniques to which it gives rise often have totally unexpected effects. The men who decide what use shall be made of the new techniques are not necessarily possessed of any exceptional degree of wisdom. They are mainly politicians whose professional skill consists in knowing how to play upon the emotions of masses of men. The emotions which easily sway masses are very seldom the best of which the individuals composing the masses are capable. And so the scientist finds that he has unintentionally placed new powers in the hands of reckless men. He may 40 easily come to doubt, in moments of depression or overwork, whether the world would not be a happier place if science did not exist. He knows that science gives power and that the power which it gives could be used to increase human welfare; but he knows also that very often it is used, not so, but in the very opposite direction. Is he on this account to view himself as an unintentional malefactor?

I do not think so. I think we must retain the belief that scientific knowledge is one of the glories of man. I will not maintain that knowledge can never do harm. I think such general propositions can almost always be refuted by well-chosen examples. What I will maintain—and maintain vigorously—is that knowledge is very much more often useful than harmful and that fear of knowledge is very much more often harmful than useful. Suppose you are a scientific pioneer and you make some discovery of great scientific importance, and suppose you say to yourself, “I am 10 afraid this discovery will do harm”: you know that other people are likely to make the same discovery if they are allowed suitable opportunities for research; you must therefore, if you do not wish the discovery to become public, either discourage your sort of research or control publication by a Board of Censors. Nine times out of ten, the Board of Censors will object to knowledge that is in fact useful—e.g., knowledge concerning contraceptives—rather than to knowledge that would in fact be harmful. It is very difficult to foresee the social effects of new knowledge, and it is very easy from the sheer force of habit to shrink from new knowledge such as might promote new kinds of behaviour. 20

Apart from the more general duties of scientists towards society, they have a quite special and exceptional duty in the present critical condition of the world. All men of science who have studied thermo-nuclear warfare are aware of two superlatively important facts: first, that whatever agreements may have been reached to the contrary, thermo-nuclear weapons will certainly be employed by both sides in a world war; second, that if such weapons are employed there can be no hope of victory for either side, but only of universal destruction involving, quite possibly, the end of all human and animal life and almost certainly, failing that, a complete reversion to barbarism. A great war with thermo-nuclear weapons will not pro30 duce a universal victory of Communism. It will also not produce the sort of world desired by the Western Powers. Nor will it give opportunity for the independent flourishing of South-East Asia or Africa. Radio-active clouds, borne by the wind, will not respect frontiers and will ignore the legal rights of Neutrals. In view of this prospect, there is one matter upon which the interests of the whole world coincide. Whether you are a Communist or an anti-Communist, an inhabitant of Asia or Europe or America, a White, Brown, Yellow or Black man, your interests are exactly the same as those of the rest of the human race. Your paramount interest, if you are aware of the situation, must be to preserve the existence of man-40 kind by preventing a great war. It is clearly the duty of men of science to bring the facts home, as far as lies in their power, to the Governments and Peoples of both East and

West. This is no easy task. The Governments of both East and West, whether from ignorance or from motives of prestige, are engaged in trying to persuade their populations that thermo-nuclear weapons will destroy the enemy but not themselves. *The Red Star*, the official military organ of the Soviet Government, published several articles on methods of defence against thermo-nuclear weapons. These articles were so absurd that one could hardly believe their authors to be sincere. It seemed obvious that the purpose of the articles was to deceive people in Russia as to the perils to which they would be exposed. I am afraid that the schemes for civil defence put forward in America and Britain are 10 equally misleading. I hope that this is because the authorities are ignorant and not because they are dishonest.

Clearly, scientists both of the East and of the West have an imperative duty: namely, the duty of bringing home to the protagonists the fact that the time is past for swashbuckling and boasting and campaigns of bluff which, if the bluff is called, can end only in utter disaster. I have been glad to see a lead given by a small number of men of science of the highest eminence, representing many countries and all creeds, Americans, Western Europeans, Poles and Japanese. I have rejoiced to see these men issue a clear statement as to what is likely to happen in a great war; and I should 20 wish them to invite all other men of science, in all countries, to subscribe to this statement.

I am aware that this will involve a very high degree of heroism and self-sacrifice. But there will be a reward which brave men should find sufficient: the reward of preserving uprightness and self-respect in the face of danger. These virtues are common in battle, and men of science should be able to show them also in a conflict with ignorance and ferocity. Science has fought great fights in former centuries against the embattled forces of obscurantism. In the nineteenth century it seemed as though science were victorious, but the victory is in danger of proving illusory. If science is to 30 do its duty by mankind, men of science must once again face martyrdom and obloquy and the accusation of indifference to moral values. Perhaps their prestige may suffice to save them from the worst penalties for their courage, but of this we cannot be confident. What we can say with confidence is that it is not worth while to prolong a slavish and cowardly existence for a few miserable years while those who know the magnitude of the impending catastrophe wait for that radio-active death that is in store for them as well as for others.

A difficult re-adjustment in the scientists' conception of duty is imperatively necessary. As Lord Adrian said in his address to the British Association, "Unless we are ready to give up some of our old loyalties, we may be forced into a fight which might end the human race." This matter of loyalty is the crux. Hitherto, in the East and in the West alike, most scientists, like most other people, have felt that loyalty to their own State is paramount. They have no longer a right to feel this. Loyalty to the human race must take its place. Everyone in the West will at once admit this as regards Soviet scientists. We are shocked that Kapitza, who was Rutherford's favourite pupil, was willing, when the Soviet Government refused him permission to return to Cambridge, to place his scientific skill at the disposal of those who wished to spread Communism by means of H-bombs. We do not so readily apprehend a similar failure of duty on our own side. I do not wish to be thought to suggest treachery, since that is only a transference of loyalty to another national State. I am suggesting a 10 very different thing: that scientists the world over should join in enlightening mankind as to the perils of a great war and in devising methods for its prevention. I urge with all the emphasis at my disposal that this is the duty of scientists in East and West alike. It is a difficult duty, and one likely to entail penalties for those who perform it. But, after all, it is the labours of scientists which

have caused the danger and on this account, if on no other, scientists must do everything in their power to save mankind from the madness which they have made possible.

Science from the dawn of history, and probably longer, has been intimately associated with war. I imagine that when our ancestors descended from the trees they were victorious over the arboreal conservatives because flints were sharper than coconuts. To come to more recent times, Archimedes was respected for his scientific defence of Syracuse against the Romans; Leonardo obtained employment under the Duke of Milan because of his skill in fortification, though he did mention in a postscript that he could also paint a bit; Galileo similarly derived an income from the Grand Duke of Tuscany because of his skill in calculating the trajectories of projectiles. In the French Revolution, those scientists who were not guillotined devoted themselves to making new explosives. There is therefore no departure from tradition in the present-day scientists' manufacture of A-bombs and H-bombs. All that is new is the extent of their destructive skill.

I do not think that men of science can cease to regard the disinterested pursuit of knowledge as their primary duty. It is true that new knowledge and new skills are sometimes harmful in their effects, but scientists cannot profitably take account of this fact since the effects are impossible to foresee. We cannot blame Columbus because the discovery of the Western Hemisphere spread throughout the Eastern Hemisphere an appallingly devastating plague. Nor can we blame James Watt for the Dust Bowl, although if there had been no steam engines and no railways the West would not have been so carelessly or so quickly cultivated. To see that knowledge is wisely used is primarily the duty of statesmen, not of men of science; but it is part of the duty of men of science to see that important knowledge is widely disseminated and is not falsified in the interests of this or that propaganda.

Scientific knowledge has its dangers; but so has every great thing. And over and beyond the dangers with which it threatens the present, it opens up as nothing else can the vision of a possible happy world, a world without poverty, without war, with little illness. And, what is perhaps more than all, when science has mastered the forces which mould human character, it will be able to produce populations in which few suffer from destructive fierceness and in which the great majority regard other people, not as competitors to be feared, but as helpers in a common task. Science has only recently begun to apply itself to human beings, except in their purely physical aspect. Such science as exists in psychology and anthropology has hardly begun to affect political behaviour or private ethics. The minds of men remain attuned to a world that is fast disappearing. The changes in our physical environment require, if they are to bring wellbeing, correlative changes in our beliefs and habits. If we cannot effect these changes, we shall suffer the fate of the dinosaurs who could not live on dry land. I think it is the duty of science—I do not say of every individual man of science—to study the means by which we can adapt ourselves to the new world. There are certain things that the world quite obviously needs: Tentativeness, as opposed to dogmatism, in our beliefs; an expectation of co-operation, rather than competition, in social relations; a lessening of envy and collective hatred. These are things which education could produce without much difficulty. They are not things adequately sought in the education of the present day.

It is to progress in the human sciences that we must look to undo the evils which have resulted from a knowledge of the physical world hastily and superficially acquired by populations unconscious of the changes in themselves that the new knowledge has

made imperative. The road to a happier world than any known in the past lies open before us if atavistic destructive passions can be kept in leash while the necessary adaptations are made. Fears are inevitable in our time, but hopes are equally rational and far more likely to bear good fruit. We must learn to think rather less of the dangers to be avoided than of the good that will lie within our grasp if we can believe in it and let it dominate our thoughts. Science, whatever unpleasant consequences it may have by the way, is in its very nature a liberator, a liberator of bondage to physical nature and, in time to come, a liberator from the weight of destructive passions. We are on the threshold of utter disaster or unprecedentedly glorious achievement. No previous age has been fraught with problems so momentous; and it is to science that we must look for a happy issue.



## 4

# Nuclear Weapons and World Peace [1956]

THIS TYPICALLY STARK presentation of the nuclear peril and of Russell's preferred response to it—United Nations reform as a step towards more thoroughgoing world government—was published in Japanese in *Sangyo Keizai Shimbun*, c. 1 Jan. 1956 (B&R C56.01). Kitigawa Masao, the chief London correspondent of this Tokyo daily, had offered Russell thirty pounds for this contribution, as well as an opportunity to write for “one of the four big papers in Japan”, with a circulation exceeding two million (29 Nov. 1955). The translated, published text has not been located, but a letter from the newspaper dated 18 November 1957 refers to a piece by Russell in “our new year's edition of 1956”, entitled “The Atomic Age and the World Peace”.

The copy-text is the typescript carbon, dated 14 December 1955 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RAI 220.022030).

THE H-BOMB, AS it is generally called, would be more accurately described as the fission-fusion-fission bomb. It consists of a kernel of uranium 235 surrounded by a mass of heavy hydrogen, the whole enclosed in a shell of ordinary uranium. The kernel of uranium 235 is kept in two separated parts which explode when they are brought together. The heat of the explosion causes the hydrogen to turn into helium, releasing in the process enormous quantities of energy. This energy makes the ordinary uranium in the shell radio-active. The radio-active particles thus generated fall slowly and may remain lethal for a long time.

10 The damage done by an H-bomb is of three kinds. In the first moment of the explosion even one of the largest cities in the world may be obliterated causing many millions of deaths. This stage is followed throughout days or weeks or even months by the danger of radio-active fall-out which, according to the best authorities, may easily cover an area of a hundred thousand square miles. Then there is a third danger which is as yet more or less conjectural: I mean the danger of genetic damage. The radiation resulting from the explosion of an H-bomb is liable to cause harmful mutations in genes leading to sterility, idiocy or some dreadful kind of monstrosity.

20 It is reckoned that some ten of these bombs could wipe out Great Britain or Japan. A larger number would be needed to wipe out the United States or Russia, but there is no reason to suppose that this larger number would not be forthcoming. Nor will the disaster be confined to belligerents. The radio-active clouds will drift with the wind and are likely to devastate even those countries that have most scrupulously preserved their neutrality. Many of the best scientific authorities think that a great war employing these weapons is not unlikely to put an end to human and animal life throughout our planet.

What can be done to stop this horror? I do not think it can be stopped 30 by force since any employment of force would be sure to lead to the very disaster that was to be averted. The only hope is to make the Governments and people of the world aware that their objects, whatever they may be, can no longer be achieved by war. To exterminate the human race will not serve the purposes of the Communists or of the anti-Communists or of the uncommitted nations. Some method other than war must therefore be found for

settling disputed questions. This will require the creation of an international arbitrating authority to whose decisions nations in disagreement will agree to submit. The United Nations might become such a body if it were rendered world-wide and the veto were abolished. If this 40 were achieved, I should suggest that the reformed United Nations should in every case of dispute appoint a small commission consisting of representatives of the two sides in equal numbers and also representatives of disinterested nations. The disinterested nations would thus hold the balance and one might hope that the decisions arrived at would be impartial.

A commission such as I have suggested should be governed by three principles in any compromise that it might suggest. First: there should, if possible, be no net advantage to either disputant or, if there were, it should be reduced to a minimum. Second: territorial changes should, as far as possible, take place only in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants concerned. Third: there should be an endeavour to avoid points of friction such as are now causing trouble in the relations of Israel to surrounding States. In such cases the International Authority should fix frontiers and establish troops along them to make sure of their being respected 10 by both sides.

Such proposals may sound Utopian and will certainly remain so until international tensions are relaxed, but I think that a little reflection will show the impossibility of preserving the human race by any less drastic method. There are those who think that a great deal would have been achieved if H-bombs were banned by international agreement and the nations which at present possess them were induced to destroy their stock. Considered as a solution this suggestion is open to two objections: first, that no practicable method of inspection can make it certain that bombs are not being manufactured secretly; second, that even if the ban were 20 faithfully observed in time of peace, no Power would consider it binding in time of war, so that if war broke out H-bombs would at once be manufactured on both sides. Nothing will avert the peril of universal death except the avoidance of war. And if war is to be avoided, not only for the next year or two but throughout any foreseeable future, it will be imperatively necessary to find some machinery other than war or the threat of war by which vexed questions can be decided.

The same reasons which make the prohibition of H-bombs inadequate also make reduction of armaments no more than a temporary palliative. Let us suppose, as an extreme hypothesis, that all the nations of the world 30 had disarmed completely. That would not prevent war from breaking out, nor would it make war less destructive than if nations had been fully armed at the beginning. The only effect would be to make the war last longer until the combatants had re-created their former armaments.

As soon as we consider the matter without the partisan passions to which all of us are liable, it is obvious that what is needed is the very thing that has been achieved within each separate State: namely, the substitution of force directed by law for force directed by anarchic passion. International law, enforced by an international police, is the only method by which war can be permanently prevented. To many people the idea of 40 submitting their country to the decisions of an international authority is distasteful, but if they clearly understood that the only alternative is the extinction of the human race they might learn to overcome their distaste. This, at any rate so far as I can see, is the only long-run hope for mankind.

I should not wish to appeal only to fear. The appeal to hope is, to my mind, even more powerful. The enmities between nations are silly. The burden of armaments and the fear of war needlessly darken men's lives. Relieved of these follies and fears, the human race

could learn a new happiness, a new mental freedom, and a new hope of lessening the burden of poverty and pain which has weighed down the majority of our species since civilization began. If this hope can become vivid in the imagination of men, they will insist with overwhelming force on putting an end to the 10 murderous follies of our time.



## 5

### How to Avoid Nuclear Warfare [1956]

THIS PAPER WAS first published as “How to Avoid a Nuclear War”, *Everybody’s Weekly*, London, 21 Jan. 1956, pp. 9–11 (B&R C56.01a). The magazine’s slightly modified rendering of Russell’s title was preceded by a surtitle, “Bertrand Russell Challenges the Great Powers”, which was also used as the title for the reprint in *The Times of India*, 5 Feb. 1956, p. 8. Excerpts also appeared in a critical commentary on Russell’s piece by “Outspoken” in the Karachi journal *New Era* (“Bertrand Russell Challenges Great Powers” 10 March 1956, pp. 6, 10, 12), and the whole article had already been published in Spanish as “Bertrand Russell emplaza a las grandes potencias”, *La Republica*, Bogota, 12 Feb. 1956.

Russell had twice turned down article requests from *Everybody’s Weekly* since January 1955, when he completed a four-part series on “The World in 2000 A.D.” (36 in *Papers* 28). Although Russell was still much sought after as a writer on such light topics of general interest, he no longer relished these “pot-boiling” assignments— notwithstanding the handsome remuneration which they often brought. When asked by John Hone, the editor of *Everybody’s Weekly*, to tackle the subject of “Satellites and Space Travel”, Russell had replied that he was “fully occupied with problems arising out of nuclear warfare. I am prepared to write about such problems but not about other matters” (6 Aug. 1955). Hone had no better luck when a few days later he suggested that “The Peaceful Atom” might be worthy of Russell’s attention (the UN Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was in session at that time in Geneva). Four months later, however, Russell accepted after being approached by Hone for a third time, on this occasion with a request “to write on the topic which is engaging your attention—i.e., nuclear warfare”. The editor of this popular weekly magazine explained that he intended “to invite certain prominent people to write on topics of outstanding interest to themselves—in other words, we throw open our pages to the persons concerned and give them a free hand” (2 Dec. 1955).

On the first leaf of the manuscript dictated to Edith Russell on 9 December 1955 are the following headings, also dictated: “1) Perils of nuclear warfare; 2) Stalemate; 3) Machinery for settling disputes; 4) Principles for settling disputes.” At the same archival location (RAI 220.022010) is the combination typescript and typescript carbon copy-text.

THE INVENTION OF nuclear weapons, if it is not to lead to disaster, requires a revolution not only in military strategy but also in the whole conduct of international relations. It used to be thought by the statesmen who controlled military affairs that everything was quite simple: you merely had to be stronger than your adversary. In that case, if he was sensible, he would preserve the peace; and if he was foolish, he would be defeated. But now it has become easy for each side to have enough bombs to secure the total destruction of the other side. When this point has been reached, nothing is to be gained by having more bombs 10 than your adversary. There is what may be called a saturation point which is the point at which you can be sure of exterminating your enemy. Any bombs that you may have left after that are useless. It is fairly clear that both East

and West will have reached saturation point within a few years, if they have not already reached it. And it is probable that the destructive effects of a large number of nuclear bombs would be felt in neutral countries as well as by belligerents. A large-scale war therefore has become suicidal folly not only for those who take part in it but also for on-lookers.

There are those who think that the situation can be dealt with by forbidding nuclear weapons and thus leaving us free to enjoy pleasant little 20 conflicts such as the two world wars which we have already experienced. This proposal is futile for two reasons: first that no system of inspection which has a chance of being accepted could make it certain that bombs were not being manufactured secretly; and second that, even if neither side possessed nuclear weapons at the outbreak of war, each side would immediately set to work to manufacture them whatever agreements to the contrary might exist. It must therefore be taken as nearly certain that in any great war both sides will employ the most destructive weapons that science can produce.

Although this situation is clear, it cannot be taken as certain that a great 30 war will not break out. If either side were to presume too rashly upon the unwillingness of the other to go to war, tempers might be irritated to the point where rational considerations would no longer prevail. If the universal destructiveness of war is to prove an effective deterrent, each side will have to make it clear that it will respect what the other side considers to be its vital interests. This will require new machinery and new principles. The Geneva Conference of Heads of State agreed that a great war must be avoided. The subsequent Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers found itself totally unable to decide any of the questions in dispute or even to suggest a way by which they might be decided. Diplomacy, ever since 40 there was such an art, has depended upon war or the threat of war. If that is removed, diplomats are at a loss how to proceed.

If vexed questions are to be solved in spite of a mutual determination not to resort to war, certain principles will have to be accepted by both sides. The most imperative of these will be that solutions of vexed questions must, as far as possible, not give any net advantage to either side for, if they do, the other side will refuse to accept them. A second principle, which cannot be applied absolutely but only where it is practically feasible, is that territorial adjustments should respect the wishes of the inhabitants. There is at present no nation in the world which accepts this principle. The Russians reject it as regards Eastern Germany, the British reject it in Cyprus, and all countries equally reject it in Formosa where the wishes of the inhabitants are totally unknown and are not considered by anybody to be relevant. I think that the three questions just mentioned, namely those 10 of Eastern Germany, Cyprus and Formosa, are rendered unnecessarily intractable by the fact that both sides cling to obsolete notions of strategy. Both sides are still thinking of what might be advantageous in a war if it were an old-fashioned war, although in a modern war the advantage would be nil. If each side can drop a large number of nuclear bombs on the other, many places formerly strategically important cease to be so. From England, Greenland, Iceland and Northern Canada, bombs could be dropped on Russia even if Cyprus were evacuated. From Moscow bombs could be dropped upon Western Europe and America if Eastern Germany and even all Russia's European Satellites were evacuated by the 20 Communists. Both sides are still seeking what would formerly have been positions of vantage in a war although such positions have lost their former importance. If this were realized both in the East and in the West, agreements might become much less difficult to reach. A third principle that ought to be born in mind in negotiations between East and West is the diminution of points of

friction. Take as an important example the relations of Israel to the surrounding Arab States. The only way in which these relations can be prevented from being a source of international danger is to have a firm agreement of all the Great Powers as to what the frontiers are to be between Israel and the Arab States and an undertaking to preserve these frontiers inviolate by force of arms if need be.

If these three principles were accepted, it would remain to find machinery for implementing them. Wherever possible they should be settled by direct negotiation between the parties concerned. But when, as would often happen, direct negotiation proved abortive, there would be need of some impartial arbitrating body. One would naturally look to the United Nations as the source from which such a body would derive its authority, but the United Nations as at present constituted cannot be regarded as impartial owing to the exclusion of Communist China. Communist China is the most populous State in the world and may before long become as powerful as Russia or the United States. While it is excluded from the United Nations that organization cannot be regarded as giving a fair representation of world opinion. The argument for the admission of Communist China has nothing to do with the merits or demerits of that Power, but merely with its existence and influence. In addition to Communist China there is Japan which is still excluded. The admission of Japan together with Communist China would render the United Nations fit to become gradually a World Authority for the settlement of disputes.

I think the Powers ought to agree that when a question cannot be settled by direct negotiation the United Nations should appoint a commission to suggest a compromise. The Commission should have representatives of both parties in equal numbers and also representatives of 10 Neutrals. This Commission should draw up a solution conforming as nearly as possible to the above three principles. I imagine that at first the disputing Powers would refuse to be bound in advance by the findings of the Commission, but in time, if the work were skilfully performed, the moral authority of an impartial pronouncement would become more and more difficult to resist. In this way a World Authority could grow up gradually without the need of formally coercive powers and, in time, submission to its findings would be taken as a matter of course. So far as I can see, this is the most hopeful and practicable method of preserving world peace.

20 The hydrogen bomb, while it has brought unprecedented dangers, has also justified unprecedented hopes. Never before, since there first were organized States, has there been any real possibility of abolishing war. Such a possibility does now exist. I think few people realize that, if the fear of war were removed, the world could quickly become a paradise. With modern techniques it would not be difficult to put an end to poverty, even in the countries where it is worst. And if the fear which now darkens the lives of us all, and the hate, which is at once the cause and the effect of fear, were removed from men's thoughts and feelings, the energy which now runs into destruction would find constructive outlets and daily life would be filled with a new joy. I see in my mind's eye a great wave of happiness sweeping over the human race as the old night of hate and fear becomes dispersed. I see a new Golden Age the like of which has never been known since history began. All this is possible. It needs only that men should choose to live rather than die.



## Prospects for the Next Half Century [1956]

THIS PAPER WAS prepared for a series of talks entitled “The Frontiers of Knowledge and Humanity’s Hope for the Future”. They were intended for broadcast worldwide in thirty-nine languages by the Voice of America. The purpose of the symposium and guidelines for participants were outlined to Russell by Theodore Streibert, director of the United States Information Agency (USIA).

We believe that an international project of this nature should bring to bear, on the problems and prospects that lie ahead in the major fields of human endeavor, the wisdom and vision of the best minds of the age.

Such a symposium must turn to those world-renowned figures whose contributions in special fields have been notable. Because of your own contributions to the thinking of our times, we feel that the undertaking would be incomplete without your participation. Our request is for a written statement embodying your view of the problems ahead in international morality and man’s treatment of man during the second half of this century, and your appraisal of how these problems will be faced. (26 Jan. 1956)

It is not clear, however, whether Russell’s talk was ever broadcast. A note by Edith Russell on the typescript carbon copy-text suggests that it was at least recorded (on 12 March 1956), but further correspondence from Streibert on 21 June indicates that the symposium had still not aired. This was not the first time that Russell had been courted by the United States’ overseas information bureaucracy. In November 1954 he had approved publication of his Nobel Prize acceptance speech in *Kontinente*, an Austrian journal subsidized by the United States Foreign Service and over which an American official, Warren M. Robbins, exercised “editorial supervision” (19 Nov. 1954).

Forged as an instrument of war propaganda in 1942, the Voice of America had suffered severe budget cuts in the immediate post-war period but had been revitalized after passage of the Smith-Mundt Act in 1948. This legislation was a sign of resurgent congressional and executive commitment to the dissemination of official publicity abroad. The bulk of its enhanced resources were shifted towards foreignlanguage broadcasting, which targeted the Soviet bloc and Communist China in particular and was characterized by an increasingly strident anti-Communist tone (see Shulman 1990, 189). But the Voice of America was also affected by Cold War pressures of a different kind, and in February 1953 it was targeted by Joseph McCarthy’s Senate Subcommittee on Investigations. No evidence of subversion was produced, but the unfavourable publicity prompted a thoroughgoing review of all foreign propaganda activity (see A164:6). With Eisenhower’s strong support, in August 1953 overall control was shifted from the International Information Administration, which had reported to the State Department, to the new agency headed by Streibert. One of its most ambitious campaigns had been orchestrated around the President’s vaunted “Atoms for Peace” proposal to the United Nations of December 1953. More generally, beginning in the mid-1950s the United States Information Agency assumed a greater prominence in “the Eisenhower

administration's determination to put a positive spin on its nuclear activities..." (Wittner 1997, 154). The Voice of America (although not the myriad of US-backed but nominally independent foreign-language broadcasters) began to tone down its Cold War rhetoric as it tried to acquire "a dignified official voice modelled after the more prestigious BBC" (Hixon 1997, 55). While the chief themes of American propaganda remained the same—discrediting communism and exalting capitalism and democracy—the USIA "increasingly focused on developing a long-term evolutionary approach to undermining C{ommunist}P{arty} authority" (*ibid.*, 122).

The copy-text is the typescript carbon, dated 8 March 1956 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RAI 220.022070).

THERE is EVERY reason to expect that the near future will prove an unusually momentous time in human history and that mankind will either make an upward move toward a new level of general well-being or a downward plunge into unprecedented disaster. The responsibility for the choice rests partly on public opinion but even more upon the leading statesmen of the world.

The grounds for both hope and fear are due to modern science.

The most important reason for hope is based upon the possibility of the peaceful use of atomic energy which, if wisely applied, can put an end to poverty throughout the world while, at the same time, obviating the need for excessive hours of labour. Another new hope, though not as yet a very immediate one, is that, from a realization of the total destructiveness of nuclear warfare, the Powers may be led to establish a world government with complete control of all atomic weapons. A third reason for hopefulness is the progress of medicine: even in many under-developed countries the death rate has been reduced in recent years to a level below what anyone would have considered possible twenty-five years ago.

For each of these reasons for hope there is a correlative reason for fear. Nuclear energy, if let loose in a global war, may quite possibly put an end to the human race, or, alternatively, may leave a remnant suffering from such drastic genetic damage as to be incapable of carrying on any beneficent human activity. Instead of world government we may get an intensification of national rivalries, with nuclear weapons in the hands of a hundred irresponsible petty States. The fall in the death rate, if it is not soon followed by an equal fall in the birth rates of all under-developed countries, will produce a crisis of over-population that will swamp all improvements of technique and leave Asia and Africa to the alternatives of abject poverty or world conquest.

Asia and Africa, throughout the last five centuries, have been at the mercy of the White Man, and it cannot be said that the White Man has used his power wisely. Such things as the slave trade, the opium war, and King Leopold's regime in the Congo are not easily forgiven. The power of the White Man in Asia and Africa, though not yet completely at an end, is rapidly diminishing, and cannot be preserved owing to the struggle between Russia and the West. We must hope that the example of India will be followed by the other countries that have achieved emancipation or will shortly do so, but it cannot be denied that they might seek vengeance for the centuries of oppression that they have suffered by inflicting centuries of equal suffering upon their former masters.

If Asia and Africa are to deal peacefully with the problems arising from their emancipation they must be helped, as they wish to be, to achieve a new balance between births and deaths. At present the population of the world is increasing at the rate of about one a second and there is no prospect whatever that the world's resources in food can be increased at anything like a comparable rate. The increase of population at present is

mainly in the under-developed countries, where already the great majority of the population are under-nourished. It seems certain that under-nourishment in populous under-developed countries will increase during the next twenty-five years, and if this increase is not to last longer, it must be through measures to diminish the growth of population.

From the point of view of general human welfare as opposed to that of rivalry between competing groups, statesmen are faced with three major 10 problems of equal importance but of unequal immediacy. The first and most immediate is to devise methods of saving mankind from collective suicide in a global war. The second is to secure that the new awakening of Asia and Africa shall be enabled to achieve its legitimate objects without overwhelming the rest of the world by aggressive chauvinistic enterprises. The third is to see to it that the under-developed countries of the world are enabled to deal with the new population problem which medical science has thrust upon them.

No one of these three problems forms part of traditional statecraft, and the politicians who have to deal with them can find no help in the maxims 20 that they learnt in youth. Politicians are busy men and have little time to consider the larger problems upon whose solution human destiny depends. The public in every country of the world neither knows nor wishes to know the things upon which legitimate prospects of survival depend. We must hope that statesmen, both in the East and in the West, will listen to warning voices before it is too late and will allow themselves to be led by possibilities of good rather than misled by fears of unimaginable evil. If there is to be a happy issue there must be in all the powerful countries of East and West alike a new way of thinking, a realization that the common interests of mankind far outweigh the divergent interests of separate 30 groups and that by co-operation all can prosper, whereas by continued strife all alike must perish. Communists and anti-Communists alike will have to cease to aim at victory and will have to learn to see that however they may dislike each other's ideologies the human needs in which all men are at one are more important. They should come to realize that any advantage gained by either side in unfriendly contest brings less advantage to the victor than both sides could have gained by friendly agreement and that collective rivalries are a luxury which advancing technique has rendered obsolete. I do not know whether old ways of thinking and feeling can be abandoned in the short time that is available. If they cannot, man40 kind is faced with disaster; but if they can, a new earthly paradise may be created.



## Prospects of Disarmament [1956]

THIS PAPER WAS first published in Russian as “Perspektivy razoruzhenya”, *Pravda*, Moscow, 29 March 1956, p. 4 (B&R C56.05). It appeared alongside a mildly critical riposte from Dimitri Skobeltzyn, the distinguished Soviet physicist whose signature Russell had tried unsuccessfully to obtain for the Russell-Einstein manifesto. Both pieces were reprinted in English in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press* under the general heading “A Dispute in Pravda on Disarmament” (8, no. 13 [9 May 1956]: 8–10) and before this introductory comment:

The editors of *Pravda* support the considerations expressed in Academician D.V.Skobeltzyn’s article.

Ending the arms race and implementing disarmament under effective international control can and must ensure the strengthening of peace and security for people.

At the Geneva Conference of foreign ministers both sides had held fast to disarmament positions staked out earlier in 1955 (see A33:1–3). The possibility of meaningful negotiations had been revived, however, by a friendly exchange of diplomatic notes between Bulganin and Eisenhower early in 1956 and by public affirmations from both superpowers of the vital importance of the disarmament question. Russell had been asked for his contribution to the public debate on 6 March 1956 by K.Belyaev, a London representative of TASS, the Soviet news agency. He was soliciting Russell’s views before the UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee reconvened in London later the same month. Russell was “glad” of the opportunity to write for *Pravda* but was careful to ask that Belyaev “not make any omissions in the article without my concurrence” (8 March 1956). Russell’s text does seem to have survived intact, at least as far as this can be ascertained from the translation back into English used by *The Current Digest*.

Skobeltzyn’s offering was a largely orthodox statement of Soviet policy on disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons. The Soviet scientist was not completely at odds with Russell; he commended the latter’s dedication to peace, as well as his practical recommendation (33:41–3) for a cessation of nuclear weapons testing. He may not actually have endorsed the Russell-Einstein manifesto, but Russell believed that he was “sympathetic” (1955*d*; *Papers* 28:325). Moreover, Skobeltzyn had helped organize the UN Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in Geneva in August 1955 and, according to Eric Burhop, had “definitely expressed his willingness to serve on the initiating committee” for Russell’s proposed gathering of scientists (to Russell, 20 Nov. 1955). He would later travel to Pugwash and sit on the Continuing Committee that was chosen by the conference delegates.

In his published reply to Paper 7, however, the Soviet scientist did dispute Russell’s “paradoxical thesis...that an agreement to ban such {nuclear} weapons will make the use of them ‘more probable’...” (Skobeltzyn 1956, 9). Russell had repeated (33:19–36) his

standard refrain about the illusory character of any such paper prohibition. He now stood accused of proceeding “from the false premise that the existence of nuclear weapons in the West and the East ensures a balance of power and therefore blocks the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs”. Skobelzyn continued:

Mr. Russell further refers to the complexity of an inspection system ensuring control over the fulfillment of an agreement to ban nuclear weapons. But can this really serve as grounds for refusing to solve a vitally important problem? Mr. Russell regards the fear of nuclear weapons as a reliable guarantee against war in general but immediately contradicts himself when he states that if war is unleashed the use of hydrogen bombs is inevitable. What is the way out of this vicious circle? (1956, 9)

The Soviet physicist’s answer was to quote the tentative call of the RussellEinstein manifesto for “an agreement to renounce nuclear weapons as part of a general reduction of armaments” (1955e; *Papers* 28:320), although this passage had only been added to make that document more palatable to Communist scientists—who had been expected by Russell to toe the Soviet line on disarmament that is recapitulated here by Skobelzyn.

The copy-text is the typescript carbon dated 10 March 1956. At the same archival location (RAI 220.022080) there is also a later typescript carbon and a dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand.

THE QUESTION OF disarmament has been the subject of very prolonged deliberations and so far, although there has sometimes seemed reason for hope, no decisions have been reached. Perhaps on this occasion the optimists may prove better prophets than they have in the past. There are powerful reasons for desiring an agreement on disarmament. There is, first, the crushing burden of expenditure on weapons which everyone must hope will never be used. There is, next, the general atmosphere of fear created by the knowledge of the deadly character of these weapons. And what is perhaps more important than anything else, there is the knowledge on both sides that an immense and perhaps decisive advantage is to be gained by a surprise attack in the style of Pearl Harbor. This makes each side suspicious of the other and creates an almost insuperable obstacle to the promotion of genuinely friendly relations. For these reasons a successful issue from the negotiations is ardently to be desired.

I think, however, that there are certain dangers which are perhaps not sufficiently realized. What is of supreme importance to mankind is that nuclear bombs should not be used, and it seems at first sight to follow that they ought to be prohibited. I am, however, not at all sure that an agreed prohibition would not increase the likelihood of their being used. At present neither side dare embark upon global war because both sides possess means of annihilating each other. It is this uneasy balance which is preventing the employment of nuclear weapons. If both sides agreed to prohibit their use without destroying existing stocks, neither side would feel that the other could be trusted to observe the agreement. If the agreement went further and prescribed the destruction of all nuclear bombs, fresh difficulties would arise. In the first place there would be need of very elaborate inspection if each side was to believe that the other was really carrying out the agreed destruction. In the second place, if this difficulty were overcome, there would be a general belief that war would no longer involve total catastrophe and war would therefore become more likely than it is at present. In the third place, if war did break out,

each side would feel released from previous agreements and would set to work with all speed to manufacture as many H-bombs as possible. For these reasons, the prohibition of H-bombs by itself, if unaccompanied by a general détente, does not seem to me as desirable as it does to many people.

There is a consideration which has hitherto prevented agreements on disarmament, and that is that such agreements will not be acceptable to both sides unless they give no net advantage to either. So long as tension remains as great as it is at present, neither side will willingly surrender any advantage that it believes itself to possess. There is, however, one comparatively minor matter as to which I think agreement would be possible; and that is the prohibition of further tests. At present, the U.S., the U.K., and the U.S.S.R. are all planning further tests. I cannot see that there will be any net gain to either side in an agreement to abandon these dangerous experiments. And such an agreement does not involve any of the difficulties about inspection which are involved in larger proposals, since a serious nuclear explosion cannot be concealed.

Save in this one matter of test explosions, I do not think that disarmament can be successful except as part of a general diplomatic détente which should involve an attempt to settle, by means of a congress, all the main questions in dispute between East and West. No genuine détente is likely while these questions remain outstanding, since each side will fear that, if it proclaims pacific intentions, the other side will use these intentions to gain an advantage somewhere by methods short of war. It is of the first importance to allay mutual suspicions, and this will require amendment on both sides. Meanwhile, if the disarmament commission reaches agreement, that will be an important first step, but it will not be more than a first step.

What I should like to see is an examination of all the matters in dispute between East and West by a conference in which Communist and antiCommunist Powers should have equal representation and in which representatives of neutral Powers would hold the balance. I should like to see suggestions made by a majority vote in such a congress on all the major causes of friction, and I should wish to see world opinion mobilized in support of the suggestions of such a congress. Since Neutrals would hold the balance, it may be assumed that the proposals achieving majority support would be agreeable sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other, but not preponderantly to either. If it is agreed, as I think it is tacitly though not explicitly, that a global war is impossible, some machinery other than war becomes imperative if disputes are not to be prolonged indefinitely, and I cannot see any better way of reaching a balanced agreement than such a conference as I have suggested. Within the framework of the settlements that it could suggest, disarmament would no longer face the obstacles which have hitherto baffled the statesmen of East and West.



## 8

### Statement for Polish Radio [1956]

THIS PAPER ANSWERED a telegram from Polish Radio requesting Russell's participation in an International Free Forum of the Air, a survey of opinion on disarmament and international security issues. The following questions were posed:

1. In view of the *rapprochement* of opinions now taking shape, do you consider the following to be realistic and attainable:
  - a) agreement between the Great Powers on controlled disarmament and prohibition of the use of weapons of mass annihilation?
  - b) the conclusion, prior to the above, of partial agreements on such issues as the creation of zones of limited and controlled armaments, or a ban on tests with nuclear weapons?
2. Do you feel that an understanding on disarmament would facilitate the establishment of a collective security system and a peaceful solution of other pressing international problems? (1 March 1956)

Russell's replies were enclosed in a letter to the Polish ambassador dated 2 March 1956 and published in a pamphlet entitled *Polish Radio International Free Forum of the Air* (Warsaw, 1956), pp. 45–6 (B&R B116). Publication probably took place late in May or early in June as Polish Radio sent Russell a copy of this booklet, which included his own "valuable contribution", with a letter of 7 June. The initiative had been timed to coincide with the resumption of negotiations at the Subcommittee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission (see A33:4) and a meeting in Stockholm of the pro-Soviet World Peace Council. Each reply submitted by the sixty-two respondents (who included Lord Boyd Orr, Eric Burhop and Leopold Infeld) was aired on the state broadcasting service between 8 March and 3 April 1956.

The copy-text is the typescript carbon (RAI 430), dated 2 March 1956 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RA2 750).

TO POLISH RADIO, WARSAW

SIRS,—I could not reply by telegram to the telegram which I received from you on March 1 as I did not feel that my answer to your questions could be a simple *yes* or *no*. My opinions are as follows: I think an agreement between the Great Powers on controlled disarmament is desirable on two grounds: a) any agreement tends to lessen tension; b) partial disarmament would lighten financial burdens. But as regards the prohibition of nuclear weapons, I am afraid that it might increase the likelihood of war. What prevents war at the present time is fear of mass 10 annihilation existing on both sides. If nuclear weapons were prohibited and it was agreed that the existing stocks should be destroyed, each side would suspect the other of not carrying out the agreement. And even if it were loyally carried out on both sides, it would not be considered binding after war had broken

out, and just as many H-bombs would be employed in a war as if no previous agreement had existed. Since the public would not realize this, the popular opposition to war would be much less than at present. I am in favour of a complete prohibition of test explosions because they can be detected without inspection and they create a genetic hazard of unknown magnitude.

20 Speaking more generally, if a détente is to be genuine, the two sides must come together to negotiate a settlement which shall give no net advantage to either side. So long as each side uses the other side's fear of war as a diplomatic weapon, no genuine détente is possible. I should wish to see a conference consisting of equal numbers of Communists and antiCommunists, balanced by representatives of neutral States. Such a conference might, I think, suggest solutions that would be fair to both parties. If that were achieved, a large measure of disarmament would present no difficulties.

I think it incontestable that the creation of a collective security system<sup>30</sup> should be the goal of wise statesmanship since it is the only way of preserving mankind from disaster.

**BERTRAND RUSSELL.**

2 March, 1956. 41, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.

## 9

### Nuclear Weapons [1956]

THIS PAPER APPEARED as “Nuclear Weapons Must Not Be Used”, *New Times*, Moscow, 14, no. 39 (Sept. 1956): 8–9, and simultaneously in the Russian, German and French-language editions of this Soviet publication (B&R C56.14). It opened with a message to the second World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Nagasaki from 9–11 August 1956. The 5,000 Japanese delegates to this meeting “represented every political party and a broad array of organizations, including women’s associations, religious and scientific bodies, unions and pacifist groups” (Wittner 1997, 10). Representatives from seven other countries were in attendance as well, and messages of support were received from, amongst others, Nehru and President Magsaysay of the Philippines. Russell’s short expression of goodwill was dictated a week or so after his finished text had been sent for publication. The revised opening was omitted from the published version, however, possibly because the conference in question was not Communist-led, or simply because it had already taken place by the time that Russell’s article appeared. But given the explicit nature of the instruction (also in Edith Russell’s hand) which accompanied the insertion—“Add to piece for Moscow *New Times* at beginning”—it has been added to Paper 9.

Russell’s contribution as printed in *New Times* was followed by a critical commentary from the distinguished Russian physicist Pyotr Kapitza, a victim of persecution in the last years of Stalin’s rule who had only recently been rehabilitated by the Soviet state (see A17:5–7). The two pieces were preceded by a lengthy editorial introduction headed “Scientists’ Views on Preventing Atomic War” which, not for the first time in the Soviet press (see Paper 7), took Russell to task for opposing any straightforward prohibition of nuclear weapons.

Bertrand Russell even maintains that “in so far as any confidence was placed in an agreed prohibition of nuclear weapons, the fear of war would be lessened and therefore war would become more likely” (40:1–4).

This statement is too paradoxical to be taken seriously. It should be obvious that prohibition of nuclear weapons and renunciation of their use would really lessen the danger of war and tend to promote international cooperation. If fear of war were lessened, it could only have a beneficial effect on the international situation, not the contrary.

Editorial weight was thrown instead behind Kapitza, who also disparaged Russell’s reservations about banning the bomb and affirmed that “measures for prohibiting tests of nuclear bombs, or their manufacture and use, as well as any other conventions on disarmament should be welcomed and wholeheartedly supported” (1956, 11). Russell, however, was far from dismayed by the scientist’s “reasoned comment on an article of mine”. On 8 October he reported to Max Born the promise of Kapitza’s recently expressed hope (which Russell quoted in this letter) that “I should like to make my

contribution to the solution of the problem of averting nuclear war". Russell desperately wanted to recruit more Soviet bloc scientists to his peace initiative, and all the better if somebody of Kapitza's standing could be persuaded to participate. "The tone of what he writes", Russell continued to Born, "makes it seem to me probable that he would be willing to join our efforts". To this end, on 18 October, Kapitza was formally invited to the meeting that was scheduled to convene in India early in 1957. The Central Committee of the Communist Party had already (on 22 September) sanctioned the participation of four other Soviet scientists (see Introduction, p. xxi). But the presence at an overseas congress of a virtual dissident, Kapitza, was a different matter. When it was reviewed by the Science and Education Department of the Central Committee on 24 November, attendance by the politically maverick physicist was rejected as "inappropriate" (Ilizarov, ed. 1995, 140). This ruling was decidedly moot as the congress had been placed in serious jeopardy by the Suez and Hungarian crises.

The copy-text is the typescript carbon, dated 19 July 1956 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RAI 220.022150). The dictated manuscript addition containing the first paragraph only (see above) was written in the same hand and dated 28 July 1956 (RA2 750).

I SEND HEREWITH my sincere good wishes for the success of the World Conference at Tokyo and Nagasaki. Nuclear weapons have reached a point of destructiveness which has made it clear that their use in war must at all costs be avoided. On this point there is general agreement, but there is still controversy as to how to secure the desired result. There is one step as to which agreement ought to be easy, and that is the prohibition of test explosions such as have been carried out by the Americans, the British and the USSR. What should make such an agreement easy is that experimental explosions cannot be concealed, so that there is no reason to tackle the difficult problem of 10 inspection. This problem is immediately involved when further steps are proposed.

There are many who favour an agreement among the Powers to renounce the use of nuclear weapons and to destroy existing stocks of them. But, so far, mutual suspicions have made it doubtful whether such an agreement would serve any useful purpose. Each side would suspect the other of not carrying out the agreement loyally and, even if such suspicions were unjustified, they would keep alive the tension between East and West which every humane person must wish to diminish. Moreover, such an agreement would no longer be considered binding by either side if war broke out. It seems to follow that even if no nuclear weapons were in existence at the outbreak of war, they would be manufactured and employed by both sides before the war ended. On these grounds I hold that the only way to prevent a *nuclear* war is to prevent war.

There has been recently a great lessening of the tension between East and West, and one must hope that this will continue until the risk of war is felt to be negligible. It should then become possible to settle the vexed questions by negotiation, since both sides will have recognized that a solution by means of war is impossible. In the resulting amicable atmosphere, the renunciation of nuclear weapons might be made in good faith and might be accepted by each side as reliably undertaken by the other side.

I should wish to see an international tribunal created to which the nations would agree to submit their disputes. Such a tribunal should contain representatives of East and West in equal number and representatives of uncommitted nations to hold the balance. If such a tribunal existed, and if its authority were admitted by all the Powers, world peace might become secure.

But I do not think—and this I wish to repeat—that the prohibition of this or that weapon can serve any very useful purpose so long as the danger of war is imminent. The prohibition could only be known to be effective if combined with measures of minute inspection to which neither side would willingly agree. And, even if it were effective in time of peace, it would cease to be so as soon as war broke out. Moreover, in so far as any confidence was placed in an agreed prohibition of nuclear weapons, the fear of war would be lessened and therefore war would become more likely.

The moral to be drawn from the destructiveness of modern weapons is, as I see it, that it is necessary for all parties to realize that their purposes can no longer be furthered by war. This means that political and diplomatic methods, rather than the threat of force, must be employed in the settlement of vexed questions. This has long been the rule in the internal affairs of States (except in times of revolution). What is called for is an extension to international affairs of the methods which have proved effective in the internal affairs of nations. Nothing short of this will permanently prevent the outbreak of war. And, whatever paper prohibitions may exist, a great war will inevitably involve the actual use of the most destructive weapons known to science, although this use will bring total disaster to mankind.

Ever since organized States first existed, the threat of war has been explicit or implicit in all diplomacy. It is not easy for those who have been trained in the old methods to adapt themselves to the new needs of the more dangerous world in which we have to try to live. But, hard as it may be for statesmen to acquire new ways of thinking and acting, they will have to learn to do so, and that quickly, if human life is to continue.



## 10

### British-Soviet Friendship [1955–57]

THESE SHORT MESSAGES are of minor interest textually, but Russell's association with the organizations and publications that solicited them is worthy of comment. Ever mindful of the political company he kept, Russell did not casually collaborate with fellow-travelling groups like the British-Soviet Friendship Society. By the mid-1950s, however, he felt that the advantages of such cooperation outweighed the risks of being smeared as an apologist for Communism (see Bone 2001). Paper **10a** originated with an invitation from Pat Sloan to address a gathering in London, held under the auspices of the society and timed to coincide with the visit to Britain of a small Soviet delegation. The scheduled date, 5 November 1955, was also the eve of the thirty-eighth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Sloan wanted Russell to "make a short statement on the possibilities of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between Britain and the Soviet Union in the light of recent developments" (24 Aug. 1955). Although intrigued, Russell harboured reservations which he disclosed in his reply of 1 September.

I think it is of the utmost importance that we should all learn to live at peace with each other and I should be glad to express this opinion. At the same time I have the same kind of opposition to Communism and Communist Governments that I have to other political creeds and systems with which I disagree—e.g. Franco and his Government. If there were a proposal to go to war with Spain, I would willingly attend the meeting to oppose it but I would not attend a meeting intended to make people think well of Franco and his Government. My attitude towards the Soviet Government is similar. You say in your letter that you hope to have among the speakers representatives of all political views. I infer that the meeting is not intended to express approval of Communism, but I should be grateful if you could give me further information.

After Sloan approached him again on 2 September, Russell agreed three days later to a deliver a short speech ("the shorter the better"), but he withdrew this offer when the meeting was put back by one day. On 28 September, however, he forwarded to Sloan what he hoped was a "suitable" message to be read *in absentia*. Part of the second sentence of this (see Textual Notes) was later quoted in the *Daily Worker's* report of the proceedings which opened British-Soviet Friendship month ("58 Labour MPs Greet the Soviet Union's Big Day", 7 Nov. 1955, p. 1). Russell's message and several others had been delivered to a "packed audience" at the Stoll Theatre by the egregious "Red Dean" (of Canterbury), Hewlett Johnson.

Russell had been invited to write Paper **10b** by John Goss, the editor of a new illustrated monthly called *British-Soviet Friendship*. The statement was drafted for the inaugural issue of April 1956 but, owing to an oversight by the printers for which Goss later apologized, it was mistakenly omitted. Although Russell granted permission for its

use the following month, it appeared neither then nor in June. Conceived as the Society's principal organ of publicity, the magazine, Goss had informed Russell, would endeavour "to publicise and advocate friendly and mutually-advantageous relations of every kind between the two countries" (8 Feb. 1956). No doubt to counter any charges of fellow-travelling, it would also make "every effort to get completely away from a 'one-sided' approach to British-Soviet relations, and to discuss all points of view" (11 April 1956). The British-Soviet Friendship Society was nevertheless regarded by Russell with a certain suspicion. "I think the society is too definitely pro-Communist for me", he had written in declining an offer from his local (Richmond and Barnes) branch to serve as its honorary president (14 March 1956).

Paper **10c** is notable mainly for its appearance in an official Soviet publication, *Soviet Weekly*, no. 741 (12 April 1956): 3 (B&R C56.07). Russell's statement concerned the impending visit to Britain of Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) and one of his allies inside the Kremlin, Premier Nikolay Bulganin (1895–1975). It was printed above several other messages, including those from the novelist Doris Lessing and the Labour M.P. Julius Silverman. Russell had been asked early in March by the newspaper's editor, S. Beglov, for his thoughts on "the possibility and desirability of British-Soviet cultural and other ties" (20 March 1956). The visit of the two Soviet leaders was a success, for the most part, although they did get into an awkward spat with a number of Labour M.P.'s who criticized the persecution of dissidents and the generally lamentable condition of civil liberties in the Soviet Union.

Paper **10d** was written in the aftermath of the Soviet invasion of Hungary (see Part III) and published in *British-Soviet Friendship*, Jan. 1957, p. 2 (B&R C57.01). It appeared alongside several other answers to a question which the editor, John Goss, had first posed Russell in a letter dated 8 November 1956: "What steps do you consider should be taken by Britain and the U.S.S.R. in order to end the present international crisis and restore good British-Soviet relations?". At first, Russell had declined to answer since these "necessary steps would be very drastic and neither Government is likely to take them" (16 Nov. 1956). Goss then repeated the request, enclosing with his letter of 28 November a copy of December's *British-Soviet Friendship*, in which the first batch of contributions to the forum had appeared. Russell now agreed to participate, telling Goss in the covering note to his statement that "I did not, before, suggest the necessary steps for Anglo-Soviet friendship because there seemed to me no chance that such steps would be taken" (3 Dec. 1956).

The copy-text for Paper **10a** is the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand dated 28 September 1955 (RA2 750). For **10b** the carbon copy typed on the verso of the letter from Goss to Russell of 8 February has been used (RAI 410). There is also a dictated manuscript of the message and accompanying covering letter to Goss, written in Edith Russell's hand and dated 10 February 1956 (RA2 750). The copy-text for **10c** is the single-leaf typescript carbon, dated as below and containing also Russell's short covering letter of reply to Beglov (RAI 410). There is also a dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RA2 750). The copy-text for **10d** is the typescript carbon (RAI 410), dated 3 December 1956 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RA2 750).

**10a** Message for a Meeting at the Stoll Theatre [1955]

I AM VERY sorry that I cannot be present at your meeting on November 6. I earnestly hope that the meeting will be very successful and will contribute to the great work of preserving the atmosphere generated by the meeting of the Big Four at Geneva.

**10b** *British-Soviet Friendship* [1956]

I FAVOUR VERY strongly the promotion of British-Soviet friendship and the relaxation of obstacles to knowledge of each other's countries. I earnestly hope that the statesmen both of the East and of the West will learn to desist from the practice of thwarting the efforts of those who desire the continuation of the human race.

**10c** Welcome to Bulganin and Khrushchev [1956]

THE VISIT OF Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev affords a welcome opportunity to express the strong desire which I feel for the promotion of cultural and social intercourse between inhabitants of the USSR and those of my own country. I think it is of first importance that we should get to know each other on a friendly as well as on a political basis and that we should acquire the habit of thinking of each other as human beings rather than as protagonists of this or that ideology. When this way of viewing each other has become common, political agreements will, I hope, become much easier.

**10d** Britain and Russia: What Now? [1957]

IF GOOD RELATIONS are to be restored between Britain and the Soviet Government both sides will have to take rather drastic steps. I suggest the following:

1. Russia should withdraw all armed forces from the satellite countries of Eastern Europe, including Eastern Germany.
2. Germany should be unified and neutralized, and should not continue as a member of NATO.
3. Both Russia and the Western Powers should abstain from all attempts to exercise influence in the Middle East.
4. Nuclear test explosions should be renounced on both sides by agreement.
5. A serious attempt should be made to bring about a measure of disarmament on both sides, not only in nuclear weapons, but in all kinds of armaments.

I do not think anything less will make Anglo-Soviet friendship possible, especially in view of recent events in Egypt and Hungary.



Part II  
Autobiographical,  
Biographical and  
Philosophical Writings



## 11

### Faith without Illusion [1956]

THIS REVIEW OF Mihály Károlyi's posthumously published memoir appeared in *The Sunday Times*, 29 Jan. 1956, p. 6 (B&R C56.02), and was reprinted in translation as "Foi sans illusions" in a French publication backed by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, *Preuves*, 62 (April 1956): 88–9. The aristocratic socialist and statesman Count Mihály Károlyi (1875–1955) was a key figure in the nationalist revolution in Hungary in October 1918 and became president of the republic that was proclaimed a few days after the Armistice and superseded only a few months later by Béla Kun's almost equally short-lived Communist regime. After the latter's government collapsed, Károlyi and his wife Catherine took flight and did not return to Hungary for twenty-seven years. In 1923 he was convicted of treason *in absentia* by the conservative authoritarian government of Admiral Horthy, whose supporters Károlyi had antagonized with constitutional and land reforms inaugurated during his brief term of office. When in London in the mid-1920s, the Károlyis made acquaintance with Russell and his then wife Dora. Contact was maintained during their long years of peripatetic exile in Europe and the United States, and both the Russells were remembered fondly in the statesman's memoir (see Károlyi 1956, 203–4). Russell had last met the couple in Wales in 1949, some three years after Károlyi's political rehabilitation and triumphant return to a Hungary controlled until 1948 by the anti-Communist Smallholders' Party. He was then serving the post-war regime as ambassador to France, but was poised to resign, ostensibly on the grounds of age but really because of his opposition to the creeping Communist domination of the Hungarian Government. He spent the last years of his life as an exile once more, this time in the south of France at Vence.

Countess Károlyi specifically wanted her late husband's memoir to be reviewed by Russell, she told him, "as you knew him personally and are so well acquainted with Central European affairs" (23 Oct. 1955). He was happy to oblige, later informing her that "I found the book absorbingly interesting. I had known and admired your husband as a public character, but had little opportunity to get to know him as a human being. The book has shown me an extraordinarily lovable man and all the time that I was reading it I felt it a delight to be in his company" (23 Jan. 1956). Catherine Károlyi (née Andrassy) was herself a scion of the powerful Hungarian nobility and a granddaughter of the foreign minister who had represented Austria-Hungary at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. She was "deeply moved" by Russell's tribute (27 Jan. 1956) and in November 1957 made another request—to which he assented—that he act as patron of the Michael Károlyi Memorial Foundation for the promotion of contact between writers and artists of East and West at a special refuge on the Károlyis' Vence property.

After writing his review Russell sent the Countess a typed copy in anticipation of editorial excisions being made by *The Sunday Times*, for he had uncharacteristically exceeded by more than 200 words the requested 800. Russell told the newspaper's

literary editor on 23 January that his piece was “a little long and, if necessary, you can cut out bits”. But he hoped that “you will not think this necessary. The book is perfectly delightful and I could easily have written twice as much about it. I wish to do everything in my power to praise it” (to Leonard Russell). This plea was to no avail, but given Russell’s express desire that it not be abridged, his text has been restored to its original length for the present volume. The copy-text is the typescript carbon bearing the same date as the letter to *The Sunday Times* cited above (RAI 220.022000). At the same archival location is a dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand (also dated 23 January 1956) and a single leaf typescript (made from another dictated manuscript) of references to Károlyi’s book used in the review.

*Memoirs of Michael Karolyi: Faith without Illusion*. By Michael Karolyi. London: Jonathan Cape, 1955. Pp. 392.

MICHAEL KAROLYI’S *MEMOIRS* is the most interesting and fascinating book that I have read for a long time. It has a twofold interest: personal and impersonal. From a personal point of view it portrays a man who is as lovable as he is high-minded., a man whose company throughout these pages is a joy and a refreshment. From the impersonal point of view it gives an account of Central European politics from one who could survey the whole chess-board and whose ups and downs are almost unbelievably dramatic. 10

Count Karolyi began life as one of the greatest aristocrats of Hungary, a country where aristocrats were grander than in pre-revolutionary France, or in England after the time of Hotspur. His property was worth twentyfive million pounds. I, as an academic person, was specially impressed by one evidence of his grandeur: when, as a youth, he had to submit to examinations, he was shown the questions beforehand in time for him to look up the answers, since it would never have done for so great a personage to be “ploughed”. To the horror of his family he took up with Liberal ideas. A conservative and anti-Semitic uncle, to persuade him of the fallacies of Liberalism, induced him to read Marx’s *Capital*, but the effect was not quite what the uncle had intended. I know of only one comparable incident in history: when the Jesuits brought Voltaire to the Court of Lorraine to combat anti-clericalism. Karolyi’s personal vicissitudes are amazing. At times he and his wife had to subsist on 2s. 6d. each a day. Twice in moments of disaster his country acclaimed him as its most popular citizen. Twice his property was confiscated. During long years he was a proscribed traitor. Twice he attempted to work with Communists, but in vain. Through long years of exile he suffered the intolerable pangs of agonizing homesickness, although he considered this emotion a sentimental folly. Throughout his wanderings he remained a lonely man because those with whom he could be friends on the basis of common beliefs had a background totally unlike his own, while those with whom he shared background and childish memories considered him a traitor. It is consoling to an English reader to find that only in England was his sense of loneliness in any degree assuaged. He speaks with extraordinary warmth of England and Churchill in 1940 when (so he tells us) all the *émigrés* in England had expected England to offer peace.

What makes him peculiarly endearing is that throughout his wanderings he remains a human being with the little weaknesses and inconsistencies that are not found in statuesque and monolithic figures. He relates how at 40 one time he had to go to Havana and promised a French restaurantkeeper that he would bring him a box of Havana cigars straight from their city of origin. He duly purchased the box, tried one cigar to see if it was up to expectations., enjoyed it so much that he smoked another, and before getting back to Paris had consumed the whole lot. He bought another box in the rue de la Paix

and, without revealing the truth, presented it to the *restaurateur*, who remarked, whenever he saw him, how unmistakable was the superior aroma which he detected in Karolyi's present.

Karolyi as a politician was not always clever but was always magnanimous and actuated solely by a desire for the public good. He was a victim of atrocious and deliberate misrepresentation both by the Communists 10 and by the Fascist Government of Hungary which the victorious Entente Powers established after overthrowing Bela Kun. The Communists in the time of Bela Kun asked him to sign a declaration handing over the power to them. He refused, but their controlled Press stated that he had accepted and the lie was repeated by their Fascist successors. Nevertheless, after the Second World War he again tried to collaborate with the Communists. Two things brought this attempt to an end: one was the condemnation of Rajk, whom he admired; the other was the persecution of Cardinal Mindszenty, of whom he strongly disapproved but who, he thought, should have been sentenced only to exile. The book ends (or 20 almost ends) with an infinitely painful chapter called "Operation Heartbreak Number Two". But this is not quite the end. There are a few pages called "Faith without Illusion" in which he defines his attitude towards Communism and his hopes for the world. Unlike so many whom Stalin disillusioned, he did not allow himself to become a reactionary. He still hoped that the Soviet regime might in time become more liberal. He remained a whole-hearted Socialist. He deplored, as no less a folly than a sin, the hostility to awakening Asia to which the West seemed prone. As a result of long experience, he did not think that democratic parliamentary regimes are suited to Eastern Europe. I do not know whether he was right 30 or wrong in this opinion, but it certainly was an opinion which, coming from him, deserves to be considered with respect.

The book is extraordinarily well written and shows throughout a crystal sincerity very rare in public men. Karolyi has a great capacity for epigrammatic summary. "The Hungarians", he says, "possessed the magic power of changing serious events into an operetta." And again, "There is nothing so worrying for a Social Democrat as to have a majority." Tragedy and laughable absurdity appear side by side in his pages as they do in real life. For example: at one time he installed a machine-gun in his house as a protection against sudden attack, but when the attack came he found that 40 he had forgotten to load the gun. He had much experience of tragedy and failure, but in one respect he was fortunate: his wife, who came from the same aristocratic milieu, shared his ideals and displayed at all times unquenchable courage. The deep harmony between them must have helped him to preserve that complete absence of bitterness which is so notable in every word he utters. In an age of bitterness and discouragement, his magnanimity and purity help to keep hope alive.



## 12

### Why I Am Not a Communist [1956]

THIS PAPER WAS written in April 1954 for a volume of short essays tentatively entitled “Why I Am Anti-Communist”. The pamphlet was to continue the Background Books series for which Russell had published three times already—once in a similar symposium, *Why Communism Must Fail*, and twice as the sole author, of the booklets *What Is Freedom?* and *What Is Democracy?* (1951a, 1952, 1953a). The Background Books series was intended by its publishers, the Batchworth Press, “to provide ordinary people, interested in what is going on in the world today, with some background information about events, institutions and ideas” (quoted in Hayhurst 1991, 71). Publication was subsidized by the British Foreign Office, perhaps from the hope that the reasoned anti-Communist arguments of authors like Russell would reach a mass audience. Each Background Book was about forty pages long and reasonably priced at is. or is. 6d. In the three years since the series had started in 1951 about 300,000 copies of the various titles had been printed in English, and assorted foreign language editions were in circulation as well.

The symposium in which Paper 12 featured had been organized by the journalist Colin Win tle, who was also literary agent for the general editor of Background Books, Stephen Watts. Noteworthy among the other contributors were the historian Hugh Trevor-Roper and the poet Stephen Spender, a former Communist who had recounted his apostasy in the Cold War classic, *The God That Failed* (1950). The opinions of a businessman, cleric and scientist were solicited too. Russell was asked by Win tle in his letter of 26 March 1954 “to write as an internationalist”, although his contribution eventually appeared under the heading of “The Philosopher”: *Why I Oppose Communism* (London: Phoenix House, 1956), pp. 11–14 (B&R Buy). The pamphlet’s publication was delayed until March 1956 when, more or less simultaneously, Russell’s piece appeared in the *News Chronicle* as “The Marxist Fraud”, 26 March 1956, p. 4 (B&R C56.03).

While *What Is Freedom?* and *What Is Democracy?* contain some of Russell’s most strident Cold War rhetoric, this paper, by contrast, is comparatively restrained. It was drafted as Russell’s position on the Soviet Union was undergoing some modification in light of Stalin’s death. Fundamentally, his views remained unaltered, but he was becoming reluctant to place them on record. As he responded to a Mr. Beer on 1 February 1955: “I have taken a great deal of trouble to sift truth from propaganda in regard to Communist countries and I am left with a conviction that Communist regimes are very bad. But I no longer think that much purpose is served by saying so in public.” He begins 12 with a summary of the case against Marxian political economy and its philosophical underpinnings which he had first stated in *German Social Democracy* (1896). The briefly stated objections to the labour theory of value seem to rest on the same foundations of neo-classical political economy on which he had drawn in his earlier and more detailed evaluation of Marx (see A57:9). Equally if not more familiar is Russell’s denunciation of Soviet dictatorship. But he also strikes a cautiously optimistic note about the prospects for liberalization under the regime’s new leadership. Indeed, both the textual evolution of

this paper and the publishing correspondence suggest Russell's growing unease about seeming too belligerently anti-Communist in print.

Early in 1956 the general editor of Background Books negotiated terms under which the *News Chronicle* would run excerpts from *Why I Oppose Communism*. No doubt attracted by the publicity for the project which an established (if declining) metropolitan daily could provide. Watts was even willing to let the newspaper publish first. This does not, however, seem to have been the case, since the *Chronicle* did not use Russell's article until four days after the publication date of the pamphlet (22 March) mentioned by Watts in his letter to Russell of 21 February. Watts also reported that, following Russell's instructions, he had "made it a condition that you have the opportunity to revise your essay in order to ensure its being up to date". Russell "found only one very small correction called for" in the advance copy sent him by Watts, which he marked up and returned the next day for forwarding to the *News Chronicle*. He seems then to have forgotten about the essay's publication in this Liberal organ, at least until he contacted the editorial office on 9 April to correct their mistaken suspicion that it might, in fact, have been penned by Lord Russell of Liverpool. He now lamented the title used by the newspaper and the following introductory passage printed above his article in larger type—neither of which were "by me or sanctioned by me" (to Bisset):

The new look in Soviet politics—collective leadership, repudiation of Stalinist excesses—raises hopes of lasting peace, but behind the propaganda are the hard principles of Communism. So far there is no indication that these have changed in any way. It is these that we are concerned with in a series of articles of which this is the first.

In preparing *Portraits from Memory* in the spring of 1956 Russell would modify the title suggested to him originally by Wintle ("Why I Am Anti-Communist") to the less politically charged variant used here. A few further emendations made on the page proofs (RAI 210.006888-FI; see also Plate V) of the Allen and Unwin edition of this book achieve on a smaller scale the same effect as the revisions which he made for the reprinting in *Fact and Fiction* (1961) of his two more substantial contributions to Background Books (Russell 1952 and 1953a). As Stephen Hayhurst's textual comparison of the earlier and later versions concludes: "Many of the general criticisms of the Russian regime were revised to retrospective con-damnations of Stalinism" (1991, 78). As for the present paper, in the text written for *Why I Oppose Communism* in 1954 Russell was "at a loss to understand how it comes about that some people who are both humane and intelligent can find something to admire in the vast slave camp produced by Stalin". He was still mystified two years later, but the change of tense in *Portraits from Memory* to "came" and "could" (see T58:3, T58:4) leaves a markedly different impression. Similarly, by 1956 it was not merely "possible that in the course of time Russia may become more liberal". Rather, there were "signs" that it "will" move in this direction (see T58:17, noting also the interim reading of this passage in the *News Chronicle*). These emendations were mentioned by Russell to his American publisher, Lincoln Schuster, who had inquired whether he wished to add anything on Stalin and Communism for *Portraits*: "I have made a few small changes in the text which seem to me sufficient" (24 May 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 232a).

The copy-text is the typescript carbon printer's copy for *Portraits from Memory* (RAI 210.006883), which was made from the manuscript which Russell had dictated to Edith

on 30 April 1954 (RAI 220.020960). In addition to the three published versions discussed above, Paper 12 was reprinted, also as “Why I Am Not a Communist”, in the American magazine, *Look*, 21, no. 9 (30 April 1957): 103–4, and in *The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell* (1961), pp. 479–81.

IN RELATION TO any political doctrine there are two questions to be asked: (1) Are its theoretical tenets true? (2) Is its practical policy likely to increase human happiness? For my part, I think the theoretical tenets of Communism are false, and I think its practical maxims are such as to produce an immeasurable increase of human misery.

The theoretical doctrines of Communism are for the most part derived from Marx. My objections to Marx are of two sorts: one, that he was muddle-headed; and the other, that his thinking was almost entirely inspired by hatred. The doctrine of surplus value, which is supposed to demonstrate the exploitation of wage-earners under Capitalism, is arrived at: (a) by surreptitiously accepting Malthus’s doctrine of population, which Marx and all his disciples explicitly repudiate; (b) by applying Ricardo’s theory of value to wages, but not to the prices of manufactured articles. He is entirely satisfied with the result, not because it is in accordance with the facts or because it is logically coherent, but because it is calculated to rouse fury in wage-earners. Marx’s doctrine that all historical events have been motivated by class conflicts is a rash and untrue extension to world history of certain features prominent in England and France a hundred years ago. His belief that there is a cosmic force called Dialectical Materialism which governs human history independently of human volitions, is mere mythology. His theoretical errors, however, would not have mattered so much but for the fact that, like Tertullian and Carlyle, his chief desire was to see his enemies punished, and he cared little what happened to his friends in the process.

Marx’s doctrine was bad enough, but the developments which it underwent under Lenin and Stalin made it much worse. Marx had taught that there would be a revolutionary transitional period following the victory of the Proletariat in a civil war and that during this period the Proletariat, in accordance with the usual practice after a civil war, would deprive its vanquished enemies of political power. This period was to be that of the dictatorship of the Proletariat. It should not be forgotten that in Marx’s prophetic vision the victory of the Proletariat was to come after it had grown to be the vast majority of the population. The dictatorship of the Proletariat therefore as conceived by Marx was not essentially anti-democratic. In the Russia of 1917, however, the Proletariat was a small percentage of the population, the great majority being peasants. It was decreed that the Bolshevik party was the class-conscious part of the Proletariat, and that a small committee of its leaders was the class-conscious part of the Bolshevik party. The dictatorship of the Proletariat thus came to be the dictatorship of a small committee, and ultimately of one man—Stalin. 40 As the sole class-conscious Proletarian, Stalin condemned millions of peasants to death by starvation and millions of others to forced labour in concentration camps. He even went so far as to decree that the laws of heredity are henceforth to be different from what they used to be, and that the germ-plasm is to obey Soviet decrees but not that reactionary priest Mendel. I am completely at a loss to understand how it came about that some people who are both humane and intelligent could find something to admire in the vast slave camp produced by Stalin.

I have always disagreed with Marx. My first hostile criticism of him was published in 1896. But my objections to modern Communism go deeper than my objections to Marx. It is the abandonment of democracy that I find particularly disastrous. A minority resting its power upon the activities of a secret police is bound to be cruel, oppressive and

obscurantist. The dangers of irresponsible power came to be generally recognized during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but those who have been dazzled by the outward success of the Soviet Union have forgotten all that was painfully learnt during the days of absolute monarchy, and have gone back to what was worst in the Middle Ages under the curious delusion that they were in the vanguard of progress.

There are signs that in course of time the Russian regime will become more liberal. But, although this is possible, it is very far from certain. In the meantime, all those who value not only art and science but a sufficiency of daily bread and freedom from the fear that a careless word by their children to a schoolteacher may condemn them to forced labour in a Siberian wilderness, must do what lies in their power to preserve in their own countries a less servile and more prosperous manner of life.

There are those who, oppressed by the evils of Communism, are led to the conclusion that the only effective way to combat these evils is by means of a world war. I think this is a mistake. At one time such a policy might have been possible, but now war has become so terrible and Communism has become so powerful that no one can tell what would be left after a world war, and whatever might be left would probably be at least as bad as present-day Communism. This forecast does not depend upon which side, if either, is nominally victorious. It depends only upon the inevitable effects of mass destruction by means of hydrogen and cobalt bombs and perhaps of ingeniously propagated plagues. The way to combat Communism is not war. What is needed in addition to such armaments as will deter Communists from attacking the West, is a diminution of the grounds for discontent in the less prosperous parts of the non-Communist world. In most of the countries of Asia, there is abject poverty which the West ought to alleviate as far as it lies in its power to do so. There is also a great bitterness which was caused by the centuries of European insolent domination in Asia. This ought to be dealt with by a combination of patient tact with dramatic announcements renouncing such relics of White domination as survive in Asia. Communism is a doctrine bred of poverty, hatred and strife. Its spread can only be arrested by diminishing the area of poverty and hatred.

## 13

### My Recollections of George Trevelyan [1956]

THIS PAPER WAS one of three tributes to George Macaulay Trevelyan (1876–1962) broadcast on the BBC's Home Service on 16 February 1956 to mark the famous historian's eightieth birthday. The programme began with an assessment of Trevelyan's scholarship by his protégé, the Cambridge historian J.H.Plumb. Next, another purveyor of popular history in the grand narrative style, Veronica Wedgwood, discussed the literary aspects of historical writing, while Russell concluded the thirty-minute symposium with a more personal reminiscence. The contributions of Wedgwood and Russell were repeated on the General Overseas Service on 21 February and then published in *London Calling*, no. 861 (3 May 1956): 8 (B&R C56.08).

Russell had been asked by BBC producer Ian Grimble for "recollections of Dr. Trevelyan as you knew him at Cambridge at two periods of your lives" (29 Nov. 1955). But he had "nothing interesting" to say about his recent lectureship at Trinity (1944–49) during Trevelyan's tenure as Master, so Russell restricted himself to "reminiscences of the time when we were both young" (to Grimble, 1 Dec. 1955). This decision was wise since their disagreement over the First World War, to which Russell alludes in his final paragraph, had led to a protracted estrangement. Indeed, after their fateful exchange on 4 August 1914, Russell recalled seeing Trevelyan "only once" before returning to Trinity thirty years later (*1967*, 65). But it was more than lingering bitterness about the war which kept the two men distant. Notwithstanding the "Whiggish" triumphalism that purportedly tainted Trevelyan's historical writing, he was by temperament a pessimist whose progressive hopes were irrevocably damaged by the cataclysms of the twentieth century. Russell had sensed this side of Trevelyan's nature as early as 1905, joking to Lucy Donnelly about the "air of settled gloom" which shrouded his friend (quoted in *ibid.*, 175). Russell, meanwhile, retained much of his pre-war radicalism and zest and never experienced lasting disillusionment of this kind. Also, although agnostic in religion, Trevelyan was very much the Victorian moralist. He lamented both the twists in Russell's personal life and his judgment on moral and social issues, dismissing Russell in the 1930s as "a bloody fool" (quoted in Cannadine 1992, 40). But Trevelyan never lost respect for Russell's intellect, and during the Second World War he was instrumental in securing for him the lectureship at Trinity and his election there as a life Fellow. College life may not have restored the old intimacy, but cordial relations seem quickly to have been reestablished: "George Trevy is much mellowed", he wrote Colette in September 1944, "very friendly, and nice" (quoted in Clark 1975, 490). Some twelve years later, after Paper 13 first aired on the BBC, Trevelyan expressed to Russell his appreciation of the broadcast, which was "a fine synopsis of our life long friendship, and gave me the greatest pleasure. I thought it could not have been better" (17 Feb. 1956).

Although not strictly speaking within his mandate, Russell's reflections also reveal an admiration for Trevelyan the historian that was clearly undimmed by the latter's declining scholarly reputation. There were as yet few outward signs of this diminished standing. Trevelyan enjoyed genuinely national recognition as a writer and broadcaster

and continued to receive the kind of accolades and acclaim of which this birthday tribute provides an example. But within the academic profession, he was increasingly slighted as a “gentleman scholar” who courted popular audiences too eagerly. The partisanship and present-mindedness of his English political histories and *Risorgimento* triptych were frowned upon anew—it long having been assumed that Trevelyan was one of Herbert Butterfield’s unnamed targets in his influential critique, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (1931). According to his most recent biographer, however, Trevelyan’s work does not so much exhibit these distorting “Whiggish” tendencies as it does a traditionalist’s disdain for methodological experimentation and interpretive novelty (Cannadine 1992, 219–20). To such innovation he preferred the straightforward but elegant narrative of high politics that illustrated the primacy of the individual agent in human affairs. For Russell, these hallmarks of Trevelyan’s approach, together with his unabashed embrace of a didactic public function for the historian, remained vital prerequisites of good historical writing.

The copy-text is the typescript carbon dated 2 February 1956 (RAI 220.022050); at the same archival location and bearing the same date is a dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand. The published article provides an abridged version of these pre-publication texts, as possibly did the broadcast talk, since Russell had been allotted just ten minutes for his segment. (He had earlier declined Grimble’s offer of an additional five minutes “as I think I can say all that I have to say in a shorter time” [3 Jan. 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 1,351b].) The excised passages, though, have been restored to the present volume, since it is unlikely that Russell sanctioned the wholesale changes involved.

I FIRST MADE the acquaintance of George Trevelyan when he came to Trinity as a freshman. He was a few years junior to me and I had known his two older brothers since 1889. At Harrow he, as the youngest, had been “Trevelyan Minimus”. At Trinity we anglicized this as “Little Trevy”, though the word “little” was not applicable either physically or mentally. Macaulay was distinguished as a politician, a poet, and a historian. These three capacities were shared out among his great-nephews. Macaulay’s greatest eminence was as a historian, and it soon became evident that the same eminence would belong to his youngest great-nephew. I was attracted to him immediately by his enthusiasm, his energy, his 10 obviously remarkable intelligence and his devotion to ideals not unlike my own. I could not quite share his passionate admiration for George Meredith’s poetry nor he mine, I think, for the Elizabethan lyrics; and he, I imagine, must have suffered at times from what he would consider flippancy on my part, for even in youth he was notable for his extreme seriousness. I came to know him intimately partly through a common love of walking tours. His prowess much exceeded mine in this direction. I did not care to walk more than twenty-five miles a day, whereas forty miles was what he considered a reasonable day’s walk. I remember that on one such tour I made him promise in advance to be content with twenty-five 20 miles a day. He kept his promise; but on the last day, as we completed the twenty-fifth mile on arrival at the inn where I intended to spend the night, he broke away and said, “Now I must have some walking!” How far he plodded through the night I do not know.

When he was preparing his book on *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, he invited me along with three others to accompany him in walking over Garibaldi’s route from Marsala to Palermo. He considered, no doubt rightly, that he would acquire a sense of topographical detail and an awareness of the difficulties of Garibaldi’s march by traversing the same ground without such modern adventitious aids as were lacking to the Thousand. A 30 pedestrian becomes aware, as those who adopt other means of locomotion do not, of hills

and ravines, of streams to be traversed, and of villages perched upon high eminences to which the approach is laborious. All the vivid and minute knowledge that he acquired in this way helped him to bring before the reader a concrete awareness of the difficulties of the march. This long tramp was as interesting as it was delightful. We passed through Samuel Butler's spiritual home, Calatafimi, where Garibaldi had fought a battle. We had hoped to stay at the Albergo Samuele Butler but, alas, it had gone bankrupt, and on that day we had to do an extra ten miles during which I became footsore and weary though revived by the 40 temple of Segesta which we visited on the way.

I found Samuel Butler's affection for Calatafimi somewhat difficult to understand. The population were not used to foreigners and crowded round us while we lunched. One of them, who had been in America, spoke to us in what he considered to be English, but none of us could understand a single word. At last, as he was becoming a nuisance, we said to him in Italian, "If you were to talk Italian perhaps we should understand you." We wondered how he would save face, as he had obviously boasted to his friends about his knowledge of English. He did even better than we had hoped: He turned to his friends and, with a gesture of dramatic repudiation, exclaimed, "These people are not English, whatever they may pretend, for they do not understand the English language." So far as we could discover, the only industry of Calatafimi was showing tourists the way to Segesta. This was not very lucrative, as it was scarcely possible to miss the way. However, we saw one thing which perhaps justified Samuel Butler: it was a boy sitting on a doorstep in a slum studying a book of higher geometry.

Two or three days later we arrived in pouring rain at a village called Piana dei Greci which had been given in the fourteenth century to Albanian refugees and had kept itself ever since unmixed with the surrounding population. We asked to see what accommodation they were offering us, but they asked us to wait and meanwhile made an enormous wood-fire on the stone floor. Being wet and cold, we all danced round it, George and his brother being among the most vigorous and lively. At last we were told that the accommodation was ready for us and were shown with great pride a vast bed in which all of us were invited to sleep. I think perhaps one of the reasons why he invited me on this occasion was that I wrote a very enthusiastic review of his earlier volume, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, in the *Edinburgh Review*. I am glad to see, on looking up this article, that I fully recognized his great merit as a historian. My review opened with the words:

In the history of the long struggle for Italian independence, no part is more heroic than the record of the short-lived Roman Republic of 1849. "That there should ever have been a time when Mazzini ruled Rome and Garibaldi defended her walls, sounds like a poet's dream." This poet's dream has been related by Mr. Trevelyan in language which elicits all the splendour and all the tragedy of the events which it records. His power is equally remarkable in dramatic narrative, in descriptions of moving and beautiful scenes, and in telling of the pathos of death in an almost hopeless struggle. Yet truth has nowhere been suppressed or distorted, nor has hero-worship prevented a balanced and judicious historical judgement.

It is a little difficult, at this date, to recapture the feelings about the *Risorgimento* which had been almost universal among the fathers and grandfathers of my generation and in

which I as a boy had been reverently indoctrinated. Our vision of that time is now seen dimly through the obscuring fog of Mussolini. But at the time when George wrote. Garibaldi's sun was still undimmed.

Speaking after distinguished professional historians, I feel some timidity in attempting to assess Trevelyan's merit in his chosen profession. But speaking as one of the general public, I cannot forbear from saying what very great pleasure and interest I have derived from his books, and how 10 profoundly I agree with the point of view expressed in his essay "Clio, a Muse". It seems to me that the reading of history is an essential element in the formation of a wide outlook and that this demands the writing of history for non-historians. History is not, like mathematics, a subject only for specialists, and those who, like George Trevelyan, enable the general public to enjoy wide surveys are performing a function of the utmost importance, especially in this age when rapid progress is producing a widespread ignorance of the past.

There was a period in his youth at Cambridge when he and Lytton Strachey, both future writers of history, were much thrown together but 20 found each other by no means congenial. Strachey was already anxious to attack established reputations and reverse conventional judgements, while Trevelyan has never shown any inclination towards this somewhat ferocious pastime. I think it would be generally conceded that Trevelyan has shown a scrupulous adherence to fact and that as a consequence of this merit his work has an abiding value in addition to what it owes to the beauty of his writing.

My relations with George Trevelyan became less intimate after the outbreak of war in 1914. I remember walking with him down the Strand on the fourth of August in that year while we argued vehemently about the 30 coming war, in regard to which he disagreed with his two older brothers. For the subsequent cooling in our friendship, I alone was to blame. It is difficult to belong to a very small minority without becoming prickly, and at the time I failed in this respect. I continued nonetheless to read his books and to give to them that great admiration which is universally accorded to them.

## 14

### Cranks [1956]

THIS SHORT STORY first appeared as “In the Company of Cranks”, *The Saturday Review*, 39, no. 32 (11 Aug. 1956): 7–8 (B&R C56.12). It was reprinted in *Fact and Fiction* (1961), pp. 159–62, and again in *The Collected Stories of Bertrand Russell* (1972), pp. 322–4. “Cranks” is the only fiction in the present volume, although Russell was still interested in the genre. He had published a second collection of short stories (*Nightmares of Eminent Persons*) in May 1954 and would write a few more such “queer tales” (see Appendix XVI.4, p. 435) later in the decade. Paper 14 had been commissioned by Gordon Robinson, the features editor of the London *Evening Standard*, which was running a series entitled “Did it Happen?”. For this, Robinson explained, “eminent authors are writing personal narratives and readers are asked to say which stories are fact and which are fiction” (3 Dec. 1954). Since Russell received a great deal of bizarre correspondence—which after 1952 Edith began to collect in a special file—it is quite conceivable that the various cranks described in his opening paragraph were, indeed, fact rather than fiction. The “Ephraim-and-Manasseh devotees” (66:36) had been mentioned by Russell in an article on “Queer People” published more than twenty years before by the Hearst press (1934a). There is certainly a ring of truth to the incidental details in the curious episode recounted in the second half of this piece. Nevertheless, it has not proved possible to confirm the existence of any of the eccentric characters who figure in the present paper.

Russell had been offered fifty guineas plus fifty percent of any fees obtained from the sale of syndication rights overseas. He sent Robinson his contribution about a week later, but the latter judged this “Julius Caesar story” inappropriate.

I read it with interest but I am afraid it does not quite fit into the framework of this scheme. As I explained in my earlier letter, our object is to present stories which are exciting in themselves and which appear to be records of authentic happenings, although in fact they may be fictional. I have found your contribution entertaining, but I am afraid it is rather lacking in incident and in the surprise element to make it suitable for this series.

Robinson did ask if Russell “would care to let me see another story in the form of a straight-forward narrative?” (13 Dec. 1954). But the latter was clearly piqued by the rejection of his original effort and the next day he sent this prickly reply: “I was afraid the piece I sent you was not quite what you want. I am afraid I am not clever enough for you and I cannot think of a story that you would find suitable”. This testiness is certainly understandable, but Robinson’s was not the first tepid response to Russell’s dabbling in the art of fiction. Sir Stanley Unwin had been distinctly lukewarm about publishing the stories that later featured in *Satan in the Suburbs* (1953); one publisher’s reader reported that Russell was quite simply “no fiction writer, not even of satirical nonsense” (quoted

in Moorehead 1992, 494). The only favourable appraisal came from a director of the Bodley Head, and Russell's principal publisher was only too happy to hand over the rights to these associates of Allen and Unwin. The critical reception both of this debut collection of stories and of its successor, *Nightmares of Eminent Persons* (released the following year under the same imprint), was largely dismissive.

At some point Russell must have sent a typescript of the as yet untitled "Cranks" to Julie Medlock, who tried unsuccessfully to sell it "in about twenty places". Finally, she gave the piece gratis to *The Saturday Review* "in return for some favors they had done us in the circulation and reprinting of that Hydrogen Bomb piece of yours {1954g}—my theory being that it was better to get it published than *not* published" (7 Nov. 1956).

The copy-text is the typescript carbon printer's copy for *Fact and Fiction* (RAI 210.006986-F3), prepared originally from the manuscript which Russell had dictated to Edith on 9 December 1954 (RAI 220.022040).

I HAVE LONG been accustomed to being regarded as a crank, and I do not much mind this except when those who so regard me are also cranks, for then they are apt to assume that I must of course agree with their particular nostrum. There are those who think that one should only eat nuts. There are those who think that all wisdom is revealed by the Great Pyramid, and among these there are not a few who think that priests carried its wisdom to Mexico and thus gave rise to the Mayan civilization. I have come across men who think that all matter is composed of atoms which are regular solids having twenty faces. Once, when I was 10 about to begin a lecture tour in America, a man came to me and very earnestly besought me to mention in each lecture that the end of the world would occur before my tour was ended. Then there was the old farmer who thought that all government, both national and local, ought to be abolished because Public Bodies waste so much water. And there was the amiable gentleman who told me that, although he could not alter the past, he could by faith make it always have been different from what it otherwise would have been. He, I regret to say, was sent to prison for a fraudulent balance sheet and he found, to his surprise, that the law courts did not take kindly to his application of faith to arithmetic. Then there was the 20 letter sent from a suburb of Boston, which informed me that it came from the God Osiris, and gave me His telephone number. It advised me to ring up quickly since He was about to re-establish His reign on earth when the Brotherhood of the True Believers would live with Him in bliss, but the rest of mankind would be withered by the fire of His eyes. I must confess that I never answered this letter, but I am still awaiting the dread moment.

There was an incident which illustrates the perils of country life: on a very hot day, in a very remote place, I had plunged into a river in the hopes of getting cool. When I emerged, I found a grave and reverend old man standing beside my clothes. While I was getting dry, he revealed the 30 purpose of his presence. "You", he said, "in common with the rest of our nation, probably entertain the vulgar error that the English are the lost Ten Tribes. This is not the case. We are only the Tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh." His arguments were overwhelming, and I could not escape them as I had to put on my clothes.

Experience has gradually taught me a technique for dealing with such people. Nowadays when I meet the Ephraim-and-Manasseh devotees, I say, "I don't think you've got it quite right. I think the English are Ephraim and the Scotch are Manasseh." On this basis, a pleasant and inconclusive argument becomes possible. In like manner, I counter the 40 devotees of the Great Pyramid by adoration of the Sphinx; and the devotees of nuts, by pointing out that hazel-nuts and walnuts are just as deleterious as other foods and

only Brazil-nuts should be tolerated by the faithful. But when I was younger I had not yet acquired this technique, with the result that my contacts with cranks were sometimes alarming.

Rather more than thirty years ago, at a time when I shared a flat in London with a friend, I heard a ring at the bell. My friend happened to be out and I opened the door. I found on the door-step a man whom I had never seen before, short and bearded, with very mild blue eyes and an air of constant indecision. He was a stranger to me, and the English in which he explained his purpose was very halting. "I have come", he said, "to consult you on a philosophical question of great importance to me." "Well", I replied, "come in and let us sit down." I offered him a cigarette, which was refused. He sat for a time in silence. I tried various topics, but at first I extracted only very brief replies. I made out at last, though with considerable difficulty, what he wanted of me. He informed me that he was a Russian, but not a supporter of the then recent Communist Government. He had, so he told me, frequent mystic visions in which voices urged him to do this or that. He did not know whether such voices deserved respect or were to be regarded as delusions. It had occurred to him that he might obtain guidance from eminent philosophers throughout the world. At the moment, it was British philosophers whose advice he was seeking. When he had had such guidance as he could obtain from me, he proposed next to consult Arthur Balfour, at that time Foreign Secretary. I listened with 20 such respect as I could command to his revelations from the spirit world, but in my replies to him I remained, for the time being, non-committal. At last he said that he would wish to read some of my books (an extreme step which he had not previously taken) to see whether they contained anything that would be a help to him. For a moment I thought of lending him some book of my own, but I was doubtful whether I should ever see it again and, also, whether he would really take the trouble to read it. I therefore advised him to go to the British Museum and read such of my books as seemed likely to be helpful. He said he would do so and would return to resume the discussion after he had got a grip on my general 30 outlook.

Sure enough, he came back a few days later. Again I invited him into my study, and again I tried to set him at his ease. But he looked more dejected and defeated than ever, shabby and hopeless, a drifting waif, who seemed almost insubstantial. "Well", I said, "have you been reading my books?" "Only one of them", he replied. I asked which, and found, after some trouble, that it was not a book by me, but a skit on my philosophy written to make fun of it. By this time, I had begun to think that it did not much matter what he read, so I did not trouble to explain the mistake. I asked, instead, what he thought of the book. "Well", he replied, "there 40 was only one statement in the book that I could understand, and that I did not agree with." "What statement was that?" I asked, expecting that it would have to do with some deep philosophical doctrine. "It was", he replied, "the statement that Julius Caesar is dead." I am accustomed to having my remarks disputed, but this particular remark seemed to me innocuous. "Why did you disagree with that?" I asked in surprise. At this point he underwent a sudden transformation. He had been sitting in an armchair in a melancholy attitude and as though the weight of the world oppressed him, but at this point he leapt up. He drew himself up to his full height, which was five foot two. His eyes suddenly ceased to be mild, and flashed fire. In a voice of thunder, he replied: "BECAUSE I AM JULIUS CAESAR!" It dawned upon me suddenly that this had been the purport 10 of the mystic voices and that he was hoping to re-establish the empire which had temporarily toppled on the Ides of March. Being alone with him, I thought that argument might be dangerous. "That is very remarkable", I said,

“and I am sure that Arthur Balfour will be much interested.” I coaxed him to the door and, pointing along the street, said, “that is the way to the Foreign Office.”

What Mr. Balfour thought of him when he got to the Foreign Office I never learnt, but an obscure footnote to a subsequent new edition of that eminent thinker’s *Foundations of Belief* led me to wonder.

## 15

### Do Human Beings Survive Death? [1957]

PAPER 15 WAS published in *The Sunday Times* under the slightly different title of “Do Men Survive Death”, 13 Jan. 1957, p. 10 (B&R C57.02). It appeared as the second instalment of a twelve-part series about “The Great Mystery”. In asking Russell for a contribution, the newspaper’s editor, H.V.Hodson, had remarked that the project “would obviously be incomplete without a worthy statement of the humanist and rationalist point of view...” (10 Oct. 1956). Lay or clerical perspectives from the Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Buddhist and Islamic faiths were represented as well. Among these contributors was the Abbot of Downside, Christopher Butler, with whom Russell debated the same question on BBC radio (43).

By late October 1956 Russell had submitted a typescript copy of Paper 15 to *The Sunday Times*, but publication of the series was postponed until the New Year on account of the Suez crisis. The articles generated considerable interest and an enormous amount of editorial correspondence—so much, in fact, that it was decided to reprint the entire series in book form. Russell’s piece appears as the second chapter of this collection, *The Great Mystery of Life Hereafter* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1957), pp. 21–7 (B&R 6119). When one of the few letter writers sympathetic to Russell accused the newspaper of providing an unrepresentative sample of responses, the editor replied in print: “The number of letters written in support of Bertrand Russell’s thesis represented just under two per cent of the total received. This ratio was accurately reflected in the selection given last week” (27 Jan. 1957, p. 6). However, there are, proportionally, rather more supportive letters among the usual crop of crankish protests that are assembled in Russell’s file of personal correspondence labelled “Christian Charity” (RAI 710). He later included one of the less charitable letters that he had received privately, from the Bishop of Rochester, in the third volume of *Autobiography* (1969, 126–7). Some of the correspondence, from Russell’s opponents and supporters alike, was sent from the United States, in response, presumably, to the heavily abridged version of Paper 15 that appeared in *Newsweek*, 69, no. 4 (28 Jan. 1957): 55. A couple of the more thoughtful critics (including Butler—see T242:10) took issue with Russell’s use of Hume’s famous passage on the elusiveness of personal identity, a notion which was rejected by less sceptical philosophers of mind.

The copy-text is the typescript carbon, dated 27 October 1956 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand (RAI 220.022090).

THE BELIEF THAT death is not the end, but the beginning of another life, is very ancient: it existed in Egypt; it was adopted in Greece by the Orphics, from whom it came into the philosophy of Plato; by the time of Christ, it was accepted by most Jews; and it has always been a cardinal tenet of the Christian faith. I propose to examine this belief, not in the light of tradition or orthodoxy, but from a purely scientific point of view.

The first point about which it is necessary to be clear is the meaning of personality. Philosophers used to believe, as many people who are not 10 philosophers still believe, that there is, in each of us, a persistent entity which is diversely named “soul”, “mind”,

“self”, or “subject”, according to the feelings which the writer wishes to evoke in the reader. For those who hold this view, the meaning of the question whether we survive death is clear. But, unfortunately, a critical inquiry does not reveal the existence of any such persistent entity as the core of personality. It was Hume who first led philosophers to the rejection of belief in such a persistent entity. He said:

For my part, when I enter most intimately into what I call *myself*, I always stumble on some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never can catch *myself* at any time without a perception, and never can observe any thing but the perception. (*A Treatise of Human Nature*. Part iv. Sect. vi.)

What Hume said about minds, modern physicists say about bits of matter. When I was young, matter was still thought to consist of atoms which were simple and indivisible and immortal, but now matter is much less solid than it used to be. Atoms are formed out of smaller units, and the smaller units themselves have no persistence. The physical world, as physicists conceive it, no longer consists of *things*, but of *events*. There is no every reason to take the same view of the mental world; and this requires a new definition of what we mean by the continuity of a person. It is obvious that there is a connection between Mr. Jones today and Mr. Jones yesterday which has a different character from the connections between Mr. Jones and other people or other things. This is partly constituted by a certain continuity of personal characteristics: as Mr. Jones passes from infancy to old age, he changes gradually, not suddenly. But this is hardly sufficient for a definition of personality, since he may have an identical twin who very closely resembles him. The most essential thing in the continuity of a person is memory. Whatever I remember, happened to me; and what you remember, happened to you. It might be objected that there are public events which many people remember; but, in fact, there are always differences between one man's experience of a public event and another man's. We may, therefore, take memory as what defines the continuity of a person.

The question whether we survive death thus becomes the question: are there, after a man dies, memories of what happened to him while he lived on earth? If there are such memories, we may say that he has survived death; but if not, not.

When this question is viewed scientifically, and not through a fog of emotion, it is very difficult to see any reason for expecting survival. It is fairly certain that memories are connected with the brain, and quite certain that the brain suffers dissolution after death. It is, perhaps, not logically impossible that a new brain, with the same organization as the old one, should arise with the resurrection of the body; but, except as a miracle revealed by Faith, this seems an extraordinarily improbable hypothesis. One might just as well expect that, when a building has been ruined by an earthquake, a new eruption will build it up again.

When I mention the brain in this connection, I shall expect to be accused of materialism. This accusation, however, would be unjust. I believe a living brain to be composed of thoughts and feelings, those very thoughts and feelings which we observe in ourselves. But thoughts and feelings are evanescent and, if it is they that constitute a living brain, it is natural to suppose that they cease or become greatly changed when the brain ceases to live.

The belief that we survive death seems to me on such grounds to have no scientific basis. I do not think it would ever have arisen except as an emotional reaction to the fear

of death. Many people speak of death as a mystery, and they believe, also, that there is something mysterious about the relation of mind and body. For my part, I think this is a mistake. The word "mystery" is only used when there is something people do not want to admit. Otherwise, they are content to say that something is unknown. A 30 great many things are unknown. Some may, in time, be discovered; others, we can hardly hope to know either now or later. But when the word "mystery" is used, it is used to put a stop to inquiry and to sanctify obstinate ignorance. Moreover—what is even worse—those who use the word always go on to speak as though they know all about what they have declared to be unknowable.

I may be told that the view I am setting forth is bleak and cheerless. Undoubtedly, when those we love die, it is an immense comfort to believe that we shall meet them again in heaven. But I see no reason whatever to suppose that the universe takes any interest in our hopes and desires. 40 Whatever of good is to exist in the life of mankind must be put into it by mankind. Apart from life on this planet, we do not know of anything either good or bad. There may be happier worlds on other planets, and there may be worlds even worse than our own, but as to this our ignorance is complete. We have no right to expect the universe to adapt itself to our emotions, and I cannot think it right or wise to cherish beliefs for which there is no good evidence, merely on the ground that fairy tales are pleasant.



## 16

### Books That Influenced Me in Youth [1957]

THIS SERIES OF six autobiographical talks was broadcast in weekly instalments on the BBC's General Overseas Service beginning on 31 December 1956. Almost immediately after the series was completed, it was repeated on the Home Service (between 7 February and 14 March 1957). Papers **16a–f** were first published in *London Calling*, nos. 905–10 (7, 14, 21, 28 March and 4., 11 April 1957): 4, 10, 12, 10, 6, 14, respectively (B&R C57.06, C57.07, C57.09, C57.11, C57.14, C57.15, respectively), and they were reprinted four years later as Part I of *Fact and Fiction* (1961), pp. 11–46.

The idea for “Books That Influenced Me in Youth” had been put to Russell in conversation with the BBC's head of overseas talks and features, Gordon Mosley. Russell had been left with the impression that a single talk only was contemplated, so after Mosley's deputy, R.E.Gregson, confirmed that the plan was somewhat grander, he asked for “more time to think the matter over” (20 Sept. 1956). Presumably, Russell firmed up his commitment to the project verbally, for his next letter from Gregson, dated 5 October, included a tentative schedule of recording dates. The fifteen-minute talks were recorded in pairs on 10, 12 and 13 November, during one of Russell's short visits to London from Plas Penrhyn.

Some of the authors and titles mentioned in these papers are listed in the partial record of books read which Russell kept between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine. Indeed, Shakespeare (eighteen entries), Turgenev (seventeen) and Shelley (fourteen) appear more frequently in “What Shall I Read?” (*Papers* 1:347–65) than do any other writers. Unfortunately, though, no such log exists for Russell's early adolescence; hence the abiding interest of these reminiscences. Russell had previously charted some of the ground covered in Papers **16a–f** in “My Mental Development” (1944), as well as in the *draft Autobiography* which he had deposited in typescript with Sir Stanley Unwin in the late 1940s. These papers, however, provide a more detailed retrospective of Russell's mental formation and growth. By the spring of 1956 he had commenced an even more ambitious exercise in intellectual autobiography, but (unlike the present papers) *My Philosophical Development* (1959) was not confined to his adolescence and young adulthood.

As the entries from the Bibliographical Index reveal, some of the editions read by Russell during the 1880s and early 1890s can be found in his personal library in RA. But these holdings include few of those which belonged originally to the collection of his grandfather (see **16e**, p. 90). Russell did manage to acquire some of these books by purchase at a valuation sale of his grandmother's estate in 1898. But he kept only a few for himself, donating many more to the London School of Economics (see Spadoni and Harley 1985, 30–1 n. 15). Yet, even this gift comprised only a small portion of Lord John's extensive library, which seems to have been dispersed gradually by heirs of the 1st Countess Russell.

Before writing the script for **16c**, Russell ordered two of Ibsen's plays from the London Library and a copy of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Whitman and Ibsen,

along with Shaw, Flaubert, Pater and Nietzsche, were among the modern writers of whom Russell first became aware as a Cambridge undergraduate. Foremost among his favourites at a slightly younger age (as we see below) were Swift, Carlyle, Gibbon, Shakespeare, Turgenev and (especially) Shelley. Indeed, Russell claims that Shelley “dominated my imagination and my affection for many years” (78:7). After stumbling across the poet’s work, Russell “spent all my spare time reading him, and learning him by heart” (1967, 40). Although even the youthful Russell had serious intellectual misgivings about romanticism—which he set forth decades later in *A History of Western Philosophy*—its credo of passion and spontaneity frequently surfaced in his belletristic writings of the early 1900s. Shelley’s poetry in particular nourished some emerging tendencies in Russell’s thought: “the quest for the ideal; mysticism, the conviction of ‘the truth of vision’; and the apocalyptic hope for a regenerate world” (Leithauser 1984, 34). Moreover, for all the emphasis that the mature Russell placed upon analytic judgment, “something of the romantic consciousness remained unrelinquished” (*ibid.*, 47). The influence of the other writers discussed in these broadcasts seems to have been more fleeting, but the adult Russell seems to have retained an affection for all of them except Carlyle, Ibsen and Swift.

The copy-texts for Papers **16a–f** are the typescripts (RAI 220.022170, RAI 220.022170, RAI 220.022170, RAI 220.022170, RAI 220.022170, RAI 220.022170). At the archival location corresponding to each individual paper there is also an identical typescript carbon copy and a dictated manuscript, written in Edith Russell’s hand and dated, for **16a–f** respectively, 9, 15, 20, 22, 24 and 26 October 1956. The pre-publication documents for *Fact and Fiction* (RAI 210.006986) indicate that the first published versions, in *London Calling*, were used as the printers’ copies for the reprints in this collection of Russell’s essays and stories.

### 16a The Importance of Shelley

I AM BEGINNING a series of talks on books that influenced me when I was young—that is to say, broadly speaking, from the age of fifteen to the age of twenty-one. I have not found in later years that books were as important to me as they were when I was first exploring the world and trying to determine my attitude to it. In those days a book might be a great adventure, expressing ideas or emotions which one could absorb and assimilate. In later life one has more or less decided upon a fundamental outlook that seems congenial and only something very rare can effect an important change. But when the great books of the world were new to me, 10 when I first learnt what had been thought and felt and said by men who had thought and felt profoundly, there was a great liberation in the discovery that hopes and dreams and systems of thought which had remained vague and unexpressed for lack of sympathy in my environment had been set forth in clear and shining words by men whom the world acknowledged to be great. From books I derived courage and hope and freedom in arduous endeavour.

In my adolescence, as is not uncommon, a number of very strong emotions jostled each other in my feelings, and, in spite of apparent incompatibility, none yielded to any of the others. I liked a number of books of 20 very different kinds because I found in them expressions of the different kinds of feelings that tossed me hither and thither on contending waves. I cared for beauty, especially in poetry and in nature. I wanted some kind of vivid hope for the destiny of mankind. I was filled with revolt against what Blake

calls “mind-forged manacles”. Underneath all these emotional attitudes, and more compelling than any of them, was the desire to understand the world, which I hoped to do as far as was possible by means of mathematics and science.

Here I propose to speak about poetry. My education in this respect had been old-fashioned even for that time. When I began reading poetry for 30 myself, I was at first somewhat circumscribed by this upbringing. I read Shakespeare and Milton and all Byron’s longer poems except *Don Juan*; I read Tennyson, but was repelled by his sentimentality; and then one day I came upon Shelley, whose very name was unknown to me. I took out from a shelf the Golden Treasury volume of selections from Shelley and opened it at “Alastor or the Spirit of Solitude”. I read on and on entranced. Here, I felt, was a kindred spirit, gifted as I never hoped to be with the power of finding words as beautiful as his thoughts. It was only at a later time that I became interested in Shelley the political rebel. It was Shelley the lyric poet who attracted me. He attracted me as much by what 40 I now consider his weaknesses as by what I still consider his merits. I learnt most of his shorter love poems by heart, and longed to experience the emotions they expressed even when they were painful. I liked his despair, his isolation, his imaginary landscapes that seemed as unreal as scenery in sunset clouds. He did not offend my intellectual taste by accepting conventional beliefs for which there seemed to be no good evidence. My friend and collaborator Whitehead, not without some consciousness of paradox, used to praise Shelley for scientific accuracy and cited a line in *Prometheus Unbound* in which Earth says, “I spin beneath my pyramid of night.” It would not be difficult to find many other instances, but I will give only one, from *Hellas*:

10 Worlds on worlds are rolling ever,  
From creation to decay,  
Like the bubbles on a river,  
Sparkling, bursting, borne away.

This might be a poetic paraphrase of any modern scientific treatise on the stars.

But what attracted me most to Shelley was what made him a typical romantic, for I myself, in adolescence, had the complete outlook of a romantic. I agreed passionately when he said,

I love waves and winds and storms,—20  
Everything almost  
Which is Nature’s, and may be  
Untainted by man’s misery.

The scenery in “Alastor” I should now feel might be criticized for its vagueness, which is like that of scenery in dreams, but at that time it suited me completely. I liked the “lone Chorasmian shore”, and had no wish to know where it was on the map.

One thing that now seems to me somewhat surprising is that, like many adolescents, I had a very vivid sense of a happy past now lost, and of this I found many expressions in

Shelley, such as, "Like the ghost of a dear 30 friend dead/Is time long past." I revelled in his romantic gloom and welcomed the poetic despair of his little poem called "Time":

Unfathomable Sea! whose waves are years,  
 Ocean of Time, whose waters of deep woe  
 Are brackish with the salt of human tears!  
 Thou shoreless flood which in thy ebb and flow  
 Claspest the limits of mortality,  
 And sick of prey yet howling on for more,  
 Vomitest thy wrecks on its inhospitable shore!  
 Treacherous in calm, and terrible in storm,  
 Who shall put forth on thee,  
 Unfathomable Sea?

I shuddered with mingled awe and sympathy as I read his sonnet:

Lift not the painted veil which those who live  
 Call Life; though unreal shapes be pictured there,  
 And it but mimic all we would believe  
 With colours idly spread,—behind, lurk Fear  
 And Hope, twin Destinies, who ever weave  
 Their shadows o'er the chasm sightless and drear. 10  
 I knew one who had lifted it: he sought,  
 For his lost heart was tender, things to love,  
 But found them not, alas! nor was there aught  
 The world contains the which he could approve  
 Through the unheeding many he did move,  
 A splendour among shadows, a bright blot  
 Upon this gloomy scene, a spirit that strove  
 For truth, and like the Preacher found it not.

If I were writing about anybody but myself, I should treat the youthful emotions aroused by this sonnet with kindly sympathy; but as the emotions were mine, I will say only that they now seem to me somewhat absurd. I should be unjust to my adolescent self, however, if I were to omit other things that struck me in my reading of Shelley. I noticed the similarity and difference between Shelley's "The flower that smiles today /Tomorrow dies", and Herrick's "And this same flower that smiles today /Tomorrow will be dying". I noticed that although one is tragic and the other gay, the difference is wholly one of rhythm. As I was already anxious to learn to write well, I noted the effect of rhythm in whatever good literature I read, more especially in Milton. It was largely the jingling, mechanical metres of Byron that prevented me from admiring that poet. I loved 30

Shelley for his rhythm as much as for his sentiment. It was not only Shelley's despairs that I liked among his sentiments, but also his apocalyptic hopes. The vision of a world suddenly transformed when "the banded anarchs fled", entranced me, and I was enraptured by the chorus at the end of *Hellas*, of which I will quote the first stanza:

The world's great age begins anew,  
The golden years return,  
The earth doth like a snake renew  
Her winter weeds outworn:  
Heaven smiles, and faiths and empires gleam,  
Like wrecks of a dissolving dream.

I have never quite overcome this point of view. Although I am intellectually convinced that any great improvement in human life must be gradual, I still find my imagination dominated by the hope of a general change of heart.

Shelley dominated my imagination and my affection for many years. When I went to Italy in 1892, my first place of pilgrimage was Casa Magni where Shelley spent the last months of his life. I loved him not only for the 10 reasons I have already mentioned, but also for an extraordinary quality of light like sunshine after a storm. I have spoken of his landscapes as unreal, but this same quality is to be found in some actual landscapes, especially those on eastern shores of the Atlantic. I have found it in Cornwall, in Connemara, and on the mountains of Skye, and sometimes in North Wales: a magical, transfiguring beauty which seems not of this world but like a glimpse of an imagined heaven. It was this transfiguring quality in Shelley's poetry that I found intoxicating. In this respect, I do not know of any other poet to equal him.

Although I have learnt reluctantly to admit some weaknesses in Shelley, 20 he has remained important to me for the purity of his passion, the intensity of his love of beauty, and the scope of his constructive imagination. I wondered in adolescence whether I should have the good fortune to meet someone like him. I still feel that, if this had happened, it would have been a supreme event in a not uneventful life.

### 16b The Romance of Revolt

TURGENEV, WHO WILL be my subject, had a profound influence upon me in various different ways. Tolstoy and Dostoievski, I did not read until some years later, and, although both seem to me now to have more genius than Turgenev had, neither of them ever influenced me greatly. Turgenev was my first contact with anything Russian, and I found his novels at once immensely impressive and immensely attractive. Some of his books excited me as poetic love stories at a time when I knew of love only through literature. His characters, both those whom he loved and those whom he hated (for he did not pretend to any detachment), seemed to me to be both more interesting and more delicately portrayed than those of English novelists. I read him in German because Mrs. Garnett's translation did not yet exist, and his novels impressed me as few books of literature have done.

My grandmother had often spoken to me of some Russian friends in the Russian diplomatic service in Paris, who called themselves, and whom she called, Tourgeneff. I asked her whether she knew of the novelist and whether he was related to her friends. She replied that they had mentioned having a cousin who wrote novels, and, indeed, she had once met him and he had given her one of his books, but she had never read it and did not know what sort of books he wrote.

I found in Turgenev, first of all, a society of eager and hopeful young people such as I could have loved if I had known them, and infinitely more sympathetic to me than any young people whom I knew before I went to Cambridge. They combined hope and indignation in proportions which I found entirely congenial to me. They were oppressed or seduced by cynical aristocrats who made me shudder. They attempted heroic tasks, and came to grief heroically. They won my heart, and retained it down to the moment of their final defeat by the Bolsheviks.

Romantic rebellion inspired the young and some of the old throughout the generations from 1789 to 1918. Throughout this long period many of the most talented people in every country of Europe and the western hemisphere believed that the cruelties and oppressions existing in many parts of the world were due to small cliques of wicked men against whom, sooner or later, the People would rise in noble wrath and establish a heaven on earth. One generation after another was disappointed, but new crops of young men perpetually took the place of the "Lost Leaders". This long procession of romantic rebels began with the French Revolution. Wordsworth, after he had been disillusioned, recounted the emotions of his youth, which he recollected in very complete tranquillity. They are to be found in the sonnet with the somewhat unpromising beginning:

Jones! As from Calais southwards you and I  
Went pacing side by side...

and, more poetically, in the well-known lines,

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive 30  
But to be young was very heaven.

The guillotine and the reign of terror obscured in men's memories the hopes inspired by the first years of the French Revolution, but the Romantic tradition survived and was kept alive by romantic facts. Tom Paine was preserved from Pitt's minions by the judicious advice of Blake, and embarked at Dover twenty minutes before those who had come to arrest him arrived. He had been elected by Calais as its representative in the Convention and was hailed by the French with a frenzy of acclamation. He survived the hatred of Pitt, Washington, and Robespierre, all of whom wished him dead. But, though they failed to kill him, they succeeded in killing his hopes.

Nonetheless, America remained a land of promise for lovers of freedom. Even Byron, at a moment when he was disgusted with Napoleon for not committing suicide, wrote an eloquent stanza in praise of Washington. Admiration of America as the land of democracy survived through the greater part of the nineteenth century. Richard Cobden,

who was in most respects the opposite of a Romantic, cherished illusions about the United States: when admirers presented him with a large sum of money, he invested it in the Illinois Central Railroad and lost every penny. When my parents visited America in 1867, it still had for them a halo of romance. This survived even for me through Walt Whitman, whose house was the first place that I visited when I went to America.

But, except for Walt Whitman, the New World was not the favourite of the poets. In the time of Byron and Shelley, Greece was the country that inspired the Muse, and the Turk was the symbol of tyranny. After Greece had won independence, it was the turn of Italy. Browning and Swinburne sang the praises of Italian patriotic exiles, of whom Mazzini was the most eminent symbol. It was the abomination of the Neapolitan régime that finally turned Gladstone from a Peelite into a Liberal. Mazzini's history was very typical: he inspired the enthusiasm which created United Italy; but Cavour harnessed this enthusiasm to the House of Savoy, and the result was profoundly disgusting to the man who had done so much to bring it about. There was nothing peculiar to Italy in this series of events. In one country after another, the old régime was overthrown, and the momentum which produced the overthrow was generated and, at first, led by romantic idealists. Everywhere, the regime which emerged from successful revolution was disillusioning to the idealists. But their hopes did not wholly die, they only travelled on to some new land where present oppression was certain and future glory still seemed possible.

When I was young, it was the Russian revolutionaries, above all, who were the inheritors of the tradition of romantic revolt. Czarist Russia was viewed with shuddering horror by liberals throughout the world. The very word "Siberia" froze their blood. Ever since the Decembrists in 1825, heroic Russians had struggled to overthrow the régime. No liberal doubted that they would succeed some day and that the result would be a splendid growth of freedom in regions where the human spirit had hitherto been enslaved. I shared these hopes; and I found in Turgenev's books imaginative portraits of the men who were to create the new world.

40 Political revolutionaries are the subject-matter of *Virgin Soil*, a book by which I was greatly moved. But the best of Turgenev's books, and the one which affected me most, was *Fathers and Children*. The hero of this book, Bazarov, is not much concerned with politics, but is a rebel of every other imaginable sort. He calls himself a Nihilist, a word which Turgenev invented in this book, and which was afterwards universally adopted, as a symbol of hope to some and terror to others. Bazarov professes to believe in nothing at all, but has, in fact, a somewhat reluctant belief in science. He is training to be a doctor and tells everybody that medicine is all nonsense, but he works assiduously to acquire all the medical knowledge available. He carries his dislike of humbug and his cult of sincerity to a point which makes him brutal and unfeeling in his conversation even with those who love him deeply. He has a disciple, an aristocratic young man named Arkady, who is amiable and kindly and finds Bazarov's pronouncedly delightful horrifying. When I read the book, I read it with the feelings of Arkady. I had grown up in a world in which good manners were regarded as of supreme importance, and in which very grave social evils remained rampant because any mention of them was repugnant to good taste. When Bazarov behaved like a boor, I supposed that this was really very admirable, but, in spite of the worst intentions, I remained much more like Arkady. I admired ruthlessness, but could not bring myself to practise it. Much subsequent experience of Bazarov's imitators has made me more tolerant of politeness than I was when it still held me in a kind of prison. It is natural to groping youth to admire opinions

too extreme to command complete agreement. For example, I admired, but did not share, Bazarov's ethical destructiveness when he says:

There are no general principles—you've not made out that even yet!  
There are feelings. Everything depends on them.

I, for instance, take up a negative attitude, by virtue of my sensations; I like to deny—my brain's made on that plan, and that's all about it! Why do I like chemistry? Why do you like apples?—by virtue of our sensations. It's all the same thing. Deeper than that men will never penetrate.

When Bazarov begins to get tired of Arkady, he says, "You're a capital 30 fellow; but you're a sugary, liberal snob for all that." I trembled at the thought that Bazarov might consider me a "sugary, liberal snob", which I thought very probable.

Bazarov dies of blood-poisoning acquired in dissecting a corpse. The grief of his parents, who adore him, is one of the most affecting things that I know in literature.

Turgenev was taken to task by liberal Russians for representing Bazarov as a typical revolutionary. They said he was a caricature. They said that it was a soft heart and not a hard head that made *them* revolutionary. They felt that he had betrayed the cause, and attacked him with great bitterness. 40 He defended himself with vigour. I quote from Edward Garnett's introduction to his wife's translation a passage from a letter of Turgenev to a Russian lady:

What, you too say that in drawing Bazarov I wished to make a caricature of the young generation. You repeat this—pardon my plain speaking—idiotic reproach. Bazarov, my favourite child, on whose account I quarrelled with Katkoff; Bazarov, on whom I lavished all the colours at my disposal; Bazarov, this man of intellect, this hero, a caricature! But I see it is useless to protest.

No one at that time foresaw the Russian future with any accuracy, but it 10 must be said that those who emerged victors in the Russian Revolution bore more resemblance to Bazarov than to his critics. Perhaps, nevertheless, Bazarov, if he had survived, would have felt about the victors as I did.

### 16c Revolt in the Abstract

IBSEN, WHO is the subject of this talk, presents for me a difficulty which did not exist in the cases of Shelley and Turgenev. The difficulty is that I no longer admire him except to a very limited extent, and that it is only by an effort that I can recall what he meant for me at one time.

I first heard of him from a friend of my family, a Unitarian minister 20 named Philip Wicksteed, whom I admired for his work on economics. I next came upon the name of Ibsen through Shaw's laudatory writings on him. The third thing that predisposed me in his favour was a hostile criticism in the *Cambridge Review*, a periodical mainly designed (or so I thought then) to keep Dons feeling comfortable. This criticism was brought to my

notice by Whitehead who, for years afterwards, quoted from it with delight a sentence saying, "Life presents no problems to serious and well-conducted persons." Given such credentials, I naturally had high hopes of Ibsen's plays.

The moment at which I first saw his plays on the stage helped not a 30 little to deepen the impression which they made upon me. In June, 1893, I had just come of age. I had also just finished the mathematical tripos for which I had been preparing during the previous ten years under a willingly accepted discipline almost as severe as that of an athlete in training, and more prolonged. The two events coming together gave me an exhilarating sense of liberation and a readiness for adventure. Just at this time a number of Ibsen's plays were being acted in London and, when I saw them, they excited me in a very high degree. I think, in retrospect, that this was partly due to the leading lady, Elizabeth Robins. Of her, Edmund Gosse wrote at the time: "Of Miss Robins' impersonation of Hilda [the heroine of *The Master Builder*] there could be no two opinions, even among those who disliked the play. The spirit of April laughed and leaped with her; the inconscience, the spontaneity of unreflective youth were rarely presented and sustained with such extraordinary buoyancy." I expressed my enthusiastic admiration for Elizabeth Robins to a maiden aunt who knew her, but my aunt, very prudently, did not enable me to meet the lady.

It is not easy at this date to realize the passionate admiration, and the passionate hate, that Ibsen inspired. All the people who could consider themselves pillars of society raved against Ibsen as immoral, subversive, 10 and anarchical. Their attacks upon him would have sufficed, of themselves, to put the enthusiastic young on his side.

Rebels, as I have come to realize, are never quite emancipated from the people against whom they rebel. Whatever these people have admired, they have to decry; whatever these people have decried, they have to admire. Their opinions are thus dictated, in reverse, by their enemies. It only gradually becomes apparent that there is no such simple way of arriving at the truth. To assume that Mr. So-and-So is always wrong, is almost as bad as it is to assume that he is always right. This, however, is not what I felt when I was twenty-one. I felt then that anything hated by conven- 20 tional, middle-aged people must be good. Ibsen's heroines do things which are considered criminal or immoral, but are held up by the dramatist as nevertheless worthy of enthusiastic respect. I was very full of rebellion against the subjection of women. I read with delight Walt Whitman's praise of "the brawny and arrogant woman I love"; and Ibsen's women seemed to approximate to this type. Conventional morality, I thought, is very apt to be wrong; these women sin against conventional morality; therefore they are probably right.

Put in such terms, this outlook seems almost unbelievably simpleminded, but it was, in those days, very widespread. I re-read some of his 30 plays, among them *Hedda Gabler*, for purposes of this talk, and found the heroine of that play absolutely intolerable, a heartless, intriguing, oversexed snob. But it was in common with many other people that I thought otherwise at the time. Hedda Gabler goes everywhere with pistols, and finally shoots herself with one of them. I knew a lady who did exactly that, chiefly, I think, through an imitative impulse. Before she reached this disastrous climax, I had entirely ceased to admire Hedda. But when I first saw the play acted, I thought her a noble, courageous rebel, thinking, feeling, and acting freely, out of her own impulses, not slavishly in obedience to the herd. 40

Ibsen has certain clichés which I now find tiresome. Whenever any character—a drunkard, a forger, or a prostitute—infringes conventional morality, somebody in the play is sure to remark that he, or she, has had the courage to live his, or her, life in his, or her,

way. This is all very fine if it is seen as the rare exception in a stable society. But when it is regarded as a general rule for everybody to follow, it leads either to disaster or to the establishment of a tyranny in which only a few people at the top can, in Ibsen's words, live their own life in their own way.

Ibsen is a somewhat belated romantic and shares with the romantics both what is true and what is false in their outlook. There are two extreme views as to how human life should be lived, neither of which can be accepted in its entirety. You may think of it as a minuet, in which a certain 10 ordered pattern is produced by rigid adherence to rule, and spontaneous impulse has no place; or you may think of it as a witch dance in a Voodoo incantation, in which excitement is stimulated until it issues in atrocious cruelty. The former suits the classicist; the latter, the romantic. Neither is quite adequate. The classical outlook produces the rebel. The romantic outlook, when it is widespread, necessarily generates the tyrant. The cruelty inherent in the romantic outlook is quite evident in Ibsen's plays. Rebecca West drives an unfortunate lady to suicide. Hedda Gabler, from jealousy, drives a reformed dipsomaniac back to his former failing and destroys the manuscript of the book which he has written while reformed. 20 Hedda Gabler holds up to the contempt of everybody her well-intentioned, hard-working husband, whose sole defect is that Providence has not provided him with first-rate wits. Hilda Wangel, finding that the master builder grows dizzy at great heights and therefore always avoids them, persuades him by taunts to climb to the top of a tower from which he falls to his death while she exults in this proof of her power over him. Ibsen's ethic is essentially the same as Nietzsche's. He seems to think that the super-man (who is, as in Shaw, usually a woman) is so much more splendid than the average run of human beings as to have no duties whatever towards them and to have the right to bring them to destruction in the 30 pursuit of what is considered to be heroic passion. The outcome must inevitably be a regime of Nazi despotism and cruelty. Everyone will struggle to be the super-man and will be deterred by nothing but superior force or cunning on the part of some other claimant for this exciting rôle.

All this was not foreseen sixty years ago by those who were dissatisfied with things as they were. "Serious and well-conducted persons" roused our contempt both because they were dull and because most of them upheld everything bad that was established. Those of us who made fun of them, failed to realize that they also upheld some very essential good things which we took for granted and therefore thought unexciting. Most 40 people in an ordered community have never committed a murder. Most people have not made false accusations against their parents who consequently perished miserably in concentration camps. Most people have not built lethal chambers in which they have exterminated millions of inno-cent victims. Most people have not driven large sections of mankind to the brink of insanity by hunger and cold and misery and terror. To have abstained from such acts is not to have reached a very high level of virtue, but to have committed them is to have reached a very high level of wickedness. We have seen the influential part of whole populations guilty of this high level of wickedness, and the spectacle has compelled us to feel respect for the humbler, everyday merits which Ibsen and Nietzsche despised. The brute in man lies nearer to the surface than we used to think. There is a strange excitement in yielding to what Baudelaire calls the nostalgia of the slime; and the faster we fall, the more persuaded we become that we 10 are rising. All these dangers are implicit in the romantic outlook because it values strong feelings without regard to whether the feelings are good or bad. The homicidal maniac, one must suppose, has

strong feelings, but we do not, on that account, admire him. If you *love* your neighbour, it is well to love him strongly; but if you *hate* him, it is less bad to hate him weakly.

But Ibsen is not merely a preacher of bad morals. He is also a creator of good drama. The best of his plays are admirably constructed and very exciting—more so on the stage than one would know from reading them. He has the art of letting past events become gradually known as the action proceeds. But I do not think that he reaches quite the first rank even as a 20 pure dramatist. His characters, like Shaw's, tend to be embodied arguments or points of view, not rounded individuals with all the little, irrelevant peculiarities that help to make real people endearing or hateful. They are dry like tinder, not full of sap like living trees. For this reason I find now that their joys and sorrows do not move me as do those portrayed by the greatest writers; and this, I suppose, is the reason why, now that his crusades are outmoded, his works are sinking into oblivion.

I am not sure how far this criticism is valid in regard to his verse dramas, *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*. *Brand*, especially, has passages of terrifying sublimity in which the howling wind of the dark, Arctic night seems to 30 penetrate to the very soul. *Brand* still seems to me worthy to be remem-bered.

### 16d Disgust and Its Antidote

IT is, I imagine, common in youth to feel in quick succession a num-ber of different attitudes towards life and the world, and to feel each in turn as strongly as if it had no competitors. I loved the imagined beauty that I found in Shelley; I rejoiced in the ardent revolutionaries por-trayed by Turgenev; and I was excited by the bold voyages of adventure that made the subject-matter of Ibsen's plays. All these, in their various ways, satisfied optimistic moods; but I had other moods for which quite 40 different literature found expression, moods of despair, disgust, hatred, and contempt. I never gave whole-hearted assent to these moods, but I was glad when I found in literature anything that seemed to sanction them. I read, in adolescence, a great deal of Carlyle. I thought his positive doctrines foolish, but his virulent denunciations delighted me. I enjoyed it when he described the population of England as "twenty-seven millions, mostly fools". I was delighted by his remark, "Fancy that thou deservest to be hanged (as is most likely), thou wilt feel it happiness to be only shot!" But I came to feel that his attitude to life and mankind was peevish rather than tragic. It was not in his writings, but in *King Lear*, that I found the 10 fullest satisfaction for black moods. At that time, I preferred *King Lear* to all the rest of Shakespeare, even to *Hamlet*, and it was because of its vast cosmic despair that I liked it.

When we are born, we cry that we are come  
To this great stage of fools.

This seemed to me, at moments, to express ultimate wisdom. I liked, also,

As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods;  
They kill us for their sport.

There was a kind of bitter satisfaction in imagining that the tortures human beings endure give pleasure to the gods and are, therefore, not wholly 20 purposeless. I revelled in Lear's comment when he and Kent and the Fool meet Edgar, naked, in the storm: "Ha! here's three on's are sophisticated; thou are the thing itself; unaccommodated man is no more but such a poor, bare, forked animal as thou art. Off, off, you lendings! Come; unbutton here." I exulted in the heroic magnificence of Lear's defiance of the storm:

Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage! blow!  
 You cataracts and hurricanoes, spout  
 Till you have drench'd our steeples, drown'd the cocks!  
 You sulphurous and thought-executing fires, 30  
 Vaunt-couriers to oak-cleaving thunderbolts,  
 Singe my white head! And thou, all-shaking thunder,  
 Strike flat the thick rotundity o' the world!  
 Crack nature's moulds, all germens spill at once  
 That make ingrateful man!

Lear's speeches in the scenes on the heath make the romanticism of the romantic seem thin and paltry by comparison. There is, however, a more fundamental difference: the romantics believed it all, whereas Shakespeare put it in the mouth of a man going mad. On a lower plane of tragedy, I enjoyed King Lear's subversive sentiments, such as:

Through tattered clothes small vices do appear.  
 Robes and furred gowns hide all.

I liked, too, his comment on bureaucracy:

Thou hast seen a farmer's dog bark at a beggar?  
 Ay, Sir.  
 And the creature run from the cur?  
 There thou might'st behold the great image of authority;  
 a dog's obey'd in office. 10

In the same scene. King Lear makes a pleasant remark about the perspicacity of statesmen:

Get thee glass eyes;  
 And, like a scurvy politician, seem  
 To see the things thou dost not.

But in *King Lear*, even in the blackest and most despairing passages, there is a redeeming sublimity. One feels, in reading, that, though life may be bad and the world full of unmerited suffering, yet there is in man a capacity of greatness and occasional splendour which makes ultimate and complete despair impossible. It was not in Shakespeare, but in Swift, that I found the expression of the ultimate and complete despair.

It was largely by accident that I came to read Swift. The room that was my schoolroom had been my grandfather's library. The shelves were filled with great tomes, but I was solemnly warned not to read them. This had the effect which ought to have been anticipated, but was not. Among the tomes that I took down from the shelves, was an unexpurgated Swift. I read first *The Tale of a Tub*, which delighted me because it treated theological controversies with a flippancy of which, nowadays, not even the most arrant free-thinker would dare to be guilty. I then went on to *Gulliver's Travels*, a book which has had the curious fate of being regarded as one for the amusement of children, although it is the most biting and devastating and completely black of all the satires ever penned by embittered men. The account of Laputa is an early example of science fiction; not, by any means, the first, since it had been anticipated, for example, by Francis Godwin and Cyrano de Bergerac. But it is, I think, the first to represent a scientific community in the manner familiarized for our generation by Huxley's *Brave New World*. Other writers, until nearly our own day, had thought of science optimistically as a liberator. Swift was, I believe, the first to think of it as affording a means of ruthless tyranny. I imbibed this point of view at the age of fifteen, and it left my imagination well-prepared for the shock of nuclear bombs. I realized then, and have remembered ever since, that science, in itself, is ethically neutral. It confers power, but for evil just as much as for good. It is to feeling, not to knowledge, that we must appeal if science is to be beneficent. Laputa showed me the possibility of scientific horrors, and made me realize that, however scientific, they remain horrors. Abominations are abominations even if the utmost skill is required to contrive them.

But it was, above all, the Yahoos that impressed me. I read, with growing horror, the skilful pages in which the reader is gradually enticed into the belief that the Yahoos are just ordinary human beings, ending with the appalling climax in which, on Gulliver's return home, he shrinks from his wife in horror because he sees her as a Yahoo. In the land of the Houyhnhnms, where horses are rational and lord it over the rest of the animal kingdom as men do with us, there are hordes of wild and horrid creatures, human in form and called Yahoos, who are regarded by the Houyhnhnms much as we regard hyenas. Gulliver, at first, is viewed with suspicion by the wise horses, but, in the end, they admit that he has some glimmerings of reason and virtue, and they consent to listen to his account of the world from which he has come. The Houyhnhnms have, of course, all those merits which Swift believes that he would like men to possess, while the Yahoos have, in a supreme degree, all the demerits which his spleen inclines him to find among human beings. It does not occur to the reader, at first, to think of the Yahoos, in spite of their human shape, as like the people that he knows. It is only Swift's diabolical skill that insinuates this horrid idea into his disgusted mind. This terrible indictment had a profound effect upon me, and it was only with an effort that I shook off its paralyzing influence.

I found the antidote to Swift in a place which may, perhaps, seem surprising. I found it in Milton's prose. I did not fail to appreciate his verse—indeed, at that time I learnt a great deal of it by heart—but in his prose it was not the philosophy that pleased me. It was more purely poetic merits, such as those of diction and metre. The philosophy left

me unmoved: *Paradise Lost* did not diminish my taste for eating apples. But in his prose, at its best, I found, not only splendid writing from the purely literary point of view, but also doctrines that were wide and free and ennobling. I had known the sonnet beginning,

40 Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones  
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold.

But I had not known, until I read his prose works, that in his capacity of Foreign Secretary he sent paraphrases of this sonnet to many of the Governments of Europe. Never, since that time, has the Foreign Office spoken in such accents. But, above all, I admired the *Areopagitica*. I treasured such sentences as: "As good almost kill a man as kill a good book: who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself." This was an inspiring sentiment for an intending writer, who devoutly hoped that his books would be "good books". And more especially encouraging to a budding philosopher was the statement: "Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making." This might almost be taken as the sacred text for free speech and free discussion. "Opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making", says, in few words, what is essential for the condemnation of censorship. Alas, I did not know, in those days, that to cure Milton of opposing censorship they made him a Censor. This is the almost invariable logic of revolutions: while in the making, they praise liberty; but, when successful, they establish tyranny. But it was not only the justice of Milton's opinions that I valued, it was also, and more especially, the pomp and majesty of his finest passages. Though they are 20 very well known, I cannot refrain from quoting two sentences which inspired me then, and which I still cannot read without intense emotion:

Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beams.

In spite of growing blindness, Milton was happy while he could so feel about England. For the time, his hopes ended in disappointment, but something shining and noble descended from them to later generations.

### 16e An Education in History 30

HISTORY, OR AT least English history, was part of my education from a very early age. Constitutional history, especially, was implanted in me before I was ten years old. The instruction that I had in this subject was unadulterated indoctrination with as little attempt at impartiality as under any totalitarian regime. Everything was treated from a Whig point of view, and I was told, only half in joke, that "history" means "Hiss-Tory". There was a simple rule for deciding who was right: in a quarrel between Church and King, one sided with the King, except in the case of the seven bishops prosecuted by James II; when the

King had a dispute with anybody other than the Church, one took the side against the King. Parliament was always glorified, and its powers in early times were exaggerated. For instance, I was told that, in the Wars of the Roses, one should side with the Lancasters because their claim was derived from Parliamentary sanction, whereas the claim of the Yorkists was merely dynastic. I was taught, as a matter of course, that the Americans were right in the War of Independence, and, although I was allowed a childish pleasure in the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo, I was told to deplore the British 10 Empire and to abhor the makers of the Afghan and Zulu wars which occurred when I was beginning to be politically conscious.

From the time of Henry VIII onward, English history came to me as bound up with the history of my family. This was especially the case as regards the conflict with the Stuarts. My ancestor whose head was cut off by Charles II was the family hero, whose life my grandfather had written. History, as I was taught to think of it, ended in 1815. After that, one knew of it from those who had taken part in it and not from books. My grandfather, who had been in Parliament since 1813, and whom I remember as continually reading Hansard, made the whole nineteenth century personal and lively to me. Great events had not the impersonal and remote quality that they have in the books of historians. Throughout the nineteenth century these events intimately concerned people whom I knew, and it seemed to me a matter of course that one should play some part in the progress of mankind. The vast democratic nations of our time have generated an unfortunate sense of individual impotence in the majority of their citizens. This sense of individual impotence was totally absent in my upbringing. I believed in my very bones, hardly consciously, but all the more profoundly, that one should aim at great achievement in the full conviction that such achievement is possible.

30 The time came, however, when I began to read history on my own account, and, when this happened, my reading was largely guided by the accident of what I found on the shelves. My bedroom had been treated as a cemetery for books which no one would wish to disinter. I studied their titles, but never looked inside them. They were an odd collection: Sugden on *The Law of Property*, Coxe's *Pelham Administration* (Pelham, I thought, was an adjective), *The Scottish Nation* (in three volumes), *The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K.G.*, and (a totally mysterious item) Mohan Lal's *Life of Dost Mohammad Khan*. All these books remained dark to me, but the books in my school-room were more hopeful. There were 40 *The Annals of Ireland* by the Four Masters, from which I learnt about the people who went to Ireland before the Flood and perished in that cataclysm. There was a book called *Irish Pedigrees* which gave the genealogy of the British Royal Family all the way to Adam. The genealogy went by way of Robert Bruce, and, as my own genealogy up to Robert Bruce was known, I felt this adequate as a prop to self-importance. Then there was *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates* in two enormous volumes. For years I supposed that this book contained something like the tables for finding Easter at the beginning of the Prayer Book. At last, when I grew big enough to support the weight, I took one of the volumes out of the shelf and found that the only art consisted of looking up the date in the book. I read with delight a book then famous, though now forgotten: Buckle's *History of Civilization*. I liked in this book the emphasis on the influence of climate, not because I especially believed in this theory, but because it suggested to me the possibility of scientific treatment of history. I contemplated with a certain reverence a sixteenth-century edition of Guicciardini, and I read large parts of the works of Machiavelli. I sought out, eagerly, books dealing with the conflict between theology and science. There was one such book that especially roused

my enthusiasm: it was Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe*. From this I was led on to an interest in ecclesiastical history: I studied Dean Milman's *History of Christianity*.

But all my previous reading of history was eclipsed when, at last, I came to Gibbon, whose many volumes I read and re-read while still adolescent. Gibbon had many merits in my eyes, both great and small. To begin with 20 the minor merits, his narrative was interesting, his jokes were amusing, and his characters were often very queer. For instance, in dealing with the sixth century he speaks of "the polished tyrants of Africa", and my imagination played round the question as to what sort of people these were. To come to more important matters, I was immensely interested by his account of oecumenical councils and theological disputes from the time of Constantine to the time of Justinian. It seemed to me then strange that whole populations should have passionate party feeling on minute points of theological doctrine. This now seems less strange, since we have been educated by Stalin's metaphysical niceties on the subject of Dialectical 30 Materialism. Gibbon's greatest merit, however, of which I am now even more aware than I was in youth, is his capacity of presenting world history as a stately procession in which one sees, as on a stage, the "sages of Greece and Rome" swept away for a time by a tide of barbarism, but gradually recovering their influence on the minds of men and giving rise to the highly civilized prose and periwigs of the eighteenth century. I could imagine, in those days, that the victory of culture over barbarian hordes had been achieved once for all. Subsequent events, however, have made this seem much less certain.

Already, in youth, I felt an interest, which has remained with me, in 40 solitary outposts of civilization, and men, or groups, who were isolated in an alien world. I did not then have the knowledge that I have since acquired about such matters, but I already wished to have it. This interest has led me in later years to read about the Bactrian Greeks, separated from the mother country by deserts and alien monarchies, losing gradually most of their Hellenism and finally subdued by less civilized neighbours, but passing on, as they faded away, some part of the cultural heritage of Greece in the Buddhist sculpture which they inspired. I contemplated, with vivid interest, the civilization of Ireland that was destroyed by the Danes. This civilization, which was created by refugees from the barbarian invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries, kept alive, in one corner of the extreme West, the knowledge of the Greek language and of Greek philology, which elsewhere in the West had become extinct; and when at last the Danes began their destructive inroads, France was ready to accept the heritage at the hands of John the Scot. I liked to think of St. Boniface and St. Virgilius, two holy men engaged in the endeavour to convert the Germans, meeting in the depths of the Teutonic forest, glad for a moment of each other's society, but quarrelling desperately on the question whether there are inhabited worlds other than our own. I liked to think of the last lingering remnant of pagan antiquity among the aristocratic families of Rome, and of how their outlook, as expressed by Boethius, conquered the Catholic world owing to the accident of his being put to death by the 20 Arian heretic, Theodoric.

From such contemplations, I derived a belief in the indestructibility of certain things which I valued above all others, the things which make up our cultural heritage and which have, as yet, persisted through all the various disasters from the time when the Minoan civilization was destroyed until our own day. I valued, above all, the gradually increasing power of intellect and knowledge, beginning in the tiny city-states of Greece, spread by Alexander throughout the Middle East, handed on by Alexandria to the Arabs, passed on by them to Western Europe and, more especially, to Spain and Italy, and, when

those countries were condemned to intellectual death by the Inquisition, acquiring new life in France and Holland and England.

The love of free inquiry and free speculation has never been common. When it has existed, it has existed in only a tiny minority and has always roused furious hatred and opposition in the majority. There have been times when it has seemed wholly extinct, but over and over again it has revived. Although the life that it inspires is arduous and dangerous, the impulse which leads some men to adopt it has been so overwhelming that they have braved all the obloquy to which they were exposed by devoting themselves to the greatest service that men can do to man. It is this indomitable quality of the human mind at its best that gives hope for mankind, and that causes me, in spite of the unprecedented dangers of our age, to believe that the human race will emerge as it has emerged from other dark times with renewed vigour and with a more confident and triumphant hope of overcoming, not only the hostile forces of nature, but also the black nightmares inspired by atavistic fears which have caused men, and still cause them, to create and endure great worlds of sorrow and suffering for which there is no longer any reason except in human folly. We know, as never before, the road to a happy world. We have only to choose this road to lead our tortured species into a land of light and joy.

### 16f The Pursuit of Truth

THROUGHOUT THE EARLY period of my life almost all my serious working time was devoted to mathematics. I supposed, in those days, that I was more interested in the application of mathematics to the explanation of natural phenomena than in pure mathematics for its own sake. This emphasis changed with time, and it was the purest of pure mathematics that finally claimed me. This change had various causes, but one of the most important was a desire to refute Kant, whose theory of space and time as a priori intuitions seemed to me horrid. All this, however, belongs to a later date, and so do the revolutionary discoveries and theories which distinguished the physics of our century from the physics of Newton and his successors. All these great discoveries and theories came after my formal education was completed. Faraday and Maxwell, it is true, had laid the foundations for one part of the advance beyond Newton, but I did not read their work until I had finished with Triposes. The first modern advance that I found exciting was Hertz's experimental manufacture of electro-magnetic waves, from which wireless and broadcasting sprang. The next exciting event was Becquerel's discovery of radioactivity. Then came Planck's discovery of the quantum; and next, Einstein's special theory of relativity. All these revolutionary events occurred within about a decade. Theoretical physics has remained ever since immensely exciting and important. When I was learning mathematics, it had not this character, but was still statuesquely Newtonian.

What delighted me about mathematics was that things could be *proved*. The pleasure that I derived from demonstrations burst upon me as a new kind of joy when I began Euclid—for, in those days, one learnt geometry from Euclid himself, and not from modern adaptations. It is true that Euclid was, in some respects, disappointing. Some of his axioms seemed questionable, and a good deal of his reasoning was rather slipshod; but these defects appeared to me remediable, and did not destroy my belief that it is possible to rear an indestructible edifice of deductive reasoning. When I was fourteen, I had a tutor who told me about non-Euclidean geometry, and, although I did not study it until some eight years later, it remained as a stimulus to my imagination, and as

something which I 40 would investigate as soon as I had time. It was, in fact, the subject of my first serious original work. Meantime, I read with enthusiasm W.K.Clifford's *Common Sense of the Exact Sciences*, which I still think an admirable book for a budding mathematician.

It was, I repeat, above all the application of mathematics to the real world that I found exciting. Newton's *Principia*, in a three-volume Latin edition of 1760, was on the shelves. I pulled it out, and read his deduction of Kepler's laws from the law of gravitation. The beauty and clarity and force of his reasoning affected me in the same kind of way as the greatest 10 music. Tremors ran up and down my backbone, and I rejoiced in having become acquainted with anything so splendid.

From Newton, I proceeded in my thoughts to theories very like those of the French mathematicians and philosophers of the eighteenth century. Within the Newtonian dynamics, there were two possible pictures of the material world. There was the billiard ball picture, according to which matter consists of little, hard atoms that bump into each other and behave, when they collide, as billiard balls behave. This doctrine became plausible with Dalton's atomic theory. But there was another possible view, influentially advocated by the philosopher Boscovitch. This might 20 be called the "centres-of-force theory". According to this theory, every little bit of matter exerted forces of attraction or repulsion upon other bits without touching them, in the kind of way in which the sun attracts the planets. Both these theories, as we now know, were immeasurably simpler than the truth. The physical world, as our century has discovered, behaves in all sorts of complicated ways that the eighteenth century never suspected, and of which I also, as a boy, had no inkling. I thought then that it should be possible, given enough facts and enough mathematical skill, to calculate all the movements of matter throughout the whole of the past and the future, and I supposed that this must be true, also, of the motions 30 of *living* matter and that the movements of a man's lips and tongue when he speaks must be calculable consequences of the distribution of matter in the primitive nebula.

This hypothesis, of course, disposed of free will and involved a rigid determinism. As to this, I had a two-fold emotional attitude: when I thought of the delights of mathematics and of the magnificent possibilities of scientific prediction, I found the deterministic theory exhilarating, and this exhilaration was promoted by my reading of Newton and Newtonian dynamics; but when I thought in more human terms, and realized its apparently devastating consequences as regards virtue and vice and the 40 traditional importance of human effort, I found determinism depressing and searched for some way of escape from its rigidity.

This conflict was partly resolved for me, though in a way which I no longer think valid, when I read Spinoza's *Ethics*. Spinoza allayed my suspi-cion of sentiment by his geometrical method. The apparatus of definitions, axioms, and demonstrated propositions lulled my doubts to sleep. The rigid determinism of his system allowed me to think that there was nothing in him that the most austere scientific rigour need view with distrust. And yet, despite all this, he arrived, in the end, at a degree of ethical sublimity which I found unequalled in those who advocated free will for the sake of morals. I still feel that Spinoza was a very great man, whose life was consistent with his belief, and was lived always in a profoundly admirable manner. Morally, he still stands for me where he did, but intellectually, in spite of his parade of mathematical cogency, I find his doctrines 10 almost wholly unsatisfactory.

There were, even in adolescence, some limitations of my unduly mathematical outlook upon the world. I read Mill's *Logic*, and derived, without complete agreement, a view

(not exactly like his) that induction is what is important, and that deduction is little more than an idle amusement of the Schoolmen. I began to give due weight to the obvious fact that deduction is powerless without major premisses, and that its major premisses must, therefore, have some independent source. I could not accept the theory that the necessary major premisses were supplied by a priori intuitions; but I was equally unable to believe Mill's contention that it is induction from experience which persuades us that two and two are four. This dilemma left me in a perplexity which lasted for many years. Indeed, it was the endeavour to resolve this perplexity that led to the attempt to reconcile empiricism and pure mathematics, which had been at war with each other ever since the time of Leibniz and Locke. All this, however, belongs to a later date. While still full of uncertainties, I became subjected, at Cambridge, to the assault of German idealism, from which I extricated myself slowly and with much difficulty.

Throughout my adolescent years, as I have suggested, I was torn by a severe conflict between two opposite sets of emotions: on the one side were the emotions connected with mathematics and mathematical physics, which were by no means wholly intellectual; I was, also, entirely convinced of the benefits to mankind to be derived from science. What may be called the technological view of the road to human welfare was bound up, in my mind, with science and mathematics, and I did not, at that time, feel its limitations as acutely as at a later period. I could, in some moods, contemplate with pleasure a world in which machines did all the work, and food was produced by chemistry, and wise men were built on the pattern of the philosophers of Laputa. But as against these moods, side by side and wholly unreconciled, were the enthusiasms of which I have spoken in previous talks; and there was a hankering to retain as much as possible of orthodox religious beliefs. I had, as a matter of course, a much closer acquaintance with the Bible than is common among the young nowadays. Beauty, especially beauty in nature, caused me at times to lean towards pantheism. What made things difficult was that these two opposing trends in my thinking and feeling were almost equally passionate, and made almost equal claims upon my allegiance. The claims, however, were not *quite* equal. I resolved, from the beginning of my quest, that I would not be misled by sentiment and desire into beliefs for which there was no good evidence.

The world is still full of people who, when they feel a sentiment that they themselves judge to be beautiful or noble, are persuaded that it must find some echo in the cosmos. They suppose that what seems to them to be ethical sublimity cannot be causally unimportant. The indifference to human joys and sorrows which seems to characterize the physical world, must, they believe, be an illusion; and they fancy that the painfulness of certain beliefs is evidence of their falsehood. This way of looking at things seemed in youth, and still seems to me, an unworthy evasion. This is recognized where simple matters of fact are concerned. If you are told that you are suffering from cancer, you accept medical opinion with what fortitude you may, although the pain involved to yourself is greater than that which would be caused to you by an uncomfortable metaphysical theory. But where traditional beliefs about the universe are concerned, the craven fears inspired by doubt are considered praiseworthy, while intellectual courage, unlike courage in battle, is regarded as unfeeling and materialistic. There is, perhaps, less of this attitude than there was in Victorian days, but there is still a great deal of it, and it still inspires vast systems of thought which have their root in unworthy fears. I cannot believe—and I say this with all the emphasis of which I am capable—that there can ever be any good excuse for refusing to face the evidence in favour of something

unwelcome. It is not by delusion, however exalted, that mankind can prosper, but only by unswerving courage in the pursuit of truth.

## Some Changes in My Lifetime: Good and Bad [1957]

THESE REMINISCENCES APPEARED on Russell's eighty-fifth birthday in *Everybody's Weekly* under the title "Hope and Fear", 18 May 1957, pp. 9, 27 (B&R C57.18). No doubt in light of Russell's previous contributions to this popular illustrated magazine (see H5), the editor of *Everybody's Weekly*, Norman Edwards, had wondered in a letter of 24 January whether Russell might like to submit some new material. "In principle, I am quite willing to do one or more articles", Russell had replied, "provided we can agree upon a subject or subjects. I do not know what sort of subject you have in mind. Perhaps you would be so kind as to give me some indication" (26 Jan. 1957, RA REC. ACQ. 441). Edwards complied with this request in his follow-up letter of 13 February (incorrectly dated as 13 July), which asked whether Russell, a few months ahead of his birthday, "would be interested in writing an article on the progress that has been made in this strange world of ours since you were born". Russell accepted this commission at payment of one hundred guineas, so long as he might "mention not only things in which there has been progress, but also things in which there has been retrogression" (16 Feb. 1957). Before dictating his text to Edith ten days later, Russell wrote the following abstract in his own hand:

More change than at Barbarian invasion and rise of Islam  
Internal and External

- GB: Education Act 1870—most couldn't read.  
 Democracy: '85 well-digger, hadn't heard of Parliament.  
 Votes for women.  
 Slums: Greek Street; Aunt Maude—Great Peter Street.  
 Less drunkenness.  
*Per contra*: less beauty; country houses; villages.  
 Noise—aeroplanes.  
*External*: loss of Empire; less freedom of travel.
- USA: Increase of prosperity in all classes.  
 Assimilation of immigrants.  
 Less corruption.
- USSR: Growth of industry and power. Happiness?
- China: Tai-ping rebellion; (end, 1864) Boxers; Old Buddha; Kuo-Min-Tang, U.S.; Communist, USSR; less poverty.
- Japan: 1868. Remember *Mikado* new
- General: Revival of Asia; instability; war.  
 Less civilization on top, more below.  
 Prospects: God knows.

At the same archival location as this outline and the dictated manuscript (RAI 220.022380) dated 26 February 1957 are two identical typescript carbons, one of which serves as the copy-text.

DURING THE EIGHTY-FIVE years of my life the changes in the world have been, I think, greater than in any corresponding period of previous history. There are only two earlier epochs that have any claim to equality in this respect. The first is that of the Barbarian Invasion, and the second, that of the rise of Islam, but neither of these caused changes as world-wide as those in my time. The changes in Britain have, on the whole, been less than those in any other great country except the United States, but even in Britain they have been such as would in any other time have been considered revolutionary. When I was born, compulsory education had been enacted only two years ago, and a very large proportion of wage-earners could not read or write. The progress towards democracy was still being bitterly contested. Although urban workingmen had been recently given the vote by Disraeli, Conservatives fiercely contested Gladstone's measure for enfranchising the rural wage-earners. It must be admitted that there was a lack of political consciousness in the rural population which now seems almost unbelievable. I remember a well-digger whom I knew in 1885 who, when he was informed that he now had a vote for Parliament, inquired what Parliament was, having never heard of it until that moment. Votes for women, which completed the transition to democracy, were regarded when I was a boy as a strange aberration on the part of a few visionaries. The standard of living among wage-earners was immeasurably lower than it is now, and there were slums which would not be endured for a moment at the present time. Some of the worst slums were within a stone's throw of the Houses of Parliament. I can remember when Great Peter Street in Westminster was inhabited by a population largely criminal and all at a level of destitution. I was struck by the change in this street when, recently, I had to call on a certain Lord X who lives in it in a sumptuous block of flats. When I inquired of the porter, he said, "Which Lord X do you mean?" and I found that there were two of them in the block. I had a philanthropic aunt who ran a Girls' Club in Greek Street, a region which, at that time, it required courage to penetrate except in the company of a policeman. Such instances might be dismissed as mere changes of fashion, but I do not think anybody can question that the life of wage-earners in the present day is incomparably happier than it was a century ago.

The gain at one end of the social scale has not been purchased without loss at the other end. Death-duties and the dearth of domestic servants have put an end to the kind of life that the aristocracy formerly enjoyed. Not only enjoyment has been lost, but also a great deal of beauty. Many country houses have become derelict, and many have been taken over by 40 institutions which do not succeed in preserving former amenities. Villages and small towns, which were formerly a delight to the eye, are defaced by broad new roads and hideous modern buildings. One of the joys of the country used to be its silence. Now, there are few places remote from the din of aeroplanes. Motor cars and petrol stations have not the same charm as the horse and the drinking trough, and television aërials are not as decorative as old-fashioned chimneys. I profoundly regret these changes, but I do not for a moment think that they outweigh the gains which I spoke of before.

It is perhaps surprising that an increase in the level of prosperity among wage-earners should have taken place at a time when Great Britain lost its pre-eminence among nations. When I was young, the British Empire seemed completely solid, and we all took it as a law of nature that Britannia Rules the Waves. Now, most of the Empire is

lost, and it is the United States that rules the waves. The change has been less painful than might have been expected and has been accepted with very creditable stoicism.

The changes in most parts of the world have been much greater than in Britain. Travelling Eastward, they increase steadily and reach their maximum in China. Germany, when I was born, was in the first flush of victory over France and the achievement of unity. It was a great imperial Power, able to claim its share in the partition of Africa and the scramble for concessions in China. On land, no other Power could compete with it. It 20 appeared to have achieved a permanent and secure eminence and would have done so but for the folly of its rulers. Politically it was dominated by the Junkers, the class to which Bismarck belonged. Their great estates in East Prussia are now in the territories of Russia and Poland and no longer inhabited by Germans. The work of the Teutonic Knights, who for centuries had spread German culture Eastward, has been undone, and Slavonic culture has spread Westward to the banks of the Elbe. The Austrian Empire, which played an enormous part in the imagination of the nineteenth century, has disappeared, and most of it has fallen under the sway of Communism.

30 The most spectacular change is that in Russia. When I was young, we thought of Russia as a bogey, just as we do now, but it was a different and less terrifying bogey. We imagined a vast population of pious peasants, filled with reverence for the "Little Father", the Czar of All the Russias. The Russian bogey in those days was, for the British, a result of the Russian advance towards India. We feared that Russia would absorb Afghanistan and then swarm over the passes into North-west India. In those days, such prospects could terrify; nowadays, they seem a very small matter compared with the fears with which we have to live. In those days, Russia was agricultural and almost devoid of heavy industry. Now, Russia 40 is one of the greatest of industrial Powers. In those days, the Greek Church dominated Russian life. Now, Christianity, though tolerated, has lost all political importance in Russia. In those days, we thought of Czarist tyranny as the most atrocious in existence. We have now come to look back upon it as an era of comparative freedom. Whether the Russian population is, on the whole, happier than it was eighty years ago, I do not know, and I do not suppose that anybody knows.

Probably the most important event of our time is the renaissance of Asia. This began in Japan, and the first steps were taken in that country four years before I was born. Japan had remained almost unchanging for many centuries and, after a brief experience of Europeans in the sixteenth century, had decided to have nothing to do with them. We had believed in "the unchanging East" and it had become almost a dogma that, while the 10 West could make progress, the East could not. The first steps in the Westernizing of Japan were viewed with incredulous amazement with something of the emotion that we feel in the zoo when we see a chimpanzee smoking a cigarette. I remember the first production of *The Mikado* which showed how little the changes in Japan were appreciated in the West. The English liked the Japanese because the Japanese disliked the Russians, but in the end we paid a heavy price for this prejudice.

Japan, like Germany, became intoxicated by quick success and, by attempting too much, achieved only disaster. The other nations of Asia, however, were more impressed by Japan's temporary success than by its 20 ultimate failure. Japan had proved that an Asian nation could play the game of Western power-politics and that subjection to the West was not inevitable. Europe and Asia have been in conflict ever since the Battle of Marathon. After the defeat of Persia, Alexander and the Roman Empire gave Europe a long supremacy. Islam gave the supremacy again to Asia. Europe began to dominate in

the sixteenth century and received its first check from Japan. But it seems hardly likely that Japan will have another chance for a great imperialist career.

China, during my lifetime, has changed more profoundly than any other country. China alone had preserved continuity from ancient times. Its institutions, its philosophy, its art had all come down, with little change, from a very remote antiquity. All this remained apparently solid when I was young. For a time the whole structure had been shaken by the Tai-ping Rebellion, but this formidable movement had been crushed eight years before my birth. The war with Japan in 1894 showed the weakness of a merely traditional polity when confronted with modern, scientific warfare, and the revelation of China's weakness caused the European nations to settle like vultures upon the carcass. The Boxer Rebellion was a fanatical outbreak of anti-foreign despair, but it failed as it was bound to do. The Empress Dowager, "The Old Buddha" as she was called, endeavored to keep up the old ways, but China, somewhat later than Japan, came to realize that in the game of power-politics the ancient ways were doomed to failure. Unlike Japan, however, China lost governmental coherence in the attempt to copy Western methods, and it was only through the iron discipline of Communism that the country recovered unity.

The cultural change involved is almost unimaginably vast. Until 1911 no one in China effectively challenged Confucian ethics or Buddhist religion. As late as 1920, when I lived in Peking next door to a school, I found that the most important part of the instruction consisted of reciting the Confucian books by the class in unison. For a time, Chinese reformers looked to America for their ideals, but they failed politically, and chaos prevailed. What the Communists offered was strength through discipline and unity, and this, for good or ill, they have achieved.

If the Chinese can preserve governmental unity, it is possible for their country to become the third really great Power, the equal of America and Russia. At the best, this will take time, probably at least twenty years, but it must be reckoned with as a possibility. I felt that it might happen some day when I lived in China in 1920, but at that time there was a turmoil of civil war and the prospect of unification seemed remote. Whether, when China has achieved greatness, the present alliance with Russia will persist is, of course, very doubtful. But, whatever happens, it is pretty certain that China will continue to become increasingly modernized and industrialized.

There are many ways in which the world is better than it was eighty years ago. One of the most important of these is the progress of medicine and surgery and the consequent improvement in health. Married couples used to take it for granted that most of their children would die young. The modern diminution of infant mortality involves a very great diminution of suffering and sorrow. And not only in infancy, but throughout adult life many illnesses have become rare and many others have become easily curable. Underlying all the other kinds of progress there is the technical fact that a given amount of effort produces more commodities than at any earlier time. But the improvement of technique has brought with it the great shadow which darkens the lives of modern men. I mean the shadow of nuclear war. So long as nuclear war remains a serious possibility, we are faced with the risk of utter futility, of a dead end to human hope and even human existence. This fear is so dark and terrifying as to make it difficult to think sanely about the problems that it presents. People tend, as in a theatre on fire, to do in a panic the very things that bring the dreaded disaster. If statesmanship could remove this fear, our age would quickly become happier than any of its predecessors. I do not know whether statesmanship will be equal to the task. I hope so and, if a happier

time is coming, I should wish to live to see its advent. But I am not gifted with the power of prophecy and I remain suspended between hope and fear.



## 18

### Gilbert Murray [1957]

THIS SHORT OBITUARY of Gilbert Murray (1866–1957) was composed, recorded and broadcast (on the BBC Home Service’s Light Programme) on 20 May 1957, the day that the distinguished classical scholar and liberal internationalist died. It has not appeared in print until now. Murray had been one of Russell’s oldest and closest surviving friends. In 1889 he had married Lady Mary Howard, Russell’s cousin, and the two men became near neighbours when in 1896 the Russells moved into The Millhangar cottage in Fernhurst, West Sussex, near the Murrays at Churt, Surrey. A new intimacy developed between them after Russell’s celebrated “conversion” in February 1901—triggered supposedly by a moving reading by Murray from his new translation of *The Hippolytus* (see Russell 1967, 145–6). Meeting especially frequently over the next four years or so, they had also begun what became a voluminous correspondence extending across many years and from which Russell quoted at length in a longer tribute (1960) published in Murray’s *Unfinished Autobiography*.

The harmonious relationship between Russell and Murray was suddenly if temporarily fractured, however, by the First World War or, rather, by their conflicting interpretations of Sir Edward Grey’s responsibility for its origins (see A104:9). Thereafter, as Russell moved ideologically towards socialism, Murray remained an old-fashioned Liberal. Not surprisingly in an obituary, Russell plays down the bitterness of his earlier disagreement with Murray over Britain’s pre-war diplomacy. Much more recently Russell had subscribed to and helped launch the Gilbert Murray Fund, a ninetieth birthday tribute to Murray which was “designed to further the two objects which his own life’s work has done so much to advance—Greek studies and international cooperation” (Russell 1955*m*). Murray had been deeply moved and honoured by this gesture, although he later joked to Russell that he felt “less like a film star” after learning that similarly grand eightieth-birthday celebrations were afoot for George Trevelyan (see Paper 13). He ended this letter with the wistful reflection that all three of them had “somehow pretty steadily devoted our lives to some cause or other, which I can’t define but which I somehow believe in, some sort of struggle against falsehood and cruelty” (21 Feb. 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 71i).

The copy-text is the typescript carbon made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand (RAI 220.022350).

IT is WITH a profound sense of loss that I have learnt of the death of Gilbert Murray. He was one of the few survivors of the friends of my younger days. I had known him ever since he married a cousin of mine sixty-eight years ago, but it was not until 1901 that we became intimate friends. The occasion was his translation of *The Hippolytus* of Euripides which I greatly admired. After this date we were, for a long time, neighbours, first in the country and then at Oxford, and during those years we met constantly. We did not always agree: he remained a Liberal, and I became a Socialist; he admired Sir Edward Grey, but I did not; in 10 the First World War, he tolerated, but could not approve, my pacifism. In spite of such disagreements, I was always aware of an agreement and a

sympathetic understanding which went much deeper. He stood, throughout his life, for everything that makes a civilized person and a kindly and tolerant human being. Classical learning, which was his main academic claim to distinction, is fighting a losing battle against science and technology, but what he derived from Greek culture was something of great value to mankind which one cannot wish to see lost. Outside of his work as a scholar, he did what lay in his power to promote public causes that he had at heart. His work for the League of Nations Union was brought to an end 20 by the decease of the League of Nations, but, when the Second World War had ended, he persisted without bitterness in what was possible of the same kind of work. His delightful humour survived many sorrows. He was quite extraordinarily gentle, but his gentleness did not interfere with his wit, which, though penetrating, was never unkind. His friendly affection was a joy and a comfort to those who had the good fortune to be its recipients.

## 19

# Answers to Questions about Philosophy [1957]

RUSSELL'S ANSWERS TO the first set of questions were published in *This Is My Philosophy: Twenty of the World's Outstanding Thinkers Reveal the Deepest Meanings They Have Found in Life*, ed. Whit Burnett (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), p. 2 (B&R 6122). They appeared in the editor's introduction to the selection from Russell—the final chapter of *Human Society in Ethics and Politics* (1954). In addition to his work as an anthologist, Burnett (1899–1973) was also the editor of *Story* magazine and a teacher of creative writing at Columbia University. He had already (in 1950) persuaded Russell to provide something (the chapter on “Education” from *Why Men Fight*—the American edition of *Principles of Social Reconstruction*) for *The World's Best*, a similar compendium of the “105 Greatest Living Authors”. He had sought Russell's involvement with his latest venture in a letter dated 31 August 1955. In addition to “some unified chapter, essay or lecture in which you have summed up...your most important thoughts reflecting your philosophy”, Burnett wanted each contributor to consider an enclosed questionnaire. He reiterated this request in a follow-up letter of 6 September. In the reply which Russell dictated to Edith the following day, however, he tackled only the first three questions. As he explained in a short covering note, Russell did not “feel that I have anything to say” about his intellectual influences, the present considered from a historical perspective, possible future developments in his field, or what Burnett had called “man's greatest social need”.

Paper **19b** was addressed to Arif Tanović and Gajo Petrović, who had interviewed Russell at Plas Penrhyn on 5 May 1957. As the published record of this conversation makes plain, Russell had promised his interviewers—respectively a Yugoslavian journalist and philosopher—“to answer in writing all the questions which interested us” (Appendix VI, p. 381). These questions were enclosed with their letter to Russell of 14 May, which emphasized that “Yugoslav philosophers and the general public will be very pleased and flattered to see a contribution of yours, especially written for Yugoslav readers”. This “contribution” was subsequently translated into Serbo-Croat and quoted by the two authors in their article for the Belgrade literary periodical, *Književne novine*, June 1957 (B&R C57.18a). Thirteen years later Russell's reply to the third question appeared in English in an obituary by Petrović, “Bertrand Russell (1872–1970)”, *Praxis*, Zagreb, 1 (1970): 167–83 (at 168–9). Similarly, the first question and answer were reprinted in Tanović's *Bertrand Rasel: filozof i humanist* (Sarajevo: Izdavaško Preduzeće “Veselin Masleša”, 1972), pp. 24–5.

The copy-text for Paper **19a** is the manuscript dictated to Edith Russell on 7 September 1955 (RA2 750). For Paper **19b** it is the typescript carbon letter (RAI 410 Petrović), dated 27 May 1957 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RA2 750).

### 19a This Is My Philosophy

- 1) HAS YOUR PERSONAL philosophy been affected by your professional work?  
Less than most people think. My professional work has led me to reject the dogmas of all known religions and to be suspicious of philosophies which make a liberal use of the concept of organism.
- 2) Is there any period or place in history which you find more satisfactory than the present?  
The answer must depend on income. The Athens of Pericles was pleasant for rich men but not for slaves or women. France in the last 10 decades before the Revolution was pleasant for philosophers and liberal aristocrats. I suppose Elizabethan England was pleasant for Sir Philip Sidney. But I doubt whether at any earlier period there has been a wider diffusion of well-being than there is at present in Western Europe and America.
- 3) How would you characterize our present Age if you were viewing it from the perspective of history?  
This is quite impossible to answer until we see how the present Age turns out. Before the year 1000, people thought the end of the world imminent. This made their judgment of their own times erroneous. 20 Two gateways stand before us, one leading to heaven and one to hell. It is impossible to guess which we shall choose.

### 19b Philosophy

- 1) WHAT I HAVE to say about the definition of "philosophy" I have said at the beginning of my *History of Western Philosophy*.
- 2) I do not think the world will be transformed by philosophy. All that philosophy can do is to generate a comprehensive vision and mitigate the acerbity of dogmatic disagreement.
- 3) The most adequate expression of my *theoretical* view is *Human Knowledge: its Scope and Limits*. In political theory, I should place first my 30 book *Power*, as regards political practice, I should commend *Human Society in Ethics and Politics*.
- 4) I am not in agreement with much of contemporary British philosophy. I think that philosophy, like science, should aim at agreement with *fact* and cannot treat language as autonomous. I do not like Wittgenstein's later writings. The present-day English philosopher of whom I think best is A.J.Ayer.
- 5) I think the Existentialist philosophy is pure nonsense, based intellectually upon errors of syntax and emotionally upon exasperation.
- 6) You will find my opinions on Marx in the relevant chapters of *Freedom and Organization*.
- 7) I certainly think that a fair discussion by representative philosophical schools is possible and desirable. I have participated in such discussions myself at international congresses.
- 8) The only thing that I have to say specially for Yugoslav readers is that one of the chief dangers of the contemporary world arises from the crystallization of opinion into two opposite orthodoxies and that anything on either side which softens the hardness of the creed is so much to the good.

## Mr. Alan Wood [1957]

THIS OBITUARY NOTICE for Russell's first biographer, Alan Wood (1914–1957), appeared in *The Times*, 5 Nov. 1957, p. 13 (B&R C57.27). It had been "written from the heart", Russell told Wood's widow, Mary, two days later. Having received a copy from Russell in advance of publication, she thought that he "could not have written anything kinder or more suitable..." (4 Nov. 1957). In the course of many encounters as *Bertrand Russell, the Passionate Sceptic* (Wood 1957) was taking shape, Russell had grown "very fond" of the couple and "had come to depend upon their knowledge of everything to do with me and their sympathetic understanding..." (1969, 101). Indeed, the Woods had performed some invaluable organizational duties in connection with the press conference at which the RussellEinstein manifesto was unveiled in July 1955 (see *Papers* 28:311–12). In addition to his recently published biography of Russell, Wood had commenced a more technical study of his subject's philosophical work. The introductory sections of this projected volume were published posthumously in Russell's *My Philosophical Development* (1959a, 255–77).

The tragedy of Alan Wood's premature death was magnified by that of his wife barely two months later. For a number of years thereafter Russell contributed to a trust fund for their two orphaned sons. The *Autobiography* recalls his sadness over this "heart-breaking loss" (1969, 101) but discreetly avoids mentioning that the couple had both taken their own lives. Alan Wood's suicide seems to have been prompted by the knowledge that he was afflicted with an incurable illness, probably Parkinson's disease, while the coroner's inquest into Mary's death concluded that she had taken a drug overdose in a state of acute mental distress.

The copy-text is the typescript carbon, dated 2 November 1957 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RAI 220.022300).

THE DEATH OF Alan Wood in hospital is a profound grief to all his many friends, among whom I was happy to be included. Not only did we confidently expect much valuable work from his future researches, but we cherished him as a sympathetic, kindly and lovable human being. My own association with him was brought about by the preparation of his book, *Bertrand Russell: The Passionate Sceptic*. In the investigations which led up to this book, he astonished me by virtues which, as I gradually came to know, had equally characterized his previous work. He had an unrivalled passion for accuracy as to facts, even if they 10 were not in themselves very important facts. He came to know much more about me than I knew myself and, on several occasions, brought me documentary proof of inaccuracy in firmly-rooted memories. His industry was amazing and, when it was concerned with myself, I often thought the subject not worth the pains he took. But his was the scholar's conscience and deserved all respect. He generously often took the same pains for others as he bestowed upon his own work.

Although my mental contact with him was mainly philosophical, he was the absolute antithesis to an armchair philosopher. It is true that he had an academic origin, since his father was a professor, as was his brother, while 20 his uncle was Vice Chancellor of Perth University. At Oxford, he studied Modern Greats and became President of the Union. But the Second World War launched him upon the world and for a time relegated philosophy to the background. In that war, he was first a gunner in the British Army and

later a newspaper correspondent. He had the distinction of being the only newspaper man to send dispatches from Arnhem and the misfortune to lose his leg in the Rhine crossing. There is a phrase in one of his dispatches from Arnhem which is still quoted: "If in the days to come any man says to you 'I fought at Arnhem', take off your hat to him and buy him a drink, for his is the stuff of which England's greatness is made." 30 When the war was over, he became head of the Overseas Food Corporation's Information Division, but resigned when he considered that misleading statements were being made about the Groundnuts Scheme. He wrote a book on this subject which gave rise to controversy, but I gather that it showed his usual meticulous accuracy. He was an authority on the British film industry and his book *Mr. Rank* became a standard work on that subject. In collaboration, he and his wife, Mary Seaton, also a journalist, wrote an exceedingly interesting book on the Channel Islands during the German Occupation called *Islands in Danger*. But throughout these various activities, philosophy remained in his mind as a major preoccupation, and in his last years he devoted most of his time to it. His domestic life was a very happy one, and he and his wife and their two boys formed an exceptionally united family.

In common with many others, I feel that I have lost a dear friend and a man of whose future achievements I had high hopes well-grounded in what he had already accomplished.

## 21

Reactions to *Why I Am Not a Christian* [1957]

ALL FIVE OF these letters to the editor were responses to the critical reception of Russell's latest collection of essays, *Why I Am Not a Christian* (1957). The book's appraisal by Philip Toynbee (1916–1981), the novelist, critic and *Observer* editorial staff member, was broadly sympathetic. With Paper **21a**—*The Observer*, 13 Oct. 1957, p. 8 (B&R C57.24)—Russell wished merely to correct an impression left by the review that he actually favoured state-sponsored child rearing (see A114:5). As for the alleged shortcomings of his ethical theory, he felt reluctantly compelled to agree with Toynbee. However, after Russell's letter was published alongside one from the logical positivist philosopher A.J.Ayer, he decided to clarify a related matter which his previous submission had ignored. The result was Paper **21b**—*The Observer*, 20 Oct. 1957, p. 15 (B&R C57.26)—in which Russell expressed his whole-hearted support for Ayer's rebuttal of Toynbee's tentatively argued moral case for the existence of God (see A115:10–12).

*Why I Am Not a Christian* was also treated quite generously in *The Times*, but the anonymous reviewer only singled out the author's elegant prose for special praise. He felt that the book's substance was weakened by Russell's anachronistic view of Christian bigotry and obscurantism (see A115:34–5). In reply—15 Oct. 1957, p. 11 (B&R C57.26)—Russell pointed to the role played by Christian churches less than twenty years ago in blocking his appointment to the College of the City of New York. This statement (21c) of how he was prevented from answering allegations made against him in court was challenged by another editorial correspondent, Schuyler N.Warren. He recalled that Russell had not been denied the means of seeking legal redress. Paper **21d**—*The Times*, 26 Nov. 1957, p. 11 (B&R C57.34)—tried to convey the intricacies of the case, but Warren insisted upon “the correctness of my statements” (10 Jan. 1958; quoted in Russell 1968, 237). As proof, he enclosed with this private correspondence copies of two rulings made by the New York State Supreme Court. The first confirmed the decision to rescind Russell's appointment to CCNY and the second, supposedly, turned down his application to reopen the case. Russell, however, refused to accept that these documents substantiated Warren's interpretation of events.

The appeal which you mentioned was not an appeal to the substance of the case, but on whether I should be allowed to become a party. You have not quite grasped the peculiarity of the whole affair. The defendants wished to lose the case—as at the time was generally known—and therefore had no wish to see McGeehan's verdict reversed on appeal. The statement that I was kept informed of the proceedings is perhaps in some narrow legal sense defensible, but I was held in Los Angeles by my duties there, the information as to what was happening in New York was sent by surface mail, and the proceedings were so hurried-up that everything was over before I knew properly what was happening. It remains the fact that I

was not allowed to become a party to the case, that I was unable to appeal, and that I had no opportunity of giving evidence in court after I knew what they were saying about me. (13 Jan. 1958; 1968, 237)

Of the three actual reviews of Russell's work only the Reverend Gerard Irvine's, for *Time and Tide*, was unremittingly hostile. Although Irvine was writing from the perspective of the Anglican ministry (he was the parish priest of Cranford, Middlesex), Russell did not take umbrage at the intrusion of a religious bias so much as he did at the misrepresentation of his own views. After the appearance of Paper **21e** in *Time and Tide*, 38 (23 Nov. 1957): 1,463 (B&R C57.32), Irvine replied in the next issue of this political and cultural weekly. He conceded a certain carelessness in relating Russell's grim tale about the vicar's wife. But while he deplored the outcome of the CCNY case, he was adamant that Russell's problems had not been caused by New York's clerics. It is quite conceivable that Russell would have relished Irvine's closing comment: "The review was entitled 'Angry Old Man'. The tone of Lord Russell's subsequent letter has done nothing to make me believe that in this, at any rate, I am misrepresenting him" (1957a, 1,498).

All five of these letters to editors are reprinted in *Yours Faithfully, Bertrand Russell* (2001), pp. 286–90. The copy-texts for the first four are the typescript carbons that are dated as indicated below (RAI 220.022281, RAI 220.022283, RAI 220.022282 and RAI 220.022311, for Papers **21a–c**, and Paper **21e**, respectively). Although all the above documents were addressed from Plas Penrhyn, a typed note was added to each except **21e** to indicate that they were actually sent from the Russells' London flat at 29 Millbank. For Paper **21d** the version as published in *The Times* has been used as the copy-text as there is no extant typescript. The dictation taken by Edith Russell, however, is extant for all five papers (RA2 750, except for the dictated manuscript of Paper **21a**, which shares the same archival location as its typed copy-text).

### **21a** Christian Ethics (1)

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OBSERVER"

SIR,—The very kind review of my *Why I Am Not a Christian* by Philip Toynbee in your issue of October 6 calls for explanation on one point. Mr. Toynbee quotes what he calls "one appalling passage" and does not realize (though for this the fault is mine) that the passage horrifies me as much as it does him. I was engaged, not in advocacy, but in prophecy in the style of Cassandra, but I am to blame for having failed to make this clear. A few months before publication of Aldous Huxley's *10 Brave New World*, I published a book called *The Scientific Outlook* in the last four chapters of which I developed prophecies very closely similar to Huxley's in which I made it quite clear that the kind of suggestions which horrify Mr. Toynbee are abhorrent to me. At the end of a chapter called "Scientific Reproduction", I say:

In the end such a system must break down either in an orgy of bloodshed or in the rediscovery of joy. Such at least is the only ray of hope to lighten the darkness of these visions of Cassandra, but perhaps in permitting this ray of hope we have allowed ourselves to yield to a foolish optimism. Perhaps by means of injections and 20 drugs and chemicals the population

could be induced to bear whatever its scientific masters may decide to be for its good. New forms of drunkenness involving no subsequent headache may be discovered, and new forms of intoxication may be invented so delicious that for their sakes men are willing to pass their sober hours in misery. All these are possibilities in a world governed by knowledge without love, and power without delight. The man drunk with power is destitute of wisdom, and so long as he rules the world, the world will be a place devoid of beauty and of joy.

I agree with Christian ethics in thinking that values reside in the individual<sup>30</sup> rather than in the State. The dangers that I apprehend arise from substituting worship of the State for respect for the individual.

What Mr. Toynbee says in criticism of my views on ethics has my entire sympathy. I find my own views argumentatively irrefutable, but nevertheless incredible. I do not know the solution.

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

8 October, 1957. Plas Penrhyn.

### 21b Christian Ethics (2)

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OBSERVER"

SIR,—The juxtaposition of Professor Ayer's letter and mine in your issue of October 13 might give the impression that he and I were not in agreement in relation to Mr. Philip Toynbee on absolute ethical values. I expressed agreement with Mr. Toynbee on one point, viz., that my own ethics are unsatisfactory. I cannot meet the arguments against absolute ethical values, and yet I cannot believe that a dislike of wanton cruelty is merely a matter of taste like a dislike of oysters. But I am in complete agreement with Professor Ayer in thinking that the question 10 whether ethical values are absolute has no bearing whatever on the question of the existence of God. This is the view of orthodox theology and was the view of philosophers until Kant was seduced by Rousseau.

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

17 October, 1957. Plas Penrhyn, Penrhyndeudraeth, Merioneth.

### 21c *Why I Am Not a Christian* (1)

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES" 20

SIR,—The review of my *Why I am not a Christian* in your issue of October 10 is tolerant and urbane, and for this I am grateful. But it shows in some surprising ways such an ignorance of the world we live in that I doubt whether the reviewer can have read the

account of my New York trouble at the end of the volume. Your reviewer says—and in this I am entirely at one with him—that many Christians exhibit what are called Christian virtues, but what I was concerned with was not individual merit but Christianity as a social force. New York is the largest city in the world and the cultural and intellectual metropolis of the most powerful of Western countries. In New York Christian Churches, Episcopalian and 30 Roman Catholic, accused me of offences of which I was not guilty and, when their libels were repeated in a law court, succeeded in preventing me from denying the accusations on oath on the technical ground that I was not an interested party. Your reviewer thinks that the kind of Christianity which I criticize ended with the end of the Regency but George IV had been dead some time in 1940. The title of the review, “A Rationalist in Search of an Adversary”, shows that the reviewer does not know how Christians with whom he is not acquainted behave. He might as well have called his review “A Fox in Search of the Hounds”.—Yours faithfully,

RUSSELL.

10 October, 1957. Plas Penrhyn.

**21d** *Why I Am Not a Christian* (2)

TO THE EDITOR OF “THE TIMES”

SIR,—In your issue of November 23 you publish a letter from Mr. Schuyler N. Warren which shows complete ignorance of the facts. I shall answer his points one by one.

First as to “libels”. I wrote publicly at the time:

When grossly untrue statements as to my actions are made in court, I feel that I must give them the lie. I never conducted a nudist colony in England. Neither my wife nor I ever paraded nude in public. I never went in for salacious poetry. Such assertions are deliberate falsehoods which must be known to those who make them to have no foundation in fact. I shall be glad of an opportunity to deny them on oath.

This opportunity was denied me on the ground that I was not a party to 20 the suit. The charges that I did these things (which had been made by the prosecuting counsel in court) were not based on my own writings, as Mr. Warren affirms, but on the morbid imaginings of bigots.

I cannot understand Mr. Warren’s statement that *my* counsel submitted a brief on my behalf. No counsel representing me was heard. Nor can I understand his statement that two Courts of Appeal upheld the decision, as New York City refused to appeal when urged to do so. The suggestion that I could have brought an action for libel could only be made honestly by a person ignorant of the atmosphere of hysteria which surrounded the case at that time. The atmosphere is illustrated by the general acceptance 30 of the prosecuting counsel’s description in court of me as: “lecherous, libidinous, lustful, venerous, erotomaniac, aphrodisiac, irreverent, narrow-minded, untruthful, and bereft of moral fiber”.—Yours truly,

RUSSELL.

26 November, 1957. Plas Penrhyn, Penrhyndeudraeth, Merioneth.

**21e** Earl Russell Replies

TO THE EDITOR OF "TIME AND TIDE"

SIR,—I have only just come across a review of me by Gerard Irvine in your issue of October 26. This review is full of misrepresentations. To save your space, I will mention only one: he asserts that I say that I "once knew a fashionable vicar who had nine children, for which inhuman conduct he was iniquitously rewarded with a fat living". I do not know whether Mr. Irvine read the book he is reviewing, but if he did, this statement shows him to be guilty of just the kind of moral lapse which I consider characteristic of many conventional Christians. I did not criticize the clergyman for having nine children, but for having a tenth after the doctors had informed him that a tenth would probably kill his wife. She duly died, but he incurred no odium. For the benefit of those who think that she was a myth invented by me, I will add that she was a God-daughter of Queen Victoria.

In supposing that he has not read the book he is reviewing, I am displaying that Christian charity in which he appears to be lacking. If he had read the concluding portion of the book about my troubles in New York in 1940, he could not have *thought* that my Christian priests were imaginary. His statement that it is possible to be sceptical about Professor Edwards's account of this episode, suggests that he did not read the account, the worst features of which are quotations from official documents. I shall be glad to know whether he acknowledges the crime of deliberate misrepresentation or the lesser crime of reviewing a book he has not read.—Yours etc.,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

8 November, 1957. Plas Penrhyn.



Part III  
Suez and Hungary



## General Headnote

THE FIRST OF three letters (22) to *The Manchester Guardian* in Part III appeared on 11 Aug. 1956, p. 4 (B&R C56.11). It was Russell's earliest public reaction to the crisis precipitated by Colonel Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal on 26 July (see Introduction, p. xxxiv). This unilateral declaration of intent by the Egyptian leader had come just one week after Britain and the United States had withdrawn financial support from his Aswan High Dam project. Russell's intervention, however, was triggered more by the growing likelihood of military means being used to thwart Nasser's objective. He was drawing attention to the call by a small group of mainly left-wing Labour M.P.'s for a peaceful solution to the conflict based on a system of international *control* for the canal that was acceptable to Egypt and not necessarily incompatible with Egyptian *ownership* (see also A128:3–4). But this statement carried only twenty-four signatures. Much of the parliamentary opposition hesitated at first to rule out force quite so unequivocally. Indeed, in the Commons debate of Suez on 2 August, Herbert Morrison, a former Labour Foreign Secretary, was as truculent as anyone from the right-wing Suez Group of Conservative M.P.'s. Hugh Gaitskell would become an impassioned and effective scourge of Prime Minister Eden after Egypt was attacked. At this early stage of the crisis, however, the leader of the Opposition endeavoured to maintain a bipartisan approach. In Parliament he had echoed Eden's comparison of Colonel Nasser with the fascist dictators of the 1930s and had also pointedly referred to the bankruptcy of earlier appeasement policies. Whereas Eden's Cabinet had already resolved to act alone if necessary, Gaitskell, by contrast, stressed that the resort to arms must be "consistent with our belief in, and our pledges to, the Charter of the United Nations..." (United Kingdom 1956a, 1,617). By mid-September, with the Franco-British military build-up accelerating, and with Eden refusing a pledge not to act in contravention of the UN Charter, Labour support for the Prime Minister's position—which had been extremely soft all along—had all but melted away.

The viewpoint of the Labour M.P.'s to whom Russell refers in Paper 22 soon came to reflect majority opinion inside the party. Russell agreed with their call for a negotiated end to the conflict but entered a familiar caveat about the veto powers of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. He hoped that this mechanism would not be invoked to block a settlement of the Suez dispute. A properly constituted international authority, he argued, should be able to reach agreement and enforce its will, if necessary, "by a majority when unanimity is unattainable". His misgivings on this count were born out when, in the Security Council on 30 October, Britain and France rejected an American-sponsored resolution for Israel's immediate withdrawal from Egypt (see A129:8–9).

After the collapse both of the "proposed conference" (128:8) and of a round of direct negotiations with Colonel Nasser, Russell reiterated his support for the kind of "Constructive inter nationalism" (128:13–14) advocated here (see Appendix IX). Paper 22 was reprinted almost immediately in *The Manchester Guardian Weekly* with a

selection of other letters to the editor—mostly critical of the British Government's belligerent rhetoric and military preparations—under the collective heading "'Gunboat Diplomacy' and the Canal", 16 Aug. 1956, p. 4. It was also selected much later for inclusion in *Yours Faithfully, Bertrand Russell* (2001), p. 249.

Paper 23 was published in *The Manchester Guardian* on 2 Nov. 1956, p. 4 (B&R C56.19), three days after the launch of the secret Franco-British-Israeli plan of attack on Egypt (see Introduction, pp. xxxiv–xxxv). It also appears in *Yours Faithfully, Bertrand Russell* (2001), pp. 249–50, and had been reprinted first in *The Manchester Guardian Weekly* (8 Nov. 1956, p. 4), along with a batch of the "very large number" received by the newspaper after hostilities broke out. By the time of its initial publication, British political and public opinion was hopelessly and bitterly divided over the question of armed intervention against Egypt. Hugh Gaitskell had emerged as a formidable critic of British policy, and by condemning its "criminal folly" (Gaitskell 1956, 738) in his dramatic radio and television broadcast of 4 November he echoed (perhaps unwittingly) the strong language employed by Russell in Papers 23 and 24. In this commanding performance on the BBC, the leader of the Opposition asked for invasion to be abandoned and for the Prime Minister to resign. Interestingly, the most uncompromising opponents of military action were identified—like Gaitskell—with the "Atlanticist" centre and right-wing of the Labour Party. The Bevanite left-wing was comparatively restrained, not least because its unofficial leader was strongly pro-Israel.

Privately, Russell wrote in the same vein as Paper 23 to his daughter in the United States: "I am utterly horrified by our invasion of Egypt" (3 Nov. 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 435). A second public expression of his outrage (24) was excerpted the following day in *Reynolds News and Sunday Citizen*, 4 Nov. 1956, p. 7 (B&R C56. 20). On 3 November a slightly revised version had been delivered *in absentia* to a public meeting of protest at Penrhyndeudraeth, near Russell's North Wales home. The organizer of this event—one of many staged nationwide—reported to Russell that "Your message, backed by the authority which your name carries, obviously moved the crowded meeting and certainly helped towards creating the unanimous vote which we desired, and which we eventually obtained" (from Jeremy Brooks, 4 Nov. 1956). The resolution, which forthrightly condemned the British Government and urged it to heed the will of the United Nations, was telegraphed to Prime Minister Eden. Extracts from Russell's text then appeared in *The Manchester Guardian* ("Cloak for Future Aggression", 5 Nov. 1956, p. 9), in *The Daily Herald*, and in another brief report of the meeting that has not been identified from Russell's clippings files. Perhaps the last-mentioned report had been run either by the *Western Mail* or by the *Liverpool Daily Post* since Brooks had sent copies of Russell's message to both provincial newspapers, as well as to the Welsh-language publication, *Y Cymro*. Paper 24 also appears in *Yours Faithfully, Bertrand Russell* (2001), pp. 249–50.

A note on the additional leaf of dictation that was taken for the Penrhyndeudraeth gathering states: "Message also Sent to Guildford for meeting on 5 Nov.". But there are neither extant copies of any text sent to the organizers of this event nor any published reports. The final sentence was cut for the Penrhyndeudraeth protest, an excision that stood in the most complete printed version of the statement, that in *The Indian Rationalist*, Calcutta, 4 (Dec. 1956): 139, where it appeared below Paper 26. Perhaps Russell judged such deference to the United States as equally uncongenial to an Asian audience as to one composed of British anti-war protestors.

Russell was asked to write Paper 25 about three weeks after the Red Army entered Budapest (see Introduction, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii). The invitation came from the Overseas

Press Services Division (OPSD) of the British Government's Central Office of Information (COI). Created in 1946, the COI was a successor organization of sorts to the much-derided wartime Ministry of Information. Its mandate, in the broadest terms, was to coordinate the dissemination of official publicity at home and abroad. The Overseas Press Services Division was responsible for keeping foreign news sources reliably informed about government policy, for promoting balance in their coverage of British affairs, and for publicizing British accomplishments in industry, science, technology and culture. In tandem with these news and propaganda functions, the OPSD also commissioned feature articles about current events—ideally from prominent authors like Russell. In addition to material such as this paper, prepared exclusively for its use, the COI regularly acquired the overseas rights to a range of articles from the British national, weekly and periodical press. At least thirteen of Russell's writings were reissued by the COI in this way, including his series of BBC talks on "Living in an Atomic Age" (reprinted in Russell *1951*) and Papers **12** and **49** in the present volume.

As the OPSD's J.M. Spey had explained in his letter to Russell of 28 November, he wanted "a personal assessment of the impact of the Soviet action in Hungary on British intellectuals" for distribution in France:

There is at present in France intense interest, in literary and intellectual circles, as to the reactions of people with similar outlook and interests in other countries, and particularly in Britain, to the Hungarian tragedy.

The British Information Officer in Paris, is planning a special bulletin on British literary affairs and feels that an article on British reactions to this crisis would be of great interest.

Since Russell was so angry at the British Government over Suez, his fulfilment of this quasi-official commission with such alacrity seems rather curious. He did feel compelled, however, to stray beyond the terms of reference suggested by Spey, as he explained in the letter which accompanied his completed text.

You may possibly object to my bringing up the question of British and French action against Egypt. If you do feel that this is objectionable, I should wish you not to publish any part of what I enclose. I should feel guilty of "nauseating hypocrisy" if I denounced the one crime without mentioning the other. (29 Nov. 1956)

Russell disliked this kind of selective political criticism. He had noticed the tendency in Nehru (see below, p. 126) and had been drawn into a lively exchange of letters with the chairman of the Congress for Cultural Freedom because of the latter's silence about Suez (see Introduction, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii).

There are two typescript carbon copies of Paper **25**. The second of these bears the marginal note "cut by Off. of Inf.", written in pencil by Edith Russell adjacent to four marked passages of the last paragraph (see T130:36, T130:38, T130:43, T131:5). These excisions were approved by Russell after Spey had contacted him again on 4 December.

In view of the change in circumstances since you wrote, I wonder whether you would care to accept the minor deletions I have suggested. They

would not destroy or weaken the arguments you put forward, but would bring the text up to date, and make it easier for an agent of Her Majesty's Government in Paris to disseminate your stimulating and provocative views.

The following day Russell replied that, "In view of recent events, I am willing to accept the deletions that you have suggested..." (RA REC. ACQ. 106). His assent is rather surprising, for the proposed changes, as the Textual Notes reveal, undoubtedly did serve to mute Russell's criticisms of British and French policy, thereby undermining his position as stated to Spey. But the COI may still have harboured reservations about releasing even this modified version of the text. Although Russell did receive confirmation from the COI's features manager of its "acceptance and approval" and that the agreed fee of £10–10s. would be forwarded in due course (11 Dec. 1956), the "special bulletin" for which **25** was prepared has not been located. The likelihood, therefore, is that his protest of the Soviet military intervention remained unpublished.

Paper **26** appeared above the text of **24** under the heading "Messages from the Leaders of the World Movement of Rationalism", *The Indian Rationalist*, Calcutta, 4 (Dec. 1956): 139 (B&R C56.21). It was later read by the humanist philosopher and literary scholar Sibnarayan Ray (see *Missing and Unprinted Papers*, p. 440) to the fifth Convention of Indian Rationalists, in Bombay, on 29 December 1956. Russell had recently conveyed to Ray (a future editor of *The Radical Humanist*) his interest in "the development of Indian opinion, which I hope will avoid the opposite irrational dogmatism of Marxism and Hindu orthodoxy" (19 Nov. 1956). He had first made contact with the Indian rationalists in April 1952, when he sent a brief goodwill message for the inaugural issue of their journal (Russell 1952b). Two-and-a-half years later he communicated his best wishes to the fourth Convention of Indian Rationalists, held in Meerut from 28–30 January 1955 (**38** in *Papers* 28). The editor of *The Indian Rationalist* (and president of the association), S.Ramanathan, had requested a lengthier statement of Russell's rationalist outlook when he contacted him on 14 November. But he also sought a reaction from Russell to events in Suez and Hungary, so a copy of the *Reynolds News* piece (**24**) was enclosed in partial fulfilment of this last request.

The last of the four letters to *The Manchester Guardian* in this section (**27**) captures Russell's impatience with the indignant response of British Conservatives to the Eisenhower administration's handling of the Suez crisis (see A128:26–7). Hostility to the United States was far more commonplace on the Left—both before and after the Suez débâcle—but Eisenhower's refusal to back the Franco-British-Israeli intervention against Egypt had produced an outpouring of anti-Americanism from the opposite side of the British political spectrum, especially from among the Suez Group of Conservative backbenchers. These political heirs of Lords Cromer and Milner—by whose model of empire British control over Egypt had been consolidated in the late nineteenth century—had voted against the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in June 1954 and were the most vocal lobbyists for military action against Colonel Nasser two years later. Outraged at their betrayal by the United States, some of these Tory right-wingers even called for the closure of American air bases in Britain (see Botti 1987, 172)—anticipating a refrain of the unilateralist and neutralist Left. The Conservative Party's more moderate "Atlanticist" elements were angry with the American President for exposing the imbalance of the "special relationship" which they had presumed their country enjoyed with the United States. At the Bermuda Conference of March 1957, Eisenhower

succeeded in repairing some of the diplomatic damage by promising Prime Minister Macmillan (Eden had resigned on 9 January) much fuller cooperation in the fields of atomic energy and nuclear weapons production than the United States had hitherto been willing to allow. Britain had long sought this freer exchange of technology and information, which was formally recognized by a revised Anglo-American nuclear agreement signed in July 1958.

Paper **27** was published on 4 Dec. 1956, p. 6 (B&R C56.23) and is reprinted in *Yours Faithfully, Bertrand Russell* (2001), pp. 250–1. It seems to have been prompted by *The Manchester Guardian's* report of the Commons debate of 27 November in which some no Conservative M.P.'s—almost one-third of the Eden Government's support in the lower house—reproached the United States for “gravely endangering the Atlantic alliance” (“Anti-American Feelings among Conservatives”, 29 Nov. 1956, p. 11). Russell's condemnation of past Tory partisanship gives him the air of an old-fashioned Whig grandee. Perhaps he intended to heighten this effect by uncharacteristically adding “The Earl Russell” to the signature block of the two extant typed copies, although this change was possibly introduced after the letter was sent, for *The Manchester Guardian* identified its correspondent in the customary and less formal fashion as “Bertrand Russell”.

Shortly after France and Britain had agreed to withdraw from Egypt (see A133:2), Russell was asked to submit a New Year's message to *The Hindustan Times* (**28**). The newspaper was sympathetic to Russell's anti-nuclear politics and had reprinted several of his writings, including “Man's Peril”. Its approach to him was made through the London editor, Gunther Stein.

You are, of course, entirely free to comment on any subject, but we would especially like your comments on the international role India has been playing in 1956 and your views of the contributions India could make to world peace in 1957. We would also be interested to hear your opinion about the best ways of overcoming the harm done to Commonwealth relations by the Suez affair. (7 Dec. 1956)

Although Russell may have welcomed this opportunity to reach a large Indian audience, his short statement does not seem to have been used by this leading New Delhi daily. Russell praises India's leadership among neutral states as well as its success in containing Commonwealth discord over Suez (see A133:1). But part of his text reads like an oblique critique of Prime Minister Nehru's failure to censure Soviet intervention in Hungary with the same vigour as he had the Franco-British invasion of Egypt. When Russell detected exactly the opposite fault in the executive chairman of the anti-Communist Congress for Cultural Freedom, he expressed regret that, “like Nehru, you condemn the crimes of your enemies more than those of your friends” (to Denis de Rougemont, 19 Nov. 1956).

With reprisals in Hungary continuing apace throughout 1957, Paper **29** was written for a first-anniversary commemoration of the thwarted uprising. On 31 October 1957 Russell was asked by the assistant editor of the *New Statesman*, Norman Mackenzie, for “a message of greeting” to a meeting which the political weekly was staging jointly with *Tribune* (the leading organ of the Labour Left) and the Hungarian Writers' Association Abroad (HWAA). Hungary's intelligentsia was disproportionately victimized by the harsh retribution exacted by the Kádár regime in the three years that followed the failed revolution. Workers, peasants, and party officials were targeted as well, although to a

lesser extent, and over 200,000 Hungarians, meanwhile, simply fled the country. Although far from sensitive to the “considerations of liberal humanitarianism” (133:21) which Russell pressed upon it, Kádár’s Government did at least seek to offset the political repression with economic measures designed to assuage the majority of the population who had remained passive during the uprising. Both the Writers’ Association and the influential literary bi-weekly *Irodalmi Ujság*, however, had been subjected to summary treatment by the Hungarian authorities after November 1956. Although suppressed at home, the organization and its journal were quickly revived by Hungarian writers-in-exile in London. Indeed, *Irodalmi Ujság* would publish Paper 29 in translation. It appeared under the heading, “Felszólalások a november 4–6 évfordulóján” [Remarks on the November 4th Anniversary] alongside messages from Albert Camus, Doris Lessing and three of Russell’s fellow signatories to Appendix XII, Richard Church, T.S.Eliot and Angus Wilson. Russell’s contribution appeared below a subtitle, “Akár jobbról, akár balról” [Whether Right or Left], 15 Nov. 1957, p. 4 (B&R C57.30). All these short statements had previously been read or delivered *in absentia* to the HWAA gathering on 4 November.

On 20 November Russell was thanked by Pál Ignotus, president of the HWAA, for a “most impressive message sent to, and read at our meeting”. Ignotus also acknowledged “everything else you have done for the Hungarian men of letters and the Hungarian people”. Although Russell, by his own admission (see Introduction, p. xxxii), had not been unduly vocal in protesting Soviet-backed repression, he had made at least two other interventions on behalf of persecuted Hungarian writers. Early in October—at the behest of László Szabó, vice-president of the HWAA—he had sent this telegram to Ferenc Münnich, interior minister in the Kádár Government: “Earnestly hope Hungarian Government will extend clemency to very distinguished author Tibor Dery”. This sixty-three year old novelist was also one of the four Hungarian writers whose trial was protested by Russell and thirteen other British literary figures in Appendix XII.

The copy-text for Paper 22 is the typescript, dated 9 August 1956 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand (RAI 220.022082). For Paper 23 the typescript carbon, dated 1 November 1956 and also made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand, has been used (RAI 220.022083). Bearing the same date and in the same hand, there is also an earlier dictated draft of the letter (RA2 750). For Paper 24 the typescript has been designated copy-text (RA2 320.181846). This version was prepared from the manuscript which Russell had dictated to Edith on 1 November (RAI 220.022130). Dated one day later is the typescript carbon of the message as read out in Penrhyndeudraeth (RA2 320.181847). The copy-text for Paper 25 is the typescript carbon, dated 29 November 1956 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand (RAI 220.022100). The copy-text for 26 is the typescript carbon, dated 22 November 1956 and made on the blank portion of the air-mail form used by S.Ramanathan (see above, p. 125) for his letter to Russell of 14 November (RAI 410). There is also a dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand (RA2 750). For Paper 27 the copy-text is one of two identical typescript carbons dated 29 November 1956 (RAI 220.022084). At the same archival location there is also a dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand. The copy-text for the hitherto unpublished Paper 28 is the typescript dated 13 December 1956 (RAI 640-F29). A carbon of this document is located with a second typescript carbon made from a different (but substantively identical) original (RAI 220.022110). There is also a dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand (RA2 750). For Paper 29 the typescript carbon enclosed with Russell’s reply to Norman

MacKenzie of 1 November 1957 has been chosen as copy-text (RAI 410). Bearing the same date is the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RA2 750).



## The Suez Canal [1956]

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN"

SIR,—I wish to express complete agreement with the statement by a number of Labour Members in your issue of August 9 against the use of force in the Suez Canal dispute, except on one point. They suggest that the use of force should require the sanction of the Security Council. But the Security Council is subject to the veto, which either side may use obstructively. I suggest that the proposed conference should appoint, or ask UNO to appoint, an *ad hoc* authority in which Communist and anti-Communist States should have equal voting power, and representatives of uncommitted nations should hold the balance. Such a body could act by a majority. The existence of the veto makes unanimity essential, and where unanimity exists no organization is necessary. Constructive internationalism demands the creation of an authority which can take enforceable decisions by a majority when unanimity is unattainable.—Yours etc.,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

9 August, 1956. Plas Penrhyn, 20 Penrhyndeudraeth, Merioneth.



## 23

### Britain's Act of War [1956]

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN"

SIR,—The criminal lunacy of the British and French Governments' action against Egypt fills me with deep shame for my country. I endorse every word of Mr. Gaitskell's indictment and of your leading article of November 1. Only one hope remains, that the United States will use its power to stop the fighting and so save us from the worst consequences of our Government's insanity.—Yours etc.,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

1 November, 1956. Plas Penrhyn.



## This Act of Criminal Folly [1956]

THE ATTACK ON Egypt by the British and French Governments is an act of criminal folly. We have no legally justifiable *casus belli*. The questions at issue were being considered by the United Nations and should have been left to their jurisdiction. The whole world, except France and some parts of the British Commonwealth, is horrified, and rightly so, by our wanton aggression which is not only wicked, but also insanely unwise. To use our veto against an American proposal on the Security Council is the act of madmen. To have produced unity between America and Russia is surprising, but at the cost of disrupting the Commonwealth, unwelcome. To have lost the respect of even our best friends is not likely to increase the security of our position in the world. I hope that opposition to the policy of the Government will become irresistible. Failing that, we must look to the influence of America to bring our rulers to their senses.



## British Opinion on Hungary [1956]

THE FORCIBLE SUBJECTION of Hungary by Soviet armed forces has roused among the immense majority of British intellectuals, as among almost all who are politically conscious, feelings of very deep horror and revulsion. This extends to those who had been fellow travellers and even to not a few members of the Communist Party. The re-occupation of Hungary by Russian troops and the accompanying acts of repression have exhibited Russian Communism to all the world as a brutal, ruthless, hypocritical, and treacherous, conquering imperialism. The last straw was the breach of faith in regard to Nagy

This is by no means the first time that the Soviet Government has been guilty of similar atrocities. The treatment of Russian peasants during the period of collectivizing was at least as brutal and on a larger scale. The treachery that has characterized recent Russian actions in Hungary was neither more degraded nor more horrible than that which characterized 30 Russian action in Poland in the years 1944–5. Two instances of this treachery were peculiarly notable: the first was the failure to relieve Warsaw, when the Russians were in a position to do so without difficulty, because they chose to wait until the Polish forces, which had been fighting the Nazis, were exterminated; the second, which occurred while the United Nations was being inaugurated at San Francisco, was the imprisonment of Polish democratic leaders who had gone to Poland on the faith of a Russian safe-conduct. The East Germans, after a gallant insurrection, were reduced to sullen obedience solely by Russian tanks. But none of these past actions had as powerful an effect on British public opinion as the suppression of Hungary. This is partly because the facts about Hungary are better known; but even more because, since the denunciation of Stalin by the Soviet leaders, it had seemed as if they were entering upon a new era of comparative liberalism in which co-existence would not be difficult, and even co-operation not always impossible. It was not irrational to hope that the rigours of the Cold War were coming to an end and that the increase in Russian productivity might be devoted less to armaments than to raising the standard of life. All these hopes, the 10 Soviet leaders have killed. We are back where we were in the days of Stalin, except that Western mistakes have, meantime, permitted a great increase of Russian power and influence.

The sympathy which we all feel with Hungary is rendered even more painful than it would otherwise be by the sense of impotence. It would be totally useless to go to war with Russia in defence of Hungary. We went to war in defence of Poland in 1939, but it cannot be said that our doing so was in any way useful to the Poles. And the situation now is much worse than it was in 1939 owing to the utterly devastating possibilities of warfare with the hydrogen bomb. Something can be done by offering asylum to 20 refugees, and something can be done through the Red Cross to diminish suffering, but we cannot liberate Hungary by force however ardently we may wish to do so.

I do not think, however, that nothing can be done. I think that even in the Kremlin world opinion can make some impact. I think the Kremlin may in time find it irksome to

hold the Satellites only by means of military force. Already Poland has achieved a very considerable degree of independence, and there can be no doubt that among other Satellites there is a strong desire to follow the example of Poland. The Kremlin can no longer rely upon Satellite armies, but only upon Russian forces; and even 30 Russian soldiers, according to many reports, have been not without sympathy for Hungarian insurgents. It seems fairly certain that the leadership in the Soviet Government is divided in opinion and another shift of power away from ruthless despotism is not impossible. The Soviet Government feels the need of the good opinion of Asia and Africa which it would have forfeited by now but for the tragic blunders of Western Powers.

It is a disaster to mankind that at the moment when the Soviet Government is displaying its ruthless imperialism, Britain and France, which should have been in a position to help in rallying world opinion, chose instead to embark upon an illegal war of aggression and have thereby caused Asia and Africa to regard them as a source of danger to freedom more imminent than that represented by the Communist Powers. The feeling is rendered more vivid by recollections of a not yet distant past. So long as British and French troops remain in Port Said, so long France and Britain cannot speak with any moral authority in the repudiation of Russian military conquest. I do not mean to suggest that what the British and French Governments have done against Egypt is comparable in wickedness to what the Russians have done in Hungary. In wickedness, it is much less; but in folly, it is much greater. The world can only be saved from disaster if means can be found of substituting law for force in international affairs. Powers which flout the United Nations, whether Communist or anti-Communist, are making this consummation more difficult and are increasing the danger of the total and universal disaster that would result from a Third World War. 10

## 26

# Message to the Indian Rationalist Association [1956]

I REGRET THE revival of Buddhism in the East and of Catholicism in the West. I also deeply deplore the increase of Communist Power by brutal and unscrupulous methods. I consider the action of the British and French Governments in Egypt both criminal and utterly foolish. I have stated this publicly as you will see from the enclosed communication to *Reynolds News*. There has never been a time in human history when the rationalist outlook was more needed to combat the rival fanaticisms which are threatening the world with disaster.



## The Atlantic Alliance [1956] 20

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN"

SIR,—My purpose in this letter is to make an appeal to those Conservatives, of whom I am sure there must be many, who put the welfare of their country above the temporary interests of their party. I do not propose to say anything about the interests of other parts of the world, except that I believe our national interests, rightly understood, to be wholly in harmony with those of mankind.

It seems that a large section of Conservative opinion, not content with the mad folly of the attack on Egypt, is now prepared to follow it up with an anti-American campaign. I have been at times critical of some things so American, more particularly as regards Communist China and police action against American alleged Communists, but in the recent crisis I have thought America wholly in the right and our Government wholly in the wrong.

Apart from rights and wrongs, however, it should be obvious to everybody not blinded by reckless resentment that our alliance with America is vital to our national survival. But for NATO, we could not prevent the Russians from overrunning Western Europe, including Britain. Having by our own action caused the Suez Canal to be closed, we have made ourselves dependent upon American oil, and without American aid our industry must suffer catastrophically. It is a shocking fact that we have been nearly indifferent when America has been in the wrong, but are filled with indignation when America is in the right.

There is nothing new in Tory preference of party interests to national welfare. From the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which the Tories forced through the Lords by the creation of peers, and the ending of the Seven Years War by a treaty which sacrificed British interest to the discrediting of Chatham, and on through the Ministry of Lord North, which succeeded in losing the American Colonies by a ruthless use of a parliamentary majority, we find ourselves brought to the present day, in which a Government is imitating Lord North to the utmost limit of what the changed circumstances make possible.

I realize that it is difficult for a Conservative to vote against his Party, but when his Party embarks upon a headlong rush towards utter destruction, as it is in danger of doing, it is time for sane men to think of a duty 20 higher than party loyalty. We cannot recover the good opinion of the world until the present Government falls, and it will not fall until some Conservative M.P.'s place patriotism before party.—Yours etc.,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

29 November, 1956. Plas Penrhyn, Penrhyndeudraeth, Merioneth.



Message to *The Hindustan Times* [1956]

INDIA AS THE most important of the uncommitted nations is in a position to do an immense service to mankind in mitigating the evil effects of the conflict between rival Great Powers. I am wholly at one with the Government of India in its condemnation of Anglo-French action in Egypt and I also rejoice that this condemnation has not led India to break with the Commonwealth. I am glad that the authority of the United Nations has been successfully asserted as regards Egypt. It is tragic that there has been no equal submission to its authority where Hungary is concerned. If India is to continue to play its beneficent role as an uncommitted nation there must be a perfect equality in condemnation of the sins of either bloc.

The harm done to Commonwealth relations by the Suez affair is partially mitigated by the British agreement to withdraw troops from Egypt, but I do not think it can be completely undone until there is a change of Government in England. I do not see what India can do beyond continuing the same line of policy as hitherto in regard to the Middle East while coupling this with a vigorous denunciation of Russia's brutal crimes in Hungary.



## Message to Meeting on “Writers and the Hungarian Revolution” [1957]

IN COMMON WITH all liberal opinion, including what in the West is at least opposed to Communism, I am deeply shocked by the persecution of Hungarian writers that is being undertaken by the present Hungarian Government. Such persecutions are equally to be deplored whether they emanate from the Right or from the Left. After the fall of Bela Kun I joined in protests against the death sentence which had been pronounced by the then reactionary Government of Hungary on an eminent mathematician who happened to be a Communist. Although the Government at that time was about as illiberal as a Government could be, it gave heed to these protests and the mathematician was allowed to continue his work. I earnestly hope that Mr. Kadar's Government will not prove less amenable to considerations of liberal humanitarianism than the Government which established a reign of terror after the fall of Bela Kun. I hope this not only on the general ground of intellectual freedom, but because persecution of opinion by the present Hungarian Government promotes and perpetuates the hostility between East and West which is threatening mankind with extinction. I most earnestly hope that such considerations will cause Mr. Kadar and his coadjutors to abstain from a course which cannot but be condemned as one of petty malevolence.



Part IV  
Justice in Cold War Time



## Bertrand Russell Urges Parole for Jacob Mindel [1955]

TWO SENTENCES OF this appeal to the chairman of the Federal Parole Board in Washington D.C. appeared under the title used here in a short piece about the imprisoned American Communist Jacob Mindel (1881–?) in the *Daily Worker*, New York, 22 Sept. 1955, p. 3 (B&R C55.34). These excerpts were reprinted the following day by the same newspaper (p. 5), the leading organ of the Communist Party of the United States, and in these Communist Party publications in Britain and Canada: “Russell Pleads for U.S. Victim”, *Daily Worker*, London, 23 Sept. 1955, p. 4; “Bertrand Russell Appeals for Jacob Mindel Parole”, *Canadian Tribune*, Toronto, 18, no. 949 (3 Oct. 1955): 3.

In February 1953 Mindel had been fined \$4,000 and sentenced to two years imprisonment after being convicted in New York with twelve other Communists accused of sedition under the Smith Act. The very survival of the American Communist Party had been called into question by a flurry of indictments under this draconian statute, which had been enacted in 1940 and made it a federal crime to advocate overthrowing the government by force. Russell was deeply disturbed by such legal intimidation, but in this instance he was moved more by the humanitarian case for clemency. As he wrote Mindel’s wife on 15 September 1955: “I do not know the details of your husband’s case, but what you tell me is enough to make me think he is suffering intolerable injustice...”. Mindel had been released from custody pending a legal challenge to the New York convictions on constitutional grounds. But after this appeal was rejected in January 1955, he was incarcerated in the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury, Connecticut. He had suffered two heart attacks during his trial and since then, Russell was informed by Mrs. Mindel, his “health (had) suffered a setback” (6 Sept. 1955). Rebecca Mindel was asking Russell—and others presumably for her letter begins “Dear Friend”—to intercede only four days after her husband had become eligible for parole. Her efforts were to no avail, however, as the ailing Mindel’s application for parole was denied. He spent another year in prison before being released unconditionally with credit for good behaviour on 10 September 1956.

Russell replied immediately to Mrs. Mindel, enclosing a carbon of his typed letter to Scovel Richardson (1912–1982), chairman of the Federal Parole Board and an African-American judge who was later appointed to the federal bench. The letter to Richardson had been dictated in the first instance to Edith Russell on 15 September (RA2 750). A second typescript carbon, retained by Russell for his files, has been selected as copy-text (RA2 340.184425).

DEAR SIR,—I am writing to you in the hope that the Federal Parole Board may release the prisoner Jacob Mindel on parole for which he is eligible this month. He is old and his life is in danger. It is highly probable that if he is kept in prison he will die there. I cannot

believe for one moment that if released on parole he will endanger the security of the United States. If you know of anything to make harshness in his case imperative I shall be grateful if you will let me know. If he is not paroled and you cannot inform me of any special circumstances necessitating severity in his case, I feel that there will be justification for those 10 who are seeking a public agitation.—Yours faithfully,

THE EARL RUSSELL, O.M..

15 September, 1955. 41, Queens Road, Richmond, Surrey.

## Two Papers on Oppenheimer [1955]

EXTRACTS FROM THE blurb for Seeker and Warburg's publication of *A Nation's Security* (**31a**) appeared in a publisher's advertisement in *The Times Literary Supplement*, no. 2,802 (11 Nov. 1955): 669 (B&R Gg55.04). Frederic Warburg had impressed upon Russell that Michael Wharton's edited transcript of evidence heard in the Oppenheimer case "is a most important book for the English public to have, but not an easy one to sell and if you could see your way to giving us an advance quote, it would be most useful" (19 Aug. 1955). In March Russell had declined an offer to contribute a preface, but he did agree in his reply to Warburg to provide an "advance quote" (22 Aug. 1955). Wharton (b. 1913) was a conservative writer and critic then employed by the BBC. After 1957 he gained much wider recognition pseudonymously as *The Daily Telegraph's* curmudgeonly columnist (and scourge of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation) "Peter Simple". The editing commission which he had received from a London literary agency was a somewhat incongruous undertaking, since the security investigation of Oppenheimer was a source of much more widespread disquiet on the Left than on the Right. But whereas Russell felt "very strongly...that the adverse conclusion which was reached was the wrong one..." (141:8-9), Wharton refrained from any such unequivocal assertions in Oppenheimer's favour. Indeed, in a memoir published many years later, he reflected that the latter had been "suspected of being a 'security risk', on the whole, I think, rightly" (1984, 186). He also recalled how his short introduction to *A Nation's Security* had been dismissed by the *New Statesman* as "surprisingly right-wing" (quoted at *ibid.*), although the intrusion of any such bias seems to have escaped Russell's notice.

The distinguished American physicist Julius Robert Oppenheimer (1904-1967) had served as laboratory director of the wartime Manhattan Project and remained prominent in the post-war era as a scientific advisor to the United States Atomic Energy Commission. In December 1953, however, his access to classified information was suddenly withdrawn by order of President Eisenhower. Oppenheimer had made some influential enemies in the military and the bureaucracy, and Joseph McCarthy's powerful Senate Subcommittee on Investigations had been building a case against him well before his security clearance was revoked. Russell had been "shocked by the attack on Oppenheimer" (to Julie Medlock, 14 April 1954), with whom he had dined at Princeton in November 1950. The campaign against him had culminated in the unfavourable ruling of the USAEC'S personnel security board (to which Paper **31a** makes reference) in June 1954. But Russell had refrained from protesting publicly at the time of the Oppenheimer hearings. As he had told the editor of *The Nation*, "I do not like to do so while the case is subjudice and I fear that anything I might say now would do more harm than good" (to Carey McWilliams, 19 April 1954).

When asked to review *The Open Mind* for *The New Republic* (**31b**), Russell responded to Robert Evett, editor of the liberal New York weekly that had first published him in 1920, that he wanted privately to appraise Oppenheimer's book beforehand: "If I like it, I shall be glad to say so publicly; but if I do not, I should prefer to be silent" (20 Aug.

1955). Russell probably did not wish to be complicit in any further tarnishing of the scientist's already battered reputation. Oppenheimer's book was based on eight lectures delivered between May 1946 and November 1954; four dealt with atomic weapons and closely related matters of public policy, while the remainder examined the relationship of science to the wider culture. Having decided to proceed with a review, Russell conveyed through his assessment the respect he felt for a man who had squarely confronted the perplexing moral and political problems raised by the harnessing of atomic energy. Paper **31b** was published in *The New Republic* as "The Mind of Robert Oppenheimer", 133, no. 21 (21 Nov. 1955): 25-6 (B&R C55.36). The title used here (and by Russell) also headed the seventh chapter of Oppenheimer's work.

The copy-text for Paper **31a** is the undated typescript carbon (RAI 220.021090), made from the letter to Frederic Warburg which had been dictated to Edith Russell on 1 September 1955 (RA2 750). For Paper **31b**, the typescript carbon dated 1 November 1955 has been used (RAI 220.021390). At the same archival location there is also a dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand.

### **31a** Michael Wharton, *A Nation's Security*

*A Nation's Security: The Case of J. Robert Oppenheimer*. By Michael Wharton. London: Seeker & Warburg, 1955. Pp. 398.

A *NATION'S SECURITY* by Michael Wharton is exceedingly interesting and will, I hope, be widely read. It is a reprint without comment, of all the important parts in the inquiry as to whether Dr. Oppenheimer should or should not be considered a "security risk". I feel very strongly, and I think most English readers will feel, that the adverse conclusion which was reached was the wrong one, but I think it was reached honestly after a full and fair investigation. America is faced by a 10 problem which is coming to face all scientific nations. From a military point of view the most important members of the community are certain scientists whose work is totally unintelligible to nine hundred and ninety-nine people out of every thousand. In America there is an attempt to control these people by means of policemen and Congressional Committees, although neither police nor Congress understand what the scientists are doing or how their minds work. The scientists conversely are, it must be admitted, often politically very naive. The clash between two kinds of skill and two kinds of ignorance is displayed dramatically in this volume. Unfortunately the scientifically ignorant had the last word. There are two 20 opposite risks: the one, of which the F.B.I. and the Courts are only too well aware, that scientists may be indiscreet; the other, quite as serious but inadequately recognized by the authorities, that the atmosphere of humiliating surveillance may lead the best men to refuse Government service or may so harry and disgust them as to make them incapable of their best work. I hope this latter danger will come to be more appreciated than it was in the trial of Dr. Oppenheimer. I found the confrontation of scientist and policeman in Mr. Wharton's book absorbingly interesting. It is as interesting dramatically as the very best detective story and deals at the same time with matters of the utmost public importance. And beneath the 30 political issues there lies a larger question: can individual self-respect be allowed to survive in a modern community, or must the individual learn to cringe before the organized forces of ignorance and obscurantism? This book by its entirely unbiased report enables the reader to understand in a concrete case the complexity and difficulty of the questions involved.

## 31b The Scientist in Society

*The Open Mind*. By J. Robert Oppenheimer. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955. Pp. 146.

THIS COLLECTION OF eight lectures is interesting from two different points of view. On the one hand, Dr. Oppenheimer is one of the few men who know all about nuclear weapons both from the scientific and from the governmental point of view. This gives weight to everything that he has to say on world affairs. But there is another point of view which has become important owing to the action of the author's titles. Since Dr. Oppenheimer was refused security clearance his personality, his character and his outlook have become matters of public interest. I am quite unable to see how any candid person who has read this book and the evidence upon which the adverse verdict was based can fail to be convinced that that verdict was mistaken and resulted (to take the most favourable hypothesis) from a lack of comprehension of a very sensitive character accustomed, as all men of science should be, to the balancing of conflicting hypotheses. A policeman may say: "We do not want men who balance hypotheses. We want men of firm and unshakable convictions on the side of the Right. The open mind, forsooth! Can it be a virtue to have 20 an open mind between right and wrong?" This outlook is common, and in a police force perhaps inevitable, but it is not that of men who are successful in scientific investigation. If the authorities insist upon employing only those whose orthodoxy is more impeccable than that of simpler men in the scientific preparation of nuclear weapons, they will do infinite damage to their country by excluding all men of first-rate scientific ability.

So much by way of generalities. To come to the particular case of Dr. Oppenheimer: Investigation made it undeniable that he had committed mistakes, one of them from a security point of view rather grave. But there was no evidence of disloyalty or of anything that could be considered 30 treasonable. Such errors of judgment as there were resulted from an inability to see things simply, an inability which is not surprising in one possessed of a complex and delicate mental apparatus. He suffers, as all sensitive atomic scientists do, from the unintended horrors which their work has rendered possible. As he says: "In some sort of crude sense which no vulgarity, no humour, no overstatement can quite extinguish, the physicists have known sin; and this is a knowledge which they cannot lose." He speaks of "the deep trouble and moral concern which so many of us who are physicists have felt". I do not see how any humane person engaged in the kind of work which Dr. Oppenheimer was doing could fail to have 40 such feelings. I do not mean to suggest that the work ought not to have been done. The scientists were caught in a tragic dilemma, and even the most conscientious of them might justly feel that no good could come of an individual or unilateral refusal to engage in the researches that Governments demanded. But it is not difficult to understand how, in moments when intricate political arguments were forgotten, the sense of sin of which Dr. Oppenheimer speaks would return. It is a shocking thing that policemen, who have no such sense, should be considered morally superior to those who have it.

The development of Dr. Oppenheimer's own opinions is perfectly clear. Like many others of liberal outlook he had, when young, hopes that it might be possible to cooperate with the Soviet Government. These hopes 10 gradually faded and finally died at the time of the Russian rejection of the Baruch Plan. A propos of this, he says: "Openness, friendliness and cooperation did not seem to be what the Soviet Government most prized on this earth... We came to grips, or began to come to grips, with the

massive evidences of Soviet hostility.” From these and many other passages it is clear that Dr. Oppenheimer’s attitude to Russia had become all that the American Authorities could wish.

But he has been aware at an earlier date than the leading statesmen of the world that modern weapons have made a great deal of past military thought completely inapplicable. It is no longer useful to possess more 20 bombs than the enemy if each side possesses enough to inflict total disaster. As Dr. Oppenheimer puts it: “Our twenty-thousandth bomb, useful as it may be in filling the vast munitions pipe-lines of a great war, will not in any deep strategic sense offset their two-thousandth.” I think that the Big Four at Geneva understood this situation, but there is still a feeling in many quarters that it is not quite nice to be frank about it.

Dr. Oppenheimer’s opinions on world affairs are temperately expressed and, to my mind at least, are just and wise. He is quite clear that there is only one ultimate solution for our problem and that is World Government. “Many have said that without World Government there could be 30 no permanent peace, and without peace there would be atomic warfare. I think one must agree with this.” He goes on to say that to outlaw atomic weapons will only be possible if international law can apply to the citizens of nations, and that international control is not compatible with absolute national sovereignty. But he admits, fully and frankly, that there is little hope of international government in any near future. For the near future his hopes are directed mainly towards a diminution of secrecy and suspicion, and an increase of friendly intercourse. But he realizes that it may be a long time before such palliatives bring about any fundamental improvement. 40

There is an interesting address on the encouragement of science in which he points out, as many others have done, that it lies within the power of science to abolish poverty everywhere. “Science can provide us”, he says, “for the first time in history, with the means of abating hunger for everyone on earth.” While urging the importance of preserving peace, he refuses to admit that it has become the one absolute final objective of all political decisions. “There are”, he says, “other things in man’s life—his freedom, his decency, his sense of right and wrong—that cannot so lightly be subjected to a single end.” I think the feeling which led him to say this is a right one. Subordination of all other ends to one is the essence of fanaticism and involves a quite undue simplification. But there is something new in our present problem: Freedom and decency and sense of right and wrong will disappear along with all other human values if human life is exterminated. All human values depend upon the continued existence of the human species and this aim must therefore dominate all others.

In spite of nuclear weapons, Dr. Oppenheimer is a firm believer in the value of science, but he is not certain that science will survive. He says: “It is possible, manifestly, for society so to arrange things that there is no science. The Nazis made a good start in that direction; maybe the Communists will achieve it; and there is not one of us free of the worry that this flourishing tree may someday not be alive any more.” I cannot myself believe that science is likely to decay in a world in which scientific war is possible. Unless all civilization collapses nations will continue to value science so long as, without actual war, the danger of war persists. We must hope that if peace became secure science would again be valued as it used to be for better reasons than the ability to inflict larger-scale slaughter.

There is an interesting lecture called “Scientists in Society”. Dr. Oppenheimer is struck by the incredible scientific ignorance of historians, statesmen and men of affairs. He poses, without solving, a curious problem of the modern world. The men whose

activities have been transforming human life are the men of science, but it is not they who have power in the sense of being able to give orders. Statesmen, captains of industry, generals, bureaucrats, and clerics can determine what shall be done, but the means of doing it are supplied by science of which these eminent men understand nothing. The scientist is in the position of a Greek slave in Imperial Rome. He knows that he understands a host of important things which are completely unknown to his masters. This gives him a very painful feeling of isolation in the community. Perhaps in time it will become possible to make some of the fundamental ideas of science intelligible in the course of a cultural education and, conversely, to give more cultural background to the thoughts of scientists. The present system under which some men have the power and others have the knowledge is very dangerous. If it could be amended by a lesser degree of specialization in education, the risk of disaster to civilized ways of life might be much lessened. Physicists have learnt to think in quite a new way about many matters as to which most people still unshakably adhere to common sense. Dr. Oppenheimer points out that matter no longer consists of persistent particles and that the whole way of conceiving the physical world is totally different from that of half a century ago. "The science of today", he says, "is subtler, richer, more relevant to man's life and more useful to man's dignity than the science which had such great effect on the Age of Enlightenment ... Quantum mechanics represents a more interesting, more instructive, richer analogy of human life than Newtonian mechanics could conceivably be." It is infinitely regrettable that this new universe of revolutionary ideas, which ought to be transforming our everyday thoughts, is as yet so entangled in technicalities that very few can apprehend it, and so bound up with what is most dreadful in our civilization that many men shrink from it in horror. It is not only material benefits that science can bring, but also fundamental new insights and new fields for creative imagination. All this, no doubt, it will achieve in time if peace endures. There is more that is worth preserving than at any earlier time. It is not irrational to hope, though it would be irrational to feel sure, that this great heritage will not be swept away in a moment of madness.



## Four Protests about the Sobell Case [1956]

THESE FOUR PAPERS mark the onset of Russell's public advocacy for Morton Sobell (b. 1917), who had been convicted with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg of conspiracy to commit espionage at their sensational "atom spy" trial in March 1951. The Rosenbergs were sentenced to death and executed two years later, while Sobell was serving a thirty-year prison term at the notorious Alcatraz penitentiary in the San Francisco Bay. Sobell, an engineer who had worked on military radar, had been spared the death sentence because he was not implicated in any acts of *atomic* espionage. "At the time", Russell later conceded, he "had paid, I am ashamed to say, only cursory attention to what was going on" (1969, 81). Yet, as he studied the evidence assembled by such writers as John Wexley and Malcolm Sharp, he was persuaded that the case was "a monstrous one and I agreed to do all I could to call people's attention to it" (*ibid.*). Although his involvement over the next seven years or so was necessarily intermittent, Russell never wavered in his belief that Sobell (and the Rosenbergs) had been wrongfully convicted.

The background to the case is well-known but merits a brief recapitulation. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were a radical Jewish couple who had been active in Communist politics for some years before suddenly dropping out of open party work in 1943. It was alleged that they had then joined an espionage operation run from the Soviet consulate in New York. Specifically, they stood accused of transmitting to their Soviet contacts classified information divulged by David Greenglass, Ethel's brother and a Manhattan Project technician. Greenglass pleaded guilty before presenting perjured testimony against his sister and brother-in-law (see A155:6-10). Another key prosecution witness was Harry Gold, who had confessed in a separate trial to acting occasionally as courier for Greenglass and, more significantly, of intelligence about the bomb disclosed by the Los Alamos physicist Klaus Fuchs. The testimony of Greenglass's wife, meanwhile, added to the comparatively slender case against Ethel Rosenberg. Although Ruth Greenglass was implicated in the conspiracy, she escaped prosecution because of her husband's willingness to cooperate with the authorities. The case against Morton Sobell hinged upon the testimony of a confessed perjurer, his friend Max Elitcher (see A152:15-16).

The latter fact alone was sufficiently compelling for Russell to call for a retrial. But he was also deeply disturbed by the circumstances of Sobell's arrest and extradition and by the climate of hysteria surrounding the prosecutions. Like other landmark criminal trials in the United States, the Rosenberg-Sobell case aroused powerful emotions. It reflected a political atmosphere charged with McCarthyism, stalemate in the Korean War and the menace of a Soviet bomb—the achievement of which frightening reality the guilty parties had purportedly accelerated by many years. A current of anti-Semitism also swirled around the Jewish accused. Russell declined to pass comment on this, as did many of the Rosenbergs' Jewish supporters, for whom allegations of persecution had been "poisoned...when the Communist Party trumpeted the Rosenbergs as victims of American anti-Semitism..." (Suchoff 1995, 155).

Speculation and polemical argument about the case has continued ever since. American and Soviet archival sources have recently indicated, however, that a spy ring in the American Communist Party did penetrate the Manhattan Project. It also seems that this intelligence did assist the Soviet atomic-bomb programme (see Haynes and Klehr 1999, 304–30, Holloway 1994, 104–8, 222), although not quite so dramatically as many Americans—including the presiding judge—claimed during the Rosenberg-Sobell trial (see A183:26–7). Both the Soviet documentation and the records of the American signals intelligence operation known as “Venona” have added to the weight of evidence against Julius Rosenberg in particular. At the same time, doubts about the convictions raised by Russell in Papers **32a** and **32b** have been heightened by revelations of gross misconduct by Judge Irving Kaufman and United States Attorney Irving H. Saypol’s team of prosecutors. Sobell himself, meanwhile (see, for example, his 1997), has consistently maintained his innocence in the face of all fresh disclosures and of the confident reassertion by newer historical accounts that he was, indeed, a Soviet spy.

Russell resolved to place his disquiet on record after meeting Sobell’s mother, Rose, early in March 1956. On 14 March he sent a draft of Paper **32a** to his cousin Margaret Lloyd, who had introduced him to Rose Sobell. He asked Lloyd “whether (she) would like it altered in any way”. She then forwarded it to her friend Joan Rodker, who was trying to establish the small British Rosenberg-Sobell Committee for whom Russell later wrote the hitherto unpublished Paper **32d**. Rodker recommended a number of minor changes to **32a** on a typed enclosure which Russell received with a letter from Margaret Lloyd dated 21 March. But Russell vetoed all these suggestions and the letter was sent to *The Manchester Guardian* substantively unaltered, where it was published on 26 March 1956, p. 6 (B&R C56.04). He wanted a platform, he told the famous liberal daily, so as to avoid making his protest “where it will only be read by pro-Russians” (22 March 1956).

The “main source” for this paper and its follow-up (**32b**) was John Wexley’s *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg* (1955), as Russell told Angus Cameron, the publisher of this controversial work (12 April 1956). But critics of Russell’s stand were not swayed by Wexley’s charges of impropriety against the investigating authorities. The author (see A155:5–6) was no legal expert, but a left-wing playwright whose work was dismissed by some as excessively partisan. Sidney Hook, for example, had been left “utterly unconvinced” by a book “full of fantastic sup-positions for which no valid evidence is given. Its Communist bias is apparent on every page” (18 June 1956). An FBI memorandum on “Bertrand Russell’s Letter which Appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* on March 26, 1956” noted that its arguments “directly parallel” those of Wexley’s book, which itself contained “obviously deliberate distortions” by an author who had “openly associated with subversive causes...” (c.6 April 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 851a).

On 31 March Russell submitted a rebuttal to the first of several critical ripostes to **32a** run by *The Manchester Guardian* (Perkins 1956). At the newspaper’s invitation, he then (on 3 April) added comments on the as yet unpublished letters by Wade N. Mack and Robert H. Rose. Deciding after this expanded draft was completed to include an excerpt from Corliss Lamont’s private correspondence (see T154:33–43), Russell conceded that his letter to the editor had become “rather long”. But he wanted to retain the quotation from Lamont; “as you have published three hostile letters from Americans it is only fair that your readers should know that I have American support” (n.d., to Derek Senior). This final version of **32b** was published unaltered on 5 April 1956, p. 6. (B&R C56.06). Yet, Russell still found cause for complaint with the newspaper’s coverage of the controversy. On 10 April he objected that, since the appearance of **32b**, “you have printed a number of

hostile letters, but none supporting me although I know of several (one, at least from an American) which have been sent you supporting my case” (RA REC. ACQ. 792). It appears from Russell’s FBI file that one of the “hostile letters” (Ferman and Green 1956), co-signed by the director of the American Civil Liberties Union and a former security official at the US AEC, was drafted in consultation with the bureau’s assistant director, Louis Nichols (see Nichols to Tolson, 4 April 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 851a). The editor of *The Manchester Guardian*, A.P. Wadsworth, denied that any “conscious bias” had governed the choice of correspondents (11 April 1956). He also notified Russell about the impending publication of certain letters which *did* endorse his view—those by the left-wing Labour M.P. Sydney Silverman and the philosopher Norwood Hanson, the “American” who had complained to Russell of his neglect by the newspaper.

Paper **32a** was abridged or summarized by several North American dailies (see Plate III), producing an uproar in the United States that far exceeded that in Britain (see Feinberg and Kasrils 1983, 72–90). What most irritated American opinion was not Russell’s questioning of the verdicts but his polemical condemnation of their entire judicial system. Particular offence was taken at his talk of “atrocities committed by the FBI” and of its resort to methods “made familiar in other police States such as Nazi Germany and Stalin’s Russia” (153:2, 153:5–6). Russell remembered being “inundated by angry letters from Americans and others denying my charges and asking irately how I could be so bold as to call American justice into question” (1969, 81). In the forefront of this retaliation were the liberal anti-Communists of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. On 5 April their chairman, James T. Farrell, communicated the ACCF’s “astonishment and profound dismay” at the position Russell had taken on the Rosenberg-Sobell case. This open letter to Russell, which was published in *The Manchester Guardian* and a number of American newspapers, censured his “extraordinary lapse from standards of objectivity and justice” (Farrell 1956).

Not surprisingly perhaps, Paper **32a** had not gone unnoticed by the FBI, which prepared a lengthy refutation of the “distortions, innuendos and deliberate falsehoods” (c.6 April 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 851a) identified in this letter to *The Manchester Guardian*. This confidential memorandum was circulated to Judge Irving Kaufman and the veteran journalist Herbert Bayard Swope, who was prevailed upon by the trial judge (a friend) and the FBI to “take the *New York Times* to task” for publicizing Russell’s allegations (Nichols to Tolson, 4 April 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 851a). Although the newspaper withstood this browbeating—partly because it had printed without prompting excerpts from one critique of Paper **32a** (Ferman and Green 1956)—the establishment offensive against Russell was continued by other means. Senator Hubert Humphrey weighed in by placing Paper **32a** into the *Congressional Record* (84th Congress, 2nd Session, 23 April 1956, pp. 6, 764–5), telling the FBI’s assistant director on 9 June that he had been “delighted to do what I could...to expose the absurdity of Lord Russell’s statements” (RA REC. ACQ. 851b). Attorney General Herbert Brownell was concerned primarily about the detrimental impact overseas of Russell’s slurs on the American judicial system and thought that the United States Information Agency (see **H6**) should “have each one of these falsehoods met with a prompt, authentic statement of facts exposing their falsity” (to J. Edgar Hoover, 5 April 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 851 a). Nothing came of this suggestion, but a similar effect was achieved in less coordinated fashion by such independent expressions of opinion as Russell endeavoured to counter in Paper **32b**.

While Russell’s public support for Sobell was fiercely contested by the FBI and ACCF amongst others, it nevertheless provided a welcome fillip to those campaigning on

the prisoner's behalf. Counsel for Sobell were preparing to petition Judge Kaufman for a hearing on motions for Sobell's release, or for a retrial based on arguments that he had been illegally arrested and that perjured testimony had been used against him. The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell wished to generate maximum publicity for these legal challenges and, as one small contribution, had reprinted some correspondence from *The Manchester Guardian* as a leaflet entitled *The Lord Russell Debate on the Case of Morton Sobell* (B&R 6114). It had also distributed a flyer containing facsimile copies of Paper **32a** plus four North American reports of Russell's opening salvo in defence of Sobell (see Plate III). About seventy "eminent Americans", meanwhile, had signed an open letter to President Eisenhower, asking that he recommend a new trial or commutation of Sobell's sentence. The centrepiece of the campaigning was to be the committee's public meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York, on 15 May 1956. Although he declined an invitation to this gathering, Russell did tell Sobell's wife that he would be "quite willing to send a message to be read at the meeting if you think that would be useful" (4 April 1956). Helen Sobell had requested a tape-recorded statement, but Russell sent only the written message that appears as Paper **32c**.

In addition to the initial publication of **32c** in a leaflet advertising the programme of the Carnegie Hall event (B&R B115), the Bay Area Council of Sobell Committees reprinted the statement in a press release of 22 June 1956 (announcing a meeting that evening in a San Francisco hotel). Russell had granted a blanket permission to Ted Jacobs, public relations officer for the national committee, for the message to be used "wherever and however you like" (10 June 1956). Thus, it may also have been read at a number of the other meetings timed to coincide with the third anniversary of the Rosenbergs' execution on 19 June, although the Bay Area gathering is the only documented instance of its use. The small British Rosenberg-Sobell Committee was also planning a commemorative event at Conway Hall, London, which was addressed by a number of speakers, including the peace-campaigning Methodist minister Dr. Donald Soper and the Labour M.P. Sydney Silverman. On 26 April Joan Rodker had asked Russell to participate. He made a small donation to the hard-pressed organization but agreed only to send a message of support. He forwarded this to the committee's honorary secretary, Eve Rosenbaum, on 26 May. There is no mention of Russell's statement in the *Daily Worker's* report of the meeting (20 June 1956, p. 2), but it appears below as Paper 32d. The existence of an additional typescript copy among the papers of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell suggests that it was also used by this American organization.

"I cannot believe that you will win in Judge Kaufman's Court", Russell had predicted to Ted Jacobs as Sobell's petition was under review (10 June 1956). These doubts were confirmed ten days later when the trial judge in the Rosenberg-Sobell case rejected all submissions to the federal district court in New York. The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell was disappointed and angry that Kaufman had "justified his denial of a hearing" primarily by disregarding the substance of the motions, invoking, instead, his overall view of the case. That is, he defended the verdict, reiterating his position that Sobell was guilty" (typescript, RAI 841-F20). One tactic employed by the prosecution had been to denigrate legal arguments for the defence as "obviously designed for the consumption of those gullible people in this country and abroad—such as Bertrand Russell..." (quoted in Schneir and Schneir 1965, 341). To this end, federal prosecutor Paul W. Williams actually read Paper **32c** into the court record on 4 June, while Judge

Kaufman himself, in summation, complained about the bearing of “extra-judicial utterances and actions” on his deliberations: “Many of these have been designed to influence judicial determination in a way that is alien to our judicial process—and in some instances they constituted a subtle attack upon it” (*The New York Times*, 21 June 1956, p. 14). Judge Kaufman clearly looked askance at Russell’s intervention in the Sobell case and had been quite willing to use his influence to set the “extra-judicial” record straight (see above, p. 149). Meanwhile, several leaders of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell had been subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee in a move portrayed by its St. Louis branch as “an attempt to smear Sobell and confuse the public” (circular, c.3 May 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 90). The campaign for Sobell nevertheless continued and looked ahead to an appeal of Judge Kaufman’s latest ruling. In the short term, the committee endeavoured to publicize Malcolm Sharp’s scholarly critique of the Rosenberg-Sobell case, *Was Justice Done?* (see **H36**).

Although Russell’s outrage at Sobell’s maltreatment did not abate, he withdrew from the campaign for the moment—sensing that it might be damaged by the taint of anti-Americanism which he carried. As he explained to American activist Aaron Katz, he was “reluctant to intervene further in a purely American matter. I am very glad that Americans whose opinion counts have taken up Sobell’s case and I think it is better to leave the matter in their hands since any intervention by a non-American tends to produce a nationalist reaction” (19 Nov. 1957; quoted in Feinberg and Kasrils 1983, 99). But he reentered the fray only two years later with an appeal for clemency addressed to President Eisenhower and co-signed with Martin Buber (Russell and Buber 1959). That same year he became an honorary sponsor of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. In February 1962, after legal arguments for a retrial suffered yet another setback in court, Russell reiterated his view of the original proceedings as “a complete miscarriage of justice” (1962). This position remained unchanged as he explained his involvement in the case for the third volume of *Autobiography*, written while Sobell was still languishing in jail but published some five months after he was paroled in January 1969.

The copy-text for Paper **32a** is the draft typescript (RAI 841–F20), dated 14 March 1956 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand (RAI 220.022071). At the former archival location there are two identical carbons of the copy-text, plus two carbons of a later typescript which incorporated the two minor emendations on the earlier version. For **32b** the typescript carbon that is dated 3 April 1956 has been chosen as copy-text (RAI 841–F20); there are also two dictated manuscripts—one dated 31 March 1956 (RA2 750) and an addition dated 3 April (RAI 220.022081). Papers **32a** and **32b** were reprinted in *Bertrand Russell’s America*. Vol. 2:1945–1970 (1983), pp. 72–3 and 76–8, respectively, and in *Yours Faithfully, Bertrand Russell* (2001), pp. 261–5. For Paper **32c** the typescript carbon has been designated copy-text (RAI 841–F21), and for Paper **32d** an undated typescript copy on the verso of a letter from Eve Rosenbaum (dated 14 May 1956) has been selected (*ibid.*). There are also dictated manuscripts of **32c** and **32d**, which are dated, respectively, 17 April and 26 May 1956 (RA2 750). Among the papers of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell there is also a photocopy of a slightly different typescript version of Paper **32d** (RA REC. ACQ. 90).

## 32a The Sobell Case

## TO THE EDITOR OF "THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN"

SIR,—I am writing to enlist your support in the case of Morton Sobell, an innocent man condemned as a result of political hysteria to thirty years in gaol and at present incarcerated in Alcatraz, the worst prison in the United States. He was sentenced as an accomplice of the Rosenbergs in espionage. I am ashamed to say that at the time of the Rosenbergs' trial I did not look into the evidence. I have now done so. I am almost certain that the Rosenbergs were innocent and quite certain 10 that the evidence against them would not have been considered adequate if prejudice had not been involved. But the Rosenbergs are dead and nothing can be done for them now except to hold up their official murderers to obloquy. Sobell, however, is alive and it is not too late for the United States Government to make some reparation to him.

The facts in his case are briefly as follows: He had a friend named Elitcher who had been his best man. Elitcher had stated on oath that he had never been a Communist. The FBI discovered that in making this statement he had committed perjury. They let him know that he could escape punishment if he would denounce other people as accomplices in 20 treasonable activities. He decided to save his own skin by denouncing his best friend, Sobell. While negotiations in this sense were going on between him and the FBI, Sobell and his wife and their two small children went to Mexico. Sobell toyed with the idea of not returning to the United States, but rejected it. His decision to return became known to the FBI, which had determined to present him as a fugitive from justice. In order to be still able to present him in this light, they hired thugs, who beat him into unconsciousness, hustled him and his wife and their two children into fast cars and drove them without stopping from Mexico City to the United States frontier. There, they were handed over to an immigration officer 30 who falsely stamped their card of entry with the words "Deported from Mexico" although the Mexican Government had not been privy to the kidnapping and had expressed no intention of deporting them. When Sobell was brought to trial these facts were not mentioned as his counsel considered that any criticism of the FBI, however justified, would only increase the severity of his sentence, his condemnation being regarded by his counsel as certain in spite of lack of evidence. The judge instructed the jury that they could not find Sobell guilty unless they believed Elitcher. Elitcher, because he was useful in this trial, has never been indicted for his acknowledged perjury and, in spite of his being known to be a perjurer, 40 every word that he said against Sobell was believed.

People express scepticism when it is said that most Germans did not know of Nazi atrocities, but I am sure that the immense majority of Americans are quite ignorant of the atrocities committed by the FBI. They do not know of the standard technique of these defenders of what, with cynical effrontery, they still call "The Free World". The technique is one with which we have been made familiar in other police States such as Nazi Germany and Stalin's Russia. The police find a man whom they can prove to be guilty of some offence and they promise him immunity if he will manufacture evidence against people who could not otherwise be indicted. Perjury is especially useful as a lever because many people who have been Communist in their student days rashly hope that this can be 10 concealed and swear that they were never Communists. After a sufficient

number of secret interviews, the FBI descends upon innocent people with a posse of terrified perjurers and in the general hysteria every word uttered by the perjurers is accepted as gospel truth.

I do not suppose for a moment that President Eisenhower is aware of this well-established technique. If he knew of it, he would not only feel the revulsion which all decent people must feel, but would realize that every such case which becomes known outside the United States turns hundreds of thousands of people, if not into Communists, at least towards neutralism and away from the policy of NATO. For this large reason of 20 public policy, as well as from motives of humanity and justice, it is to be hoped that something will be done to curb the FBI. A beginning might be made by the release of Morton Sobell or, at least, by ordering a new trial of his case.—Yours etc.,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

14 March, 1956. 41, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.

### 32b The Case of Morton Sobell

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" 30

SIR,—The letter from Professor Perkins which appeared in your issue of March 31 demands an answer. It is possible to read through the whole of the official report of the judicial proceedings in the Sobell case without learning many of the most important facts. Some, however, can be learnt from the official report. Professor Perkins objects to my saying that Sobell was condemned on the evidence of Elitcher alone. As to this, Judge Irving Kaufman in his charge to the jury said: "If you do not believe the testimony of Max Elitcher as it pertains to Sobell, then you must acquit the defendant Sobell." Elitcher's motives for giving false testimony do not, of course, appear in the official report. But the interesting fact does appear there that the chief agent in the prosecution was McCarthy's now discredited henchman Cohn.

I should be glad to know how Professor Perkins would defend the kidnapping of Sobell and the illegal stamping of his card by the United States immigration officer as "Deported from Mexico". As for the "blanket indictment" of the FBI, everybody knows at least the use that the FBI has made of repentant Communists. It is generally recognized in modern times that confessions extorted by torture in past ages are unreliable, but it is thought that testimony extorted from confessed perjurers by the threat of prosecution should be accepted without question.

Professor Perkins doubts whether my letter can have any useful effect. I had hoped that it might induce a re-examination of Sobell's case in America, though Professor Perkins's letter makes me fear that I was too optimistic in this respect. To pass to more general considerations, I most earnestly desire good relations between the United States and my country, and I think it important that Americans should realize what an obstacle to such relations is created by authorized injustice. The cases of Oppenheimer and Lattimore did much harm in this respect, and even more has been done by the Rosenberg-Sobell case. It is not only for the sake of justice, but also for the preservation of Anglo-American friendship that I think a revision of Sobell's trial important. Such

cases supply ammunition for Communist propaganda in Britain and Western Europe, and do far more than most Americans realize to help the Communist cause.

Mr. Wade N. Mack points out the limitations to the legal powers of the FBI. Has he never heard the ancient quip "Quis custodiet custodes"? He goes on to say that he has never known a "thug" to work for the FBI and has never known of the FBI beating up anybody. This, I do not deny; but I think he might remember Dr. Johnson's remark, "Sir, what you don't know would fill a very large book." Mr. Mack is mistaken in saying that I implicate the Mexican Government. On the contrary, it was not a party to the action taken against Sobell.

Mr. Corliss Lament of the well-known American banking family writes to me:

I was much interested in *The New York Times* story of March 27, giving a summary of your views on the Federal Bureau of Investigation. From my own personal experience I can assure you that you have not exaggerated the situation... Liberals and radicals throughout the U.S.A. are fearful that the FBI is tapping 40 their phone, has installed a secret microphone in their livingroom or car, opens their mail or goes over the contents of their wastepaper basket. Because I have an independent income, I am not bothered by such possibilities as much as many other people.

Mr. Robert H. Rose seems to object to my quoting facts which have never reached the public and to accuse me of some secret source of knowledge. My sources of knowledge were all in published material. There is a very full account both of the Rosenberg case and of the Sobell case in a large book called *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg* by John Wexley, published by Cameron and Kahn, New York. Mr. Elmer Davis, the radio commentator, said after reading this: "Assuming that the record is here correctly cited (and I have no reason to suppose that it is not) I cannot believe the testimony of Elitcher and the Greenglasses, or much if any of that of Harry Gold." There is a brief summary in a leaflet called *The 10 Facts in the Case of Morton Sobell* published by "The National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell", 1050 Sixth Avenue, New York 18. There is also a pamphlet called *U.S. Senator William Langer Asks Justice for Morton Sobell* and an informative pamphlet published by the same Committee called *Atomic Scientist Harold Urey Asks Justice for Morton Sobell*. Dr. Harold Urey, who is a Nobel Prize-man of by no means Left-wing opinion, said: "The integrity of justice as it is administered in the United States is at stake... Mr. Sobell was not properly tried and the verdict and sentence were not justified." Judge Patrick H. O'Brien, Detroit, Michigan, said: "In accordance with our inheritance as a liberty-loving nation I urge the immediate release of Morton Sobell." Perhaps when Mr. Rose has studied these documents he will admit that my letter was not full of unsupported claims. In conclusion, I cannot do better than offer him the advice which he so kindly offers to me, "that he re-examine his facts, review his paucity of knowledge of the case, re-evaluate his emotional fervour, restrain his crusading zeal, and rewrite his letter."—Yours etc.,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

3 April, 1956. 41, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey. 30

**32c** Morton Sobell

I AM VERY glad that a movement is on foot to secure justice for Morton Sobell. The evidence upon which he was convicted was not such as any court of justice would have thought adequate in a case not involving hysteria. I am profoundly convinced that the verdict against him was unjust and the sentence monstrously vindictive. What is very widely felt to be a miscarriage of justice in the case of the Rosenbergs as in that of Morton Sobell has done more harm to the cause for which the prosecutors stood than has been done by all the admitted acts of espionage. For the sake of the fair name of the United States as well as in the interests of 40 common humanity, I ardently hope that this cruel injustice to an innocent man will be brought to an end at the earliest possible moment.

**32d** Message to the Rosenberg-Sobell Committee Commemoration Meeting

I AM VERY glad indeed that the case of Morton Sobell is being brought to the notice of the public. His condemnation was a gross miscarriage of justice since, as the judge himself stated, the only important evidence against him was that of a man liable to prosecution for perjury, but not prosecuted presumably because of his willingness to help the FBI to 10 secure the condemnation of a man against whom evidence was lacking. I most earnestly hope that the world contains a sufficient number of lovers of justice to secure a revision of Morton Sobell's sentence.



## Symptoms of George Orwell's 1984 [1956]

RUSSELL HAD BEEN asked for this piece on recent "Orwellian" developments by *The New York Times* over two years before its eventual appearance in *Portraits from Memory* (1956), pp. 203–10, and, heavily abridged, in *Reynolds News and Sunday Citizen*, 30 Sept. 1956, p. 3. On 22 June 1954 Heather Bradley had forwarded from the newspaper's London office the text of this telegram from New York: "Suggest Bertrand Russell if interested discussing what fiction in George Orwell's 1984 has come to pass not only in Russia but in Western world; which has doublethink rightthink etc. too. In other words examination how much 1984 there is in 1954."

Russell had been hugely impressed with Orwell's novel, which he had first read in proof courtesy of Seeker and Warburg. He had then sent the publisher a laudatory blurb, which also expressed hope that the totalitarian vision created by Orwell would be grasped in the West "not only in the somewhat narrow form of fear of Russia" (Russell 1949). By the mid-1950s, however, as he told an Indian correspondent, Swami Agehananda Bharati, Russell had concluded like many on the Left that "the reason that Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* had so much success was that it was viewed merely as an attack on Communism" (9 Sept. 1955).

Correspondence between Russell and Julie Medlock, his American literary agent, reveals that he had been asked to "improve" the piece which he had dictated to Edith on 16 and 17 July. But receipt of payment from *The New York Times* led him to suppose that "they are going to print it as it stands" (16 Sept. 1954). This presumption, however, was unfounded as the newspaper never did run the article. After its return to Medlock, she advised Russell that his piece might still be placed elsewhere, so long as the first and last paragraphs were removed. Such minor abridgement was necessary to eliminate "the Orwell angle" and, hence, any obligation to reimburse *The New York Times* (20 Dec. 1954). Yet, she appears not to have attracted any publishing interest in such a modified version. Russell had already indicated to Medlock his lack of surprise at her "difficulties in placing articles of mine in America... I try to concentrate as far as I can on work relevant to international problems. I can get such work published in all countries except Russia, China and the U.S." (30 Oct. 1954).

Among the pre-publication documents for Paper 33 is this leaf of dictation in Edith Russell's hand, dated 16 July 1954 and headed "Notes for N.Y. Times Article on 1984 and Present Day" (RAI 220.020840):

Increased power of the Police:

Liquidation of Fifth Amendment.

Police to prove innocence as well as to prove guilt (an Ireland Yard).

Information:

In America: the run of the people influenced by newspapers radio etc. thinking themselves capable of analysing and judging and persecuting those who disagree, even if they *really* know.

(More dangerous than Russian ignorance [half knowledge {leads to} prejudice].)

E.g.—*not* American—General Butler in the South African war. Sacked and found to be right but not reinstated.

Dreyfus case

Danger that only ignorant bigots tolerated.

Education:

Applies as much on Continent as in America.

Mill says: Universal education, yes; but not by the State.

State schools run on assumption that people to be produced to support the Government not to *think*.

People not to be allowed to hear what Government doesn't agree with.

No habit of free discussion.

Indoctrination.

A Testimonial to Harvard by McCarthy, who wouldn't send his son there because they'd teach him to be a communist.

General talk about problem of combining organization with freedom:

Whole trend=a product of fear.

Only diminution of fear will ave {rt} it. How is fear to be diminished?

To Orwell:

Burning the books in U.S.A.

Brain washing in China.

Double talk—can't exist, since no one dares say anything different even in private.

Spies—Dept. of Justice employs ex-Communists as professional spies.

Double think about "Democracy".

Guatemala.

Franco.

Indo-China.

British Guiana (upheld by legal right). [Can't say that "democracy is what we are fighting for".]

Analogy with wars of Religion.

Everything done to increase hostility and diminish mutual understanding.

The copy-text is the typescript carbon printer's copy for *Portraits from Memory* (RA 210.006882), made from the manuscript dictated to Edith Russell on 17 July 1954 (RAI 220.020840).

GEORGE ORWELL'S *1984* is a gruesome book which duly made its readers shudder. It did not, however, have the effect which no doubt its author intended. People remarked

that Orwell was very ill when he wrote it and, in fact, died soon afterwards. They rather enjoyed the *frisson* that its horrors gave them and thought, "Oh well, of course it will never be as bad as that except in Russia! Obviously the author enjoys gloom; and so do we, as long as we don't take it seriously." Having soothed themselves with these comfortable falsehoods, people proceeded on their way to make Orwell's prognostications come true. Bit 10 by bit, and step by step, the world has been marching towards the realization of Orwell's nightmares; but, because the march has been gradual, people have not realized how far it has taken them on this fatal road.

Only those who remember the world before 1914 can adequately realize how much has already been lost. In that happy age, one could travel without a passport, everywhere except in Russia. One could freely express any political opinion, except in Russia. Press censorship was unknown, except in Russia. Any White man could emigrate freely to any part of the world. The limitations of freedom in Czarist Russia were regarded with horror throughout the rest of the civilized world, and the power of the Russian 20 Secret Police was regarded as an abomination. Russia is still worse than the Western World, not because the Western World has preserved its liberties, but because, while it has been losing them, Russia has marched further in the direction of tyranny than any Czar ever thought of going.

For a long time after the Russian Revolution, it was customary to say, "No doubt the new regime has its faults, but at any rate it is better than that which it has superseded". This was a complete delusion. When one re-reads accounts of exile in Siberia under the Czar, it is impossible to recapture the revulsion with which one read them long ago. The exiles had a very considerable degree of liberty, both mental and physical, and their 30 lot was in no way comparable to that of people subjected to forced labour under the Soviet Government. Educated Russians could travel freely and enjoy contacts with Western Europeans which are now impossible. Opposition to the Government, although it was apt to be punished, was possible, and the punishment as a rule was nothing like as severe as it has become. Nor did tyranny extend nearly as widely as it does now. I read recently the early life of Trotsky as related by Deutscher, and it reveals a degree of political and intellectual freedom to which there is nothing comparable in present-day Russia. There is still as great a gulf between Russia and the West as there was in Czarist days, but I do not think the gulf is 40 greater than it was then, for, while Russia has grown worse, the West also has lost much of the freedom which it formerly enjoyed.

The problem is not new except quantitatively. Ever since civilization began, the authorities of most States have persecuted the best men among their subjects. We are all shocked by the treatment of Socrates and Christ, but most people do not realize that such has been the fate of a large proportion of the men subsequently regarded as unusually admirable. Most of the early Greek philosophers were refugees. Aristotle was protected from the hostility of Athens only by Alexander's armies, and, when Alexander died, Aristotle had to fly. In the seventeenth century scientific innovators were persecuted almost everywhere except in Holland. Spinoza would have had no chance to do his work if he had not been Dutch. Descartes and Locke found it prudent to flee to Holland. When England, 10 in 1688, acquired a Dutch King, it took over Dutch tolerance and has been, ever since, more liberal than most States, except during the period of the wars against revolutionary France and Napoleon. In most countries at most times, whatever subsequently came to be thought best was viewed with horror at the time by those who wielded authority.

What is new in our time is the increased power of the authorities to enforce their prejudices. The police everywhere are very much more powerful than at any earlier time; and the police, while they serve a purpose in suppressing ordinary crime, are apt to be just as active in suppressing extraordinary merit. 20

The problem is not confined to this country or that, although the intensity of the evil is not evenly distributed. In my own country things are done more quietly and with less fuss than in the United States, and the public knows very much less about them. There have been purges of the Civil Service carried out without any of the business of Congressional Committees. The Home Office, which controls immigration, is profoundly illiberal except when public opinion can be mobilized against it. A Polish friend of mine, a very brilliant writer who had never been a Communist, applied for naturalization in England after living in that country for a long time, but his request was at first refused on the ground that he was a 30 friend of the Polish Ambassador. His request was only granted in the end as a result of protests by various people of irreproachable reputation. The right of asylum for political refugees that used to be England's boast has now been abandoned by the Home Office, though perhaps it may be restored as the result of agitation.

There is a reason for the general deterioration as regards liberty. This reason is the increased power of organizations and the increasing degree to which men's actions are controlled by this or that large body. In every organization there are two purposes: one, the ostensible purpose for which the organization exists; the other, the increase in the power of its officials. 40 This second purpose is very likely to make a stronger appeal to the officials concerned than the general public purpose that they are expected to serve. If you fall foul of the police by attempting to expose some iniquity of which they have been guilty, you may expect to incur their hostility; and, if so, you are very likely to suffer severely.

I have found among many liberal-minded people a belief that all is well so long as the Law Courts decide rightly when a case comes before them. This is entirely unrealistic. Suppose, for example, to take a by no means hypothetical case, that a professor is dismissed on a false charge of disloyalty. He may, if he happens to have rich friends, be able to establish in court that the charge was false, but this will probably take years during 10 which he will starve or depend on charity. At the end he is a marked man. The University authorities, having learnt wisdom, will say that he is a bad lecturer and does insufficient research. He will find himself again dismissed, this time without redress and with little hope of employment elsewhere.

There are, it is true, some educational institutions in America which, so far, have been strong enough to hold out. This, however, is only possible for an institution which has great prestige and has brave men in charge of its policy. Consider, for example, what Senator McCarthy has said about Harvard. He said he "couldn't conceive of anyone sending children to 20 Harvard University where they would be open to indoctrination by Communist professors". At Harvard, he said, there is a "smelly mess which people sending sons and daughters there should know about". Institutions less eminent than Harvard could hardly face such a blast.

The power of the police, however, is a more serious and a more universal phenomenon than Senator McCarthy. It is, of course, greatly increased by the atmosphere of fear which exists on both sides of the Iron Curtain. If you live in Russia and cease to be sympathetic with Communism, you will suffer unless you keep silence even in the bosom of your family. In America, if you have been a Communist and you cease to be, you are also 30 liable to penalties, not legal, unless you have been trapped into perjury, but

economic and social. There is only one thing that you can do to escape such penalties, and that is to sell yourself to the Department of Justice as an informer, when your success will depend upon what tall stories you can get the F.B.I. to believe.

The increase of organization in the modern world demands new institutions if anything in the way of liberty is to be preserved. The situation is analogous to that which arose through the increased power of monarchs in the sixteenth century. It was against their excessive power that the whole fight of traditional liberalism was fought and won. But after their power had faded, new powers at least as dangerous arose, and the worst of these in our day is the power of the police. There is, so far as I can see, only one possible remedy, and that is the establishment of a second police force designed to prove innocence, not guilt. People often say that it is better that ninety-nine guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should be punished. Our institutions are founded upon the opposite view. If a man is accused, for example, of a murder, all the resources of the State, in the shape of policemen and detectives, are employed to prove his guilt, whereas it is left to his individual efforts to prove his innocence. If he employs detectives, they have to be private detectives paid out of his own pocket or that of his friends. Whatever his employment may have been, he will have neither time nor opportunity to continue earning money by means of it. The lawyers for the prosecution are paid by the State. His lawyers have to be paid by him, unless he pleads poverty, and then they will probably be less eminent than those of the prosecution. All this is quite unjust. It is at least as much in the public interest to prove that an innocent man has not committed a crime, as it is to prove that a guilty man has committed it. A police force designed to prove innocence should never attempt to prove guilt except in one kind of case: namely, where it is the authorities who are suspected of a crime. I think that the creation of such a second police force might enable us to preserve some of our traditional liberties, but I do not think that any lesser measure will do so.

One of the worst things resulting from the modern increase of the powers of the Authorities, is the suppression of truth and the spread of falsehood by means of public agencies. Russians are kept as far as possible in ignorance about Western countries to the degree that people in Moscow imagine theirs to be the only subway in the world. Chinese intellectuals, since China became Communist, have been subjected to a horrible process called "brain-washing". Learned men who have acquired all the knowledge to be obtained in their subject from America or Western Europe are compelled to abjure what they have learnt and to state that everything worth knowing is to be derived from Communist sources. They are subjected to such psychological pressure that they emerge broken men, able only to repeat, parrot-fashion, the jejune formulas handed down by their official superiors. In Russia and China this sort of thing is enforced by the direst penalties, not only to recalcitrant individuals, but also to their families. In other countries the process has not yet gone so far. Those who reported truthfully about the evils of Chiang Kai-shek's regime during the last years of his rule in China were not liquidated, but everything possible was done to prevent their truthful reports from being believed, and they became suspects in degrees which varied according to their eminence. A man who reports truly to his Government about what he finds in a foreign country, unless his report agrees with official prejudices, not only runs a grave personal risk, but knows that his information will be ignored. There is, of course, nothing new in this except in degree. In 1899, General Butler, who was in command of British forces in South Africa, reported that it would require an army of at least two hundred thousand to subdue the Boers. For this unpopular opinion, he was demoted, and was given no credit when the

opinion turned out to be correct. But, although the evil is not new, it is very much greater in extent than it used to be. There is no longer, even among those who think themselves more or less liberal, a belief that it is a good thing to study all sides of a question. The purging of United States libraries in Europe and of school libraries in America, is designed to prevent people from knowing more than one side of a question. The *Index Expurgatorius* has become a recognized part of the policy of those who say that they fight for freedom. 10 Apparently the Authorities no longer have sufficient belief in the justice of their cause to think that it can survive the ordeal of free discussion. Only so long as the other side is unheard are they confident of obtaining credence. This shows a sad decay in the robustness of our belief in our own institutions. During the War, the Nazis did not permit Germans to listen to British radio, but nobody in England was hindered from listening to the German radio because our faith in our own cause was unshakable. So long as we prevent Communists from being heard, we produce the impression that they must have a very strong case. Free speech used to be advocated on the ground that free discussion would lead to the victory of the better 20 opinion. This belief is being lost under the influence of fear. The result is that truth is one thing and “official truth” is another. This is the first step on the road to Orwell’s “double-talk” and “double-think”. It will be said that the legal existence of free speech has been preserved, but its effective existence is disastrously curtailed if the more important means of publicity are only open to opinions which have the sanction of orthodoxy.

This applies more particularly to education. Even mildly liberal opinions expose an educator nowadays in some important countries to the risk of losing his job and being unable to find any other. The consequence is that children grow up in ignorance of many things that it is vitally important they should know, and that bigotry and obscurantism have a perilous measure of popular support.

Fear is the source from which all these evils spring, and fear, as is apt to happen in a panic, inspires the very actions which bring about the disasters that are dreaded. The dangers are real—they are indeed greater than at any previous time in human history—but all yielding to hysteria increases them. It is our clear duty in this difficult time, not only to know the dangers, but to view them calmly and rationally in spite of knowledge of their magnitude. Orwell’s world of 1984, if we allow it to exist, will not exist for long. It will be only the prelude to universal death.

## Foreword to *Freedom Is as Freedom Does* [1956]

RUSSELL HAD BEEN asked for this contribution to the British edition of Corliss Lamont's *Freedom Is as Freedom Does* (1956), pp. ix–xii (B&R B113), by John Calder, its prospective publisher. Calder had noticed from recent correspondence in *The Manchester Guardian* (32b) that the author was known to Russell. He therefore hoped that the latter might oblige with a 1,000-word introduction for Lamont's "important book" (24 May 1956)—a critique of recent attacks on civil liberties in the United States, where the work had been published in March by the Horizon Press. The British edition was issued on the same day that the foreword appeared in the New York *Daily Worker* under the heading "State of Civil Liberties in U.S.A.", 30 Oct. 1956, pp. 6–7 (B&R C56.18). Russell had also agreed to have it reprinted with no additional fee in a second impression of the American edition of *Freedom Is as Freedom Does*. An additional reprint appeared many years later in *Bertrand Russell's America*. Vol. 2:1945–1970 (1983), pp. 338–40.

Corliss Lament (1902–1995) was the son of the influential banker Thomas W. Lamont, whom Russell had regarded in the early 1920s as a rather sinister agent of American economic imperialism in China (see *Papers* 15:330). The younger Lamont, however, had taken a rather different path, becoming an academic philosopher—he taught at Columbia intermittently from 1928 until 1959—and a patron of numerous progressive causes during a long public life. Lament was also an inveterate fellow-traveller who even many years later defended his attitude of "critical sympathy" towards the Soviet Union (1981, 39). In September 1953 he had been subpoenaed by the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations, ostensibly over the bibliographical listing of one of his books, *The Peoples of the Soviet Union* (1946), in an obscure us military intelligence manual. Lament refused to cooperate at this hearing presided over by McCarthy himself—not by invoking the fifth amendment but by challenging in a prepared statement the jurisdictional competence of the subcommittee. As a result, he was cited for contempt of Congress in July 1954, then formally indicted by a federal grand jury four months later. But the district judge dismissed the indictment the following July on first amendment grounds remarkably similar to those originally presented by Lament to the Senate. In August 1956 this ruling was unanimously upheld by a federal court of appeals. Lamont's travails nevertheless continued. Having unsuccessfully applied for a passport on a number of occasions, he finally (in June 1956) filed suit against the State Department. The case was never heard, however, because the legal argument in his favour was won by two similarly affected plaintiffs in 1958. Although at odds with Russell politically on the question of Communism, Lamont seems to have brought to his confrontation with the United States Government the same self-assurance of the privileged that Russell frequently exhibited in his dealings with British authorities.

Not for the first time, the FBI was irked by Russell's blanket condemnation of its investigative methods. An internal memorandum dismissed Lamont's book as "what one

might expect from an ardent follower of the communist movement in the United States...". But its endorsement in Paper **34** gave cause for concern because Russell "has many followers both in the United States and in England and is a very influential speaker, writer and personality" (n.d., RA REC. ACQ. 851b). No action was taken by the bureau, but a rather unflattering profile of Russell was placed on file. His sympathetic appraisal of *Freedom Is as Freedom Does* also infuriated some of the liberal anti-Communists who had taken issue with Russell's intervention on behalf of Morton Sobell (see **H32**). The public spat with Norman Thomas is featured in Paper **35**, and Russell had already clashed privately over Lamont with an erstwhile friend, the political philosopher Sidney Hook, who was, like Thomas, a director of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. Even before publication of this foreword, Hook had objected to Russell's use of Lamont in Paper **32b** "as an authority on the state of political freedom in the United States" (5 June 1956). Russell did not dispute the evidence of Lamont's pro-Soviet convictions as presented to him by Hook. However:

As regards facts in America, I do not find him unreliable. Mankind is divided into two classes: those who object to infringements to civil liberties in Russia, but not in the U.S.; and those who object to them in the U.S., but not in Russia. There seems to be hardly anybody who objects to infringements of civil liberties (period). Corliss Lamont denied evils in Russia of which there was ample evidence; you deny evils in the U.S., of which there is equal evidence, except that they have not yet been publicly blazoned forth by Eisenhower. (8 June 1956; *2001*, 500)

But Hook's intervention seems to have had some impact on Russell, for he then asked Lamont to clarify his views on the Soviet Union. In the absence of such clarification, Russell would feel unable to provide the foreword that he had agreed provisionally to write.

You are very much more pro-Soviet than I am and you have, in the past, been pro-Stalin. This compels one to doubt whether you really care for civil liberties or only use it as a stick to beat anti-Communists with. I hope you will forgive me if I ask you some questions:

- 1) Do you accept Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin?
- 2) Did you formerly admire Stalin or only think that, for the benefit of the Communist cause, it was necessary to profess admiration?
- 3) Were you ignorant of the misdeeds of the Stalinist regime which Khrushchev has denounced?
- 4) If you were, do you now acknowledge the better judgement of those—e.g. Dewey—who emphasized the facts which have recently been asserted by Khrushchev?

If I do the introduction that your publishers ask for, I shall have to make it clear that I consider the offences against civil liberties in Russia immeasurably worse than those in the U.S. (8 June 1956; *2001*, 499)

In his detailed reply, Lamont accepted "Khrushchev's analysis as true in general, although perhaps not in every detail". Regarding the second question, Lamont indicated

his approval of Stalin's economic and foreign policies and that he admired the Soviet leader for "these positive aspects of his rule and never because it was necessary to *profess* admiration for the benefit of the Communist cause". As for Russell's third question, he demonstrated his awareness of the "many mistakes and misdeeds committed by the Stalin regime" by reference to some typed excerpts from two of his own publications—*Soviet Civilization* (1952) and *Why I Am Not a Communist* (1952). In response to the final query, Lamont conceded that "John Dewey and other critics certainly were more realistic than I on this point, although they tended to go on to overall denunciations of the USSR". Finally, he responded to another point raised by Russell with an affirmation that he did not "support civil liberties merely as a stick to beat anti-Communists with" (1 June 1956; Feinberg and Kasrils 1983, 83–5). Russell was clearly satisfied with these replies. He informed Lamont that, as advised, he had read *Why I Am Not a Communist* and that this pamphlet had "cleared up all the points upon which I had felt any doubt. I will certainly do the introduction to your book that the English publisher wants". In this letter of 16 June Russell also notified Lamont that he had written to Sidney Hook in the reverse sense, "viz; that I mind infractions of civil liberties in America as much as in Russia".

Located with the manuscript which Russell had dictated to Edith Russell on 26 June (RAI 220.022120) are two manuscript leaves of notes and page references from *Freedom Is as Freedom Does*. The copy-text is the typescript (RA2 220. 1480101a); it is dated August 1956, although Russell seems to have sent this version to the publisher John Calder on 26 June. A second typescript carbon (RA2 340.184049) shows the same minor emendations as appear on the copy-text. There is also a photocopy of a different typed copy in the Corliss Lamont Papers (RA REC. ACQ. 17j). This shows the three minor emendations by Lamont that were approved by Russell after being brought to his attention by Calder on 10 August (T168:42, T169:7, T169:26). A fourth and more substantive change introduced at Lamont's suggestion is explained at A169:22–4.

IT IS A pleasure to have the opportunity of introducing to the British public Mr. Corliss Lamont's book *Freedom Is as Freedom Does*. The book is an admirable epitome of the various forms of attack on personal liberty that have been taking place in America in recent years. So far as I am able to judge, Mr. Lamont is wholly reliable as to facts, and he has shown good judgment in selecting from an enormous mass of material. Every friend of freedom ought to lay to heart what he has to say. This applies not only to Americans, since there is no country where liberty may not be endangered.

10 All countries (except perhaps Holland and Scandinavia) are liable to waves of hysteria, though the extent of the damage caused by such waves differs greatly in different places. France had such a wave in 1793 and, in a lesser degree, during the Dreyfus case. Germany had it in the worst possible form during the time of Hitler. Russia had it under Stalin. And America has had it three times, in 1798, in 1919–20, and since the outbreak of the Korean War. Let us not flatter ourselves that Britain is exempt. From the accession of Charles I until the Revolution of 1688, hysteria of all kinds—left wing, right wing, religious, and economic—was rife. In reading what has happened in America since 1950, I constantly feel 20 as if I were reading about England under the Stuarts. Congressional Committees are the counterpart of the Star Chamber, and Senator McCarthy seems like a re-incarnation of Titus Oates who invented the Popish Plot. Nor is it necessary to go so far back. In the days of the French Revolution, when the mob sacked Dr. Priestley's house and the Government employed spies and *agents provocateurs* to ferret out sympathizers with the Jacobins, England was not unlike what America has been lately. The younger Pitt, if he found himself now in Washington, would feel quite at

home. I think it important that English readers should remember such facts and should not react to what is amiss in America by smug national complacency. I think it also important to remember, in protesting against loss of liberty in America, that the loss in Russia was very much greater and that the defects of the American system afford no argument in favour of the Soviet dictatorship.

In spite of these provisos, I cannot deny that some of the facts about the anti-Communist hysteria in America are utterly amazing. Who would have guessed that the *Girl Scouts Handbook*, a work intended to instruct what we should call Girl Guides in their duties, was savagely criticized because it praised the United States Public Health Service and spoke favourably of the United Nations, "the handiwork of that arch-traitor, 40 Alger Hiss"? So severe was the censure that a correction had to be immediately issued omitting the offending matter.

Perhaps the most valuable chapter in Mr. Lamont's book is the one called "Police State in the Making". The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has been steadily building up its power and spreading terror far and wide. It has 130 million finger-print cards and a system of indexing them of which it is enormously proud. Only a minority of the population do not appear in a police dossier. Members of the FBI join even mildly liberal organizations as spies and report any unguarded word. Anybody who goes so far as to support equal rights for coloured people, or to say a good word for UN, is liable to be visited by officers of the FBI and threatened, if not with prosecution, at least with black-listing and consequent inability to earn a living. When a sufficient state of terror has been produced by these means, the victim is informed that there is a way out: if he will denounce a sufficient number of his friends as Communists, he may obtain absolution.

As in Ancient Rome and modern Russia, this system has produced its crop of professional informers, mostly men who once were Communists and who now denounce others at so much a head. These are generally men over whom the Government holds the threat of prosecution for perjury for having at some time denied they were ever Communists. They are safe so long as they continue to do the dirty work demanded of them, but woe betide them if they repent. One of them, Matusow, after securing the conviction of a number of innocent people, went before a Federal judge and recanted. For this the judge said he would give him three years in prison. Although Matusow won this case on appeal the Government currently is prosecuting him on another charge, that of perjury, for statements he made in his general recantation.

The police have, for many years, shown a complete disregard for the law and, so far as I can discover, no Federal policeman has ever been punished for breaking the law. The whole terrorist system would break down if one simple reform were adopted: namely, that criminals should be punished even if they are policemen.

The evils of the system have not failed to be condemned by some who cannot be accused of subversive opinions. This is true especially of the Federal judiciary. For example, as Mr. Lament relates, the Federal Court of Appeals in San Francisco objected to the Government's "system of secret informers, whisperers and tale-bearers" and went on to say: "It is not amiss to bear in mind whether or not we must look forward to a day when substantially everyone will have to contemplate the possibility that his neighbours are being encouraged to make reports to the FBI about what he says, what he reads and what meetings he attends." On the whole, however, such protests from "respectable" citizens are distressingly rare. The persecution of minority opinion, even when not

obviously connected with Communism, is a thing which has not been imposed from above, but suits the temper of most men and receives enthusiastic support from juries.

At first sight, it seems curious that a great and powerful country like the United States, which contains only a handful of Communists, should allow itself to get into such a state of fright. One might have expected that national pride would prevent anything so abject, but such a view would be one which could only be suggested by a false psychology. We are all of us a mixture of good and bad impulses, and it is almost always the bad impulses that prevail in an excited crowd. There is in most men an impulse to persecute whatever is felt to be "different". There is also a hatred of any claim to superiority, which makes the stupid many hostile to the intelligent few. A motive such as fear of Communism affords what seems a decent moral excuse for a combination of the herd against everything in any way exceptional. This is a recurrent phenomenon in human history. Whenever it occurs, its results are horrible. There is some reason to hope that Russia is past the worst in this respect. When McCarthy fell into disfavour, it seemed as if persecution in the United States might diminish. So far, the improvement has been less than one might have hoped. But improvement has begun, and it would be no excess of optimism to think that it will continue, and reach a point where men of intelligence and humane minds can once more breathe an atmosphere of freedom. If this comes about, books such as Mr. Lamont's will have served an immensely important purpose.



## An Open Letter to Mr. Norman Thomas [1957]

THIS DEFIANT REJOINDER to Norman Thomas's critique of Paper **34** was written by invitation of *The New Leader*, a New York weekly and one of the leading organs of American "Cold War liberalism". It was published as "The State of U.S. Civil Liberties", 40, no. 7 (18 Feb. 1957): 16–18 (B&R C57.04) and reprinted many years later in *Yours Faithfully, Bertrand Russell* (2001), pp. 265–9. Russell was not exaggerating when he remarked that he and Thomas (1884–1968) were "on the same side in most matters" (175:2–3). The veteran leader of the Socialist Party of America was a vocal critic of McCarthyism and a keen supporter of disarmament who later in 1957 co-founded the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE). He had contested every presidential election from 1928 to 1948, and his long career on the margins of American politics was framed by forthright opposition to the First World War and to the Vietnam War.

Where Thomas differed from Russell in the 1950s was in the greater intensity of his anti-Communism. Although Russell was apprehensive about associating with Western Communists and fellow-travellers, he now occupied, in his approach to peace work at least, "the middle ground between those non-aligned activists and organizations who participated willingly in Communist-led ventures and those who steadfastly opposed such alliances" (Bone 2001, 45). After years of testy dealings with the American Communist Party, Thomas, by contrast, identified strongly with the latter tendency. Furthermore, he and Corliss Lamont had a history of sharp political disagreement and had often clashed on the national board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union. In 1940 Lamont had denounced the expulsion of Communists from the ACLU's board, and during the McCarthy era he had opposed the robust anti-Communist line which Thomas and his allies had again urged the organization to adopt. Most recently, in 1953, Thomas had been instrumental in blocking Lamont's renomination to the national board of directors (see Lamont 1981, 130–7). Like Sidney Hook—with whom Russell had argued already over Lamont—Thomas was a director of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, a body which epitomized the strident liberal anti-Communism to which Russell objected so strenuously and from whose parent body he had recently felt obliged to resign (see Introduction, pp. xl–xli).

In forwarding Russell a tear sheet of Thomas's article, Sol Levitas, the magazine's executive editor, remarked that "Many, many, of your friends, devotees and sympathizers were disturbed by your Preface to this book by Corliss Lamont, and we really can't find a suitable explanation for it" (4 Jan. 1957). But Levitas also promised that any response by Russell would be "prominently" displayed. Indeed, he had provided a similar guarantee six months previously, when he had tried to elicit further comment from Russell on the Sobell case. Russell declined to submit a statement for publication on that earlier occasion, although he did address Levitas's pointed remark that "Our Communist press is devoting substantial space to this issue, utilizing your name for all it's worth" (28 June 1956). "I am sorry that it is only the Communist press", Russell had replied on 3 July,

“since the question at issue is one not involving the merits or demerits of Communism in any way. If justice to Dreyfus had only been advocated by Jews, he would have remained in Devil’s Island until he died”. In the New Year, though, Russell accepted with alacrity *The New Leader’s* invitation to answer Norman Thomas, and in so doing he ensured the continuation of his spat with the anti-Communist American Left.

In his open letter, Thomas had complained to Russell that both Lamont’s book, “and more especially your introduction, by their exaggerations help neither us Americans in our struggle for more perfect fulfilment of our own ideals of freedom nor you British in your understanding of those struggles and of America” (1957, 15). After citing Lamont’s indulgent view of the Moscow show-trials and other well-authenticated instances of Communist repression, Thomas next took issue with the case that Russell had built against the FBI—with “exaggeration...so great as to approach falsehood” (*ibid.*). Some of the specific criticisms made by Thomas are highlighted in the Annotations to Paper 34; his general indictment of Russell concluded thus:

I write less in defense of my country than of the truth. I am deeply anti-Communist—as, I think, are you—but that has not prevented me from fighting our Smith Act and spending time and money in defense of certain of its Communist victims. I do not boast when I say that I have better earned my right to correct the record than you to advance your sweeping charges. (*Ibid.*, 16)

In light of such a considered and comprehensive attack, Russell drafted his rebuttal with great care. Edith too seems to have reviewed the typescript copy-text more closely than usual and anticipated certain objections from Russell’s opponents. She placed these in marginal notes that are quoted in the Annotations.

But Russell did not get the last word in print, since his open letter was followed by a lengthy comment from Thomas in which he applauded Russell’s stand on the Suez crisis but surrendered none of the ground that he had staked out in his original submission.

Most of the rest of his letter would have been pertinent, if at all, only in reply to an indiscriminate defender of McCarthyist Americanism, which emphatically I am not.

My complaint against the great philosopher’s introduction to the Lament book was that his exaggeration grossly weakened the force of our constructive criticism of our country’s failure to live up to its own highest ideals. Now I must repeat that criticism with fresh emphasis, adding to it my fear that unwittingly he plays into the hands of the spiritual neutralists by going as far as he does in denouncing America as well as Russia.

I did not criticize Earl Russell for writing a preface to a “book by a fellow-traveller”—his phrase, not mine. I criticized him (1) for accepting without investigation obviously controversial statements in a “fellowtraveller’s” book—some of those statements, by the way, quite inaccurate—about friends as well as foes of civil liberties, and (2) for exaggeration going beyond the book in describing an American police state. (1957a, 18)

Thomas then questioned the credibility of Max Lowenthal and Cedric Belfrage, two of the authorities cited by Russell to buttress his argument (see A175:36, A177:40). Malcolm Sharp (see **H36**) had at least produced “an honest book”. Ultimately, however, Thomas was not persuaded that the latter author “was better able than the jury to judge the facts, or than the courts to judge the law”. He was prepared to admit that some professors had been hounded unfairly, but these instances were isolated and academic freedom remained firmly entrenched. “Finally”, he asked,

if we Americans were so sunk in depravity as certain of Lord Russell’s statements imply, would our small hope of salvation be worth the ink that he has spent upon it? Fortunately, the facts, bad as some of them are, tell a different story from the one Bertrand Russell has believed. (1957a, 19)

By now Russell was prepared to discontinue the public polemic, although he did issue this private response to Thomas.

There are a few words which I wish to say to you in reply to your rebuttal in the *New Leader*. In the first place, I am glad you realize that I am not anti-American. In the second place, I must admit that further investigation has led me to the conclusion that I was guilty of exaggeration as regards the FBI in relation to the colour question. I regret this and admit my error. On all other points, I see no reason to modify anything that I have said. You seem to imply that criticisms of the FBI can be ignored if they come from Communists or Fellow-travellers. In particular, you point out that Mr. Lowenthal had a grievance against the FBI. It is, however, an almost invariable fact that protests against injustices originate with those who suffer from them. I first heard of the Dreyfus case in 1894, but as, at that time, all the people who complained were Jews, I thought them biased and ignored what they said—wrongly as events proved. With regard to the Rosenberg-Sobell case, my opinion is not based on Professor Sharp’s book, though I am glad to find him in agreement with me. My opinion is based upon examination of the evidence. I am sure that in a case not involving political prejudice, the evidence against Sobell would not have been considered conclusive. I think the verdict against Sobell was due partly to bias on the part of the judge and jury and partly to undesirable practices on the part of the FBI. I do not see how any unbiased person can come to any other conclusion.

As to what you say about the “Unnamed professor” whom I quote from the London *Observer*, the fact that he finds it necessary to remain unnamed supports my case. You point out that there are 200,000 professors in America, but, as far as my experience goes, those of them whose opinions are at all liberal find concealment necessary, except in a few liberal institutions.

Both in regard to Corliss Lamont and in regard to Lowenthal you make accusations of inaccuracy which are not supported by specific instances, and I feel, perhaps mistakenly, that you too readily assume inaccuracy in books by authors whose political opinions you disagree with. (25 Feb. 1957; Feinberg and Kasrils 1983, 96–7)

Although Russell had really made only one substantive concession, Thomas dispatched a conciliatory reply stating that, while “not...convinced of his innocence”, he too now favoured a retrial for Sobell. As for initiating the controversy, he concluded, “I only wrote my open letter to you because of my great respect for your opinion and your influence and my fear that your introduction would weaken rather than strengthen that influence in a rational approach to our problem of civil liberties in the United States” (6 March 1957, RA REC. ACQ. 513). Before long, the passionate commitment of both men to the cause of nuclear disarmament had “created an unshakeable basis for cooperation...which transcended their sharp disagreement about the impact of the Cold War on American civil liberties” (Duram 1977, 66).

The copy-text is the fifteen-leaf typescript, dated 14 January 1957 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand that is dated 12 January 1957 (RAI 220.022330). At the same archival location there is also a later typescript carbon; this incorporated the many emendations to the copy-text but does not differ substantively from the earlier version.

MY DEAR MR. THOMAS,—I am sorry that you have thought it necessary to publish your open letter to me. You and I are on the same side in most matters, and I have every wish to avoid magnifying our differences. I shall, therefore, in replying to you, be as unprovocative as possible.

I am as much opposed to Soviet Russia as you are. Indeed, I think perhaps more so, since I object more than you do to the pale imitation of Russian methods which has been taking place in the United States. My attitude to Soviet Russia has been hostile ever since 1920. It is still that which I expressed in 1951 in a preface to *A World Apart* by Gustav Herling, a Norwegian, originally a Communist, whom the Russians imprisoned without cause while he was still on their side:

Communists and Nazis alike have tragically demonstrated that in a large proportion of mankind the impulse to inflict torture exists, and requires only opportunity to display itself in all its naked horror. But I do not think that these evils can be cured by blind hatred of their perpetrators. This will only lead us to become like them. Although the effort is not easy, one should attempt, in reading such a book as this one, to understand the circumstances that turn men into fiends, and to realize that it is not by blind rage that such evils will be prevented. I do not say that to understand is to pardon; there are things which for my part I find I cannot pardon. But I do say that to understand is absolutely necessary if the spread of similar evils over the whole world is to be prevented.

I should like to mention that my appeal against hatred in the above quotation won the emphatic approval of Gustav Herling, in spite of all that he had suffered. You will doubtless agree that fellow-travellers share the guilt of Communist crimes by refusing to admit them; but presumably you will not agree that anti-Communists, equally, share the guilt of admittedly lesser crimes committed by the police and the law courts in the United States. I am willing to believe that you do not know many of the facts about such crimes, but I do not think that ignorance in the face of available evidence is a valid excuse for those who make public pronouncements. I hope, before you make any more such pronouncements, you will read Max Lowenthal’s book *The Federal Bureau of*

*Investigation.* You will doubtless say that things have grown better since the fall of McCarthy, just as Communists say that things have grown better since the death of Stalin; but I am afraid the improvement is as temporary in the one case as in the other. 40

For a little while after the death of Stalin, I, like others, had hopes that the Soviet regime was improving. These hopes, events in Hungary have shattered—so far, I am in agreement with you.

You object to my writing a preface for a book by Mr. Corliss Lament because of his record as a fellow-traveller. Before undertaking to do the preface, I had some correspondence with him, and explained that in the preface I should feel bound to state that I consider the infringements of liberty in Russia very much worse than those in the United States. (This I did.) You may, nevertheless, think that I ought not to have given seeming support to the point of view of a fellow-traveller. I was led to do so by the 10 extreme paucity of strong protests by non-Communists against American malpractices. There have been a few such protests, highly honourable to those who have made them. I should mention, especially, what has been said by Dr. Harold Urey, the eminent atomic scientist, and Professor Malcolm Sharp, Professor of law in the University of Chicago, on the Rosenberg-Sobell case. When I have agreed with Corliss Lament it is because what he says is confirmed by independent evidence, and would be easily refuted if false.

Whoever pursues even-handed justice must expect to incur the hostility of both sides. In Russia, I am regarded as a rabid advocate of American 20 imperialism. For example, *Bolshevik*, in an article devoted to the enumeration of my crimes, says:

Russell now serves the American dollar and tirelessly trumpets the glories and unrivalled virtues of “the American way of life”, of American “democracy”. It costs him nothing to announce that the U.S.A. is the promised land for all nations and to summon nations to submit meekly to the undisputed military and civil power of Wall Street.

You, on the other hand, accuse me of evincing a desire lately, and “perhaps unconsciously, to use the blackest possible paint in depicting the 30 American scene”. I have no such desire. On the contrary, when recently there was a wave of anti-American feeling among Conservatives in this country, I wrote to the *Manchester Guardian* (December 4, 1956) to point out that, in the matter of Suez, America was in the right and we were in the wrong:

It seems that a large section of Conservative opinion, not content with the mad folly of the attack on Egypt, is now prepared to follow it up with an anti-American campaign. I have been at times critical of some things American, more particularly as regards Communist China and police action against American 40 alleged Communists, but in the recent crisis I have thought America wholly in the right and our Government wholly in the wrong.

What has given you the impression that my attitude to America has become more hostile recently is the action which I have been led to take by the realization that the Rosenbergs and Sobell, especially the latter, were condemned on evidence which no unbiased person could think conclusive. The argument from a purely legal point of view is set forth in Professor Sharp’s *Was Justice Done?*, with an introduction by Dr. Urey

from the point of view of a nuclear physicist. Neither of these men is a Communist or a fellow-traveller: Each is actuated solely by a love of justice. 10 The question whether a given person committed a specified crime is logically quite independent of the merits or demerits of Communism. If a murder has been committed and Mr. A is accused, if I think that there is not sufficient evidence against Mr. A, I shall not on that account be thought to favour murder. But if a man is accused of the sort of crime that Communists are expected to commit, anybody who thinks that he did not commit it is supposed to be a Communist. This is only possible in an atmosphere of hysteria, and it is only in such an atmosphere that Sobell could have been found guilty.

It is through my interest in this case that I have been led to study the 20 methods of the F.B.I. This body, ever since the 1914–18 war, has been steadily increasing its power, except in the early days of the New Deal. It has behaved for the past forty years with a disregard for law, truth and common humanity which should have aroused overwhelming public protest. I say this deliberately and with a full sense of responsibility. The evidence exists in published sources.

You say that I go beyond Mr. Lamont's book "in statements which his book does not properly support". You seem particularly surprised at the suggestion that people are exposed to suspicion if they support equal rights for coloured people. I should have thought you would have known 30 what is in fact notorious, that, in the South especially, any championship of the rights of coloured people is regarded as evidence of Communism, and renders the champion liable to the hardships to which suspected Communists are exposed. I am convinced that what I said on this subject is not exaggerated. Mr. Lament quotes the Chairman of a Government Loyalty Board as saying: "Of course, the fact that a person believes in racial equality doesn't *prove* that he's a Communist, but it certainly makes you look twice, doesn't it? You can't get away from the fact that racial equality is part of the Communist line." (See also the chapter "Mississippi Comes North" in Cedric Belfrage's *The Frightened Giant*.) I have perhaps 40 said more than Lament said about the way in which a general state of terror has been produced. I will cite in illustration a case mentioned in the (London) *Observer* of July 18, 1954: This is the case of a man who was an American University professor, not a Communist nor a fellow-traveller, but a friend of another professor whose views were more or less those of the British Labour Party but definitely not Communist. This friend was charged with heretical ideas, and the hitherto non-political professor came to his support. "The results of my activity", he states,

were (1) loss of employment and all that this means; (2) inability to find any work in any other American educational institution; (3) sale of my house and a fine library at a loss, as I could no longer live in a community where I could not find employment and where my children were being abused by their fellow-students because their father was a "red".

I do not think that you and those who think as you do have the vaguest idea of the general state of fear which exists in American universities among young professors and instructors and among intelligent students. I have frequent and numerous contacts with men of this kind, and it is pathetic to see their joy in breathing the air of free discussion without the dread that an unguarded remark will be reported by supposed friends to some Authority with power to inflict ruin.

20 In every violent conflict party spirit produces a tendency to excuse or cover up the crimes committed by one's own side. I agree with you in deploring this tendency among Communists and their sympathizers. But the tendency exists also on our side. Those English people, of whom I was one, who denounced the Anglo-French attack on Egypt, were accused of being unpatriotic, but unjustly. Those who denounce condemnation of reputed Communists on inadequate grounds, are accused of being proCommunist, again unjustly. It is no true service to any cause to support excesses committed in its name. Such support is especially to be deplored when it tends to produce on our side a reflection of the evils against which 30 we are fighting. What the Russians have done in Hungary is an unspeakable atrocity, but that does not justify the condemnation of Americans by American courts for crimes which there is no adequate evidence to show that they committed. All that I ask of you is that you should study the facts more carefully than you seem to have done, and that, while studying them, you should remember that the sins of others are a poor excuse for our own. Loyalty to the facts should always outweigh loyalty to party, and loyalty to facts entails, in those who make public pronouncements, willingness to ascertain the facts even when they are painful, and especially when care is taken to conceal them.

40 I also do not think that you have realized a very important matter: If opposition to real evils in the West is undertaken only by Communists, this gives to Communists an immense propaganda advantage, and makes American talk about a "free world" appear nothing but hypocrisy.

I do not despair of convincing you that I am in the right where we disagree. You and I, throughout our long lives, have been devoted to not dissimilar causes, and it is much to be regretted if differences about this or that make our divergence seem greater than it is.—Yours sincerely,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.



## Justice or Injustice? [1957]

THIS BOOK REVIEW was published without a title in *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 24 (spring 1957): 588–92 (B&R C57.13). A single sentence—that beginning at 184:32—was reprinted over two years later under the subheading “Pressured to Lie” in a newsletter released by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell: *Today’s Verdict in the Case of Morton Sobell*, New York, no. 5 (July 1959): [3] (B&R C59.14). The entire article appeared many years later in *Bertrand Russell’s America*. Vol. 2:1945–1970 (1983), pp. 341–5. Russell had read Malcolm P.Sharp’s *Was Justice Done? The Rosenberg-Sobell Case* even before being asked to review it by an American legal journal. He had received a proof copy from its publisher, the Monthly Review Press, in April 1956, a few days after the appearance in *The Manchester Guardian* of his first letter of protest about Sobell (32a). Sharp’s scholarly critique of the convictions helped Russell to parry some of the criticism that his intervention had roused. Writing to Stephen Spender of the Congress for Cultural Freedom—whose American affiliate had taken particularly grave offence (see Introduction, pp. xxxix–xl)—Russell did “not think that anybody reading this book with an open mind can doubt that there was a miscarriage of justice” (14 April 1956). That same day he also communicated his favourable impression of *Was Justice Done?* to the editor of the *Monthly Review*, Leo Huberman. Russell’s judgment of the book in this letter as “exceedingly interesting and overwhelmingly convincing” (1956f) appeared a few weeks later on the dust-jacket of the first American edition.

Prior to this, Russell had struck up a correspondence with the author, Malcolm P.Sharp (1897–1980), a pro-Sobell activist and a Professor of Law at the University of Chicago. Like many Americans, Sharp had at first been troubled less by the verdicts in the case than by the capital sentencing of the Rosenbergs. He maintained this view even after reading the trial record. When new evidence in the case came to light in the spring of 1953, however, he was persuaded that reasonable doubt of the Rosenbergs’ guilt now existed. For three feverish weeks in June he helped the defence team in a final round of appeals. After the Rosenbergs were executed on 19 June, Sharp became a trustee for their sons and shifted the focus of his public advocacy to the imprisoned Morton Sobell. Russell now wondered whether Sharp had any additional information in support of Sobell’s innocence: “More particularly, I am anxious to know the exact facts about the kidnapping of Sobell and whether the Mexican police were in any degree partners to it” (23 April 1956). In his reply of 2 May Sharp revealed his satisfaction “with the position which you are taking in the matter”. Although he had no legal involvement in the case, Sharp was in close contact with the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell and promised to forward to Russell copies of the legal papers that were soon to be filed in motions for Sobell’s release or retrial.

The following month Sharp instructed the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell to send Russell a complimentary copy of another highly critical treatment of the case, William Reuben’s *The Atom Spy Hoax* (1955). The books by Reuben, Sharp and

others were certainly helpful to the ongoing campaign for Sobell's release. Russell's laudatory review of *Was Justice Done?* also provided the committee with some valuable publicity. Although it had appeared first in an academic journal, it was quickly reissued as a leaflet from the committee's New York office. In a letter of 1 July Sharp himself had put this reprint request to Russell on behalf of the committee. Russell replied that he was "willing to have any use made of my article that seems likely to further the cause" (4 July 1957). In his previous contact, Sharp had also expressed his pleasure at Russell's generous and thoughtful evaluation of his work. Russell had "taken the important points in the case as I see it, and then added reflections of your own, particularly about the police and the costs of defense, which seem to me particularly appropriate and just. It is very heartening to have such support".

The copy-text is the typescript carbon, dated 10 December 1956 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RAI 220.022220). There is some substantive variation between both pre-publication documents and the version in *The University of Chicago Law Review*, whose editor, Dallin H.Oaks, had proposed a number of changes in a letter to Russell dated 1 March (see Annotations). In his reply one week later, Russell accepted "all your suggested corrections..." (8 March 1957).

*Was Justice Done? The Rosenberg-Sobell Case.* By Malcolm P.Sharp. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1956. Pp. xxxvi, 216.

PROFESSOR MALCOLM P.Sharp has performed a great public service by his book *Was Justice Done?* which examines the RosenbergSobell case from the point of view of the evidence presented and its credibility or the reverse. The case is one of those arousing such strong passions on the one side or on the other that few people have the intellectual self-control required for a calm appraisal. Professor Sharp has this self-control. He is not and has never been a Communist. He is a man 10 trained in the estimation of evidence and in the legal relevance of facts. He was concerned in the last stages of the Rosenberg case., but only because, as a lawyer, he came to the conclusion that justice was not being done. Like most people, he had been inclined to accept the verdict of the Court, and it was reluctantly that he was compelled to change this opinion. I have not found in his book any evidence of bias on his part. So far as I am able to judge, he gives due weight to all the evidence that was offered; and when he rejects or questions any piece of evidence, he does so either on grounds of internal inconsistency or because the witness concerned had powerful motives for departing from the truth. His book is as admirable in 20 form as it is in substance, and in both respects deserves the highest praise.

It may be thought an impertinence for one who is not an American to find fault with a decision of the American Courts. As to this, I should wish to say that every country, and indeed every social group, is liable, from time to time, to an attack of mass hysteria. England had such an attack at the time of the Popish Plot and was on the verge of it in the early months of 1918. France had two very fierce attacks of mass hysteria, the first in 1793, and the second at the time of the Dreyfus case, but, at the end of the second, recovered sanity and brought Dreyfus back from Devil's Island. The Rosenbergs cannot be brought back.

30 Such attacks are apt to occur whenever a community is exposed to intense fear, and are apt to take completely irrational forms, as, for example, when the Japanese punished Koreans for the Tokyo earthquake. Mass hysteria is one of the most disastrous of human propensities and, unfortunately, it is not confined to this or that nation. In regretting and combatting any one of its manifestations, it is important to remember that no one nation is specially prone to this form of irrational behaviour.

In reading Professor Sharp's record, if one is not caught in the web of terror that enmeshed police and Judge and jury and witnesses, all alike, the inability of the participants to form calm judgments is quite undeniable. It seems to be an accepted maxim that a known perjurer is always to be believed if he says what the police wish him to say; but if he says any-thing else, one may remember his addiction to perjury. It seems to be also an accepted maxim that, if a man known to have committed a crime makes a statement, after having been told by the police that if he makes it he will escape punishment or have a light sentence, what he says, under the influence of such pressure, is bound to be gospel truth. When, on the other hand, the Rosenbergs, down to the very day of their execution, were told that their lives would be spared if they would incriminate others, and when they totally refused to do so, this is not regarded as evidence of courageous innocence, but as a shocking example of Communist cunning.

The conviction of the Rosenbergs depended mainly upon the evidence of the Greenglasses. Greenglass was Mrs. Rosenberg's brother and modelled his conduct upon that of Cain. As one critic quoted by Professor Sharp justly states: "The story of David Greenglass is so obviously false in so many material respects that he is entitled to no credence; a dog should not be put to death upon the strength of his testimony" (p. 94).<sup>1</sup> If his testimony is accepted, he was as liable to the death-penalty as the Rosenbergs were; but in view of his denunciation of them, he received only a fifteen year sentence and Mrs. Greenglass was not indicted. Professor Sharp deals at length, and very convincingly, with the console table which derived its importance from the fact that it throws doubt upon the Green<sup>20</sup> glasses' veracity and from the circumstance that new facts about it were discovered shortly before the Rosenbergs' execution and were made the basis of an application for a new trial. This application was hastily rejected on frivolous grounds after the Judge had refused to see the console table which the defence asserted to be the one in question.

Judge Kaufman injected prejudice into the proceedings by attributing to the Rosenbergs all the misfortunes of the Korean War. He seems to have thought, as most non-scientific Americans apparently did, that there was something which could be called the "secret" of the bomb, which was thought of as analogous to a magic formula in medieval necromancy. He led the jury to believe that the Rosenbergs had given this "secret" to the Russians and had thereby emboldened them to cause the North Korean invasion of South Korea. This whole conception is quite wide of the mark. There was very much less that was secret about the atom bomb after Hiroshima than was popularly supposed.

There are curious inconsistencies, which do not seem to have struck those who were concerned in the trial. For example, witnesses stated with great emphasis that a Communist spy, in telephoning, would seldom give his real name, but would substitute a code name that had been assigned to

## 1 Quoting Mr. Stephen A. Love, of the Chicago Bar, in a speech of May 3, 1953. 40

him. Nevertheless, great play is made with the assertion that somebody who telephoned gave his name as "Julius", and therefore must have been Rosenberg.

The evidence against Sobell, who got a thirty-year sentence, was even more flimsy than the evidence against the Rosenbergs. Judge Kaufman directed the jury that, if they did not believe the testimony of Elitcher, they must acquit Sobell. Elitcher had stated on oath that he had never been a Communist, which the police knew to be false. He therefore knew himself to be liable to prosecution for perjury. He denounced Sobell, who 10 had been his best friend, and he has never been prosecuted.

It is commonly alleged by those who consider that the guilt of the Rosenbergs and Sobell was established, that the case was reviewed by the Supreme Court. This is not so. The Supreme Court was asked to review the case, but refused.

Apart from the question whether the verdicts were right, there is something utterly horrifying about the indecent haste shown by all the authorities in the last stages of the case. The application for a new trial on the basis of new evidence was rejected before there had been time to examine the new evidence. Legal proceedings did not terminate until two o'clock 20 on June 19, 1953. An appeal to the President for clemency cannot be made until the legal proceedings are concluded. Counsel for the Rosenbergs endeavoured to place an appeal for clemency before the President. They met with every kind of obstacle from red tape, and they do not know to this day what final consideration was given to the case by the President. The execution had been fixed for eleven p.m. on that same day, but when it was pointed out that this would be on the Jewish Sabbath, the time of execution was advanced to be just before sunset on that same day. Up to the last moment, the Rosenbergs knew that they could escape the deathpenalty by breaking the ninth Commandment. They refused, and died. 30 Those who had not refused, survived.

Sobell, unlike the Rosenbergs, though he refused to bear false witness, is still alive, and can still be helped. He is in Alcatraz prison, which is supposed to be for recalcitrant criminals, though the only way in which he has shown himself recalcitrant is in his refusal to denounce others as his accomplices in the crimes which he has not committed. It may still be hoped that there are enough people in the United States who hold that a man should not be punished for a crime unless there is convincing evidence that he has committed it, to secure by means of agitation that Sobell is granted a new trial. I cannot believe that in the somewhat calmer atmos40 phere of the present time he would again be convicted.

Professor Urey contributes to the book an introduction which is valuable not only because of the scientific accuracy of his judgment but also because, as a distinguished nuclear physicist, he is in a better position than most others to judge as to what was possible in the way of espionage. He deserves very high praise as one of the first non-Communists to question the justice of the verdicts.

The miscarriage of justice, as I firmly believe it to have been, in the Rosenberg-Sobell case is analogous to such cases as the Sacco-Vanzetti case and, as I remarked before, the Dreyfus case. One is driven to ask: is there anything that can be done to prevent innocent people from unjustly suffering in times of national excitement? At such times, judge and jury, alike, are incapable of calm judgment. The crimes alleged are so heinous that some of the horror of the crime spills over on the accused before he 10 has been proved guilty. Witnesses who take the unpopular side incur odium and are liable to be dismissed from their employment; whereas those who take the popular side are acclaimed as heroes. The case of Matusow is interesting in this connection. By his own account, he hired himself out to commit perjury for money. But after a time he repented and said that he had been guilty of perjury. As soon as repentance led him to give up perjury, he was prosecuted for perjury. People who have been Communists and have ceased to be so have a lucrative

and popular career before them if they are willing to invent stories that the police like to hear; but, if not, they suffer all the disabilities to which ordinary ex-Communists 20 are exposed.

I am not a lawyer and I do not know on what principles lawyers decide as to the credibility of witnesses; but from the point of view of common sense, it seems to me that if a man who is known to have committed perjury will derive great advantages if he says A and suffer severe penalties if he says B, one cannot feel *quite* sure that he is speaking the truth when he says A. And, speaking still from a layman's point of view, I should have thought that, if you are not *quite* sure, you ought not to inflict the death penalty. It is commonly said by those who derive comfort from soothing platitudes that it is better that ninety-nine guilty men should escape than 30 that one innocent man should be punished. More or less inadvertently, we have allowed our institutions to develop so as to favour the exact opposite of this result. To prove guilt, we have a vast public machine of policemen and detectives and public prosecutors, all supported by public money; whereas the proof of innocence is left to private people at their own expense and without any of the facilities that belong to the police. People have not realized adequately that what happens in court has required long preparation and great skill in deciding how to present the material. All this preparatory work is arranged on the assumption that the public has an interest in proving guilt but not in proving innocence. 40

It is customary among Western nations to speak with horror of the Police State, quoting the two awful examples of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. The examples are truly awful. When the Russians were engaged in acquiring power over the countries that became satellites, it was always the control of the police that they sought first. We do not wish the police forces in our countries to have the kind of power that they have in Communist countries, but I think we are not always sufficiently careful to avoid steps in that direction. It is not the business of the police to ensure justice. That is, or should be, the business of the Courts. It is the business of the police to secure convictions, and, unless their virtue is almost superhuman, they will not invariably be careful to insure that it is only against the guilty that they seek convictions. A state of affairs easily arises where those 10 who belong to some unpopular party or who for some reason are opposed to the Government, come to feel terror in the thought that the police may at any moment accuse them of some crime and, even if they are lucky enough to be acquitted, they probably suffer financial ruin owing to the suspicion which has fallen upon them. Where this happens, there is no true freedom; and it is pretty sure to happen wherever police power is unchecked. The police in Western nations have not shown themselves very adept at catching genuine political offenders. When there were bomb outrages at the end of the First World War, none of the perpetrators were caught, but two innocent men were put to death and another innocent 20 man, after being sentenced to death, had his punishment commuted to penal servitude for life. This caused the ignorant public to believe in the efficiency of the police. Professor Sharp's book deals with a more recent example of the same pattern. I hope it may awaken the public to the realization that to be accused is not necessarily to be guilty.



## Anti-American Feeling in Britain [1957]

THIS PAPER APPEARED under the title “Three Reasons Why They Dislike Us”, *The New York Times*, 8 Sept. 1957, sec. 6 (“Magazine”), pp. 20, 115 (B&R C57. 22). Perhaps Russell was glad of an opportunity to curb his growing reputation for hostility towards the United States. Although asked by the newspaper to extend his critique of American civil liberties, Russell declined this offer (see below, p. 188). In a comparatively short treatment of this contentious issue, Russell was careful to note that Britain too had revealed its susceptibility to McCarthyism. At the same time, he now felt that “matters were improving in this respect” in the United States, albeit “not yet such as believers in freedom of liberal opinions can approve” (192:28–9). Moreover, he made perfectly plain his utter lack of sympathy for the two other strains of British anti-Americanism: elitist contempt for American culture and post-Suez Tory-imperialist yearnings.

Before composing his text, Russell wrote the following undated outline in his own hand:

*British Anti-Americanism* Cooperation important.

Three sources:                   (1) Cultural and aristocratic contempt  
  (2) Loss of Empire  
  (3) Dislike of intolerance.

(1) Yankee Doodle, Mrs. Trollope, *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

Duchess of Cambridge at White Lodge: *Amberley Papers* 2:499.

Academic attitude to American learning. Bessarion.

Snobbery: cockney accent.

Radicals pro-American until Spanish-American war (Boer War) and again at beginning of New Deal.

(2) Imperialism: Tory. English understand East?

Oil conflicts. US tariff.

USA anti-imperialist and anti-Russian.

Foreign Office myths.

This attitude natural but indefensible.

(3) Civil liberty. Tolerance: Recognition of China. Inquisition.

Great Britain worse in this respect than is generally known.

After sending his finished text to the London office of *The New York Times*, Russell was informed by Heather Bradley that “New York is delighted with your article...” (15 Aug. 1957). Yet, she had also been instructed to pass on these editorial requests:

A brief insert on the extent of anti-American feeling in Britain.

Additionally, could you pare down your discussion of the first reason for this feeling (on cultural contempt) and build up your discussion of your last reason (civil liberties).

Lastly could you let us have one of our usual endings i.e. (and quoting New York's cable): "tying it all up".

Despite "No" being written in the left-margin adjacent to these three short paragraphs, the second of the proposed alterations seems to have been made over Russell's objections (see T190:26-191:16).

The copy-text is the typescript carbon, dated August 1957 and sharing the same archival location as the holograph abstract that is quoted above (RAI 220.022260). There is no extant dictation as Edith Russell was still recuperating from her heart attack when Paper 37 was composed.

THAT A GREAT many people in Britain have hostile emotions towards the United States is an undeniable fact, and a very unfortunate one, since political cooperation is of the utmost importance, and anything that endangers it increases the risk of disaster. In common with everyone possessed of political sanity, I ardently desire to see a diminution of this suicidal hostility. Perhaps an analysis of the causes which have led to this undesirable state of mind may help to diminish its intensity. It is by this hope that the present article is inspired.

There are, I should say, three main sources of anti-American feeling in Britain, one of them having existed ever since 1776, the other two more recent. The older source may be described as aristocratic and cultural contempt. The second source is envy and nostalgia owing to the loss to America of that dominant position in the world which Britain enjoyed during the hundred years from the fall of Napoleon to the First World War. This is a sentiment existing most strongly among Conservatives, especially those who remained Imperialist as long as possible. The third source of hostility, on the contrary, is felt most by the more liberal section of British opinion. It consists of dislike of what is regarded as American intolerance towards minority opinions, leading to a lack of respect for individual liberty. 20

For my part I regard the first two of the three grounds of hostility as totally unjustifiable, and the third (in view of increasing encroachments on freedom in Britain) as less well founded than many of my compatriots suppose.

I will discuss each of these three in turn.

What may be called cultural and snobbish prejudice (if I may be allowed for the moment to equate culture with snobbery) has existed ever since the United States became an independent country. It is expressed in "Yankee Doodle", who is laughed at by the Redcoats for a vain endeavour to dress fashionably. It is expressed at great length and with considerable force in the account of America given by Anthony Trollope's mother. It is set forth vitriolically and unpardonably in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. My parents, who admired America as the home of democracy, were severely censured on this account. My mother at a garden party met the Duchess of Cambridge (grandmother of Queen Mary), who remarked to her, "Now I hear you only like dirty people and dirty Americans. All London is full of it. All the clubs are talking of it. I must look at your petticoats to see if they are dirty." This sort of attitude was common in aristocratic England. It was thought that in the South there were "gentlemen" but in the North only

business men. This, I think, was the main reason why aristocratic England tended to sympathize with the South in the Civil War. It is a remarkable fact, though one not widely known in England, that when Emerson found himself among the business men in Manchester his criticisms of them were almost word for word those which it was customary for Englishmen to make of Americans. Emerson found the men of Manchester materialistic, mechanistic, incapable of enjoying leisure, money-grubbing, and totally indifferent to culture; but these people are not regarded as typical of England. They were only regarded as furthering the Industrial Revolution, persuading England to give up starving wage-earners to enhance the revenues of the squirearchy and doing what they could to spread an enlightened internationalism. Surely no one could think such activities worthy of the same respect as all right-thinking people accorded to fox hunting and pheasant-shooting, and so it remained possible for the upper classes in England to continue to despise America, in spite of the existence, in England, of people who suffered from what in Americans were considered "vices".

It was not only aristocrats, but all self-appointed apostles of Culture who thought they had a right to despise America. When I was young it was still customary in British academic circles to disparage American men of learning, and it was a surprise to me when I went to America at the age of twenty-four to find that mathematics was studied in a more enlightened way than at Cambridge, and with more attention to recent advances in the subject. I have since had a wide experience of academic America and, so far as the teaching faculties are concerned, I have found no reason to find them in any degree inferior to British universities. It is true that as compared to dons at Oxford and Cambridge they suffer from lack of independence; they tend to be under the thumb of ignorant politicians and ignorant business men. But that is not their fault, and if anything it improves their quality in giving them something to react against.

The influence of snobbery on English ways of thinking and feeling is more profound than most English people realize. This has been brought home to me by a fact which I have noticed in America. The only English people that I came across, who liked America better than England are those who have a cockney accent. In England this causes them to be despised. In America it is not distinguishable from the English accent of other English people.

There is nothing particularly modern about the kind of cultural snobbery which has caused England to under value America. The Athenians felt it towards Dionysus, the tyrant of Syracuse, who tried to win prizes for his poetic and dramatic achievements and sent critics to the sulphur mines if they did not praise them. To their immortal credit they preferred the mines. The same thing must have happened when Constantinople fell to the Turks. The Byzantine civilization had been continuous with that of ancient Greece and throughout, what in the West were called the Dark Ages, the Eastern Empire had been culturally superior to anything in Western Christendom. The moment came when, only by submission to the West, could Constantinople be saved. Some favoured submission; others, retaining the now outdated contempt for the West, refused all attempts at accommodation, and I think it may be assumed that even those who came to terms with the West retained in their hearts a certain cultural contempt of their new masters. Bessarion, a learned Greek who joined the Roman communion and became a Cardinal, kept such sentiments, if he had them, to himself, but no doubt among his Byzantine cronies he would let himself smile at the fumbling efforts of the Italians to master the Greek language. Although Byzantine culture had long been traditional and unoriginal, one imagines Bessarion viewing with complacent patronage the

masterpieces of the great artists and writers of the Italian Renaissance which started the Western Civilization on its centuries of triumph. The same sort of thing must be said about the British attitude to culture in America. We conveniently forget that we have had to import such men as Whistler, Henry James and T.S.Eliot from that land that we still like to think of as barbarous.

I do not think that there is anything at all to be said for the British attitude of superiority towards American culture. It is true that some presidents of American universities are so much concerned in securing endowments that they may be somewhat inattentive to the purely cultural sides of university life, but that is inevitable in a country where academic life is rapidly growing. You will find in Fuller's *Worthies* a description of the head of a college at Oxford or Cambridge in the seventeenth century which might apply almost word for word as a caricature of the most goetting type of American university president. That is because in Fuller's time the colleges were still engaged in securing endowments.

I come now to my second head, which is of more present-day political importance. I am thinking of the feeling connected with the collapse of British Imperialism. From the fall of Napoleon to the First World War Britain was the leading power in the world. The British Empire was the 30 largest in existence and Britannia ruled the waves. All this is now past history. The Empire has become the Commonwealth. It is America that rules the waves. British trade with China is almost extinct and British oil interests in the Middle East are in a parlous state. Instead of leading the West in the advance in dominion over the East, we are leading the West in a movement of retreat, halted, only in so far as it can be halted, by clinging to the coat-tails of America. I do not think this a bad thing for the world. I think that if it does not mean the victory of Communism, it is a good thing; but it is hardly a thing which Britons can be expected to enjoy, however much they may acquiesce in its inevitability. Given human nature it is natural that changed circumstances bring a certain envy of the United States, and a somewhat malevolent scrutiny of American policy. We tend to notice that while America admits the importance of the defeat of the Nazis, the sacrifice entailed in obtaining this defeat fell mainly on us, while great economic benefits accrued to America. When our oil interests in the Middle East suffer, we are not consoled if America picks up some of the crumbs. When, as in the Suez adventure, we embark upon a mad escapade in the style of old-fashioned Imperialism, the Imperialists among us are indignant because America preserves sanity. I do not think that our feelings in this regard are in any degree justified. They are in any case only feelings of die-hard reactionaries, who cannot face changed circumstances in the world. But although they are not justified they are such as any nation in the same circumstances would be bound to feel. I think only time and mortality among those who remember our former greatness can diminish the intensity of these feelings. There is one respect in which I think there is justification for this point of view, and that is our dislike of the American tariff. There can be no doubt that if the American tariff were lower it would be a boon not only to Western Europe but to the world. We note that when tenders are invited from non-American firms they are not accepted, even when they are lower than any American tender. We observe that America professes to believe in competition but takes very good care not to permit it when it comes from abroad. In this respect I think America can be justly blamed, but no more so than practically every other sovereign State.

I come now to the third source of anti-American feeling. This is based on a belief that America shows an undue indifference to civil liberty and the rights of minorities. While

our second ground of objection is mainly operative among reactionaries, this third ground is felt much more strongly by people of liberal opinions than by Conservatives. All liberal opinion was deeply shocked by the excesses of McCarthyism, and although matters are improving in this respect they are not yet such as believers in freedom of liberal opinions can approve. As to this, however, it must be said that while America is improving Britain is moving in the opposite direction. There is much less ballyhoo than in the United States, but shocking things have been done. For example, a man was dismissed from the Civil Service by mistake because he was confused with another man, but he was not reinstated when the mistake was discovered. This was in England and done without fuss. I do not think that, in view of current practices of British authorities, British liberal opinion has a right to use what has happened in America as a basis for anti-Americanism. The inroads upon liberty from which our age suffers are not confined to Communist countries, whatever our propaganda may pretend. But they are also, as far as the West is concerned, by no means confined to America. They are universal symptoms of universal fear. It cannot be hoped that there will be great improvement until a more conciliatory spirit prevails on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

In conclusion I should like to reiterate, as emphatically as I am able, my profound belief that anti-Americanism is unwise, illiberal and unjust. America has become the torchbearer for the West and it is the duty of all of us to do what we can to keep the torch burning brightly.



Part V  
Nine *London Forum* Radio  
Discussions



## General Headnote

ALL THE PAPERS in this section are based on transcripts of debates recorded for *London Forum*. Only **40**, **41** and **42** have appeared in print before. Russell was a regular guest on this discussion programme, which aired on the overseas services of the BBC. He participated on at least twenty-seven occasions between June 1949 and December 1957. That he appeared so frequently in the period covered by the present volume allows us to draw attention to this neglected aspect of his work for Britain's public broadcaster. Russell clearly enjoyed the informality of the discussion format. The programmes were not completely unrehearsed, though. The subject of debate was decided well in advance of the recording, and some specific questions were often circulated to the guests beforehand. Furthermore, immediately before entering the studio, the whole panel usually met with each other over a lunch or dinner hosted by their BBC producer.

The intellectual, literary or political eminence of most of Russell's collaborators was a reflection of the still unabashed patrician character of much BBC broadcasting in the 1950s. The texts themselves are of interest because sometimes they shed additional light on matters explored by Russell in his writings from this period (**43**, **44**, **46**), while on other occasions we find him returning to issues that had commanded his attention in the past (**40**, **42**). It is difficult to estimate the total audience reached by Russell and his fellow contributors. In addition to being broadcast and repeated by the General Overseas, Pacific and North American Services, beginning in 1947 *London Forum* was picked up for rebroadcast by eight American radio stations and another fourteen in Canada. Like several of the talks broadcast by Russell in the period covered by the present volume, Paper **40** appeared in print in *London Calling*—a BBC publication with a weekly circulation of about 15,000 copies in 1955. Although primarily a listings magazine for the BBC's English-language services overseas, *London Calling* also published some original material, as well as the edited transcripts of broadcast talks.

Paper **38** was recorded on 19 June 1956, but it was not broadcast by the BBC's General Overseas Service until 16 September. The following day it was repeated on the same service and on the Pacific and North American Services as well. In the three months which elapsed between the recording and broadcast, one of the speakers, Quintin McGarel Hogg, 2nd Viscount Hailsham (1907–2001), had been appointed First Lord of the Admiralty in Sir Anthony Eden's Cabinet. Russell had sparred with this barrister, author and Conservative politician on several previous *London Forums*—most recently on 15 May 1956, in a debate of Mill's *On Liberty* (**67** in *Papers II*). As if anticipating the question posed by this latest programme, eleven years previously Hailsham (as Quintin Hogg) had published a polemical work entitled *The Left Was Never Right* (1945). The third speaker was Kingsley Martin (1897–1969),<sup>one</sup> of the most distinguished figures in English journalism and editor of the *New Statesman* from 1931 (when it amalgamated with *The Nation*) until 1960. Notwithstanding the occasional disagreement (see *Papers* 28:70), Martin admired Russell and had on many occasions given him a platform in the columns of his left-wing political weekly. In November 1957, in one of Martin's greatest

editorial coups, the *New Statesman* provided a forum for Russell's celebrated exchange of letters with Eisenhower, Dulles and Khrushchev. Chairing the discussion was Robert McKenzie (1917–1981), a Canadian political sociologist who gained wide recognition in the 1960s and 1970s from his work as an elections analyst on BBC television.

Paper 39 was not conceived as a weighty exploration of the politics or history of nationalist movements and ideas. The BBC producer responsible simply wanted "an enjoyable conversation on the enigma which the people of one nationality must present to those of another" (from R.E.Gregson, 19 Sept. 1956). To this end, Russell was joined by two noted humorists. The journalist and social critic Malcolm Muggeridge (1903–1990) was editor of *Punch*, the venerable satirical weekly. He subsequently built a reputation as a caustic television presenter, giving vent to the increasingly dour Christian moralism which he had acquired after losing his socialist convictions in the 1930s. Peter Ustinov (1921–2004) had established himself as a versatile theatrical talent and later enjoyed great success in film and television. He was starring in the West End at this time in his own play *Romanoff and Juliet* (1956), a comic study of the Soviet and American ambassadors to a small, unnamed country whose president takes advantage of the two diplomats by playing on some of the presumed traits of their national characters. Sitting in the chair for this talk was the BBC producer and presenter Edgar Lustgarten (1907–1978), a qualified barrister who was perhaps best known for his coverage of famous criminal trials. This recording session on 28 September 1956 concluded three consecutive days of work by Russell at the BBC, during which Papers 41 and 42 were recorded as well. "The Importance of Nationality" was broadcast on the General Overseas Service on 3 October 1956.

An abridged version of Paper 40 was published simply as "London Forum", *London Calling*, no. 900 (31 Jan. 1957): 3–4,10 (B&R C57.03). It had been broadcast on the General Overseas Service on 23 October 1956 and recorded as far back as 22 May. The topic of great men in history was a congenial one for Russell; it allowed him to air his own deeply held convictions about the influence of the individual on historical events. He had already debated the obverse question, "Is There a Pattern in History?", in a *London Forum* broadcast of April 1953. On that earlier occasion he had conversed with Lords Hailsham and Samuel and Arnold Toynbee, one of the most celebrated historical system-builders (see A222:32). Hailsham was again present three years later when Russell was joined by Edgar Lustgarten (who acted as chair) and the philosopher, political theorist and historian of ideas Isaiah Berlin (1909–1997). R.E.Gregson, the assistant head of overseas talks and features, seems to have been stimulated by ideas expressed in Berlin's Auguste Comte Memorial Trust Lecture of 12 May 1953 (published as *Berlin 1954*), especially its "objection to the notion of 'patterns' in history" (to Russell, 10 May 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 1,351b). Russell too doubted whether historical progress was governed by causal laws and had said so in most of his essays about the uses and abuses of the past. His objections were restated briefly a few months after the recording of Paper 40 in the interview which appears in the present volume as Appendix IV (p. 373).

Paper 41 was recorded on 27 September 1956 and broadcast on the BBC's General Overseas Service on 30 December. As originally conceived, this discussion was to have been devoted to scientific education. But the subject was changed shortly before the scheduled recording date, when one of the participants, the civil servant and philosopher of science Jacob Bronowski, dropped out. Bronowski's replacement was Sir Eric James (1909–1992, Baron James of Rusholme, 1959), high master of Manchester Grammar (1945–62), one of Britain's most academically distinguished independent secondary

schools for boys. He was also the author of *Education and Leadership* (James 1951), a book which seems to have influenced the hurried selection of elites as an alternative question for debate. As an educationalist, James was a staunch upholder of academic standards against the encroachment of what he saw as a meretricious egalitarianism into British schooling. Often accused of elitism, he was actually a meritocrat who thought that talent must be identified and nurtured by “direct grant” schools like Manchester Grammar which, while essentially independent, received generous state support for the education of gifted pupils from working-class backgrounds. James later served as the first vice-chancellor of the University of York (1962–73) and as chairman of a wide-ranging government inquiry into the training of teachers—which produced the James Report in 1972. Muggeridge was the third speaker in this discussion of elites, while Lustgarten, as usual, occupied the chair.

Abridged versions of Papers **41** and **42** appeared many years later in *Muggeridge through the Microphone*, ed. Christopher Railing (London: BBC, 1967), pp. 130–5 and pp. 23–31, respectively (B&R B194). The second of these discussions had been recorded on 26 September 1956 and broadcast for the first time on the BBC’s General Overseas Service on 3 February 1957. The same service repeated the programme the next day, when it also aired on the Pacific Service. The topic of progress had been suggested by Muggeridge, and the debate between him and Russell was moderated by the Australian political scientist Bruce Miller, who was then head of the Department of Government at the University College of Leicester. All his interpolations, however, were edited out of the published version of the transcript. Perhaps in order to enliven his exchange with Muggeridge, an avowed Christian pessimist, Russell took rather less strenuous issue with the question for debate than he had three years before in a review of Morris Ginsberg’s *The Idea of Progress* (1953). In that short piece for *The Manchester Guardian*, Russell had dismissed the metaphysics of Hegel and Marx with his usual haste, along with the progressive evolutionism of modern biology. “As for any cosmic law of progress”, he had concluded, “the idea is one which could only be entertained by a hopelessly parochial mind” (1953*b*; *Papers* 11:431). As recalled by Muggeridge, the concluding exchange about religion in Paper **42** had become quite heated:

I had spoken in praise of Christianity, and he rounded on me with unexpected ferocity, shrilly insisting that everything most cruel and destructive and wicked which had happened in the world since the end of the Roman Empire had been due to the Christian religion and its founder. I shouted back; it was an absurd and unedifying scene which nonetheless left me physically exhausted, as though I had been engaged in a physical wrestling match. I remember still with a lively sense of horror how, as Russell’s rage mounted, a flush rose up his thin white stringy neck, like a climbing thermometer, to suffuse his simian features, making of the great philosopher a flushed ape. (Muggeridge 1972, 175–6)

The idea for Paper **43** may have come from the twelve-part series on life after death in *The Sunday Times* (see **H15**). Both Russell and Abbot of Downside Christopher Butler (1902–1986) had already contributed to the debate in print. Their radio discussion was recorded on 6 February 1957 and broadcast on the General Overseas Service fifteen days later. The day after the recording Russell entered University College Hospital for tests to determine whether his throat condition was cancer. But his performance on the BBC

seems to have been quite unaffected by reflections on his own mortality. Abbot Butler was a distinguished biblical scholar and a Catholic convert from Anglicanism who favoured stronger ecumenical ties between the two churches. He was headmaster of the boys' school at Downside Abbey from 1940 until becoming Abbot in 1946, a position which he held for twenty years. On 16 February Russell told Butler that he had "found our evening very enjoyable and (that) it was good that we were able to debate such a subject without generating undue heat". Their exchange—and not only its civility—recalls Russell's more famous debate of the existence of God with another Catholic intellectual, Frederick Copleston, S.J. (68 in *Papers II*). The chair of the discussion is not identified in the BBC mimeograph.

On 21 March 1957 Russell was asked by R.E.Gregson to consider the prospectus for peace outlined in Paper 57b as "the basis for a discussion also". Gregson had already enlisted the diplomatic historian Sir Charles Webster, and before Paper 44 was recorded on 8 April the retired Conservative statesman Viscount Templewood had been added to the panel. Webster (1886–1961) was distinguished academically for his studies of British foreign policy under Castlereagh and Palmerston. He had also served on the British delegation to the Paris Peace Conference after the First World War and had assisted in drafting the United Nations Charter at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in 1944 (see A251:26–7). As noted by Robert McKenzie, the chairman of this *London Forum*, Sir Samuel Hoare (1880–1959, Viscount Templewood, 1944) had held ministerial office in nearly every British Government of the inter-war period. But the political reputation of this scion of a famous Norfolk banking family had been tarnished by his support for the Munich agreement. In the General Elections of 1922 and 1923, Russell had stood for the Labour Party against Hoare in the constituency of Chelsea. On both occasions Hoare held this safe Conservative seat by comfortable majorities and did so for a third time in the General Election of October 1924, when his opponent was Dora Russell. Paper 44 was broadcast by the General Overseas Service on Easter Sunday 1957 (21 April) and repeated on the same service the following day. As a satisfied Gregson wrote to Russell shortly afterwards: "The occasion, combined with the topical importance of the subject, made it a very effective programme. It was, of course, reinforced by the earlier transmission of your talk on the subject" (29 April 1957).

The Liberal elder statesman Herbert Samuel (1870–1963, Viscount Samuel, 1937) had appeared with Russell on *London Forum* six times before their discussion of tolerance in Paper 45. This latest programme was recorded on 8 October 1957, broadcast on the General Overseas Service on 17 November and repeated on the same service the following day. For Samuel "The Limits of Tolerance" had been tested quite early in a long ministerial career. During an uneasy stint at the Home Office in 1916, he had been obliged to uphold the wartime state's battery of emergency powers and to challenge the conscientious objectors' defiance of newly enacted conscription legislation. Not the least contentious action to which he was a party as Home Secretary was the prosecution of Russell under the Defence of the Realm Act in June 1916. In the House of Commons four months later, Samuel justified the restrictions that had subsequently been placed on Russell's freedom of movement (see *Papers* 13:lxv). Joining Russell and Samuel on the panel was Hugh Trevor-Roper (1914–2003), the new Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University. Although an accomplished scholar of early modern Britain and Europe, Trevor-Roper was probably better known "for his study of Hitler and his circle" (253:36) and especially for his dramatic account—drawing on his wartime experience as a military intelligence officer—of *The Last Days of Hitler* (1947). The

radio discussion which is presented in Paper 45 was chaired by Norman Fisher (1910–1972), principal of the National Coal Board Staff College and a broadcaster who was familiar to television viewers as question master of the *Brains Trust*.

Paper 46 was recorded on 7 October 1957, broadcast for the first time on 29 December and repeated the next day on the same (General Overseas) service. The topic of discussion had been proposed to Russell as long ago as 19 September 1956, when Gregson had asked him to appear on a panel with Muggeridge and Jacob Bronowski. The assistant head of overseas talks and features had been responding to an anonymous lament in the *New Statesman* about the state of scientific education in Britain compared with that in the Soviet Union and the United States. Contemporary Britons were like the Venetians of the late seventeenth century—conscious of their shortcomings but seemingly unable to correct them and destined to “wake up and find...that all that makes our living has slipped away”. Yet, if “the price of survival is to change our culture, most of us as individuals would pay more than that” (Anon. 1956, 279, 282). This *London Forum* did not proceed, however, owing to Bronowski’s withdrawal. The suggestion for a discussion of scientific education was again put to Russell on 21 March 1957, and for a third time on 29 April. But no recording arrangements were settled until September, by which time Gregson had come to suspect that the previous year’s *New Statesman* piece had been written by C.P. (Sir Charles) Snow (1905–1980, knighted 1957).

Gregson’s suspicions were correct; Snow later acknowledged his authorship of “New Minds for a New World” in the published version of his celebrated Rede Lecture on “The Two Cultures” (Snow 1959, 18 n. 11). In fact, he had made a preliminary assessment of the harmful division between the arts and sciences in British educational culture and practice three years before, in an article for the *New Statesman* (Snow 1956) which appeared only a month after his anonymously published piece. Trained as a scientist but achieving public recognition as a novelist and critic, Snow was (rather like Russell) an embodiment of the “two cultures” existing in harmony. He had also pursued a parallel career in public administration, and from 1945 until his retirement in 1960 was responsible, at the rank of civil service commissioner, for the recruitment of scientists into government employment. Given Snow’s professional expertise and leading role in the ongoing controversy over scientific education, the BBC was understandably eager for him to reexamine the issue for *London Forum*. Bronowski was also asked to participate but was again unavailable, so the debate was chaired by Norman Fisher, who reprised this role for the discussion that was recorded the following day (45). Although deputed to moderate between Russell and Snow, Fisher himself was experienced in educational administration, having served as Manchester’s chief educational officer from 1949 to 1955.

The copy-texts for 38, 39, 44, 45 and 46 are transcriptions made from mimeographs located on microfilm at the BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading (RA REC. ACQ. 1,384). The transcription of 38 indicates that the original was extensively emended in another hand—probably with a view to publication in *London Calling*, since the mimeograph version of 40 (which did appear in this journal of the BBC’s overseas services) was marked up in a similar fashion. Moreover, Russell approved publication of 38 in a letter to the BBC dated 3 December 1956, although no confirmation of its eventual appearance in print has been found. Also located at RA REC. ACQ. 1,384 are transcriptions taken from the BBC mimeographs of 41, 42 and 40. For the first two of these papers, however, the copy-text is the abridged publication in *Muggeridge through the Microphone*, while for Paper 40 the version in *London Calling* has been used. The

copy-text for **43** is a photocopy of the BBC mimeograph (RA REC. ACQ. 1,359). This document, it is noted in the upper-left corner of the first leaf, was transcribed from a wax-cylinder "Telediphone" recording.

## Has the Left Been Right or Wrong? [1956]

MCKENZIE: IN THIS edition of *London Forum*, Bertrand Russell and Lord Hailsham are joined by Kingsley Martin, journalist and broadcaster, who has occupied the editorial chair of the weekly *The New Statesman and Nation* for a quarter of a century. Kingsley Martin has therefore some influence on Left-wing thought in Britain and he is admirably qualified to take part in this particular discussion. We propose to look at the question: Is there an inexorable movement toward the Left in democratic politics; is this bound to be so as the franchise is extended wider and wider, as income tax, death duties, and, in general, the workings of the Welfare State, make for greater equality within the community? But before we start perhaps we might look at the question: What do we mean when we use this brief but controversial word, "Left"?

MARTIN: Obviously such words are used loosely, very often in a pejorative sense or in praise without any very clear definition. And clearly a great many people really mean by Left: that which wants to change what is. I think that probably the simplest definition is to consider whether at any time there is something that can be called an Establishment—an order which is upheld by authority, by vested interests of various kinds, and that a number of people want to change. Now, they usually want to change it on utilitarian grounds; that is to say, they want to change it because they think people would be happier, or they themselves would be happier, if it were changed. Now, the greatest turning point—and we find many others—for people who held this strong view was the French Revolution. And there has been a view held by an insistent tradition ever since the eighteenth century in Europe, that the existing order should be changed in the direction of there being greater liberty or greater equality and greater fraternity, as the phrases of the French Revolution went. A lot of people have believed that the existing order depended on too much authority; it depended on the doctrine of original sin, which could not greatly improve things. They believed that the Left were people who believed that, if you had a lot of education, people could be made much better and happier; if you had political rights more widely diffused, that would lead to a happier state of society, and so on, while the Right has been in the hands of people who perhaps more or less agreed with this but have desired to put a brake on the whole change. There has been a fight going on all the time between people who wanted to improve society by legislation, by regulations, by various types of change deliberately carried out, and people who have said: "No, we believe in tradition; change should come about very slowly." It is Burke versus Paine, if you like; it is to some extent Jefferson versus Hamilton. There are better examples than that. But, broadly, the conflict is between people who think that human society can be made better by deliberate change and people who think, "better stick to tradition and only change very slowly".

MCKENZIE: Lord Hailsham, as a former Conservative Member of Parliament and an author who has expounded the doctrines of Conservatism, do you accept this definition of the Left?

HAILSHAM: No, not really. I think it is an altogether superficial view of history. There is a much longer continuity in political history than going back to the French Revolution. Our own revolution dates quite obviously to the Roundheads. I do not think there is any common content in the 10 doctrines of the so-called Left-wing parties or movements during that period. The Roundheads believed in one thing; the Utilitarians believed in another. The Liberals of the nineteenth century, who were then the Leftwing party, believed in wealth obtained from manufacturing, and liberty; the Socialists believed in authority, contrary to what Kingsley Martin has said. There is no common factor except that throughout that period there has been a fairly continuous movement of clash between a radical party and a Right-wing movement. The clash has been continuous, but during the course of that long period has succeeded in changing its position many times.

20 RUSSELL: I cannot accept at all this view that Left stands for ideas that came with the French Revolution. Those ideas were embodied in those three watchwords—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Now, liberty is a thing which practically all Left-wing people are opposed to nowadays; they do all they can to diminish the amount of it. Fraternity? Well, fraternity is enforced by H-bombs and is not altogether very much to the fore in our world. As for equality, I suppose there are still a fair number of people who would call themselves of the Left who believe in equality; but the extreme Left believes in a military tyranny based upon a police state, and does not believe in equality at all. That is true of people who are called the 30 extreme Left, and I am accused of not being of the Left when I say that I do not like an aristocracy based upon military power and enforced by a police state.

MCKENZIE: Bertrand Russell, you have told us where you dissent from Kingsley Martin's definition of the Left. What do you mean when you use the term Left?

RUSSELL: I agree with Lord Hailsham that it has to vary from time to time. I think what the Roundheads stood for was one thing; what the Benthamites stood for was another; what the Socialists stand for is yet another. There was a time when it was characteristic of the Left to be in 40 favour of *laissez-faire*. They were so much in favour of *laissez-faire*—this was a little more than 100 years ago—that they could not tolerate the idea of any Public Health Act until there was an epidemic in the slums in the immediate neighbourhood of the Houses of Parliament which, it was feared, might extend to Members of Parliament. Then they passed an Act quickly, forgetting their philosophy. But the Left as a whole was bitterly opposed to it, and *The Economist*, who represented the Left wing, wrote passionate articles against any kind of Public Health Act. That is very, very different from what the Left would stand for now.

MARTIN: Russell has exactly given me my point and contradicted his own. It was regulation, it was the beginning of deliberate public change, which gave greater liberty. I agree that people had liberty before to die of cholera, but surely liberty was enormously extended by what he calls "the withdrawal of a kind of liberty". I must also protest violently. He seems to 10 suggest that because my definition of the Left was not one he agreed with, that therefore the Left is something to do with Communist Russia. I would never have dreamt of calling Communist Russia the Left under my definition. I do not think it is carrying out the principles of the French Revolution; I think it has repudiated them; it is the Right reaction from them. But really the point that we have reached is this: Lord Russell is suggesting that the Socialist is the person who wants to take away liberty by regulation. I am suggesting that our liberties are

enormously increased by the fact that there is regulation of many kinds. From driving on the lefthand side of the road to having a Public Health Act and innumerable 20 other regulations which, Lord Russell knows as well as I do, are beneficial and of which he is as strong a supporter as I am. They are all regulations which take away liberty of somebody in order to confer a larger liberty on a larger number of people.

MCKENZIE: Lord Hailsham?

HAILSHAM: Mr. Martin, you make your point, and there is a certain validity in it but only at the expense of your sense of direction. I quite agree with you that authority, that is to say the traditional policy of the Right, according to you, has a great deal to commend it, and that, among other things, people live at greater ease and liberty under a certain measure of authority. But that is the policy of the Right. The Public Health Act, to which Lord Russell rightly referred as not being a change in the political outlook of his day, was carried through by the Right-wing government of 1875 and was derided by the Left-wing of the time as a policy of sewage. So, the fact is that you are illustrating and not condemning Lord Russell's point. You're illustrating yourself as a Disraelian Tory opposed to the Left-wing policies of the radicals of that day.

MARTIN: On the contrary, I was admitting that sometimes Conservatives do Socialist things, and when they do Socialist things they are behaving in a Left-wing way, as Disraeli notoriously did. 40

MCKENZIE: Now, it is quite clear to me you do not agree on the definition of the Left, and I am not going to try and isolate the points of agreement or disagreement in what you have said. I am going arbitrarily to apply the word Left to the sort of changes that have occurred in the last century, say, in British politics—that is, the extension of the franchise; the extension of State intervention at many, many points in life; the insistence upon social welfare services; the extension of those to the whole community, and the rest. I am going to suggest to you that this is one way in which the term Left is used. I think perhaps among you, you might agree that it is at least used in that way. Now, has this been a process, really a triumph, of a set of ideas that could be called Leftist ideas or has it been something as much initiated from the Right—from the Disraelian Right, if you 10 want—in British Toryism, as it was initiated by the Radicals in the Liberal Party or, subsequently, in the Labour Party? Has this been a slow, steady, movement to the Left in British politics, or has it simply been an agreement between all sides to modify society in the directions acceptable to the lot? Lord Hailsham?

HAILSHAM: Now, Chairman, I honestly think that your ideas are rather confused on this subject.

MCKENZIE: Yes, indeed. Go ahead.

HAILSHAM: The first thing that has got to be said is that we know three civilizations, including our own, in which much the same sort of things 20 happened. We know what happened in Athens, we know what happened in Rome and we know what happened in Britain and indeed modern Europe. Now, of course it is true that, when you get a rapid rise in material civilization, two things happen. The first is that the poor, the extreme proletariat, begin to demand and receive greater political privilege than they have had in the past. The second is that the poor, on the economic side, demand greater material advantages. Now, that has gone on over a period of about 150 years in all three civilizations. It has reached its peak. There comes a point when it goes no further. That has been common to our civilization and to the past ones. And in

that sense, it is a common 30 feature; but I do not think—and for the reasons Lord Russell gave earlier in this discussion—I do not think there is any common philosophy behind it.

MCKENZIE: Lord Russell?

RUSSELL: Now that we have got away from definitions, I want to say that I am a most passionate supporter of what has been Left in British politics, that I think the move towards greater equality in wealth has been an enormous benefit on the whole, an enormous increase of human happiness. And I think if you take ancient Rome, you do not get that. The proletariat in ancient Rome got certain advantages but they did not get 40 anything like what they get in the British Welfare State. I think the move towards equality, the controlling of economic power by public authority, is a thing of enormous value which we have achieved without the use of dictatorship. And I think in that respect we do deserve well of mankind.

MCKENZIE: The point I wanted to get at here—and I think you have raised it, Bertrand Russell, and I want to bring Hailsham back to it—is whether this development over a century in this country—a century and a half—of the move towards greater equality in politics, in the Welfare State and the rest, whether this has been a process of the triumph of the Left—the Radicals and subsequently the Socialists—or whether it has been dreamed up and supported by and initiated by the Conservatism which he expounds?

HAILSHAM: I would say it was neither. It is a result of the interplay of two different and opposed forces. I could paint you a picture of exactly the 10 same process, a picture, incidentally, which I believe would picture the whole thing as a triumph of Conservatism. But quite clearly this country has succeeded in many ways where other countries have failed because we have gone at a particular pace. We have eschewed revolutionary means. We have pursued the parliamentary method. We have given in to the demands of the Left rather after they were first formulated and after public opinion has come round to accept them. All those things are a triumph for Conservatism. And the truth is that this movement has been admirably controlled in this country precisely in proportion, so it is not a triumph for either party but an interplay of two opposed forces. 20

MCKENZIE: I am not clear yet from what you have said, Lord Hailsham, to what extent you see the development of British domestic politics—the expansion of the franchise, the introduction of the welfare state and the rest—as at least as much a Conservative achievement—a positive willed achievement on the part of the Tories—as a process of paying Danegeld to the Left, because you used the phrase at one time, “we gave into just in time”, or “we slowed down the process to the desirable rate of speed”. Is the Tory Party in that sense only a reactor to Left initiative?

HAILSHAM: No, I am not talking about the parties. I mean one can talk of things on a polemical basis or one can talk of things on a philosophical 30 or historical basis. I said, and I stick to it, that what has happened has in fact been the result of an interplay between two sets of forces. If you then start to translate that into party politics, you will find that both in the Leftwing party there are very strong Conservative forces. I mean nobody would call, I think, Mr. Herbert Morrison at the present time other than an ardent Conservative, at any rate with a small “c”; the same can be said of many prominent Liberal statesmen, and in the Conservative party of the time you will find very many progressive forces. You can look at it on the partisan level, in which case there is a strong interplay going on all the time inside the main parties, or you can look

at it on the philosophical 40 level, when you can say that what happened in history was the result of the two main forces playing together over the whole political field.

MCKENZIE: Kingsley Martin?

MARTIN: The main point that I was trying to make is, I think, still evaded by Lord Hailsham. I think on this point Russell and I are in agreement. What happens is that there is something that has to be changed—I could take any number of different things, the minority report of the Poor Law, for example, or cannibalism. In every case the forces of reaction have held back that being done, and because they have held it back and obstructed it, it has been done worse, and later, and badly, or often after the actual need has changed. And when we say the Left has been right, we mean that the Left has been the first body to see that it should be done. 10 The Right has obstructed—sometimes with advantageous results, no doubt, but still on the whole they have obstructed—what the Left—stupid as it commonly is, and over-idealistic as it often is—has seen ought to be done.

MCKENZIE: Bertrand Russell?

RUSSELL: I should like to bring this away from party politics, which I am responsible largely for drifting into, and for which I apologize. But I think, to bring it back to more general things, one can say this: that every society that has ever been known in the world would have been benefited by certain changes; and, in general, people of a certain temperament have 20 favoured those changes and people of another temperament have opposed them. People who like what they were used to when they were young and cannot bear to think of a different world, they oppose change. On the other hand, people who are of more or less a rebellious temperament like change. That is a difference which has existed in every community at all times. And I think that one may say that, since every community that has ever existed would have been the better for certain changes, and, since it is temperamental to dislike change unless there are very strong arguments for it, that on the whole the people favouring change have been more often right than those who opposed it.

30 MCKENZIE: Hailsham?

HAILSHAM: Well I do not think it is possible even to generalize to that extent. If you compare, for instance, what happened to this country as distinct from what happened to France in the last 150 years, I think the Conservative has an extraordinarily strong case. Personally, I agree with you, Russell, that on the whole this descent into party politics deprives one of an objective point of view. I thought that was particularly noticeable in the case of Kingsley Martin, and I am inclined to think that you cannot generalize about these things. Sometimes the Left is right; sometimes the Right is right. But the thesis which I am prepared to stake my faith on is 40 that you cannot get on in society without the interplay of the two forces. If the Left is uninhibited, you descend into revolution and license; and if the right is uninhibited, you get, as Russell says, stagnation and even reaction.

MCKENZIE: Hailsham, I wonder if I may interject from the Chair. I am surprised you have not advanced the sort of counter proposition that there is as much an inexorable movement to the Right in British politics as there has been in any sense an inexorable movement to the Left; that, just as social policy to some extent has been stimulated, if you want, by the Left, the Right has won the nominal Left in the last half century—the Labour Party—round to full acceptance of every aspect of the British constitution. Your citation of Morrison as an example is surely relevant. You have got a full

acceptance of the basic principles of British political society by the Left. It is in no sense a revolutionary challenge to it.

HAILSHAM: Well, I would not, on the whole, agree with you, Chairman. 10 I think that what you described as the inexorable movement to the Right certainly exists, but it cannot really be described in that way. What has happened in British politics is that the movements which have affected all mankind—at any rate in Europe and probably over the whole world—have, on the whole, been controlled and settled here by the interplay of our two forces at a speed, and in a manner, and with a temper, which has favoured the tolerant and humane solution of the difficulty. That is why the satisfied revolutionary becomes Herbert Morrison in later life. But what I do think is this, that the mistake, if I may say so, that you are making is to think that what has been going on is going on for ever. These 20 movements do take a very long time to work themselves out. I think it has taken about 350 years in this country for this movement to work itself to the point it has reached. I do not think it has finished yet. I think it is nearing its end.

MARTIN: Well I am glad that we have got rid of the word “inexorable”. I think what we ought to talk about is trends, and I agree with Lord Hailsham: because a thing is a trend and does go on, it does not necessarily go on for ever. I also agree with him that the Party aspect is not the most important. The remarks I made about the general fact that there are situations that must be changed, and that some people obstruct them and 30 some people want to change them, is nothing to do with party politics.

RUSSELL: It seems to me that it is very difficult to state in terms of any general ideals what one means by Left and Right. On the whole, I think the nearest you can get to it is that the Left consists of people who do not have very much power and think they ought to have more, and the Right of people who have a great deal of power and the rest of the world thinks they ought to have less. That is the only definition I can see of Left and Right. I think it is a contest for power, and that has gone on, whereas the other things have not. I mean, take liberty. If John Stuart Mill were to come back and see what Left-wing people now advocate, he would be 40 utterly horrified because it does not embody his ideals of liberty. He said, for instance, that although it was right for the State to insist on people being educated, the State ought on no account to do the educating. Well, that seems to us quite absurd. Mill would altogether feel that we were traitors to everything that he thought was Left-wing.

MCKENZIE: Lord Hailsham?

HAILSHAM: Well, I think that is absolutely right. I think that it is an illustration of the thesis that I think both Russell and I have been putting, namely, that if you look at the content of their philosophy over 150 years, the Parties have changed their grounds about three times and have, in fact, exchanged their respective slogans. In the nineteenth century the Tory Party was speaking in terms of authority and society against the 10 libertarians, who were then representing the rich men who wanted the political power—the manufacturers. Now it is the Conservatives who are chanting the slogan of liberty against the authoritarians who are the Socialists, who are no longer the poor men, which they were when I was growing up, but are now the people with all the entrenched advantages of privilege. (LAUGHTER)

MCKENZIE: Kingsley Martin?

MARTIN: Are you suggesting that this issue has nothing to do with property, because I am absolutely puzzled? If the Labour Party or Trade Unions or something are becoming Conservatives, it is because they are 20 becoming property owners on a

very large scale. They are themselves a vested interest within this present system, and therefore they become Conservative. I do not find this difficulty of definition. It seems to me to be clear that the Right are people who want to hold on to what they have got, as Russell says. Often people who were Left become property owners and become Right-wing in consequence. I do not think we disagree about this.

MCKENZIE: Well, is it solely a matter of property, though, Kingsley Martin?

MARTIN: Well, surely...

30 MCKENZIE: There is one sense in which the old phrase, "We are all Socialists now", is true in this country, in that a large body of the Socialist programme is agreed between the Parties. But, surely, there is another sense in which once in office—I mean Trade Union office, political power and the rest—that we are all Conservatives now. Martin notwithstanding, I really come back to Hailsham's point about the interplay of Left and Right and that these two things have happened simultaneously across the last century or more.

HAILSHAM: Yes. But I think that, at least to this extent, the Marxist philosophy has an element of truth in it, because the one thing that the 40 Marxists have always said—and I think truly—is that this process is going to come to an end sooner or later; that there will ultimately come a stage in our own society, which certainly came in the older societies to which I referred at the beginning, when the process can go no further, although you have not achieved absolute equality—neither absolute equality in political influence nor absolute equality in property. There comes a stage at which society stabilizes itself and goes no further. The Marxists called it "the classless society". I do not happen to believe in that, but at any rate they were right and, it seemed to me, to be on my side in saying that this process is much nearer its end than people generally suppose.

MCKENZIE: An ominous note struck there. Do you accept it, Kingsley Martin?

MARTIN: Well, I do not think, as I carefully said just now, that because trends exist that therefore they are always going to exist and go on for 10 ever. Now, I think that one very important aspect of this is left out in regard to the British. We have never had anything like the whole of this trend that has been referred to. This trend is supposed to be a trend moving on to complete democracy. Now, we have never had complete democracy; we have had Parliamentary Government with constitutional safeguards; we have had constitutional representative government; we have not had the traditional Athenian conception of everybody voting and all that....

HAILSHAM: Everybody except the slaves (LAUGHTER)....

MARTIN: I was talking about the theory of the government of Athens, of 20 course. I said that was the theory as put in Aristotle for instance. Well now, in this country, we have had constitutional safeguards of liberty. Now, I think that we may be able to go very much farther towards Socialism without the risks to liberty that Russell nowadays apparently fears, because we have got certain basic things like habeas corpus and so on, which I hope to retain in this country.

MCKENZIE: A final word from you, Bertrand Russell, because I am afraid our time is almost up.

RUSSELL: Well, I agree with that; I hope very much that we can in this country achieve Socialism without too great a sacrifice of liberty. But I 30 would put in a proviso here which I think is very important as against Marxism and that is that the important thing is not property but power. Property is a conception based upon a certain legal system and not nearly so definite as all Marxists based upon the nineteenth century supposed.

MARTIN: But they are very closely bound up are they not?

RUSSELL: No, no, they are not, (TALK TOGETHER)...not in the least. You get in Russia a complete divorce between property and power.

HAILSHAM: This is true.

RUSSELL: And that is a thing that has resulted from people being confused in thinking that only property was the thing that you had to equal-ize.

MCKENZIE: Well, now you, Bertrand Russell, have opened yet another subject which we must examine some time in detail and at length, but I am afraid that is all we can attempt to cover in this edition of *London Forum*. Thank all of you for taking part.

## The Importance of Nationality [1956]

LUSTGARTEN: In *London Forum* today, Bertrand Russell, the famous philosopher, and Malcolm Muggeridge, the author and editor, are joined by Peter Ustinov. Ustinov, though only in his mid-thirties, has an established reputation as an actor, a dramatist, and a film and stage director. He is a close student of British characteristics and, indeed, of the characteristics of many nations, and he has visited the Council of Europe 10 at Strasbourg as a special correspondent for the BBC. Of course, the differences between one people and another—national foibles and idiosyncrasies—are always a great field for argument. You remember the famous Mrs. Gamp who said, “Some may be Russians and others may be Prussians—they are born so and will please themselves. Them which is of other natures thinks different.” I suppose that today most people in this country would, well, reject the smug nationalism in Mrs. Gamp’s words. Would you agree with them Russell?

RUSSELL: I should agree with them in rejecting it, certainly. I should say that in her day England had secured naval supremacy and could afford to be insolent; and when we lost naval supremacy we could not afford to be so insolent, and those who acquired it got that prerogative. I should say that is how it worked. I think of course it is not true that national characteristics have anything to do with congenital character—they have to do with your circumstances, your education and so forth, and therefore they fluctuate from time to time.

LUSTGARTEN: So would you think it is a simple sort of indigenous expression—it is environment and not heredity that does it—is that it, Russell?

RUSSELL: Yes, that is what I think.

30 LUSTGARTEN: Ustinov?

USTINOV: Yes, except that I remember during the war meeting an English Colonel in Algiers—it was near the end of the war—who suddenly told me after he had drunk a little Algerian hock that the war had taught him one great lesson; and there were some Americans present who, having entered the war perhaps a little more recently and with great idealistic fervour, had their ears wide open, and he said the lesson is never to go south of Dover again. So I do not think that “Gampism” is quite dead in spite of naval supremacy. I would have said that heredity plays its part because I think that the climate and size of a country has a great deal to do with it, which cannot be dissociated from heredity. It seems to me that, for instance, the Russians’ character has a great deal to do with their inability until recently to conquer distance. In that they have something in common with the Chinese—they are not a bit like the Japanese who I would say personally are much more like the British in many ways, and for very much the same geographical reason.

LUSTGARTEN: Muggeridge?

MUGGERIDGE: Of course it is obviously true that people living in different countries and speaking different languages do produce certain characteristics, and fortunately for everybody who is engaged in this awful trade of humour they provide subjects for jokes, which is a thing that I would be the last man on earth to wish not to exist.

LUSTGARTEN: You have got a trade interest in it, have you?

MUGGERIDGE: A very big trade interest, and it would be the most terrible thing if it ever came to an end. But I think when you get to the bottom of it, it is awfully doubtful how far it really exists. In other words, I would put it this way with regard to “Gampism”, that probably there is ninety-five-percent of human beings that is just human beings; and then you have five-percent added on to that which may be produced by geographical or social circumstances and may be produced—and I throw this out as a possibility—by the desire to conform with an expressed idea of 20 what you ought to be like, if you see what I mean. I remember very well when I was living in India years and years ago how many Englishmen living there were really, although not consciously, trying to be like the Englishmen in Kipling. Now, you may say well, did Kipling express that idea of Englishmen because they were like that, or did they become like that because they read Kipling? I suspect the latter.

RUSSELL: I agree with you; I think imitation is the main source of the more obvious national characteristics. It depends who your national hero is: if you have one sort of national hero you imitate him and become that sort of person; another sort of national hero, you become another sort of 30 person. Now, Francis Drake has always been an English hero, and he played bowls and therefore we seem to be always playing a game when there is a war on.

LUSTGARTEN: Well why did they make him their hero, Russell? That is the really interesting point. Why did the English select somebody like Drake?

RUSSELL: Because he happened to be very useful to us at a great crisis. But I mean it is more or less a fluke what is the character of a man who is useful to the nation at a crisis. But when the man is useful like that, you then make him an ideal and you copy him. 40

USTINOV: Take a thing like the whole sort of mythology of Texas in the United States—there is a whole mythology, and jokes and literature about Texas. I always felt the Texan is a man who is feeling that he ought to be a Texan. I mean, if you had not had that mythology, if you had not had those jokes, he might have just been quite a different sort of person, as the equally legendary man from Missouri feels that he has got to be a man from Missouri.

MUGGERIDGE: Oh, very much so. How many Englishmen have been created by Galsworthy? I hate the idea but I have to admit that a very, very large number of Englishmen have, in fact, been created in clothes, in manner of speech, in habits, by Galsworthy.

LUSTGARTEN: We are all looking at each other, I am afraid.

10 MUGGERIDGE: Yes we are—with reason.

USTINOV: But to revert to my Colonel, I think that he could have said quite easily, because he was British, that he would never go south of Dover again. It would be much more difficult for a French Colonel to say he would never go east of Strasbourg again, or a Russian Colonel to say he would never go west of Minsk again, because those frontiers have always been, throughout history, much more fluid than the English frontier, and I think that has obviously played its part. The reference to Francis Drake; he was the gentleman that played bowls, did he not? That was not Raleigh, was it?

20 LUSTGARTEN: No, Raleigh was the cloak and Drake was the bowls.

USTINOV: Yes, I think he said: “There’s time to finish this game of bowls and beat the Spaniards afterwards.” I have personally been convinced that what has not been kept

by history is the answer, which was somebody pointing out, “no, you haven’t got time to finish it. If you don’t get into that boat this instant the Spaniards will be there”, and Drake probably agreed. I do not think he ever finished that game of bowls. I think it entered into history because the British like not to be fathomed. I noticed that the other day when I was at that traditional corner of Marble Arch where the speakers are, and there was a coloured student from Central Africa who was holding forth about the British and attacking them for being a very big catalogue of faults—that they were dirty, that they were mendacious, that they were not to be trusted in any way; and suddenly that was too much for an old Colonel who interrupted him and said:

“Wherever you travel in the wide world you will not find a more upright character than the Englishman”, upon which the crowd turned on the Colonel and said, “shut-up”, in order to allow the African to continue. And I am sure that was because the Colonel had put his cards on the table and that was exactly where they did not want them to be. And I think the same is true of Drake—I think it is the untrue thing that has gone down in 40 history; I am sure he did not finish that game.

RUSSELL: Well...I do agree with you about the game. I always thought it was a myth—one of those creative myths.

LUSTGARTEN: A thing that has always astonished me about the feeling of nationhood is that, if you belong to a family and they are all, say, notorious drunkards, or they all commit murders, you are very ashamed of them, and you do not rush about saying “I belong to a family which is full of drunkards and murderers.” But whatever your national characteristics are—and I think this is almost without exception, is it not Russell?—you do boast about them abroad, whatever they are. Now, why should the spirit of nationhood seize upon people in that way?

RUSSELL: Oh, I think that is natural enough. But I do not think they would boast of being cowards and to running away in battle.

LUSTGARTEN: Well no nation, I suppose, would admit that it was a cowardly nation and to running away in battle.

MUGGERIDGE: But they might have things in their history which indicate that they were; they would not necessarily create their mythology, although it is interesting that you can get derisory characters, such as Don Quixote, who are accepted as symbols of a nation, and who are used for that purpose. I would like to make two points here about this whole thing. One is the case of America, where, after all, nationality and national characteristics are swallowed up extremely quickly in one generation, which suggests to me that they are not enormously strong; and the other is that you nearly always find the most marked expressions of national characteristics and the most marked emotional mood of nationalism in people who, in fact, do not belong to that nation at all. I remember discussing this once with Michael Arlen—a good example because, as you all know, he was an Armenian—and he said to me that “When I was living in England and I altered my name to Arlen, I was always an Armenian”. That was the point: everybody said he has altered his name to Arlen but still he is an Armenian. Now, his children in America—and I happened to meet them and they were absolutely charming children—it was quite impossible to know they were not American, and no-one would ever have said, “these children are Armenians”. They would have said, “they are American”. In other words, this very strong national characteristic of Armenia—with all the jokes about carpet selling and all the rest of it, which Michael enjoys more than anybody on earth—were obliterated in one generation, suggesting to me it is not very strong.

USTINOV: Oh, I think America is not—I must make it clear that I have not yet changed my name to Austin—but I think America is a different case because there it is really a virgin territory opening to a whole lot of people. It is really the revenge of Europe on Europe's...it seems to me. They have acquired a national characteristic faster than anybody could have believed possible. It is far easier to tell an American in the street than 40 to know whether he is of Swedish or Italian origin; you know he is American from the way he walks, even.

MUGGERIDGE: Yes, that supports my point, does it not?

USTINOV: It does in a way, but I think it also has to do with the size of the country because when you had the Russian and the American Olympic Teams fraternizing, and you covered the names with your hand, I guarantee that you would get sixty-percent of them wrong, because it is something to do with belonging to a large country, with endless vistas—they look different—and if you divorce their peculiarities of military costume from their bodies in a town like Berlin, and you see the way that they are standing on street corners waiting for something to happen, I promise you that there is something much more in common between an American 10 and a Russian stance than there is between the British and French privates standing around waiting for something to happen.

MUGGERIDGE: But that might be to do with all sorts of other things. I would be rather inclined to agree with you.

USTINOV: But I think also that language comes into it. I think language is a very strange thing, because Albion, I think, has acquired a reputation in some quarters for being perfidious largely because English is such a rich and rambling and vague language that it is practically untranslatable into an accurate language like French. I mean, English is the ideal language for Treaties because the door is perpetually left ajar (LAUGHTER) and you can 20 always say you did not quite mean that.

LUSTGARTEN: Perhaps that accounts for the English making more treaties than any other nation.

USTINOV: Of course, it is the natural language for treaties.

LUSTGARTEN: I think there is more or less agreement between us that this business of national feeling is based very much more upon environment than upon heredity. This is how Russell started off, but you behave according to a certain pattern which exists around you, rather than behaving automatically, because you derive from heredity. If that is agreed, what I would like to know is, who originally institutes the patterns which form 30 in nations? Because if Frenchmen behave like Frenchmen according to the pattern around them, and Englishmen like Englishmen according to the pattern around them, who has first of all imposed the pattern, or how has it grown? Russell?

RUSSELL: Well, my answer is what I suggested before, that it depends upon the characteristics of some national hero, obviously useful as a crisis, and....

LUSTGARTEN: You mean it belongs as a sort of explosion over one hero?

RUSSELL: Yes, I think he descends down. That is the sort of man you are brought up to admire. You are told, "Oh yes, that's very fine", like the 40 man I read in a novel the other day about an Englishman who had got the Military Cross and all the decorations there are. A thundershower comes on, and they say, "you had better run", and he says, "Oh I've never run, except away from the Germans." Now that, I feel, is a rather English remark.

MUGGERIDGE: In a way it is quite an amusing remark. What I think happens is that people think that is an amusing remark—an English remark—and they then go and

make remarks like it. I mean, everybody says those are the characteristic English remarks. Take a person like Voltaire. I mean, there have been innumerable sorts of minute Voltaires; or you take a book—one of my favourite books—it must be known very well to you, which is *Dead Souls*, which establishes the character of various regional Russians in the most marvellous way. I am quite sure that enormous numbers of people subsequently, because of Gogol, have been like that, and in being like that have thought I am a typical Caucasian; I am a typical Ukrainian; I am a typical White Russian.

USTINOV: But that book, in order to have been a success, at the beginning must have made people recognize the truth of those things. They must have been there, to some extent.

MUGGERIDGE: Oh, to some extent, I agree. It is a delicate thing of how the two things interact.

LUSTGARTEN: Yes. That problem comes very much to the fore, I think, with films, and the influence of film starts on female attire and things like that. You see it even more, with even greater clarity, with the rock and roll—I mean, which comes first, the rock or the roll?

MUGGERIDGE: I must say that when I was very young I lived among Indians in south India—quite by myself, as it happened—and these people could not have been stranger to me when I arrived among them. But by the time I had been there a year they did not seem to me to be in any way different. In other words, if one becomes completely habituated, living among people who are quite different, do you get like them—who knows?

LUSTGARTEN: Or you take them for granted.

USTINOV: Do you find a new arrival to England strange then, or does he find you strange?

MUGGERIDGE: I think it simply is—going back to my original point—that, as ninety-five percent of human beings is human beings having the same passions, the same essential interests, that the oddity of them—their clothes and idiom—the moment that it becomes familiar, ceases to strike one at all, and it is in fact obliterated. And I think exactly the same thing happens to a class—precisely the same thing, which is a suitably comparable problem. You have this thing of different classes, and the behaviour of different classes, and the dress of different classes. But one of the interesting things about being in the army as a private is that you live in a barracks hut with sixteen people who are quite different. And you initially go in there and you think they are very funny and different—or they think you are very funny and different—and after a little while you become habituated and you find that they are, in fact, just sixteen human beings.

LUSTGARTEN: I am still fascinated by the reason why you get this difference. Russell has said that you get it because a nation, as it were, elects almost in its own mind a national hero at a particular moment, based almost on expediency; that the national hero is a person that is required at that moment. Would you agree with that, Ustinov?

USTINOV: Up to a point, but what I would really like to know is if that is the true principle. If we take the French, for example, Muggeridge; now, they are as nationally conscious as any nation I have ever come across, highly conscious of their own nationality. Who was the hero who invented the French nation?

MUGGERIDGE: Well, Napoleon invented the modern French nation. I mean, an enormous lot of it is derived from that, and you could trace it from that. But even in

the case of the French, a people with these immensely strongly marked characteristics, who have become a butt of both jokes and respect—so that a certain type of writer will say the French are logical or French women are beautiful or Frenchmen are so funny because they must have wine, or things like that. It is all complete “boloney” really. 20 They happen to live in a country in which there is a lot of wine, and they drink it.

RUSSELL: Well I think this is something more. I mean, take this question of the French. Now, Voltaire went out of his way to avoid the crudities of nationalism and tried very hard to be, as it were, cosmopolitan. When he writes *The Princess of Babylon*, the lover of the Princess of Babylon has a misunderstanding, and he flies, and his heart is broken, and he goes round the world, and everywhere he remains faithful and sighs for her, until he comes to the French ladies of the Opera. And that is too much for him, and he does not stand against that. I mean his cosmo30 politanism does not stand against that.

LUSTGARTEN: No doubt they were very nice.

USTINOV: I think there was an interesting point earlier, which Muggeridge made, about foreigners becoming more absorbed into a society.

MUGGERIDGE: To an exaggerated degree.

USTINOV: To an exaggerated degree. There is a sort of evidence in that three of the most outstanding dictators recently have not belonged to the nation which they have taken over, such as Napoleon, who was really Corsican—I mean, it is an Italian name—Hitler and Stalin.

MUGGERIDGE: Or the Irish struggle, which was an even more fascinat40 ing one because there has been no—I suppose—myth of national characteristics put over more strongly than the Irish. And yet the leader of the Irish, the man who led to independence, was De Valera who I think was one quarter Irish, and the man who resisted on our behalf in Belfast—Carson—was Italian, Carsoni.

USTINOV: At the present time it is Costello, which is hardly Gaelic, is it?

MUGGERIDGE: I think it is a splendid thing, and it is great fun, and it is very nice that we should say that Spaniards are proud, and Italians are gay, and Russians are sombre, and all these different things, but I do not believe it is true.

LUSTGARTEN: Let us see if we can work up some sort of balance sheet on this. For a long time now, probably this half-century, nationalism—strong feeling of nationality—has come under the disapproval of intellectuals. There has been a great deal of nationalism, a strong feeling that nationalism has caused this war and that war; it has caused half the 10 trouble that we have had to suffer and so forth. Now, do you sense, Muggeridge, that there is a sort of slight coming back into the picture of nationalism; that now a lot of intellectuals are saying, well, a great deal of the outstanding cultural achievements of our time have resulted from a national framework, from a national soil, from a national source?

MUGGERIDGE: Well, I think it is quite possible. I could give you a rather homely example, bearing out what you say has occurred to nationalism, which is very present to me week by week, and that is in the matter of cartoons. You see, the old tradition of the cartoon was to have a figure which symbolized the nation. Britain was John Bull—this large farmer sort 20 of chap; France was Marianne; America was Uncle Sam—a rather lean man with a pointed beard. And increasingly all those symbols have been dropped, even by the most old-fashioned cartoonists, because it is recognized that in fact they do not express what that nation stands for. And it is increasingly difficult to produce a symbol of a nation for cartooning purposes. It is still done in *Krokodil*

funnily enough, because *Krokodil* is in many ways a very old-fashioned magazine. But in the rest of the world it is very rare and it is very difficult to invent a symbolic figure of a nation, which seems to me to represent an awareness of the fact that national characteristics cannot be embodied in an individual. 30

RUSSELL: I think up to a point I agree with you, but my view is that the supposed national characteristics that one nation will attribute to another are, to a much larger degree than most people think, bound up with political circumstances. Now, when I was young, the Irish were known for making bulls—they said things that were a little absurd, rather laughable—and the moment the Irish achieved independence their character changed and they were not doing that sort of thing any more. Now, the French, until the year 1904, used to eat frogs. From 1904 until 1940, they did not eat frogs, and I think that the characteristics that we attribute to a nation depend upon our political relations with them to a much greater 40 degree than most people think.

LUSTGARTEN: Do you mean, Russell, that the Irish at one time made bulls and then stopped making them, or that people said they made bulls and they never made them at all?

RUSSELL: Oh, they said they made them, and they said they did not say they had stopped—just ceased to mention—bulls. I mean, everybody makes bulls occasionally, but they were more attributed to the Irish. Another thing: I think that if you read Emerson's account of his visit to Manchester, he criticizes the people of Manchester. The things he says against the people of Manchester are precisely those which a modern patriotic Britain would say against Americans—precisely to a "T".

LUSTGARTEN: Yes?

MUGGERIDGE: In other words you are really suggesting. Lord Russell, 10 that this idea we have of nationality is almost entirely based on a power relationship.

RUSSELL: That is what I think.

MUGGERIDGE: Well I think it certainly plays its part. I do not think it is wholly explained by it. I do not think, for instance—if you take it in terms of within a country—if you take the Welsh and the Scotch and the English here and all the humour and mythology that has grown up about the difference between those people: that is not a power relationship. It is simply, I think, the desire to dramatize and simplify other people, and what they are like, and what one feels about them. And whenever any 20 thing fundamental happens, such as, for instance, falling in love or religion or something like that, all that completely disappears. And nobody who has ever made love—had the good fortune to make love—to a lady not of his own nationality, after a very short time the fundamental aspects of that emotion far outweigh any trivial sense he might have that she is this or that nationality.

RUSSELL: I do not agree with you quite in choosing marriage. I think when it is choosing marriage, the difference of nationality is very apt to be quite important.

MUGGERIDGE: I am afraid I was not actually thinking of marriage. 30 (TALKING TOGETHER)

LUSTGARTEN: Just before we finish this there is one question I would like to put, and I would like to hear the answers of all three of you if I may. It is this: we have just been surveying the various aspects of nationality and the characteristics which flow from it. If you could suddenly make a snap decision and you could suddenly say, "We'll preserve the spirit of nationality in the world or we'll remove it, we'll destroy it, we'll do away with nations, we'll cut down the frontiers and the barriers—not merely artificially in the sense of customs, but we'll just destroy the concept of nationality

that exists in men's minds", do you think we would be better off if it 40 were destroyed or would we be better to keep it? Muggeridge?

MUGGERIDGE: You want me to answer that?

LUSTGARTEN: I would love you to.

MUGGERIDGE: Well with all respect, it is a completely unreal question, because in as far as nationality exists it cannot be destroyed. Insofar as I firmly believe it is in fact disappearing, on the whole, I think it will produce a more agreeable world. It seems to me perfectly obvious that it is in fact going, disappearing.

LUSTGARTEN: Would you say that of Asia?

MUGGERIDGE: Yes. I suspect that in spite of these intense movements of nationalism, the division of the world into sovereign nationalist states is an outmoded thing. We may not live to see the end of it, but it is going.

LUSTGARTEN: Russell?

RUSSELL: I think you must distinguish between cultural and political matters. From the point of view of politics and of economics, nationalism is an unmixed evil. Culturally I think it is not, and if I had the power I should wish to see nationalism survive culturally in literature and art but not survive politically or economically. I know that is an impossible thing, but that is what I should wish to see.

LUSTGARTEN: Yes. Ustinov?

USTINOV: Yes, I think that is absolutely true. I think also, in the world of sport and international competition, in every way it is much more exciting to see an international competition than a whole lot of people of indeterminate nationalities running against each other. 20

LUSTGARTEN: Well what it seems to add up to is this: that whether we like it or not we have got to put up with nationality, and putting up with nationality really involves putting up with other nations because it is a fairly common principle that we all like our own and we hardly ever like the nations that live around us. The whole thing is really summarized by another Dickens character, Mr. Podsnap, when he said, "foreign nations I'm sorry to say do as they do do", and we have got to be resigned, I think, to the fact that they are going to go on doing it.

## The Role of Great Men in History [1956]

LUSTGARTEN: In this edition of *London Forum* Lord Hailsham and 30 Bertrand Russell are joined by Isaiah Berlin, who is a Fellow of All Souls College at Oxford, a distinction once shared by Lord Hailsham. Mr. Berlin has been University Lecturer in Philosophy, and during the war he worked at the British Embassy in Washington, and later in Moscow. We are going to discuss today the role of great men in history, and I would like to put before you as a text a sentence from *A History of the English Speaking Peoples* by Sir Winston Churchill, himself perhaps the greatest man of our age. Sir Winston talks of the way the Saxons nearly succumbed completely to the Danish attacks, and says: "That they did not was due, as almost every critical turn of historic fortune has been due, 40 to the sudden apparition in an era of confusion and decay of one of the great figures of history." I am no professional historian, but it seems to me that in that sentence Churchill is stating clearly what his philosophy of history is. Do you agree with Sir Winston?

RUSSELL: I do not take the extreme views that he does, nor do I take the extreme opposite view. I think that sometimes when a great man is called for by the situation he arises, and sometimes he does not. There are quite a number of cases in history where a great man could have saved a desperate situation, but no great man arose. I will instance the fall of the Roman 10 Empire as a case in point.

BERLIN: I agree with Lord Russell entirely. Living as we do in an age when we are told that impersonal factors play greater parts in human events than individuals it is rather important to emphasize that it is not always so. I should have thought that it was fairly plain that if, say, Lenin had been murdered before February of 1917, it is very unlikely the Russian Revolution, the second Russian Revolution, would have taken place, and in this way the fate of the world would have been very different. I agree about the Roman Empire, too; I think there are a great many cases.

LUSTGARTEN: I wonder whether we are doing Sir Winston justice in this 20 text; I think I ought to repeat it. What he said was that the fact that the Saxons did not succumb to the Danish attacks was due, as almost every critical turn of historic fortune has been due, to the emergence of a great figure. It seems to me that what has been said so far is: "Sometimes no great figures appear, therefore no critical turn in historical fortunes." Is that right, Hailsham?

HAILSHAM: I think that is exactly what Russell and Berlin have been saying, and I must say—speaking as a layman—I am most delighted and not a little surprised to find them saying it, because it seems to me that if they are right they are going against nearly all the great historical theorists 30 of all times. Marxism is a very prevalent philosophy of history: they contradict that at every turn. Take somebody who is as different from Marx as chalk is from cheese, Professor Toynbee, Plato, Augustine—they all have the theory that history is patterned in some predetermined way, and it follows from that, if they are right, that great men play a comparatively subordinate part. Economic forces, the great historical movements, control the destiny of peoples and not the individual men. It is delightful to hear these two great experts differ.

RUSSELL: I should like to expand a little on this point. I do not think that great events are always in the hands of great men; I think the fall of the Roman Empire is a case in point. It was certainly a very great event in human history, and there were no great men either on the Roman side or on the side of the barbarians. They were not great, they were confused; and the whole thing was confused. St. Augustine was a great man; I think he did have a very profound influence on the thoughts of people from his own day down to nearly our own day, and in that sense he was a great man, but he had no effect upon the course of events at all. He died while the Vandals were besieging Hippo, of which he was bishop, and he had no effect upon politics at all.

LUSTGARTEN: I am awfully anxious either to vindicate or to destroy this thesis of Sir Winston Churchill's. Let us put it into reverse to test it: if he said that almost every critical turn of historical fortune was due to the appearance of a great man, let us put it into reverse and say: have there been many cases of a critical turning in historical fortunes which have not been due to the appearance of a great man?

BERLIN: I wish I were a better historian than I am, to be able to answer this. What has been regarded as the greatest turning in historical fortunes? Let us say, for example, the French Revolution. It is very difficult to discern in the French Revolution the work of any one great man or even any collection of great men. The Russian Revolution started as nothing at all, as far as I can tell. It is exceedingly difficult to see who the great men were in—let us say—February 1917, or even who the small men were in 1917, to whom this great turn of fortune could be directly attributed. 20

LUSTGARTEN: Berlin, do you differ from Russell on this point, because you made the point in an earlier contribution that if there had been no Lenin the whole picture in Russia would have been different from 1917 onwards. Would you still say that?

BERLIN: I agree entirely with that, of course. If Lenin had not come upon the scene things would have been totally different. Still, even the first revolution of 1917, which Lenin was not responsible for, was an immense overturn, and seems to have sprung up from no personal roots at all.

HAILSHAM: I think one could argue the case on the other side. The 30 French Revolution, people would say, was due to the rise of a middle class in France able to challenge the aristocracy. Even the fall of the Roman Empire, people would say, was due to the undue burden of the military machine going on century after century, resulting in high taxation. After all, there were a number of great men in the latter days of the Roman Empire. I suppose Stilicho and Belisarius were great men in their way and had to some extent an influence on events, but they were overborne by the pressure of events which were too much for them: the regime collapsed from its own weakness.

RUSSELL: I do not agree with the expression "pressure of events". The Roman Empire collapsed undoubtedly through fiscal troubles, but those fiscal troubles would not have existed if there had been a single great man capable of understanding finance, and there was not one. There were great men in that age, but they were Christian great men, occupied with Christian matters, and could not be bothered with politics.

HAILSHAM: I certainly agree with Russell in this: when you find an age in which the great men become preoccupied with metaphysical problems only and forswear politics you do get the one great man besieged in his little town in North Africa, and unable to lift a finger to stay the tide of events. But I am wondering whether the Marxist would not say that all the crucial movements of history such as the rise of the Roman Empire

were 10 not due in part to the great economic development of mankind, perhaps, even the tactics of the armies, the institution of slavery, and the need to supply the slave markets of the Middle East; and whether these factors did not have as much to do with both the rise and the fall of the Roman Empire as the smaller matters of finance and the preoccupation of Christian philosophers with questions of metaphysics.

LUSTGARTEN: Russell, help me about this if you would. When I was a child my history books always contained an endless account of kings and battles, and great men and heroes and villains. I always identified history in my own mind with the isolated hero. Do you think the reaction has 20 gone too far with modern times—that you never have the isolated hero at all?

RUSSELL: It has gone too far. But there is another point which has not yet been raised: the man who has the most profound influence on events is not the politician or general who appears on the stage of history but the man who makes some new technical invention. The mariner's compass might quite easily have been invented at a much earlier stage than it was, and it was the compass that gave the West that control over the East which it just lately lost. The compass was enormously important: we do not know who invented it, but he was far more important than any of the 30 politicians. So I should say about the Greeks: by far the most important of all Greeks was Pythagoras, whose very existence is doubtful, but he apparently invented mathematics, and it was this invention that was the chief contribution of the Greek civilization.

HAILSHAM: Is it more than a coincidence that the existence of Pythagoras is doubtful and nobody knows who invented the compass? May it not be the case that Pythagoras is a name we give to a number of relatively small men working together in an economic situation; and that the mariner's compass was evolved bit by bit by a number of quite ordinary skippers on the coast of Europe?

40 RUSSELL: I do not think that is a tenable view; certainly not in the case of mathematics, which I know more about than I do about the compass. Take, for instance, Plato's dialogue, *Theaetetus*, where Theaetetus appears as a young man. If you do not read the history of mathematics you may not realize that Theaetetus discovered the proof that there are exactly five regular solids and no more. This was a thing of very great importance, which is at the basis of Plato's *Timaeus*, and has an enormous importance in the whole of history.

BERLIN: I would agree. We have perhaps confined ourselves too exclusively to men of action and not considered thinkers and inventors. But Marxism having been mentioned, I suppose Marxists ought to be given a fair run for their money—a short run. What would they say to this? They would say: "Great men are, of course, very essential, but they only invent their inventions at an appropriate moment of history when the economic conditions call for it." The great instance they always produce is the 10 steam-engine, which was alleged to have been invented in Alexandria but, as the world was not ripe, it did not produce any consequences.

RUSSELL: I do not think you can believe anything the Marxists say about that sort of matter: they have a thesis, and whoever has a thesis will falsify facts to suit it. I do not want to maintain either of these two theses: I think they are both wrong. To take Churchill's remark about great men who resisted the Danes: after all, there was no great man who resisted William the Conqueror, and why not?

LUSTGARTEN: This brings us to a rather topical point, because the Marxists—which means primarily at the present time the Soviet Union—20 have been having a fine old discussion about the cult of personality in the past few months.

HAILSHAM: That certainly is very much in the picture. It always struck me as something of a paradox that Marxism, which above all things is determinist and believes that economic events should determine the whole course of human history, should have been so easily captured by the dream of this dictator, Stalin, this father figure, at whom they are so busy flinging mud now. I, who believe in free will and in great men and other purely bourgeois concepts of that kind, was delighted to see that they saw the fallacy of it at long last. But I believe that Stalin was a great man, al30 though a very bad one.

RUSSELL: But, look, Stalin and all the rest of them were not comparable in importance to mankind with the atomic physicists who discovered how to kill us all off. The physicists were far more important, far greater men, if you judge by their importance. And the whole importance of the Soviet Union is due to inventions made by scientists.

BERLIN: I do not know that I really would support that fully. I do not know how the rewards are to be divided. I should have thought that famed great men of action of the most brutal and violent kind have had at least as much effect as men like Lenin, in fact, as even the great discoverers, in the 40 sense that men who can transform the lives of so many human beings, kill so many men, and force so many men to alter their ideas so radically probably will have as great an effect on the history of mankind as even the most earth-shaking theoretical inventions.

LUSTGARTEN: Do you think it is possible that the situation is changing slightly as the world moves on, that the technologist is gradually acquiring the priority position as the great man?

HAILSHAM: No, I think it always had the measure of truth that it has now. The alphabet, for instance, was only invented once by an unknown gentleman always given the mythical name of Cadmus. There is the system of arithmetic which depends on the zero figure invented originally by the Hindus, and transmitted to Europe by means of the Arabs. This was another great technological invention which revolutionized life. I would 10 also like to put in a word for the thinkers, for Plato and Aristotle, Augustine and Boethius. After all, it is only about once every 2,000 years that one of those fellows is born, and the world goes on using the copper coinage which these minted for their thoughts for about a millennium and a half before anyone else thinks of anything new to say.

RUSSELL: I think it is quite true that people go on repeating these formulas. But what puzzles me is: would it make any difference if they repeated somebody else's formulas? I cannot see that it would.

LUSTGARTEN: I think I have allowed the philosophers sufficient time in this discussion merely to philosophize. As chairman I am going to use the 20 position that I have, perhaps quite unscrupulously, to try to drag it down to my level, which is in terms of personalities and nothing more or less. Now, Russell, could we come down to talking about the great men that we have known in our own generation? Was I right in my claim for Sir Winston Churchill, that he was perhaps the greatest man of our time?

RUSSELL: I should not quite say that. I have a very great admiration for him and I think him a very great man, but I do not think him as great a man as Einstein.

LUSTGARTEN: Would you perhaps go a little further, because here we have got the two now slated, Winston Churchill and Einstein? Would you 30 perhaps suggest to us in generalizations why Einstein is greater?

RUSSELL: Because Einstein put into the world a new way of thinking about a very fundamental matter, which is the nature of space-time phenomena. It takes some time

for that to reach the general public, but it will in time. After all, the things we take for granted like the difference between mind and matter—that was once a philosopher's paradox. Now it seems to us a commonplace. All this will ultimately reach the general public and will alter their way of viewing the general world.

BERLIN: Far be it from me to decry Einstein, who was obviously one of the greatest geniuses of all time. I am not sure that one ought not to introduce a distinction between men of genius, even men of very great genius, and great men. The great men are a romantic concept which was really produced comparatively late in human thought, and it means men who have produced a really great impact on their fellow human beings during their lifetime. I do not know whether one would call Mozart a great man; there is no possible doubt that he was a marvellous genius. But I should have thought "a great man" would be reserved for human beings who had hypnotised other human beings in certain ways and bound their spell upon them, whether for good or for evil.

HAILSHAM: It is awfully difficult to weigh up one great man against another. It is rather like trying to decide whether a man who wins a race is more or less efficient than somebody who makes a good speech. The characteristic of great men is that they specialize, and, in order to coequate them, you have got to equate them somehow in their specialist and wholly divergent greatnesses. For instance, I had tea with Mr. Gandhi; I also have had tea with Sir Winston Churchill. I should find it almost impossible to compare the two: they were utterly different; and they were both remarkable people to have tea with in many ways.

LUSTGARTEN: I was not really seeking to place our great contemporaries in order of greatness, but merely to try and find out who you thought they were.

RUSSELL: There is Lenin. I think Lenin was a very great man indeed. I disapprove of what he did, but he was a very great man for quite different reasons than Einstein. If I had to set a criterion it would be: how different would the world be if this man had not existed?

LUSTGARTEN: Would you add Hitler to the list?

RUSSELL: No, because he was a flash in the pan: he was a temporary phenomenon; he has gone.

BERLIN: I would disagree with Russell on Hitler. I think by that criterion Hitler has altered our world in a very profound and perhaps extremely deleterious way. He has altered the history of Europe in a very profound and, I should have thought, decisive way. If that were the criterion, any large destructive individual would have to be included.

HAILSHAM: I would like to put in a word for the unknown great man. Both of you test your criterion of greatness by the impact the great man has on subsequent events. May it not be that the true criterion of greatness is the possession of some one characteristic in rather more than human degree? It may well be that the greatest man of our time is quite modestly existing, unknown to his fellow men, and will have no effect whatever on anybody who subsequently lives after him.

RUSSELL: That would require a different criterion of greatness from what I want to have. He might be a man whom, if I did know of him, I should profoundly admire. I might admire him more than anybody I do know of. That I should agree with.

BERLIN: I think that is really an empirical statement: that a great many great men have in fact produced their impact through having certain characteristics exaggerated beyond normal human span. This is what is very depressing about a great many great

men: that they are exaggerated and fanatical persons who lack a great many ordinary characteristics but compensate this lack by these exaggerated aspects, exaggerated simplicity in vision, colossal blindness to a great many aspects of life, which enables them to ride rough-shod over what other people would have seen as obstacles, but they do not see at all.

HAILSHAM: They do combine enormous faults with considerable virtues and talents. I think that is almost one of the criteria of greatness; the extraordinarily unbalanced and extreme degree with which they seem to pursue the particular light which comes upon them. But the other criterion which I put forward is originality. For centuries men go fumbling along with hoes and hand-tools, and then somebody invents a machine, or else, in the military sphere, somebody invents a Macedonian phalanx, and the whole history of the world is altered. In religion, science, philosophy, or poetry somebody suddenly invents a new technique. Where it comes from one does not know, but that is what constitutes greatness.

RUSSELL: I should agree about the originality, but not about the extremism. Abraham Lincoln was undoubtedly a very great man, but I do not think he was unbalanced in any degree. One could say the same of Leonardo da Vinci: I do not think he was unbalanced at all.

LUSTGARTEN: We are getting very close to agreement on criteria, except in one respect—Berlin, you are with us?

BERLIN: I would not agree. I do not say that all great men are unbalanced; I merely wish to say that certain forms of unbalance appear to help towards certain forms of greatness, but not originality. What about Lenin, if he was a great man? It is very, very difficult for me to see where, if in any respect, he was original at all. Certainly not as a thinker: he was a childish thinker.

LUSTGARTEN: Well, we certainly cannot hope to solve in a brief half-hour all the problems which have been argued for centuries by philosophers and historians.

## Is an Élite Necessary? [1956]

MUGGERIDGE: I AM terribly sceptical about this whole business of an élite. Of course I think in any sort of society, whatever its nature, you get people who have an enormous desire for power and they will grab power—they will find some means of getting it. If it is a money society, they will get a lot of money, and if it is a Communist society, they will become members of the Communist Party and get power. The thing in them is the desire for power. But I am terribly sceptical about this idea that you can sit down and say, “We want an élite, that is how we’re going to produce it.”

JAMES: It is not only political power. It is really in some ways the setting of values and standards for the rest of society. I disagree, I think, probably with Muggeridge over this. He has shown the whole weakness of the people who say “We don’t want an élite” by admitting that some people will grab power. I think the fundamental point about a democracy is that it must organize itself in such a way that the right people—the people who deserve it, who will exercise it rightly—have the positions of authority.

MUGGERIDGE: Well I think that is crying for the moon. 10

RUSSELL: I think the desire for power is by no means evidence that a man ought to have power. Quite clearly Hitler had an enormous desire for power and it did not do any good that he should have it. What you want is some way of sifting out people according to their capacity to do a job, but I do not think that it ought to apply to the politician. I think that politics in a narrower sense ought to be still the place where the plain man’s opinions count. I think it is the executive jobs where you want the élite.

JAMES: I entirely agree, because in the classical idea of the élite, I mean Plato’s *Republic*, there his guardians specifically do not want power, it is one of their characteristics of course, rightly or wrongly. 20

MUGGERIDGE: Well I do not want to be purely obstructionist but I think that in any circumstances it would be terribly easy to define, as Plato did, the sort of people you want as your élite, and I know exactly that I would like to be governed always by humane, kindly, delightful, intelligent people, but I think that when you have said that, you have said absolutely nothing. In fact that is not how the world works, and I myself am terribly sceptical about this idea that you sit down and say “Now if we can produce people who have passed this exam, or people who have passed this intelligence test, or people who are born into this particular class, that is our élite.” 30

RUSSELL: I agree with you as against Plato’s guardians because I think Plato was quite unrealistic in supposing that the guardians would not grab power. I think they would have grabbed power and presently, as one has seen in Russia, they will also grab money. I said in 1920 that Russia was exactly Plato’s *Republic* and it shocked the Platonists and shocked the Russians, but I still think it was true.

MUGGERIDGE: And enormously to your credit that you said it in my humble opinion.

RUSSELL: When I was in Russia in 1920 they complained that the only people they could get to do the work of bank clerks were ordinary seamen 40 because everybody

else was against the banks and of course the ordinary seamen did not do the sums right.

JAMES: What is your alternative, Muggerridge, to this idea? I mean are you just going to leave those setting of standards for the whole society, the possession of this executive power, that Russell was talking about, are you going to leave that just to the naked operation of the market?

MUGGERIDGE: In a sense yes. I myself take the view that power is an abhorrent thing, and it is a most unfortunate circumstance of life that it is necessary to have people to exert power. I would much prefer to live in a world in which that was not so, but since I have to recognize that it is so, I am inclined to think that what you have got to do is to let those people 10 who want it and want it desperately get it, and I think that all your arrangements, which of course nowadays are very popular, for training people and picking them out and having intelligence tests and character tests, ultimately will prove a complete failure.

JAMES: But I am sure that your whole idea of power is much too narrow a one. You are thinking of it entirely in terms of political power.

MUGGERIDGE: I am not.

JAMES: In the modern set up what you have got to think of is the administrator—professional administrator—who is not obviously a sort of man who loves power or enjoys the exercise of it. You have got further the 20 scientist and the technologist. You have got further the person who in the aesthetic and general culture field sets the standard for a great ignorant democracy. Now those people are exercising great power.

MUGGERIDGE: I quite agree.

JAMES: But they do not call it power.

MUGGERIDGE: I do not think you can choose them.

RUSSELL: Take a perfectly concrete thing. Take agriculture. The amount of agricultural land in England is small in proportion to the population and it is very desirable that the agricultural land should be profitably farmed. Now, the immense majority of farmers have an absolute contempt 30 for scientific agriculture and unless you compel or induce them they will ignore everything that is known about how land should be farmed and that ought not to be allowed.

MUGGERIDGE: Try as you will to arrive at those people who can most usefully cultivate the very limited land in this country, in fact the people who will most usefully cultivate it will be the people who want to cultivate it primarily for reasons, alas, of cupidity.

JAMES: Well I am sorry but that is not really true today any longer. You see, if you take Russell's example, which is a very good one, of agriculture, there is a new class of technologists who are not going to make anything 40 more than a salary out of it. They represent the new élite as it were.

MUGGERIDGE: Well, I believe in the naked operation of human passion.

JAMES: You have a democratic educational system in which you attempt as far as possible to give some sort of opportunity to every person whatever their background; and you choose those people who are more intelligent than other people, and you give them a different sort of education.

MUGGERIDGE: Well I would only say this, that if the affairs of our country were flourishing at this moment, our foreign service was distinguishing itself in every part of the world, then I think James's proposition would stand up very well, but what I discover as a journalist wandering about this world is that these people in fact know

absolutely nothing about what they are supposed to be doing. They were all chosen, they have all got through this mesh, they have all distinguished themselves in this terrific 10 process for choosing an élite. My goodness how badly they are doing—how badly they are doing.

JAMES: Good gracious, what an extraordinary picture of the world you have if I may say so. How long do you think we have had real secondary education in this country. Fifty-four years, and you see it has not grown up in that time.

MUGGERIDGE: The thing is that this system of choosing an élite by means of intellectual tests has operated now for quite a time and in my opinion it has been a total failure.

RUSSELL: It seems to me that our Civil Service is imperfect because we still attach too much importance to a classical education and not enough to science.

MUGGERIDGE: Yes, but the methods that we are adopting, and I am sure they are most honourably conceived, are in fact methods which do not catch the right people.

JAMES: Oh I see. It is the methods now, not the principle.

MUGGERIDGE: Yes, of course it is the methods. You set up certain examinations, certain tests, and you say, I will apply those tests and I will produce splendid, brilliant, effective administrators; and I say to you that those particular people that you choose have in actual practice not done so very well, and it occurs to me that because they have not done very well, this whole idea of choosing people in that way may not be the right system.

JAMES: I want to know what is wrong with the methods.

MUGGERIDGE: What is wrong with the methods is that you are basing your tests primarily on intelligence.

RUSSELL: All men have equal rights in certain respects, but that does not mean that they are equal. I mean; nobody would maintain that everybody is fit to be Prime Minister.

MUGGERIDGE: I would use the simple method that the man who wishes to exert power gets power.

JAMES: But that gives us Hitler.

MUGGERIDGE: Yes. It gives us Napoleon, it gives us Lenin, it gives us Roosevelt, it gives us all the people who have exercised power in our time. But I hate them all because I hate power.

JAMES: You must admit that they are all pretty intelligent.

MUGGERIDGE: Yes, but they would have failed in the Manchester Grammar School.

JAMES: Have you any conceivable evidence for that whatever? Have you any idea what the Manchester Grammar School exam is like?

RUSSELL: We know that Napoleon was quite a good mathematician.

MUGGERIDGE: Where I think that this whole business of an élite goes wrong is that it is a dream. It is the same dream as the platonic dream.

RUSSELL: It is not a dream. If you take the ordinary person whose IQ is, we will say, 90 and compare him with a person whose IQ is 120, nobody can deny that there is a difference which is quite obvious; and if you put the man whose IQ is 90 in a position of power, he will infallibly make a mess of it. The first man may, but he certainly will.

MUGGERIDGE: But is it really true, Lord Russell, that the man with the high IQ is good at his job? The only man of action I have ever cared for is Lincoln who was a very attractive person; and I always remember that wonderful story about him and Grant, who was a drunkard. People said, "This is a terrible thing, you have got a General who is a drunkard", and Lincoln said, "Grant wins battles and I wish all my

Generals were drunkards". This seems to me the essence of the thing, that if you have got Generals you want them to win battles, and you do not care whether they are frightfully good at the Staff College.

JAMES: What has that got to do with it? What we are saying is that on the whole Generals will win battles when they are more intelligent. I mean the number of battles that have been lost by a jolly good, pure ivoryheaded chap must be absolutely legion. Your argument really rests on 30 misconception about this idea of intelligence. Would you be interested to know that in the last war ninety-five per cent of the subalterns were drawn from the top five per cent of the population as regards intelligence. But you would not really think that subalterns were intellectuals would you?

MUGGERIDGE: Speaking of my own small experience of the war, I really cannot mention names here, but of two Generals one was a complete failure and was intellectually very distinguished, and the other was fantastically successful and was, from a purely intellectual point of view, one of the most foolish men I have ever met.

JAMES: By your standards.

40 MUGGERIDGE: By any standards.

JAMES: He was probably in the top five per cent of the population.

MUGGERIDGE: Oh not at all.

JAMES: He would certainly have been to the staff college.

MUGGERIDGE: Minor point, minor point. But the fact is, you see, I think these particular tests that you apply do not measure people who are capable of doing this mysterious and abhorrent thing of governing and controlling their fellows.

JAMES: What I am saying is that high intelligence is not a sufficient criterion; it is a necessary prerequisite.

## Is the Notion of Progress an Illusion? [1957]

MUGGERIDGE: My position is this—I consider that one of the major factors in reducing the world to its present rather melancholy condition has been the circumstance that human beings have been conditioned, for a variety of reasons, to believing that in some extraordinary way human life must, or can, get better and better. Now I regard this as a complete fallacy. I do not think it gets better, nor, indeed, do I think it gets worse. And I think that the only way that human beings can live sanely in this world is by recognizing that, and therefore I contend that the idea of progress has been a disintegrating idea, a fundamental error, and that there is very little hope for us until it is ultimately exploded.

RUSSELL: Well, if one accepted the view that nothing that anybody can do will make the world either better or worse, one might just as well take to drink and sink into the gutter. And it seems to me that it is not the view that you really take, and you do not really believe it.

MUGGERIDGE: I must utterly disagree with that, because I do not think that not believing in progress—believing as, for instance, Christians have always believed, that human life is inherently imperfect, and that it cannot be other than imperfect, because they are imperfect—I do not believe that that has produced a sort of enervation. There is absolutely no reason why people should not become richer, why they should not invent things, why they should not make their lives more comfortable. All that has got no bearing on the particular question that we are discussing. What we are discussing is whether human life itself is progressing, is getting finer, richer, better. In my opinion, not.

RUSSELL: There are, you admit, changes in our circumstances. What you do not admit is that those changes are either for the better or for the worse? You have maintained that they are ethically neutral, and if you hold that, honestly and sincerely, it does follow that it does not matter what you do at all, and that all ethical standards—all ethical and moral standards are at an end.

MUGGERIDGE: Not in the least. I am not at all saying that changes in human life do not matter. I am saying that they do not alter its essential character, and that if people attribute to them qualities that in fact they do not have, they are pursuing a fallacy, and ultimately wreck their lives. In other words, it may or may not be desirable that you should have things like radio, this strange invention that is enabling us tonight to be heard by other people. It may or may not be an advantage that that exists, but it has no bearing on this idea of progress. On whether you and I are better people, more likely to understand the circumstances of our existence.

RUSSELL: I do not think one ought to confine oneself to scientific discoveries. Now, there have been savage societies in which, when a man got old, his children sold him to neighbouring cannibals, to be eaten, and I think you and I would agree that that was a bad system, and we prefer the system in which old men are allowed to go on.

MUGGERIDGE: I should have said, myself, that if you added up the appalling cruelty of the time we have lived through, both collective and individual, it would create a world

record, and I believe that there is some connection between that and this extraordinary illusion that human beings are progressing. Because I think that what really makes human beings humane and kind is humility, and the idea of progress is an arrogant idea. And that is probably its greatest moral disadvantage.

RUSSELL: I think that we have got to get down to a certain point. Are we 20 thinking of better or worse only in moral terms or also in other terms. Now, if you are thinking only in moral terms, then I think there is a great deal to be said for your attitude, but I should say that a community is better, for example, in which people are healthy than one in which they are ill, although that has nothing to do with virtue.

MUGGERIDGE: Then you would look for the best human beings—for the highest human achievement in those communities which had most successfully mastered the problem of their material existence, and if you did that, you would be bitterly disappointed. I am thinking for instance of someone like Gandhi who, though in many ways a very pig-headed man, 30 had in my opinion a very profound idea, and his idea was that this assumption that by industrializing India, for instance, by making India richer, you would necessarily make it a better place was wrong. You may say that his whole movement was an anachronistic movement, but I think it contained a very great truth, and this is precisely the truth that I am trying to get at in this proposition.

RUSSELL: Well, I think that that implies extraordinary limitations of human sympathy. The poverty of India was such that most children died in infancy, and if they survived they survived in conditions which were extraordinarily painful. If you had human feeling, if you had love in your 40 heart, if you felt that you cared whether people suffered or not, you would not like that; you would only like it if you put spiritual values, which you enjoy and the other fellow does not, above material well-being, which is very important when you get below a certain level.

MUGGERIDGE: I think that everything in the whole story of mankind which is great has come from a pursuit, however foolish and obscurantist, of spiritual values, and that everything that is base and everything that is common and everything that is cheap has come through the pursuit of material values. I want to ask you, Lord Russell, to take two human beings, extreme cases. Let us take a man like St. Francis of Assisi, and let us take a man like Henry Ford. Now both these men perfectly genuinely believed that they were serving their fellows, and I consider that St. Francis of Assisi's contribution to the business of human life was infinitely greater than Henry Ford's. 10

RUSSELL: I should deny that in toto, and I do not think you recall what happened to the Franciscan movement as soon as he died. As soon as he died the Franciscan order turned themselves into recruiting sergeants for one of the most bloody wars in history. That was the effect that he had in the long run. Ford has not done anything like that. Ford was far more spiritual than St. Francis of Assisi.

MUGGERIDGE: I would say that what progress really means, as I see it, is the creation of a kingdom of Heaven on earth, of perfect conditions on earth, and I believe that to be complete "boloney", a complete fallacy. Whereas the other idea is the idea of human beings who can conceive a 20 kingdom of Heaven in Heaven, a much finer, more wonderful, more productive idea than the idea of a kingdom of Heaven on earth which was Ford's idea.

RUSSELL: Where I fundamentally disagree is that I think the really important thing is that people should have compassion and sympathy—that they should mind when other people suffer. You cannot be content with these spiritual values which consist of ignoring the rest of the world.

MUGGERIDGE: Of course, those spiritual values are really the only things that ever have made human beings have compassion.

RUSSELL: I should deny it—all through history I should say that people 30 who have concentrated on spiritual values have produced hell. I think the Nazis concentrated on spiritual values.

MUGGERIDGE: Dear Lord Russell! Of all people they most believed in material values—they most believed in progress and, my goodness, what a show they created! They utterly believed it, they were tremendously progressive.

RUSSELL: If you see vast masses of populations suffering appallingly you must look for some means of diminishing their suffering.

MUGGERIDGE: Are we to understand that you do not believe in progress? 40

RUSSELL: You are not to understand that I foretell that there will be progress. I do not know whether there will or not. I hope there will be.

MUGGERIDGE: And what would you regard as progress?

RUSSELL: Well, I should regard it as progress if the average person was happier than he had been.

MUGGERIDGE: So would I.

RUSSELL: Now look, it is all very fine, this talk, but the majority of mankind at present are suffering from under-nourishment. Getting enough to eat is material and if you do not get enough to eat, you suffer, and I will not say that on account of spiritual values I am content that the majority of mankind should go hungry.

MUGGERIDGE: Nor am I, nor am I. I hate the idea of any single human 10 being being hungry; what I am interested in is how you create in our fellow men a desire that those who are hungry should be fed, and that one man should not be cruel and brutal to another; and I believe in so far that it has been done on earth, it has been done not through this idea that man can live by bread alone, but by the idea that he cannot and that when you absolutely understand that he cannot live by bread alone, you in fact are much more likely to give him bread than if you say he can. You see, if you are right, these immensely successful materialist societies of our day would be places of love and happiness, and in fact they are not.

RUSSELL: I did not say they were places of love, but I do think that un20 doubtedly the average inhabitant of the United States is happier than the average inhabitant of India at the present day.

MUGGERIDGE: And better?

RUSSELL: There you come back to morals. I do not want to go into morals because I think morals are controversial.

MUGGERIDGE: We must be controversial, we cannot divorce this from morals. It is an impossible thing to do. What I actually believe, if you want to know, is that basically there is only one thing that makes human beings seek one another's good and that is expressed in the religious concept of love; that that alone mitigates the horror of competing and hating man30 kind.

RUSSELL: Now may I answer that. If you study the history of religions, you will find that they have been incredibly full of hate, of persecution, of intolerance, that they have been among the main reasons why human beings have inflicted suffering upon each other, and in proportion as religious belief has decayed, people have grown more humane.

MUGGERIDGE: I have lived in two societies where religion was systematically destroyed. One was the Third Reich, Hitler's Germany, and the other was the USSR—

Russia, and in those two countries I have seen more cruelty, more callousness, than anywhere else I have ever been.

40 RUSSELL: That is because both of them were inculcating a new religion. They both had a religion and a new one, and new religions are more intolerant than old ones, and it was the religious intolerance that made them be so cruel and so bad.

MUGGERIDGE: I think the only thing that any human being could possibly seek to achieve is to be good.

RUSSELL: Oh good heavens, I would cut my throat if my motive in life was to be good. I mean it seems to me the most priggish and horrible object to have in your life.

MUGGERIDGE: I think it is the only one.

RUSSELL: And if you wish to be good you are not forgetting self.

MUGGERIDGE: Of course you are.

RUSSELL: People who wish to be good are just horrible to my mind; and are completely defeating the end, they will never be good., never, never... 10

MUGGERIDGE: It comes down ultimately to what it means to be good. Now you say this is an abhorrent idea.

RUSSELL: I said it was abhorrent to make it your motive in life to be good, which is quite a different thing.

MUGGERIDGE: But that is the very fount of Christianity.

RUSSELL: And one of my objections to Christianity.

MUGGERIDGE: You think it is a horrible religion. It is also true of every single religion that has ever been. So they are all horrible.

RUSSELL: All, yes.

MUGGERIDGE: All horrible. 20

RUSSELL: Yes.

MUGGERIDGE: Then you would wish that not one of them had ever existed.

RUSSELL: I should. Now look here, when the question of euthanasia was discussed in the House of Lords, a bill was brought in to legalize euthanasia, and all the noble Lords who were Christians got up and said (I paraphrase their remarks) that God sends cancer to people because He likes torturing them; and you balk Him of His pleasure if you allow them to commit suicide.

MUGGERIDGE: Well they were foolish men to say that. 30

RUSSELL: They were Christians, and all the Christians said that.

MUGGERIDGE: Well, I would have voted against euthanasia, because I accept the fact that life is benevolently intended; and that therefore I would never take the responsibility of saying that I, a human being, can decide to bring the life of another human being to an end.

RUSSELL: But look here...

MUGGERIDGE: Because I—I am not sufficiently arrogant to be able to say that.

RUSSELL: Look here, Muggeridge. If you say that an omnipotent creator has created this world out of benevolence, you have to go through 40 such incredible contortions...

MUGGERIDGE: But I do not...

RUSSELL: ...that you cannot emerge a whole human being.

MUGGERIDGE: I can see that it is quite conceivable that there are things in life which seem to me to be abhorrent and awful, but that in relation to the totality of the experience of living, both in time and beyond time, they would be comprehensible.

RUSSELL: Let me put you the opposite hypothesis, which is just as plausible. There are, we admit, some good things in the world. The world was created by Satan, who put these good things in the world because they increased the evil of the bad things; and that would have fitted the facts just as well.

10 MUGGERIDGE: But I just do not happen to believe it.

RUSSELL: No, because it does not suit you, it is uncomfortable, no other reason except comfort.

MUGGERIDGE: Not at all, because it would in many ways be much more comfortable to take quite a different view. But everything that I have seen of life and read about life and everything I have admired in life points to the conclusion that it is in fact benevolently intended.

RUSSELL: I see. So when Giordano Bruno was burnt alive, he was tenth-rate and vulgar and the people who burnt him were great?

MUGGERIDGE: No.

RUSSELL: But that is implied in what you said.

MUGGERIDGE: It is not at all. I think the fact that he would be burnt over a matter of belief entirely ministers to what I believe. The fact he would do it. The fact that he would think it worthwhile to be burnt, rather than assent to something which, if life were as trivial as a materialist philosophy would suggest, would have meant nothing.

RUSSELL: But why should a materialist philosophy suggest that life is trivial? It does not suggest any such thing.

MUGGERIDGE: It does to me.

RUSSELL: It does to you because you do not understand it.

30 MUGGERIDGE: Maybe that is it.

RUSSELL: I am being very nasty, forgive me...

MUGGERIDGE: No you are not...

RUSSELL: Yes I am, I am being horrid.

MUGGERIDGE: You are not being horrid at all.

RUSSELL: I have been intolerant...

MUGGERIDGE: You have not been intolerant.



## The Immortality of the Soul [1957]

CHAIRMAN: THERE ARE topics for discussion which, however excellent they may be, need a little bit of building up before they can hope to excite general interest. But I do not think that could possibly be said of our topic today. It is immortality and, if there are those who are not interested in whether or not there is survival after death, we must regretfully lose them as listeners, but even they may like to stay when they hear the names of our speakers. In *London Forum* today, Bertrand Russell, the distinguished philosopher, is joined by the Abbot of Downside, the Right Reverend B.C. Butler. Can we begin by knowing briefly where each stands? Abbot, what about you?

BUTLER: Well, I suppose that your description of my office is sufficient to indicate that I am a committed person in this matter. I am a member of the Catholic Church, and as such, I have really no option except to accept belief in the immortality of the human soul. But I realize that, if we were going to discuss the matter on these grounds, we should really be involved in such a series of preliminary considerations that we should never get down to the immortality of the soul at all. So, for the purposes of this argument, I feel that it would only be reasonable and I entirely agree that we must discuss it—leaving aside the question of revealed truth and therefore of an obligation derived from that alleged revelation to believe—on a purely rational basis.

CHAIRMAN: Russell?

RUSSELL: I am very glad you have cleared the ground in that respect because it would have been really difficult to conduct an argument otherwise. But I think on the basis that you have suggested, we can conduct our argument. I myself cannot dogmatically say that I am sure there is no immortality, but I can say I think it extremely unlikely—very unlikely—and if I were to wake up hereafter and find I have been wrong, I should be surprised.

CHAIRMAN: Abbot?

BUTLER: Well, that of course, leads on immediately does it not, to the question of the grounds on which a man may or may not accept belief in immortality? I wonder if, for instance, Russell, you would agree that the question whether God exists or not is relevant at all to this issue of the immortality of the soul?

RUSSELL: Well, it is relevant practically in the sense that the people who believe the one are likely to believe the other. I do not think that the two are very intimately bound up logically. The Jews, for a long time, believed in God without believing in immortality, and, conversely, I think you would find Buddhists who believed in immortality without believing in God—so the two things are not absolutely bound together in the abstract, but they are in our thoughts.

BUTLER: Yes, I should be inclined, of course, personally to go a little further and say that while it is true that the Jews for a very long period believed in the existence of God and laid no emphasis on a life after death. Yet I should go on, I think, to say that from taking their belief in God and its implications really seriously. They came on to

the position that things just did not make sense on that hypothesis if human life was limited to the period between the cradle and the grave.

RUSSELL: Yes, I think that is perfectly true—that is how people got there and it does, I think, afford a powerful argument in favour of immortality if you think that the injustices which appear in this terrestrial life cannot be the last word because there is a beneficent deity. That does make a powerful argument, so that in that sense it is, I think, relevant.

BUTLER: Yes.

10 CHAIRMAN: Well now. You started off, Abbot, by saying that you believed in immortality. You started off, Russell, by saying that you thought it was extremely unlikely, for both these theses. Presumably, you have got reasons which you could adduce. It would be an idea perhaps, if each of you in turn adduced a reason for your own belief so that the other could discuss it with him. Let us hear one reason for your belief in immortality, Abbot.

BUTLER: Well, one reason which I should like to put, I think, is this: that if the existence of God, and such a God as the Jews and the Christians have come to believe in, be granted, then it seems to me that the 20 relationship between a human being and God which is involved in that hypothesis is a relationship which cannot reach its culmination and its natural goal within the borders of an earthly life, since I do not believe that man was made doomed to frustration of the essential purpose of his nature. I believe that, therefore, that realization is provided for outside the bounds of an earthly life.

RUSSELL: Yes. Well, of course, that whole point of view is one that I could not accept any part of at all, because (a) I do not think there is a God; (b) I do not think that there is what you call an essential purpose; and (c) I do not think that, if there were, there would be slightest reason to 30 expect that it would ever be realized at all. I see no reason to admit any of those things.

BUTLER: Yes, you think that, if ever one believed in the existence of God, it is still quite rational to suppose that God made creatures such as man is, with capacities such as man has—capacities which, if a God like that exists, include capacity to communion with him—that that person should be by the very conditions of his nature, unable to realize the goal which is written into his nature.

RUSSELL: Well, I do not know what you mean by the goal written into his nature—I cannot admit that there is such a thing. It does not seem to 40 me to be a phrase that has any meaning at all.

BUTLER: Well, would it be agreed between us that man is by nature a desirous being?

RUSSELL: Yes. I would agree to that.

BUTLER: And that desire is an essential part of his make-up as we know it is under earthly conditions? Would it be also agreed between us that man is an intellectual being?

RUSSELL: Some men.

BUTLER: Well, I know that, of course, very often it seems to be rather *in potentia* than *in actuo*. But, still, by nature man is a rational being. I think we have a certain authority—at any rate the authority value of Aristotle behind us—if we say that.

RUSSELL: I do not accept him, but...

BUTLER: Well, I think you will find that, if one could accept the position 10 that man is—potentially even—an intellectual being, and that man is essentially a desirous being—that these two things developing *pari passu* in man will land, eventually, with

the result which, of course, is familiar to those who read St. Thomas: that the only thing which could satisfy man's desire—he being an intellectual creature—satisfy it absolutely and totally, will be such an experience as Christians describe by the beatific vision of God.

RUSSELL: Well, I am not prepared to deny that that would satisfy me—I should be immensely satisfied if I could hope to enjoy it, but I do not expect to enjoy it and I see no reason under the sun why I should expect to. After all, if you say that the world was created by a beneficent deity, then one must assume that he likes all the horrible things there are in the world. I am not thinking, now, of sin; I am thinking of other horrible things. And so, in fact, the majority of the people who have believed in the beneficent deity and in immortality have believed until quite recent times that the majority of mankind would suffer eternally. And that seems to me an intolerable view. But how you can attribute that to the beneficent deity I do not see.

CHAIRMAN: Russell, so far, really, you have been placed in the position, entirely by me, of having to develop your argument negatively, because I asked the Abbot of Downside to give the first positive reason for his belief. Now, I would like to transfer it to you. You said it is extremely unlikely that there is any survival after death. Now I pass you the positive side of the argument.

RUSSELL: Well, the positive side of the argument rests first of all upon an attempt to give a meaning to the ego. What does one mean by the ego? It is called, according to the emotions you want to arouse, the soul, or the mind, or the self. All these mean just exactly the same thing—they are just simply rhetorically different, not otherwise. Now the ego, used to be thought to be an entity, and that view has been generally abandoned by most, I think, uncommitted thinkers. They would go on to say that memory, as far as we have been able to ascertain, is bound up with certain physical things, which quite obviously cease at death. And so it is not very likely that there would be anything after the body has dissolved which would remember the experiences that I had when I was alive, and on that ground we would say that it is improbable. It is not impossible—for example, if a building is destroyed by an earthquake, it might by fluke be set up again by an eruption. But you would think it very unlikely and it is that sort of unlikeliness.

BUTLER: Well, I take it that the real point then between us is that we say that we are discussing the immortality of the soul, but, in point of fact, you answer the question by denying the existence of the soul.

10 CHAIRMAN: I think that I would like to pass it back to you Abbot, because, up to now, each side advanced the reason for the beliefs we hold, and I am sure we have very many more than one reason on each side. Perhaps you would like to give a second reason, Abbot, why you believe in immortality?

BUTLER: Well, I should like just now to say a word about the nature of intellectual experience. You will realize that I am reminding myself of the *Phaedo* of Plato, and it appears to me that, if one reflects upon one's human experience, a great deal of it is largely accounted for as sensation—the world of sensation—and sensory imagination. But there is also in it that experience in which we have contact with—we are to communion with, we are perceiving, we are considering, we are reflecting upon, things or realities or truths which by no possible stretch of imagination could ever be subjects of sensation. And that seems to me to indicate that we do not live solely and simply in the world of sensation, but that we are living in a world which I should call a world of intelligence and intelligible realities. And in that particular world, time has no

essential significance whatsoever for the truths which are contemplated in that kind of experience—that is, intellectual experience—and it is because I realize by reflection that I am not only living in this world of space and time but that I also have a real 30 life and a contemplation of reality outside the bounds of space and time by intellect, that I feel that the question of death is to some extent irrelevant to the fullness and depth of this intellectual life, which is to my mind the most important part of my total experience.

RUSSELL: Well now, there is a great deal in what you say that I am in entire agreement with. I am not in agreement with—so to speak—the use you want to make of it. But I am in a great deal of agreement—of course, we do not live only a sensational life; of course, there are intellectual matters that are not in time to two plus two are four. It is not a “dated” sort of thing—it is not a thing which is true on Tuesdays and false on Wednes40 days, and so a great deal of our mental life does not have dates to it. I must say, my own view has changed, because I used to think much more the way you are speaking of. But I do not think that the thoughts that do not have dates are in any way superior to those that do. I do not think that thinking about the multiplication table is better than, say, thinking about Julius Caesar. I cannot see that there is any moral superiority or intellectual superiority, and the things that are timeless, like the multiplication table, do not seem to me to be any better. And for this timeless world—this world of eternity in which we have an eternal life—even during our temporal life, we have an eternal life which is not timeless. It is a very beautiful idea and one which I find extremely attractive, but I cannot accept it. It does not seem to me valid.

CHAIRMAN: It is right, Abbot, is it not, that in the whole there is not an enormous amount of difference between you on this particular point in 10 the question of premises? It is the conclusions that are being drawn that are different.

BUTLER: Well, I think on this particular point we do agree very largely on the premises. We both of us, I think, agree that there is an intellectual ingredient, so to speak, of our total experience, but I think we disagree on the importance of that element. And as I understand Russell he deprecates my hierarchizing, so to speak, our experience, my saying that sense experience is on a lower level than intellectual experience.

RUSSELL: Well, it is not quite so sure as that—I mean, most of our actual experience is neither purely sense nor purely intellect but a mixture 20 of the two.

BUTLER: Yes, that I very fully agree with. Indeed, I very much doubt whether a fully awake and attentive adult human being is ever living a purely sense life. I think the intellectual element is always operated in it. But I think I will go a little further and I would say that, in point of fact, it is by the application of our intellectual faculties that we succeed in organizing our sense life and our life becomes something more than a mere subservience to instinct.

RUSSELL: Well, all that I should not be prepared to deny, but I do not think that gets you very far—I mean, it is quite clear that a man who can 30 think and who can say, “Well I won’t get drunk tonight because I’ll have a headache tomorrow”, is superior to the man who does not think that. But it does not seem to me to carry you very far.

BUTLER: No, but what I do think it does, though, is this: that it shows that, although our life is rooted in sense experience and in the world of space and time, in a measure we transcend that world by our intellectual ability and its operations.

RUSSELL: I do not believe we do transcend it, and I would go further and I would say that the things that appear timeless, of which the example is arithmetic, when you look

into them, are connected with linguistic con40 ventions and one thing and another and are not at all grand.

CHAIRMAN: Supposing we do transcend that world Abbot, the world of the senses—the sensory world—is that strong evidence of immortality?

BUTLER: Well, I think it is at any rate an indication that we cannot consider the matter settled by examination of what one would ordinarily call scientific evidence, the evidence of our senses.

CHAIRMAN: Well Russell, now I give it back to you again. Give us another reason, if you will, why it is...(TALKING TOGETHER)

RUSSELL: Well, I cannot imagine any other evidence except scientific evidence. You talk of scientific evidence and the evidence of the senses as if they were the same thing, but science, after all, is very full of thought. It is very full of this intellectual being that you praise and it is certainly not 10 purely sensational. And there is evidence, and there is desire and prejudice and habit and all sorts of things like that. But if you are going to wait for evidence, there is only scientific evidence and there cannot be any other. The scientific evidence may be totally inadequate but there is not any other.

CHAIRMAN: Russell's point, if I have got it right, is this is it not: that I admit that there is an intellectual life which transcends the sensory life, and it is this very intellectual life which shows that survival after death is extremely improbable?

RUSSELL: Yes I should certainly say that.

20 BUTLER: Yes, well of course I think it is a question of how wide you are going to take the meaning of the word scientific. If the word "scientific" is taken in its fullest meaning, it means very much the same as a fully reflected reaction to experience in its totality. But very often, of course, we are using the word "scientific" in a rather narrower connotation, meaning the kind of data and the kind of conclusions which are dealt with and reached by physical science and applied science. But I take it that you would take "scientific" in the wider connotation Russell?

RUSSELL: Take it as wide as you can.

BUTLER: Well, in that case I think that I should like to come back just 30 for a moment to the question of a moral experience, which I do think is of some importance. And I think perhaps we can get back to it with a fuller understanding, having discussed intellectual life, because I think our moral experience is something which functions as a part of our intellectual life and not simply as part of our sense life. I do not quite know whether we agree on that point.

RUSSELL: Well of course I am not quite clear what you mean by moral obligation because it is a phrase that has various different meanings for different people. But if you mean what makes a person live what one might call a decent life, then I should say, certainly, that there is some40 thing more than sensation in it—certainly there is, but I do not see—either taking it empirically through history or taking it in a more abstract way through psychology—that believing in a future life has done anything whatever to make people lead a more decent life.

CHAIRMAN: Well, that is a challenge Abbot.

BUTLER: Yes, I should like to say that I was not quite thinking of the question of the future life as a matter of rewards and punishments to induce people to do good and to avoid evil. But I was, rather, thinking of the fact that, if we are fundamentally under a law which is a moral law—one cannot call it the categorical imperative—then I think that puts an entirely different colour upon the whole of our existence. We can no

longer just regard ourselves as slightly superior animals and we have got to rethink the whole thing from the beginning again, from that point.

RUSSELL: Well, I think you see what I object to about that is that it is 10 bound up with a lot of beliefs that I cannot accept and are accepted primarily because they are pleasant. And I think that one of the gravest sins that any man can commit is to believe a thing because it is pleasant.

BUTLER: Yes, I think that is perfectly true but I do not believe in the categorical imperative itself because it is pleasant.

RUSSELL: I think so. Kant thought it awfully pleasant; you see how the old fellow loved it. (LAUGHTER).

BUTLER: Well, perhaps it is easier for Kant to enjoy it than the man who is engaged in practical life and having to carry out the consequences of his belief. 20

CHAIRMAN: Do you think, Russell, that believing in survival in itself is especially pleasant?

RUSSELL: Certainly, because we are so frightened of death. I think if people were not frightened of death they would never have thought of survival. It would never have entered their heads because there are just the same arguments for proving that you pervade all space and you pervade all time. But nobody wants to be infinitely fat and so they have never developed those.

CHAIRMAN: Abbot, without compromising your position in the general argument, do you think it is pleasant in itself to believe in survival any 30 more than it pleasant to believe in complete oblivion?

BUTLER: Well, quite frankly, of course I think when one is talking about the pleasant and unpleasant and about desires too, we all of us exist at so many different strata, from the top stratum, so to speak, of full intellectual consciousness, down to pre-conscious and—I suppose the modern psychologists would say—subconscious strata. I am inclined to think that I have a profound subconscious urge to go on living and therefore desire for it. And therefore—I suppose subconsciously—I revolt from the idea of complete extinction. But with my fully deliberate mind—and abstracting for the moment from commitments by reparations and so on—it seems to 40 me that one of the most pleasant things one ever has to anticipate is to go to bed in the evening after a well spent day and go off to your sleep into a completely dreamless sleep. And the thought of what may come after death is to my natural mind, I must admit, a rather appalling thought and not an attractive thought.

RUSSELL: Well I am sorry to hear that I should have hoped you would ... (LAUGHTER DROWNS WORDS)

CHAIRMAN: What do you say to that, Russell, because it does pose a real problem, does it not, if the one thing that was in my mind, is a great thing about oblivion.

RUSSELL: Well look, you see everybody knows that it is pleasant to go to sleep if you think you will wake. But if it was that you wished not to wake 10 up, you would take opium or something and not wake up. But very few people do.

BUTLER: Well, so many of us do not because we are deterred by the categoric imperative.

RUSSELL: It is not only that; you cannot think the ordinary average criminal, for example, is deterred by the categoric imperative. It is not that which deters him, but he does not take opium.

BUTLER: No. Well of course I cannot speak for my fellow criminals (LAUGHTER), but I was asked, as a matter of fact, to know what my own reaction towards death was.

But I am afraid that it is a question of a fear of 20 what boogies may lurk in that dark place.

CHAIRMAN: I wonder if, before we finish, each of you would like to have half a minute or a minute or so just to sum up the view that you hold, and if there are any modifications that you now feel justified in view of the argument of the other. Russell, would you like to begin?

RUSSELL: Well, I do not know. I mean, my view is that the mental phenomena occur like other phenomena. They occur where certain circumstances exist, but I do not see any reason why mental phenomena should persist apart from the certain physical organization which we find are generally bound up, and, especially, I do not think that the question 30 whether we should be more or less virtuous if we believed in mortality is any way relevant to the question whether there is immortality. I might be more virtuous if I thought, say, that I was going to inherit a large sum of money tomorrow. I might be more generous, but it would not mean I was going to inherit that large sum of money.

CHAIRMAN: Abbot.

BUTLER: Well, I think that, just to sum up what I should like to have said this evening: I will put it this way—that to my mind the exciting thing about experience is precisely that it is the experience. It is the conscious element in it, it is the fact that, it seems to me, in the world of experience 40 you are in contact with something which is completely commensurable—because of its subjective quality—from the whole of the row of space and time in which we make our ordinary investigations. And I think that the question of immortality depends on whether we are prepared to take the paradox of that kind of life seriously and to remind ourselves occasionally that, if the very existence of subjective existence is a paradox, it is a far greater paradox to find that associated with a physical body. And I therefore do not find the same difficulty that I think Russell finds in conceiving the consistence of that experience when it is detached from material conditions which, to me, are simply fantastically incommensurable with it.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you both gentlemen. By strange irony I must now put an end to our discussion on immortality, in which the Abbot of Downside has maintained that immortality is a fact, and Lord Russell has maintained that it is extremely unlikely. I finish with this rather sobering 10 reflection in mind. If the Abbot is right, we shall all know that for ourselves in due course, but if Russell is right, none of us will ever know for certain. LAUGHTER



## How Can We Achieve World Peace? [1957]

MCKENZIE: How CAN we achieve world peace? That is the question which the three eminent men with me in the studio are going to discuss for the next half hour in *London Forum*. Bertrand Russell, the philosopher, needs no introduction to the General Overseas Service. He has written and said much on the dilemma which the hydrogen bomb places before us. Viscount Templewood, formerly Sir 20 Samuel Hoare, has had a unique experience as a statesman; between 1922 and 1940 he was in turn Secretary of State for Air, for India, for Foreign Affairs, for Home Affairs and again for Air. He served besides as Lord Privy Seal, as First Lord of the Admiralty and as an Ambassador; and finally we have Sir Charles Webster, who was first appointed to a professorial chair of history as long ago as 1914. Since then he has achieved a double reputation as a distinguished man of letters and as a diplomatic advisor to the Government. He played a considerable part in the setting up of the United Nations. Now gentlemen, can we hear first from Lord Russell what he feels are the essentials of this question—how can we 30 achieve world peace? Lord Russell?

RUSSELL: The essential novelty of our present epoch is that I think it is generally recognized that no great power can achieve any aim that it desires by means of war—that if there is a great war that will not do what anybody wants. And therefore the means of war—which has been throughout history the way to get the wishes of important states realized that way is out and it is necessary, absolutely necessary, to find some way other than war by which disputes between nations can be decided, and to find such a way not only on paper, which is easy enough, but in actual practice: one that nations will adopt because they know that the alterna40 tive is extermination of both sides and not anything that either side can desire, if disputes between nations are not to fester until people get so mad that they go to war in spite of the uselessness of war, you have got to have some machinery by which decisions can be reached where the interests of nations diverge, and I think that that machinery will probably most easily grow out of the United Nations, as the United Nations exists. I go back to the Security Council because over a very wide field there is the veto and the veto interferes with the Security Council, considered as a germ of world government, and world government is the thing we have got to aim 10 at, so that I think it will have to be the Assembly of the United Nations which will have to become all-embracing and not leave out certain important countries as it does at present. I think that probably the United Nations as a whole is not a good body for settling disputes and that it ought to delegate its powers to three delegates of one side, three of the other side, and three neutrals in any dispute that may arise, and you might then expect that the neutrals would on the whole stand for a reasonable compromise and that the decision which could be reached that way would be one not violently and totally unacceptable to either side. That is what one could hope, but I think the whole thing is one for gradual develop20 ment, and gradual growth. I do not expect to see it full grown at once.

MCKENZIE: Well now Lord Templewood, you have heard this blue print which Lord Russell suggested as a possible development for the means of achieving world peace. How far would you go along with it?

TEMPLEWOOD: I do not at all disagree with Lord Russell's main argument. I think a world war would be a quite horrible disaster. Where perhaps I part company with him as a politician is: how far we can arrive at that sort of end quickly, or whether it is not better to build it up step by step. I look today at UNO and it seems to me a body that could not possibly undertake a responsibility such as he has just described. I cannot see it 30 arbitrating in the kind of questions that might lead to war, particularly the Assembly, to which he looks hopefully. It seems to me even less well equipped to deal with those kind of issues, as it is now, than the Security Council. He spoke of the veto in the Security Council. It seems to me that there is growing up in the Assembly a veto almost equally dangerous—all these Asian, African and small countries joining together to hold up the Great Powers, but in saying that I do not at all want to find myself in disagreement with his main object. I would suggest to him that the right way is to go step by step, to build up if possible a greater feeling of unity between the various powers in UNO and to concentrate upon putting force 40 into some of these regional pacts, such as NATO and the South-East Asia Pact, and the Baghdad Pact, and by that means build up security in certain parts of the world—and having built it up in certain parts of the world, I think a feeling of security may then spread much more widely and we may reach Lord Russell's end even more quickly than he suggests by a more ambitious approach.

MCKENZIE: Thank you Lord Templewood. Now Sir Charles Webster, where do you stand in this discussion?

WEBSTER: Well on the main question that war must be abolished, I suppose we are all against war and we are all agreed that as war was the great decider between nations in the past, so we must have something as strong as the forces that made war, if decisions are going to be made in the future. Now I would suggest that the question of making the kind of things that ought to be done is a comparatively simple one. We have had 10 nearly a hundred years' experience of the various ways in which we can make decisions between nations. Many of them are enshrined in the United Nations Charter. I do not think arbitration—if you use that word—is necessarily the best, but there are many different forms of conciliation—the court and so on—for the different kinds of disputes as to how you can get a fairly good decision between conflicting views. There are many illustrations in the League of Nations itself and there are some in the United Nations. The difficulty is to enforce those decisions. To see that those decisions are carried out, we now have about four or five decisions of the Security Council of the United Nations which have been 20 made—perfectly good decisions—but these are simply ignored.

MCKENZIE: Examples?

WEBSTER: Well, let me take one: the decisions of the Assembly about the passage of the Suez Canal, or the decision of the Security Council about Kashmir. Those are simply ignored and no-one is prepared to undergo the terrible venture of enforcing them, because you cannot get men and women to fight for causes merely by writing it down on paper. They have got to feel that their own interests and loyalties are identified with it. You imagine trying to enforce the decision of the Assembly on the Hungarian question. It is quite easy to say that everything that the Soviet 30 Union did

was wrong, but no-one suggested that we should then proceed to make that decision effective.

MCKENZIE: And do you come back to the position then of Lord Templewood, that the first step must be to strengthen security by means of regional pacts and so on?

WEBSTER: Well I think that is one way. I think that war, like sin, is something that has got to be attacked from many sides—it is part of the whole of human nature and there is not one single approach to it. There are many different approaches and every one of these should be pursued whole-heartedly by people of goodwill as intensively as they can, experimenting as to the different kinds so that ultimately we may conquer this terrible evil.

MCKENZIE: Now Lord Russell there seems to be a good deal of doubt among the other two speakers as to whether the Assembly can be used as you would like to see it used, as the starting point for this system of arbitration. Would you care to reply on this?

RUSSELL: Yes, I should like to reply on that. I do not think the Assembly itself, as I think I said, should do the detail of trying to reach a settlement. I do not think it is a suitable body, and there is one other point about the Assembly which I did not make which I think important, which is that the world should be divided into regions—say about six of them—each with equal voting power and each having exclusive control of the internal affairs of its own region and each about equal in population with the others, so that you would not get the situation you have now, where a very small state and a very large state count as equal, which is quite absurd. That is one point. Then I think that whether the United Nations can do this job depends upon the Great Powers. They cannot do it if the Great Powers do not want them to or are not in an amenable mood. The whole thing I am presupposing is that the Great Powers on both sides—the Communist and the anti-Communist powers—will recognize that it will not do to have thorny questions undecided and that you cannot reach a decision by war, and that therefore you must reach it some other way, and that they will approach the United Nations in a conciliatory spirit—that is the hope—but that requires a good deal of doing. I do not say for a moment that it will happen quickly.

MCKENZIE: And as to the point that was made a moment ago, that the first step must be to make these regional pacts effective in order to prove conclusively that any aggression will not pay.

RUSSELL: No, I do not agree about the regional pacts. And may I remark that Lord Templewood mentioned NATO and the Baghdad Pact and so on, but he did not mention the Warsaw Pact. Now that is another regional pact and most of us in the West do not consider it a safeguard of peace at all, nor do the East consider that NATO is a safeguard of peace. I do not think these regional pacts do anything whatever towards preserving the peace.

MCKENZIE: Lord Templewood?

TEMPLEWOOD: But they have got some force behind them, and the trouble now is that no decision has got any force behind it unless the Great Powers put the force into it, and I agree to this extent with Lord Russell that the regional pacts are second best. But I think for the next few years we have got to deal with second bests, and we cannot attempt any perfectionist system. And I think we shall get on better by building the forces of peace up step by step, rather than doing very little for the time being—waiting until the world is less divided and then hoping for Lord Russell's more general system at the end. I cannot see myself that you are going to get the general agreement that must be the foundation of any world system for a considerable period of time, and

I see no signs of the Iron Curtain coming down. On the whole, the Russian position looks to be more difficult than ever before, and I would go gradually, gradually forward, using, as Sir Charles Webster says, every conceivable expedient to strengthen the causes of peace. But I would accept the fact that the world today is divided, and as long as it is divided we shall not get any world system.

MCKENZIE: Lord Russell?

RUSSELL: You talk about strengthening the forces for peace, but it does not seem to me that any of these intermediate things we are doing are of that nature. What is called strengthening the forces for peace is building more H-bombs, having more guided missiles. That is what is considered to be a step towards peace, and those are the only things we are doing. We are not doing anything else towards peace. Making a Warsaw Pact, making a Baghdad Pact, making any pact like that, is only a preparation for war—it is nothing else at all, it is not a preparation for peace. To get a preparation for peace you have got to have some agreement between the two sides—the two opposite sides—you cannot do it by work on one side.

MCKENZIE: Sir Charles? 20

WEBSTER: Well may I tell Lord Russell that the system that he proposes is exactly the system on which the United Nations was founded, namely that the Great Powers would work together, and the limited council that he proposes is very like the Security Council. If we could get back to that position our problem would indeed be a simplified one. It was the one that we hoped would take place when we first made the Charter at Dumbarton Oaks, but that is not true—there is this tremendous antagonism between the two parts, and the question is how you are going to get a state of peace between those two parts. Now if you allow one side to become overwhelmingly strong, either by the possession of a hydrogen bomb alone or by large bodies of conventional armaments, it is those sort of inequalities that produce war. The great deterrent of war is that each side knows that if it attacks, if it plunges into war, it is going to be destroyed, and so long as there is no agreement between the two sides you will have armaments. The armaments will be reduced when we have found some kind of solution for harmony between the two sides—co-existence—and I am glad to say I think there are many signs that that realization that there must be co-existence is coming into the consciousness not only of the West, including the most intransigent part of the West, which is the United States, but of the East. Their position is such now that they realize that hopes of overthrowing the world in the way that they had hoped it would be overthrown—on which their whole state depended—are fruitless, and if only both sides can learn that they must recognize that each side has the right to go on in its own way, then we may get some agreement. So until that takes place there is no possibility of the machinery which you suggested.

MCKENZIE: Lord Russell?

RUSSELL: I agree with all that you have just been saying and I was really presupposing that we could get a recognition by both East and West that they could not have war. But I thought that one of the reasons it is difficult to get that recognized is that people do not see what is going to be done. They find that there are disputes that exist in the world and they find that if one side is reasonable and the other side is unreasonable, the unreasonable side must win in diplomacy, because it is willing to threaten something which the other side knows it is mad to threaten. Therefore you cannot hope to get both sides reasonable unless you can offer them a machinery other than

threats, and that is why I thought it was worthwhile to develop this machinery as a step towards what you say frankly is the essential thing.

MCKENZIE: Lord Templewood?

TEMPLE WOOD: Then what would Lord Russell do as the first step towards this end?

With his general proposition I agree, but I see a world 20 deeply divided at the moment. I see a world that has at present very little faith in the Assembly of UNO.

What would be the first step in this plan to bring about a compulsory arbitration?

MCKENZIE: Lord Russell?

RUSSELL: Compulsory arbitration is not quite what I should describe it as. I should describe it rather as a recognition by both sides that it is the only way you can deal with things—so that it is not a compulsion, it is a mutual recognition of what is unavoidable. But as for the first steps, it is very difficult to take even the first steps while there is so much that is unreasonable, especially I think east of the Iron Curtain. But I should like 30 to propose as a first step an agreement to abolish H-bomb tests—that I think is a simple first step and one which is feasible. To take a more ambitious thing—the unification of Germany—you will never get Europe to settle down while Germany is disunited, and you cannot unite Germany unless you either first defeat Russia in a great war, which does not seem feasible, or allow Germany to be neutralized. And therefore I should make an agreement by which Germany was neutralized and united under a Democratic government, and I think you could probably tackle each separate question in that way if both sides recognized that you must be simply playing for your own advantage but looking for a settlement.

40 MCKENZIE: Lord Templewood?

TEMPLEWOOD: With all these suggestions I come back to my fundamental objection: that with the divisions in the world now—East and West, one side of the Iron Curtain and the other—I do not believe any ambitious plan is practicable, or that the best way to make progress is to try every kind of peaceful expedient and diplomacy and so on, but to concentrate within the Charter upon trying to make particular parts of the world as secure as you can.

MCKENZIE: And how about the second suggestion that Lord Russell made, that an attempt might be made to neutralize Germany and presumably disarm a neutralized Germany as one?

TEMPLEWOOD: But there again I am afraid that also depends upon creating some sort of feeling of confidence in the world.

WEBSTER: And also I am afraid it depends on Germany. 10

TEMPLEWOOD: It depends on Germany very much.

WEBSTER: On whether the Germans consent to remain neutral—we once tried to disarm Germany with fatal results.

MCKENZIE: Well now if these two suggestions are not immediately acceptable to the whole panel as starting points for pacification, is there anything that the other two who, as it were, rejected the proposals, would urge apart from strengthening and maintaining regional pacts—Sir Charles?

WEBSTER: Well I think the first thing to do is to increase the connections and understandings between the several parts. You know that we 20 have in the last two years got into much closer touch with the Soviet Union than we have done for a very long time, and I am sure that we can exercise gradually a great influence upon Russia, upon the Soviet Union, if we establish connections with them which their Government has been forced to allow them to have, because their people have a great craving for

relationship with the West. Now it is on those intangible things that I think our first steps must go, because the machinery of peace is in existence.

⟨remaining folios indecipherable⟩

## The Limits of Tolerance [1957] 30

FISHER: IN THIS edition of *London Forum*, the distinguished philosopher Bertrand Russell is joined by Lord Samuel and Hugh Trevor-Roper. Lord Samuel, the Liberal statesman, has also achieved a reputation for his philosophical and political writings. Hugh Trevor-Roper is the newly appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford and is well known for his study of Hitler and his circle.

Now as to our discussion—the type of society to which all four of us belong has been called the Free, the Open Society. It is the heir to a complex system of values which comes in the main from Greece, Rome, the Jewish Old Testament and the Christian New Testament. Its political bent is for Parliamentary democracy and it has inspired institutions all over the world. Its essence is that it gives no single authority total control of the individuals who belong to it. One of the highest virtues to which we as individuals lay claim is tolerance, and tolerance is what we are going to discuss. Is it in fact the essential virtue of our society; has it always been so? Or, if not, when and how did it develop? Do we deceive ourselves in thinking ourselves tolerant about challenges on important things? Does it bring advantages to the society in which it is practised or is it a source of weakness? Above all, what are the limits of tolerance? Should we tolerate those who are determined to destroy us and our way of life? Lord Russell, do you think that tolerance is one of our virtues?

RUSSELL: Well I think it has become one of our virtues, yet it was not always so and in fact it is fairly recent as history goes, I think. But I do think that now, on the whole, we are tolerant. I think there are limits, of course, things that we do not tolerate, and as to whether we ought to is a very difficult question. But on the whole we are much more tolerant than we used to be and on the whole we are more tolerant than most people are.

20 FISHER: You regard it in fact as a characteristic of our society now?

RUSSELL: Yes I should.

FISHER: Lord Samuel, would you agree with that?

SAMUEL: Yes, wholly. I think that toleration is essential to liberty and liberty is essential to the good life.

FISHER: Trevor-Roper?

TREVOR-ROPER: Yes I would agree with that.

FISHER: May I ask you Trevor-Roper, as a historian, if you think that this is a very long-standing tradition of our society, or is it something relatively modern?

30 TREVOR-ROPER: I think it is something relatively modern; I do not think that Christian society—Western society—was tolerant in the Middle Ages at all. I think that toleration merely developed in the eighteenth century.

FISHER: In the eighteenth century? Lord Russell, would you agree?

RUSSELL: Yes, I think as regards England and Holland I should put it a little earlier—I should put it in the seventeenth century—but eighteenth century in most parts of Western Europe, I should agree. And I think it was a slow growth, and I think it only

came about because there were opposite parties, neither of which was strong enough to suppress the other: they would have remained intolerant if they had had a chance of success.

40 FISHER: So it arises from a state of mutual exhaustion, do you think?

RUSSELL: I think it did historically on that occasion, yes.

FISHER: Lord Samuel?

SAMUEL: Well, this forum seems to be very heavily weighted on the historical side— Lord Russell has written the standard history of Western philosophy and my neighbour on my left is a Regius Professor of History at this moment. For my own part, I am rather sorry if a discussion of this kind became one of historical erudition— a debate as to when toleration came into vogue or, indeed, if it should take a geographical basis, how far we in Europe are in advance of Asia and how far Russia is behind and why. Indeed, in general, I think that the intellectual world is rather suffering at present from an excess of historicism. I want to consider where do we go from here now, and I think that the mind of educated people all over the world is more interested in that than in the history of the present 10 system of morality and politics, or its geographical allocations.

FISHER: I think we will all accept, if we may, just one question before we leave the historical background. Do you think there is any evidence, Trevor-Roper, for believing that tolerance springs from a decline in the fervour with which beliefs are held? Is it a manifestation of indifference?

TREVOR-ROPER: Well, I think that tolerance spreads through indifference. I think there are individuals who may believe in tolerance in a higher sense—I think that Oliver Cromwell was such a person. I think it is easy to believe in tolerance if you are merely asking to be tolerated. To believe in tolerance in order to tolerate other people is a different matter. I think that 20 Cromwell and some other people genuinely believed in tolerance even when they held power—in order that they might tolerate other people—but I think that those ideas would never have spread if it had not been that there were a great number of people who either wanted to be tolerated or were indifferent to the issues involved.

FISHER: Lord Russell?

RUSSELL: Well yes—I think so. I do not know whether it is irrelevant, but I should like to say something about the theoretical basis for tolerance. But to my mind it does depend upon the fact that a great many people have dogmatic opinions about matters on which a dogmatic opinion is so irrational and that, almost always, the holders of power have the wrong opinion of such matters and, therefore, it is a good thing if they are not too ready to put their wrong opinion forcibly into operation.

FISHER: I wonder—Lord Samuel.

SAMUEL: Well, on the question that you put about indifference, the thought occurs to me that toleration—which is a good thing in itself and in the absence of definite reasons to the contrary should always prevail—is rather frightening to many good people who are afraid that it will lead to indifference, or the equivalent of indifference, on matters on which clearcut opinions and definite decisions are constantly being called for. You 40 hear people say in argument: “Well of course so and so is quite entitled to his own opinion, as much entitled to it as I am myself, and who am I to judge between us as he is as likely to be right as I am. After all, there are two sides to every question”. And so a certain laxity, or a lessening of our fervour or of enthusiasm, prevails out of what is regarded as broadmindedness or courtesy.

FISHER: So that not only is it argued that tolerance perhaps springs from indifference—in itself it propagates indifference, this is...(INTERRUPTION)

TREVOR-ROPER: What Lord Samuel says, it seems to me, is that it is in dictatorial societies where people become indifferent. Germans became indifferent to Nazis through having it dinned into their heads by an intolerant government, and the Russians today are indifferent to Marxism for having it dinned into their heads. But people believe in ideas—never were more ideas more spontaneously believed in than in tolerant centuries like the fifth century in Greece—I must not deviate into history; I know Lord Samuel would object—eighteenth century Europe. Those were the times when people were full of ideas. Tolerance does not stifle ideas—it is intolerance that leads to indifference.

FISHER: Lord Russell—do you agree?

RUSSELL: Well, I agree if the intolerance is not effective possibly. But I think I agree altogether about indifference being generated by intolerance except in the holders of power, but the holders of power who inflict the intolerance are not indifferent. And I disagree, I think, with Lord Samuel in thinking that indifference more often than not is a good thing. I think people are much too apt to be fervent about things that they had better not be fervent about.

SAMUEL: I think there is a good deal of force in all that, but what I am going to say is simply this: that tolerance is sometimes deprecated amongst perfectly worthy and intelligent people. After all, the reason that they are afraid of it is that they regard the decline of religion at the present time as due partly to the conflict between science and theology—the old 30 theologies—and partly to the fact that now people are free to speak their own minds—to discuss everything—and that the result may be to undermine other values. I think that view is wrong; I agree with Lord Russell. It is not the case that that prevails very largely, but I see among the dangers of the future that it appears to be considered—by those who are what might be called Leftists—as being broadminded and mature, if they adopt an attitude of tolerance and that they feel no special enthusiasm for anything.

TREVOR-ROPER: But surely that is confusing tolerance with indifference. They are separate things.

40 SAMUEL: Well they ought to be, but some people think that the one leads to the other—think wrongly I think.

FISHER: Yes, well you are clearly divided as to whether tolerance or intolerance is more likely to produce...

SAMUEL: I only say there is a danger that it may.

FISHER: Yes. Are we so far talking about tolerance of ideas or of actions? And do you think that one can legitimately distinguish between those two concepts? Trevor-Roper?

TREVOR-ROPER: Well I would like to use the word “tolerance” and the concepts about which we are talking only in connection with ideas. I think everyone agrees that some actions are intolerable and it would be quixotic to apply a rule of general tolerance to actions.

FISHER: But are there not a great many actions on which there is very great disagreement as to whether they should be tolerated or not? Lord 10 Russell?

RUSSELL: Yes of course there are, but I think, nevertheless, one should accept what Mr. Trevor-Roper says. I mean, it is ideas and the advocacy of ideas which are the legitimate sphere of toleration. Now I should say, to give an example, that a man

should not be tolerated if he advocates an illegal action, but he should be tolerated if he advocates a change in the law which would make that action no longer illegal.

FISHER: Yes. Lord Samuel?

SAMUEL: I doubt whether you can—in a matter of principle of this kind—separate the principles from actions: the two are bound up together 20 and I do not think you can really say this man is free to advocate murder, for example, if he wishes to on the understanding that he does not practice it (LAUGHTER). But you cannot get such an understanding...the Nazis... at what point does belief become action? The test question I think in the modern world has been definitely in practice: whether a school—political school such as the Fascists or the Nazis or the Communists—ought to be allowed to establish themselves in power possibly by democratic means, in order to overthrow democracy.

FISHER: In other words are we obliged to tolerate intolerance? Well now, we come to perhaps what is the major question here, do we not? 30 What in fact are the limits of tolerance? Trevor-Roper, were you going to comment?

TREVOR-ROPER: Well of course I believe there are limits to tolerance and I think there are practical limits. In fact, no society tolerates and can tolerate a direct threat to overthrow it. It can tolerate ideas until the point when those ideas positively destroy it. One cannot expect any society to sit down quietly and be destroyed.

FISHER: Lord Russell?

RUSSELL: Yes—assuming, as I am quite willing to assume, that it is very important to avoid having a Communist regime in our own country. I do 40 not think it follows, as it seems to follow to a good many people in America, that you should prevent people from knowing what the Communist system is and that you should carefully refrain from having any books in libraries to tell them what it is or what their doctrines are. I do not think you should go so far as that, and I think it makes a mark of strength in our society that we allow people to listen to Hitler and he did not allow his people to listen to us.

FISHER: Lord Russell may I ask you why you think this is so?

RUSSELL: Well, I do not like any doctrine which says people ought not to know such and such facts. I do not put veto on certain kinds of knowledge, and I think when you do that you are on a very dangerous slope.

FISHER: I see the probable consequences of this are a general relapse 10 into wholesale intolerance.

RUSSELL: Yes, I think so.

FISHER: Lord Samuel?

SAMUEL: It may be a mark of strength, but what was the actual result? Namely, that Hitler and the militarists and others acting with him were allowed to build up such a power when they were a minority that the moment came when they could declare themselves to be tyrants. And, as a matter of fact, the liberals, who adopted the illiberal point of view and carried it to an extreme, found that so far from it proving a source of strength, the next thing that they knew—and the last thing that they 20 knew—was that they themselves were in concentration camps or being tried by courts that were a travesty of justice. The question is, are you obliged as a matter of principle to tolerate intolerance or do you hold, as I think every political philosopher—liberal political philosopher—has held, including especially John Stuart Mill, that you respect other peoples opinions on the condition that they reciprocate and respect yours. If they set out from the beginning by saying that they do not respect yours, they do not mean

to permit them to be promulgated, I do not see why you should not take steps to defeat them.

FISHER: Trevor-Roper?

30 TREVOR-ROPER: First, I think that Lord Samuel begs the question—when he says that the Nazis came to power in Germany because they were opposed by liberalism which tolerated them—I think that that is assuming that the power which they overthrew was the victim of its own liberal principles. I am not sure that that is the case at all. However, apart from that, I do not think I can agree with him, because it seems to me that this is a practical question and there may be minority views of an intolerant kind with which I would disagree. But I would not refuse to tolerate them because they were intolerant, if I thought they were no threat to me. If one hundredth of a per cent of the population held intolerant views I would 40 not think it worth persecuting them.

FISHER: Lord Russell?

RUSSELL: Well, I agree with that in principle, certainly. I mean I think you cannot lay down general rules as to when to tolerate and when not. But, in so far as you can, my view would be what I said before: that you should tolerate things in the realm of ideas and of advocacy, but Nazis before they were in power did a great many illegal things and they were not sufficiently punished for those illegal actions; I think you could have dealt with them within the existing law.

FISHER: Trevor-Roper was saying, if I understand it correctly, he does not mind if, I think, that the earth is flat, but he begins to object when I come to believe that it is my duty to put in prison those who think the earth is round. Do I understand you correctly? Is that the distinction you are making?

TREVOR-ROPER: Well, this may be only due to mental laziness, but I 10 probably would not begin to think that you ought to be persecuted for advocating that persecution until there was some reasonable possibility that you could carry your own persecuting doctrines into effect.

FISHER: So long as I was part of the merely dotty minority (TALKING TOGETHER).  
Lord Samuel.

SAMUEL: I doubt whether that position could be defended, I do not think you could say...

FISHER: Not in theory but in fact...

SAMUEL: I disagree with any difference between theory and practice. However, that is another matter. You cannot say that in England—in 20 Britain—where the Communists are one per thousand of the population and nine hundred and ninety-nine are not, you need not pay any attention to them and let the *Daily Worker* be published and let them do what they like, but if you go across the Channel to France, where they are one third of the voting—over a hundred members in the Chamber—then you might adopt a different policy for that reason, and similarly in Italy.

FISHER: Well, let us put that question to them. Would you TrevorRoper?

TREVOR-ROPER: I would.

FISHER: You would, Lord Russell, would you? 30

RUSSELL: Well, that is a very difficult point. I mean I should be freed of precipitating some disaster, I think, if one took violent measures there. That takes you quite outside the region of our theoretical discussion.

FISHER: You come to conditions of revolution—

RUSSELL: Yes.

TREVOR-ROPER: But you are, I think, Lord Russell agreeing with me in making a distinction between theory and fact.

RUSSELL: I do make a distinction, yes.

TREVOR-ROPER: Lord Samuel does not; Lord Samuel refuses to do it.

RUSSELL: But I still make a further distinction. There are matters which can be argued fairly conclusively in intellectual terms—one of them is that the earth is round—and if there is a fairly conclusive intellectual argument, I think that the case for the toleration of the other side is very much stronger, because you can in the end get—as you did in the seventeenth century—a victory of reason. In the seventeenth century all the powers were against science but it won because it had a rational argument, and I think Galileo was quite right to retract because he knew that people would agree with him in the end anyhow.

SAMUEL: As a general principle I think that toleration should prevail always unless there is definite reason to the contrary, and I do not think that you could make a question of the degree of political strength at any particular time in a given country as the dividing line.

FISHER: Lord Samuel, do you regard tolerance as an absolute—do you regard it as a right, as a duty?

SAMUEL: No.

FISHER: As a good in itself?

SAMUEL: It has its limitations, undoubtedly, such as I have expressed.

FISHER: But it seems to me, Lord Russell, that your thought is that in granting tolerance and practising tolerance as a virtue, you are chiefly concerned with the consequences of doing it or not doing it.

RUSSELL: Certainly.

FISHER: You do not think of it particularly as an absolute?

RUSSELL: I never think anything as an absolute. I mean—I think I mean—utilitarian: I judge everything by its consequences. And that is why you would advocate that reason be upheld in the...a moment. TALKING TOGETHER

RUSSELL: Yes, yes.

SAMUEL: The practical point arises now at this moment in the relations between Russia and the West. You see, the Russians came into power owing to a revolution against Czarism, and one would say their revolution was quite justified. Having on that ground conquered power, together with a humanitarian creed, in order to enforce their humanitarian creed on the principle that the end justifies the means, they consider themselves entitled to any oppression, any tyranny, in Hungary or Poland or elsewhere in order to suppress others doing what they themselves had done—namely, affecting a fundamental change in the government of the country. Well, that cannot be approved by the intellectual opinion throughout the world.

SAMUEL: Would you think that a person who says, “Be my brother or I will kill you”—to use the old phrase—do you think that he should be tolerated in a civilized society?

RUSSELL: Look, we all think he should; we all think so in a case of war. When there is war we do exactly that, and everybody agrees that it is quite all right.

SAMUEL: Do what, do exactly what?

RUSSELL: “Be my brother or I’ll kill you.” It is exactly what you do in war.

FISHER: Trevor-Roper, would you come in there?

TREVOR-ROPER: Well, I agree with Lord Russell. I regard this empirically. It seems to me that toleration is to be judged by its fruits, not by abstract philosophical arguments about its character in a total way.

FISHER: And the great limit to toleration is always a practical one, and the most dangerous situation—the thing about which one must be most intolerant—is an idea which will lead to the destruction of tolerance. Have I understood you?

TREVOR-ROPER: I do not think one should ever be intolerant of ideas.

FISHER: An idea which is sufficiently widespread which seems to attract a sufficient support and which implies the denial of tolerance to others? 10

TREVOR-ROPER: No, I still think that absolute tolerance should be given to ideas, but the extension of tolerance to the consequences of ideas or the form of dissemination of ideas—I was thinking of the mere dissemination or the practice consequential on ideas—is a matter not for theory but for practice.

FISHER: I should have said, of course, the dissemination, should I not, or practice, of the ideas, not...

TREVOR-ROPER: I mean there is a difference between dissemination... For instance they can be disseminated in a falsified form.

FISHER: Lord Russell? 20

RUSSELL: Now this comes in over education. Would you, in appointing a headmaster of a school, make an examination of his opinions on controversial matters, or would you not?

TREVOR-ROPER: Well, this is a very difficult question.

RUSSELL: It is.

TREVOR-ROPER: And I would like to say, no, but I think that in the practical world the advocacy of certain ideas also goes with something which is not logically connected with it, but is factually connected with it, which is certain conspiratorial methods—and I might disagree with those conspiratorial methods while not disagreeing with the ideas. For instance, 30 if it were a question of appointing a man who held Marxist views to a position in a university, I would not mind his holding that position. But I would say to myself, “I know these people; once they get in they start bringing other people in who may not have the qualifications, and that is the reason why I should be doubtful about introducing such a man.”

RUSSELL: But look, this will carry you very far because that advice is not confined to Communists.

TREVOR-ROPER: Oh, I know, no.

RUSSELL: ...advice which exists in all the rather close corporations.

TREVOR-ROPER: Oh, yes. 40

FISHER: Well, I am afraid that does bring us to the end of our time, and it remains only for me to conclude by thanking you all three very much indeed for this most interesting discussion. Thank you very much.



## Science and Survival [1957]

FISHER: In *London Forum* today the eminent philosopher, Bertrand Russell, is joined by C.P.Snow, the novelist, who is also a Civil Service Commissioner—work for which he was recently knighted. Since he is responsible for recruitment to the Civil Service, he is aware of the type of person produced by our education system and so of the supreme importance of that system to our national fortunes. He has written frequently about the need to recast the educational system to satisfy contemporary needs. He has also, of course, in his novels, shown us the 10 nature of the sort of people who are in positions of eminence in our academic life. Now up to some two years ago I myself was Director of Education for Manchester, and I am now greatly concerned with the training and providing of skills and suitable people to manage one of our greatest industries, the coal mining industry. Well now, the question we are going to look at is this. Does our survival depend upon a change in what we teach our children and the way we teach them? Why do you think this is, Snow?

SNOW: I think, if I might, I would like to divide the question into two parts. The first is the utilitarian side. I think there is not the slightest doubt 20 that this country, and, to a lesser extent, the entire West, is grossly underproducing scientists and technologists for our social needs. Let me remind you of the figures. This country produces about ten thousand scientists and technologists—this is an ugly word for which I should prefer to use engineers, but, however, it is the contemporary word—a year. The United States of America produces about seventy thousand a year. The Soviet Union produces about a hundred and ten thousand a year, which is larger than the whole of the West put together. I think there is not the faintest doubt that this country, which has a special local difficulty—that is the difficulty of earning enough money to feed itself, to live—must inevitably 30 increase its number of skilled technological persons if it is to stand even a fighting chance.

FISHER: Lord Russell, do you agree with that diagnosis?

RUSSELL: I agree entirely with that. I do not think that this country can survive as a viable nation unless it enormously increases the production of scientists and technologists. I do not think there can be any doubt of that at all.

FISHER: Well, shall we assume, for the moment, that this is the kind of change which is possible—that is to say that we could change the educational system and thereby change society, rather than have to await for a 40 radical change in education for a complete change in society. If we may assume that for a moment we can come back to correct the assumption. Should we just ask ourselves what kind of changes in education do you think this involves? Sir Charles Snow?

SNOW: The second part of this problem as I see it is that not only is it desirable in a utilitarian sense, but it seems to me to be absolutely essential in a profound cultural sense that people should understand the world they are living in. Now, the world we are living in is, to an immense extent, determined and investigated by the principles of exact science. I mean, that has been the revolution of our time, which is a revolution of the last three centuries, a revolution as profound as the discovery of agriculture.

Unless you know what the second law of thermo-dynamics means, you have no claim to consider yourself an educated person. Therefore, it 10 seems to me we have no hope in this deep spiritual sense unless we bridge the gap between the old literary culture—the culture of Latin grammar, the culture of words in the old-fashioned humanist sense—and the culture of this new investigatory technique, which we call science. That seems to be quite as important in the long term as the utilitarian point from which I started.

FISHER: Well, it is very interesting to me to hear you say that, because this is so often presented, is it not, as a purely material matter—that we must keep up with the Russians, that we must improve technology to live? But you begin by saying that those who do not understand the basic prin- 20 ciples of science in the modern world are, in fact, barbarians. You are, of course, saying that, are you not?

SNOW: Yes, I should say so.

FISHER: Lord Russell, what do you say?

RUSSELL: I should agree to that, but there, of course, one has got to make a distinction between theory and technology. I mean, theory has a cultural value in the old-fashioned sense. I do not know enough about technology, but I should doubt whether it has the same cultural value in the old-fashioned sense as theory has. Now, take on the other hand, I think, what is enormously important, that ways must be found of making 30 teaching easier. Now, you spoke of the second law of thermo-dynamics. Well, when one is told that entropy tends to a maximum, one feels rather puzzled, but if you are told you cannot unscramble eggs, then you understand it.

(LAUGHTER)

FISHER: Snow—do you accept this distinction that Russell is making between basic and applied science?

SNOW: Absolutely. That seems to me the real clue and hope for the future. In fact, technology by itself tends to have a certain fixed opaque unspiritual quality, which we all dislike even though a lot of the problems 40 of technology—a lot of the problems of applied science—are at least as intellectually difficult as the problem of pure science. Nevertheless, it does not seem to me and it does not seem in fact, empirically, to produce the kind of ethos that pure science does. Therefore,, I think if we have a foundation of pure science, which has its own values and its own spirit, a lot of the probable vices of technology tend to be wiped away in the process.

FISHER: So that everyone, as part of his general education, should have a good grounding in the basic principles of science. Is that putting it fairly?

SNOW: That would be my first suggestion.

RUSSELL: Well, I have just a proviso there. I think there is a great deal in the principles of science which many quite intelligent people are not capable of appreciating, and I think they should be let off if they are found to 10 be really quite incapable of it.

FISHER: You do not think it is good for their characters?

(LAUGHTER)

RUSSELL: No, I think it gives us an inferiority complex if you are in the society where that alone is valued.

FISHER: Are you thinking particularly of the mathematical...?

RUSSELL: Yes, mostly of that.

FISHER: I wonder if I could just make a point there. The educational world in this country, by and large, I would think, adheres to the psychological theories which we associate with Spearman. That is the theory that 20 if your intelligence is high, it is of general applicability. Therefore, if you are a person whose potential for doing Latin unseens or composition is high, your potential for doing mathematics is high, but the facts do not bear this out and I have often argued that this shows that the way in which we teach mathematics must be wrong. Now, as an eminent mathematician Lord Russell, what do you say to that?

RUSSELL: I do not think it is true. I mean, undoubtedly, you can do a great deal by teaching mathematics better, but I think it remains a fact that there are people whose minds naturally work in accordance with symbols and others whose minds will not work that way.

30 FISHER: No, do you accept this? I mean, would you accept, for example, that there is a greater ability on the part of men to deal with abstraction than on the part of women, because, I think, generally we tend to find that boys take to mathematics more easily than girls?

SNOW: Well, on that I am not sure of the evidence and you know more of that than I, but I have no doubt whatsoever, as Lord Russell has said, that there are degrees of mathematical incompetence which do in fact disqualify people, whom we should all regard as intelligent, from understanding the physical universe in the way I have suggested. May I tell you my favourite story?

40 FISHER: Yes, please, yes.

SNOW: A mathematician whom Lord Russell will know, E.W.Hobson, the Cambridge analyst, once told me how he was trying to coach Wallace Budge, who, finally, I ought to say, became the most eminent Egyptologist in the world. He told me that "I used to try and teach Wallace Budge how to get through 'Little Go' (that is the Cambridge matriculation) and I used to say to Budge—"Budge, if  $2x=1$  what does " $x$ " equal?" And Budge would think and think and think and turn his great wise eyes at me and say 'minus two'." (LAUGHTER). Now, I am sure that is not unique; there are plenty of Budges in this world and I think going a bit further there are still plenty. For instance, I think I was a fairly competent physicist—I made one or two little contributions and if I had spent my life there I would have made some more, but I would never have achieved any sort of creative mathematics. I had not got that degree of mathematical insight 10 that would have made it possible. Lord Russell must have met many such.

RUSSELL: Well of course, a stock example is Macaulay. Nobody would say that Macaulay was an unintelligent person.

FISHER: On the contrary.

RUSSELL: But he was totally incapable of mathematics. He could not see what it was all about. (LAUGHTER).

FISHER: What you are both saying is to me rather depressing, because if we are going greatly to increase the number of our young people and the proportion of our able young people—which you have told us is necessary—who study science rather than the humanities, we cannot do it 20 unless they can take a reasonable standard in mathematics. How do you account for the fact Lord Russell, that this, for example, is done in Russia, where the proportion of young people studying science is so very many times greater than ours?

RUSSELL: I do not know what they do about mathematics in Russia. I mean, I should want to be inside a Russian school to know what they do. At the same time, of course, I think they are capable of applying pressure that we cannot apply.

FISHER: Well, supposing, for the moment, we leave mathematics and what we can or cannot do about it. Now what else might we do in education? What about this business of a very early choice of arts or sciences and very intense specialization at school? Would you comment on that?

SNOW: Well, I think I have made my views rather boringly public on that, but I am strongly against early specialization. I believe that with this specific difficulty of mathematics—and I should agree with Lord Russell that we ought to make it possible for people who are really mathematically incompetent to opt out. With that qualification I should say that everyone up to eighteen ought really to do a quite serious course in the exact sciences—that is mathematics, physics and chemistry, and in the literary subjects also, and I believe that is the only basic background upon which we can build a sort of serious unified culture for this age.

FISHER: Lord Russell, do you agree with that?

RUSSELL: Yes. I should like to say a little about the cultural side of education. Under the influence of what, I think, is really a kind of snobbery, it has been always held that you cannot get the good of Greek and Latin civilization unless you know the Greek and Latin languages. Well, that may be true if you know them very well, but most of them do not. They always tell you that, and so I think that we can get the good of the classical civilization in translations and save the time that we spend on learning Greek and Latin. And altogether, if you are going to develop the cultural side of education alongside of the scientific side, you have got to admit ways of making it easy and rather quick.

10 SNOW: Yes. I think this is most important and I passionately agree with all that Lord Russell has said. I think that the idea that the humanities mean linguistics, which is part of the common assumption in this country and to some extent throughout the West, is nonsense. And I think it is very important to be said by Lord Russell, whose philosophy has been the basic element in present day linguistic theory, which is in fact the most dramatic development in philosophy in our age.

FISHER: Well, I want just to put these two thoughts to you. Would you agree, first of all, that our idea of the proportion of young people who are capable of profiting by education—full time education after leaving school—is quite out of date, in that the proportion of the population going to universities in the United States is many times that of our own. It is true, of course, and it is often said that our young people achieve a higher standard at their school leaving point and at the end of their first degree. But, of course, the Americans make up for this by prolonging the length of university courses and by having post-graduate schools. Do you see that as a kind of development for which we should be striving? Lord Russell?

RUSSELL: Well, yes, I think you want post-graduate schools for a certain proportion of the population; not, I think, for the whole population, but for a proportion.

30 FISHER: No, no, no. For a much greater proportion than at present.

RUSSELL: A greater proportion than at present, because there are more things that need to be learnt. But I do not know; I think it is not altogether easy to see how long a time people should spend on being trained before they got on to doing something, because people get bored with being trained and trained and trained, and they may get like an athlete—they may get stale.

FISHER: Yes. Do you—Snow?

SNOW: Yes, I believe almost the only advantage of the English system is that we actually get people to work rather earlier than anybody else in the 40 world. We tend to get people into their first job at twenty-one plus, rather than twenty-three or four, whereas nearly all European countries—which co-educate a larger proportion of the population—spread their university education from nineteen to twenty-four. But I completely agree with you, Fisher, that in fact we educate a lamentably small part of the population. If you go to a country which is industrialized to half our extent, like Italy, you will find that, in fact, they are educating rather more people than we are. Somewhere that cannot be right, and it seems to me we are likely to be wrong rather than they, particularly when you see Italian graduates—who are extremely good by any standards—and their average level seems to be, in fact, higher than ours.

FISHER: My impression is that we still think, in the universities particularly, that the only legitimate form of university education is a high honours degree. I mean, would you think that the demands of modern science society demands something much, much wider than that?

SNOW: I would certainly. I would think that both for practical reasons and also for social reasons—which is the one great advantage of American university education, a sort of social mixed-upness—that in fact you want to educate to a university level anyone who can get the standard for about the first year of a Cambridge degree course, or for about half the Cambridge degree course—about one and a half years, something like that.

FISHER: This implies a great increase in our university population, does it not?

RUSSELL: Well obviously to a degree, but I should like to say just a few 20 words more about making the cultural aspects of education easier than they are now. I believe very strongly that a man ought to have some picture of history in his mind, of the way the human race has developed and the problems it has been faced with.

FISHER: Yes.

RUSSELL: And I think that can all be done very much more easily than it is at present if you eliminate the pedantic element and do not expect people, for instance, to read diplomatic medieval charters and things like that. The training of professionals, narrow professionals, is not the thing that gives culture. 30

SNOW: And I could not agree again more strongly. The real difficulty about scientists seems to me that they are taught to think about one thing obsessively for a long time, and that is what scientific skill and eminence depends upon. The corrective of that seems to me to be something like social history, where you have to think about a lot of things, not in depth and not obsessively, but at once, and that is why I should like to see social history taught, almost as a compulsory subject, to anybody who is going to have any position in the world.

FISHER: One of the problems which exercised us a great deal in education, in thinking about this, was finding ways to make things, other than 40 scientific matters, interesting to the typical scientifically-minded English schoolboy. After all, you can always arrange that a boy can pass an examination in Shakespearean philosophy, but that is worthless unless it means something to him, and that is really one of the great problems. Lord Russell suggests social history with particular reference to its scientific applications perhaps.

RUSSELL: Well, I had not thought of that, no; I had thought of it rather as a corrective to the purely scientific education.

FISHER: But you do see my point.

RUSSELL: I do see your point.

FISHER: Having been a sixth form master, you see, trying to teach science to boys who are going to take science scholarships, to write a passable 10 essay for their general paper, it is awfully difficult to make them interested, I find. I suppose that in the end it will only be solved if we can have really inspired teachers, and I wonder if you would say what you think about that problem. It is much worse, I believe, in America than here, the shortage of well-qualified science teachers, is it not? Sir Charles?

SNOW: It is very difficult in both countries. America, remember, is a big country and the states differ. I mean, New York State, for instance, is just beginning to pay science teachers very handsomely, but over most of the United States you will find very good schools—which we should call grammar schools—good state high schools where they have no science 20 teacher of any kind whatsoever. And here, of course, we are in a predicament which is similar, but it is not quite so grave. There, I am sure, we have got to, by whatever means, to increase the prestige, the pay of the teaching profession in order to make people want to teach science.

FISHER: How do they do that in Russia?

SNOW: Oh, very simply—well, partly very simply. I mean, by paying a science teacher about the same amount as they pay a Deputy Manager of a factory, that is, in English terms, about three thousand a year, which is substantial.

FISHER: Yes.

30 SNOW: But also—and I think this is much more important—by really giving teachers a sort of prestige that they have never had before. If you read Russian novels at the moment you will find that the teacher in a small Russian village is the wise man of the community. He is rather like the priest in a sort of novel about rural Italy, for instance. He is looked up to, he is doing something and he is proud of his job. Now that we have not done and that, it seems to me, we must do.

FISHER: But this takes us back to a question we touched on earlier. We talked about manipulating the educational system to produce radical changes to meet the needs of our new situation in industry, and one of the 40 things we have come to now is building up the prestige of the teachers. But I wonder whether the culture—the tradition of the civilization—is not so fundamental to a society that you cannot change it in that way without revolution. Lord Russell, I am sure you have thought much about this.

RUSSELL: I think you can, yes; I mean, after all, America has changed very considerably without a revolution—at least no revolution since 1776—and I think you can do it without a revolution, though not, of course, with the same thoroughness as they have done it in Russia. There they have had a revolution. It will be a little more piecemeal and a little less adequate from the systematic point of view, but I am not sure that it is any the worse for that. I am not a great lover of systems.

SNOW: No.

FISHER: I am sure that it can be done, can it not? I should have thought what has happened in China is proof of that, but can it be done within a 10 democratic society by discussion and agreement? Snow, what do you think?

SNOW: I hope it can and I think it is possible that it can. I was thinking of the Japanese after they were erupted into by Europeans about 1860, that in fact under the Meiji regime they did astonishingly alter their educational pattern and a great deal of the rest of their pattern and still kept the traditional roots of Japan rather surprisingly intact.

FISHER: Can I just ask you to look at one—which I am afraid must be the last—point.

You know, it is often argued when one discusses this with headmasters of grammar schools, for example, that in letting all these 20 changes come to pass, something very valuable will be lost, because an education based on science cannot be as effective in preserving and developing the values of our society—the traditions of our civilization as they have grown up in the past. Am I making the point reasonably clearly?

RUSSELL: Yes, I think that is true, but then I think one cannot have everything.

Undoubtedly in Elizabethan times there were many more people than there are now who could write verses. You remember that in *Cymbeline* there is a fellow who is so barbaric that he cannot really produce a good poem (LAUGHTER) and has to hire a penny a liner, a most inferior fellow, who produces “Hark, Hark the Lark” (LAUGHTER). I mean, there is 30 something lost; we cannot reach that point in production of verses. After all, it is worth it.

FISHER: Snow, let me put it to you in another way. It is sometimes said, you see, that the more we develop technology the greater proportion of people you need in society who are concerned with management, with supervision, with organization, with technical skills. Now, the best kind of education for training people to manage other people—to develop systems of human co-operation—is training in the humanities. Now, what do you say about that?

SNOW: I am afraid I think that is nonsense. 40

RUSSELL: I think it is absolute rubbish.

FISHER: Do say why, if you will. Would you?

SNOW: Well, I would have thought it depends entirely on temperament and that temperament is not affected by the particular intellectual development that a man goes through, but you get superb managers who have been engineers from their youth up and you get some good ones—though not in highly technical industries, because the actual intellectual challenges are too great—who have been trained in the humanities. But the kind of human skills, the kind of human insights that people possess seem to me to be far more innate than what you are given by that sort of process.

FISHER: Lord Russell, would you like to conclude?

10 RUSSELL: To come back, there is undoubtedly an element of loss in giving up the sort of emphasis on the cultural side of education, but I do not think the loss need be very great and I think it is absolutely far outweighed by the gain. I mean, to understand the world in which we live is, after all, very important indeed, and is, you might say, one of the main aims of human life. And you cannot begin to understand the world without science.

SNOW: No.

FISHER: No. Well, what emerges to me—maybe that is my own personal prejudice—but what emerges to me very clearly from this evening is 20 again the very fundamental need for a radical change in our education in this country as a matter of survival, and beyond that I only want just to say, in conclusion to you both, thank you very much indeed for the most interesting half hour which you have given to me and I hope to others also. Thank you very much.



Part VI  
“Nations, Empires and the  
World”



## China, No Place for Tyrants [1955]

THIS PAPER WAS published in Dutch as “China, geen oord voor tyrannen”, *Vrij Nederland*, 16, no. 14 (26 Nov. 1955): 3 (B&R C55.37). The date and circumstances of its composition remain somewhat unclear. There are neither any prepublication versions of the text nor any letters exchanged between Russell and this Amsterdam-based weekly—which had started as a clandestine publication during the Nazi occupation. Indeed, the paper could have been written at any time subsequent to the proclamation of the Chinese People’s Republic in September 1949, although it seems unlikely that a periodical such as *Vrij Nederland* would have withheld publication of a piece submitted by Russell for very long.

Even though Russell’s observations relate to the dramatically transformed political context of a Communist China, he makes several points about Chinese history and culture that had been raised in *The Problem of China* (1922) and *Collected Papers* 15. His admiration for the achievements of Chinese civilization and hopes for closer cultural ties in future had also been placed on record the previous year in a multiple-signatory message of goodwill from Britain to China, excerpted in *The Times* on 13 September (Russell 1954f). In Paper 47 Russell exhibits the same sympathy for Chinese people and culture that he had shown in the 1920s. His previous appraisals had never rested comfortably with his proposed modernization of China by Western methods. Indeed, Russell had been informed that his earlier defence of traditional Chinese ethics and philosophy, however qualified, had often been invoked by opponents of reform in the 1920s to justify their opposition to Western scientific learning—something which he clearly had never intended (see Chow 1960, 238). As for China’s Communist regime, Russell did not judge it with the same instinctive hostility and suspicion that he did its Soviet counterpart. But this generosity was not reciprocated; as late as 1957 he was dismissed as “an imperialist warmonger” in a biography of Mao Zedong (*ibid.*, 357). Russell attributed Mao’s political ascendancy more to alien ideological influences than to China’s own recent historical development. His closing paragraph may seem prescient: China certainly did assert its independence from the Soviet Union (as Russell also predicted in Appendix V), but not in the fashion that he anticipated and desired—by discarding the “crude Moscow dogmas” (275:28) for the best of a traditional civilization that was being eroded by the Communist state.

The copy-text is a translation by Miet Vanaudenaerde of the Dutch-language publication, the only extant version.

FROM THE FOUNDING of the Empire to the present day, the history of China exhibits a definite and recurrent pattern. The man known as the “First Emperor”, Shih Huang Ti, was reminiscent in some respects the Communists of the present day. He abolished the feudal régime—an action, unfortunately, that had to be repeated by several of his successors. He instituted a sort of military autocracy. He had a deeplyrooted

aversion to traditional Chinese culture, which—although it survived until 1911—seemed to be doomed when he ascended the throne in 221 B.C. He prosecuted the literati for teaching and defending this old culture, and he ordered the burning of all books, except those about medicine or agriculture. He constructed the eastern part of the Great Wall and tried to transform his country from the civilized, erudite society built by Confucius' followers into a tough, militaristic state. Nothing is now left of his work, except China's political unity.

After his death, the literati crept out of their hiding places and managed to gain power in his son's court. They tried various ruses to persuade him to renounce the throne. At a large official ceremony to which all ministers traditionally rode horses, one of them arrived on a camel.

The young emperor asked the men around him, "Why does he ride a 20 camel?"

"Camel, Your Majesty?", they replied with feigned surprise, "We do not see a camel."

The emperor insisted that he saw a camel, but they shook their heads. Finally, they began to glance at each other knowingly, secretly tapping their foreheads.

After several similar incidents, the emperor began to believe that he was mad. The books were brought from their hiding places, government based on traditional learning was restored and it endured for over 2000 years.

The subsequent history of China was characterized by a series of dynasties, which were founded each time by strong men in order to bring an end to a period of anarchy. Each of these dynasties became gradually weaker and eventually ushered in a new period of anarchy.

Exactly the same thing is happening today. The Manchu dynasty weakened gradually after a glorious beginning and was overthrown in 1911. As usual a period of anarchy ensued. But now, a new strong man, Mao Tse-tung, is building a new dynasty. His actions so far show similarities to those of the First Emperor, so one may assume that the fate of his successor will be similar to that of the First Emperor's son.

To my mind it is absolutely impossible to believe that such a sceptical and rational people as the Chinese will submit for long to an alien dogmatic doctrine.

Their submission to the Soviet-Russian ideology should actually be seen as a desperate move in the age-old struggle against foreign influences for which China has always been known. It may also be seen as a renewal of the Boxer rising of 1900., a protest movement against the "foreign devils", the name then given to white people.

The Chinese currently feel they will be better able to resist Western influences if they join forces with Russia. But as soon as Russia starts treating China as a satellite state, the xenophobic passions of the Chinese people will be aroused and their Communism will turn out to be nothing but a thin veneer.

It is true that the Chinese people have twice submitted to foreign rulers in the past: the first time to the Mongols in the thirteenth century, and the second time when the Manchus conquered China in the seventeenth century. On both occasions, the conquerors were quickly assimilated and soon became more Chinese than the Chinese people themselves.

It is by no means difficult to imagine an unyielding Russian coming from the desolation of the steppes to beauty of China, where his harshness will gradually melt away. At first he will be disapproving, then he will learn to tolerate, and finally he will adopt its customs and traditions. He will come to believe that there is more to be found in the ancient wisdom gained by the Chinese over the course of many centuries than in the strict dogmatic teachings of an embittered German exile. 20

The Chinese people possess extraordinarily attractive qualities and considerable persuasive power. But they also have their bad moods, and at the moment they are in a bad mood. But this bad mood will pass, as it did after the death of the First Emperor.

I have the most pleasant memories of the time that I lived in China, and I simply cannot believe that all the distinctive characteristics of their traditional civilization, which is much older than any known European civilization, will be destroyed forever by crude Moscow dogmas. Great nations do not stay permanently in a state of rage—except, of course, for the Russians; they were like that under Ivan the Terrible, and they are still like 30 that.

But the Chinese people are different. They are basically reasonable and of sound mind, and I believe that there is cause for hope that their present mood will not last. In the meantime we must learn to live with it.

I am certain that the day will come when the Chinese will disappoint the Russians by showing a healthy sense of independence, and I believe we must remain alert for signs of any such reversal of feeling.



## Letter to the Representative of IHUD [1955]

THIS LETTER APPEARED under this heading on the front page of *Ner*, Tel Aviv, 7, no. 4 (Dec. 1955): [1] (B&R C55.38). This monthly publication was the journal of the IHUD [Unity] movement, founded in 1942 by dissident Zionists (both secular and religious) dedicated to forging a bi-national Palestinian state representing Jews and Arabs alike. After the formation of the state of Israel six years later, IHUD continued in the most adverse political circumstances to promote Arab-Jewish reconciliation. Russell wrote little on the Middle East before the 1960s, but he had mentioned Israel briefly in his recent speech at Central Hall (see Appendix XIII). This aside persuaded one listener, Aubrey Hodes (to whom the letter is addressed), to solicit from Russell a short message for the magazine. This would be especially helpful, he emphasized, “at the present dangerous time” (31 Oct. 1955). Hodes was a young Israeli who had been inspired politically, he claimed, by a letter received from Russell four years earlier.

The copy-text is the typed copy (dated as below) on the verso of the last folio of the letter from Hodes to Russell (RAI 710.051116). There is also a dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand (RA2 750).

DEAR SIR,—Thank you for your letter of October 31 and for the kind things that you say. You have of course my whole-hearted sympathy in your efforts for Arab-Jewish conciliation. What I should wish to see done is to have both sides submit their disputes to the United Nations and invite a small United Nations force to make sure that the frontier is respected by both sides. I do not know enough to express an opinion as to the rights or wrongs in the various matters in dispute but I am quite sure that the right road to a settlement is by mutual arbitration and not by threats of force.—Yours truly,

10 P.S.: You are at liberty to publish this letter if you feel so disposed. I have not time to write an article such as you suggest.

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

2 November, 1955. 41, Queen’s Road, Richmond, Surrey.



## The Story of Colonization [1956]

THIS PAPER WAS recorded on 11 June 1956 and broadcast on the BBC's General Overseas Service on 30 July as the introduction to a series of twelve talks about empire. It was published subsequently in *London Calling*, no. 879 (6 Sept. 1956): 4 (B&R C56.15), according to which journal Russell "defines the terms of...study and sets the theme of colonization in its historical perspective as a medium for spreading civilisation". The essay was reprinted in 1958 along with seven other contributions in a pamphlet, also entitled *The Story of Colonization*, issued by the Central Office of Information ("Introduction", pp. 5–8). Russell himself later selected it for inclusion in *Fact and Fiction* (1961), pp. 120–6. He had originally been invited to deliver this opening instalment of the BBC series by Gordon Mosley, head of overseas talks and features. Mosley felt that "this subject is one requiring to be studied in proper perspective, since it is at the moment imperfectly grasped by many of the people who form our world-wide audience". The task of setting up the debate, he continued, would "best be undertaken by one who combines pre-eminence as a philosopher with your own firm grasp of history" (4 May 1956, RA REC. ACQ. 1,351b). In accepting Mosley's offer three days later, Russell expressed frankly a view of colonization that remained implicit in his broadcast talk: "It seems to me that a great deal of nonsense has been talked by those who oppose it" (*ibid.*).

The copy-text is the typescript carbon printer's copy for *Fact and Fiction* (RAI 210.006986–F2), made originally from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand that is dated 30 May 1956 (RAI 220.022140).

THERE ARE VARIOUS different aspects from which the history of mankind may be viewed. One of the most important of these concerns the spread of civilization. In its earliest phases, this is marked by the presence or absence of certain skills and techniques. The domestication of animals, agriculture, writing, and the use of metals are the most important of these. The beginnings of agriculture are prehistoric, but its gradual spread, after a beginning in certain river valleys, occurred in historical times and was not complete until our own day. The use of metals spread with almost equal slowness. The Iron Age in some countries began thousands of years earlier than it did in others. The art of writing, which seems to have developed slowly out of pictures and not, originally, as a representation of spoken language, can be traced through many early stages in Egypt, the Hittite Empire, and Phoenicia, to Greece. Writing in China, which was not alphabetic, appears to have developed independently. It would seem that in Mediterranean countries, but more especially in Egypt, writing was for a long time a mystery understood only by the priests. In the Dark Ages this had again become the case in Western Europe. It was only gradually that kings decided to teach their children to read and write. As late as 1807 the President of the Royal Society vehemently opposed the extension of literacy to wage-earners on the ground that, if they could read, "it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books and publications against Christianity". The long stretch of time from Egypt in the Fourth Millennium, B.C., to the English Education Act

of 1870 illustrates, in the case of writing, the extreme slowness which has characterized the spread of culture.

Various agencies have been favourable to the growth of civilization. I think the most important have been military conquest, commercial intercourse, and missionary zeal. In regard to all three a very important part has been played by colonies, which form the theme of these talks. A colony, as the word was understood by the Greeks, consisted of a small group of sea-faring men accompanied by their families, all coming from some one Greek city and settling on the sea-coast of some comparatively uncivilized country. Such cities were founded at an early period of Greek history in Asia Minor, Southern Italy and Sicily. Before very long they spread further afield to Spain and Marseilles. Wherever they went, they carried with them the institutions of the parent city, with which they retained close ties in spite of political independence. They were maritime commercial cities, and many of them achieved great wealth, which has become proverbial in the case of the epithet "sybarite". They did not aim at conquest of the hinterland, although many of them maintained considerable armies of mercenaries. The Phoenician colonies, especially Carthage, were essentially similar; and, before the rise of Rome, the Mediterranean from Sicily westward was dominated by the rivalry of Carthage and Syracuse. It was owing to the Roman victory that Greek and not Phoenician culture became prevalent throughout the West.

A different kind of colonization was inaugurated by Alexander the Great. The Greek colonies which he planted from Egypt to the Indus came in the wake of conquering armies, and not as an incident of commerce. Where Macedonian or Roman armies preserved their supremacy, these colonies remained centres for the diffusion of Hellenic culture. But where, as in Persia, Afghanistan, and Northern India, the Macedonians lost their power, the trickle of Greek culture became gradually less and less, like a river losing itself in the desert. Even in India, however, it left 10 important traces: its influence on early Buddhist art is generally acknowledged.

Northern Europe, including Germany, Scandinavia and Poland, owed its civilization mainly to missionaries, except for the conversion of the Saxons by Charlemagne. Buddhism, quite as much as Christianity, affords examples of the spread of culture by missionary zeal. China, at about the beginning of the Christian Era, acquired Buddhism from India and with it learnt important elements in Indian culture. But this movement, important as it was, owed its success rather to saintly pilgrims than to colonizers, and therefore hardly falls within our theme. 20

Military conquest has played a very great part in the spread of culture. But here there is a broad division between cases where the conquerors were more civilized than the conquered, and cases where they were less civilized. And the cases in which the conquerors were less civilized, again, fall into two classes: those in which the conquerors swept away the conquered civilization, and those in which they absorbed it and carried it on. The barbarians who invaded the Western Roman Empire degraded the level of Western civilization for centuries, but the Arabs, in the East, assimilated Greek science and philosophy. Many centuries later, the West regained from them what it had destroyed when the Western Roman Empire fell.

Over and over again in history an advanced culture has been overthrown by barbaric conquerors. Sometimes, as when the Greeks overthrew the Cretans, the barbarians have quickly surpassed those whom they had overthrown. Sometimes, their destructiveness has proved more permanent. The Mongols in Persia did irreparable damage, but, in China, in the course of two generations, they learnt everything that the Chinese had to teach. The

Danes in the eighth and ninth centuries wiped out the civilization of Ireland and gravely impaired the nascent civilization of Yorkshire monasteries. But their kinsmen, the Normans, at a slightly later time, became, when they had finished conquering, the leaders in all that was best in the West.

Much the largest example of colonization known to history was the settlement of the Western hemisphere by white men. This proceeded on somewhat different lines in tropical and in temperate latitudes. In temperate latitudes the Indians were gradually driven out or confined to reservations. In one way or another they ceased to play any vital part in the life of the community, which became almost as dominantly white as in Europe. In tropical latitudes, on the contrary, where white men felt unable to undertake severe physical labour, they remained an aristocracy. In many regions they tried to employ Indian labour, but the Indians often proved recalcitrant and the white men fell back upon Negro labour imported by the slave trade. In many parts of Latin America, a large Indian population survives. Latin America, consequently, has not, except in the far south, produced a more or less pure white civilization. Nevertheless, the language, religion, and culture of all Latin America are those which were brought by the Spaniards and Portuguese.

North American colonists were of two different sorts. There were those who went for gain, and there were those who went to escape religious persecution and to found communities on new political principles. These principles, developed by discussions in Cromwell's army, were suppressed in England, first by Cromwell and then by the Restoration. But, after a somewhat obscure persistence, they burst upon the Western hemisphere in the American Revolution, and upon Europe in its French sequel.

The acquisition of the Western hemisphere by white men was one of the causes of the supremacy in world affairs which they enjoyed for some centuries. They can hardly recover this supremacy by new colonizing efforts after the old pattern, because there are no longer large regions that are empty or nearly empty awaiting the coming of vigorous and enterprising men. In quite recent times the words "colonial" and "colonialism" have acquired new meanings. They are now habitually used to denote regions where the governing class is white but not Russian, and the bulk of the population is of some non-white race. Western ideals of freedom have been propagated throughout the world by Western instructors and have produced an unwillingness to submit to alien domination which in former times was either non-existent or very much weaker. Although only military conquest compelled Gaul to become part of the Roman Empire, its population, after conquest, acquiesced completely and did not welcome the separation from Rome that came in the fifth century. National independence, which has become an obstacle to colonization, seems to modern men a natural human aspiration, but it is, in fact, very modern and largely a product of education. If the human race is to survive, nationalism will have to come to terms with a new ideal—namely, internationalism. I do not see how this new ideal, which will concede to each nation internal autonomy but not freedom for external aggression, can be reconciled with the formation of new colonies, because empty regions can no longer be found. Perhaps the Antarctic continent will be made habitable, and this might prove an exception, but I think it is the only one.

Perhaps internationalism, as a principle, may sometimes be compelled to over-ride even what might seem to be the internal affairs of a country. This may be illustrated by the problems which have arisen in relation to the latest serious attempt to found a new colony. I mean the creation of the State of Israel. This has raised difficult and bitter controversies in which each side, for different reasons, has claimed the support of outside

opinion. I do not wish to express any view on these controversies on the present occasion, but their bitterness is likely to make statesmen wary of 10 similar experiments in any foreseeable future.

Throughout history colonies have been among the most powerful agents for the spread of the arts and sciences and ways of life that constitute civilization. For the future, it seems that mankind will have to learn to do without this ancient and well-tried method. I think mankind will have to depend, not upon force or domination, but upon the inherent attractiveness of a civilized way of life. The Romans when they overcame the Greeks were at a much lower level of civilization than those whom they defeated, but they found Greek civilization so attractive that, from a cultural standpoint, it was the Greeks who were the victors. Those among us 20 who value culture and a humane way of life must school ourselves to learn from the Greeks rather than from the Romans. If this is to be done successfully, we shall have to eliminate those harsher features of our way of life which have repelled many alien nations with whom we have had contact. Missionary and soldier have hitherto played equal parts in the diffusion of civilization. For the future, it must be the missionary—taking this term in a large sense—who will alone be able to carry on the work.

## 50

### Pros and Cons of Nationalism [1956]

THIS PAPER DATES from September 1956 but it remained unpublished until included five years later in *Fact and Fiction* (1961), pp. 127–35. It had been commissioned originally for the Sunday edition of *The New York Times*, whose London editor, Heather Bradley, wanted 2,500 words on nationalism—“what there is to be said for it, what there is to be said against it, and what you see as its future” (17 Sept. 1956). But Russell’s analysis failed to satisfy the New York office, and Bradley regretfully informed him on 5 October that, “since my editors feel that your recent article on Nationalism was more of an essay on Internationalism, they have decided against publishing it”. According to Edith Russell’s pencil note on the typescript carbon copy-text, the paper was then “sent to J. Medlock to be peddled”. Her letter of 7 November mentions the angry complaint which Russell had sent to Lester Markel, Sunday editor of *The New York Times*, but there is no extant copy of the latter correspondence. Russell’s American literary agent also quoted verbatim from a letter by Russell Lynes, editor of *Harper’s*.

I was glad to have a chance to read Lord Russell’s “Pros and Cons of Nationalism”, but I think from the recent explosions in the satellite countries and the Middle East nationalism is a question which can be dealt with journalistically only, in terms of specific events and not in philosophical terms. I think the piece is a brilliant one, but not for us.

As a result, Medlock resolved to hang onto the article “for the moment ‘til events shake down somewhat, will then see how we might fix it up to fit the events and will either be in touch with you about any changes, or if changes are merely minor ones, will ship it off to *Atlantic Monthly*, and others”. But these efforts to place the piece proved fruitless.

Medlock had been referring to the unfolding Suez crisis, against the backdrop of which Paper 50 had been written. Although vehement in subsequent denunciations of Anglo-French policy, Russell also disapproved Egypt’s unilateral declaration of control over the canal: “It should be generally admitted”, he argued, “that anything so internationally important as the Suez Canal or the Panama Canal should be under an international authority” (286:10–12). He saw in this escalating regional conflict another telling sign of the need to restrict national sovereignty in certain spheres of action. Yet Paper 50 also admits the validity of legitimate claims to independent statehood. It distinguishes between such progressive (and “cultural”) forms of nationalism and their reactionary variants in a manner which the post-1918 Russell would surely have rejected. Notwithstanding the complications of his modified position (see Greenspan 1996), Russell seemed increasingly willing during the last decade of his life to preserve such a distinction. The general conclusion arrived at in 50—that “nationalism is a grave evil and a source of appalling danger” (288:35)—is, however, rather less incongruous. But it is no less perplexing, according to Greenspan, for “the problems of nationalism and

internationalism are referred to a platonic world government that ought to exist—a mathematicians ‘solution to nationalism’ (1996, 364).

Russell dictated this paper to Edith Russell on 18 and 19 September 1956 (RAI 220.024400); the same archival location holds the emended typescript carbon which serves as copy-text. A later typescript carbon (RAI 210.006986-F2)—the printer’s copy for the version in *Fact and Fiction*—incorporated the revisions to the copy-text but shows no further substantive emendations.

NATIONALISM HAS VARIOUS aspects, some good and some bad. The first broad cleavage is between cultural aspects and those which have to do with economics and politics. From a cultural point of view there are very strong arguments in favour of nationalism, but from a political or economic point of view nationalism is usually harmful.

Nationalism is regarded in our age as a part of human nature and a perennial fact which it would be folly to overlook. This, however, is not historically true. Nationalism began with the decline of the mediaeval system and hardly existed at any earlier time. Its origin, everywhere, has 10 been resistance to alien domination or the threat of it. It began, in France, with Joan of Arc’s resistance to the English. It began in England with resistance to the Spanish Armada and found its first literary expression in Shakespeare. It began in Germany with resistance to Napoleon, and in Italy with resistance to Austria. In the early nineteenth century, it was acclaimed by liberals and decried by reactionaries. Metternich, who governed a polyglot empire containing a great mixture of races, was the most vehement and powerful opponent of nationalism, while the movements for German and Italian unity and for the liberation of Greece from the rule of Turkey commanded the enthusiastic support of all whose politics 20 were progressive.

But a new era was inaugurated by Bismarck. Bismarck unified Germany by three successful wars of aggression and made nationalism militaristic rather than democratic. It is this new form of nationalism that has dominated Western Europe ever since.

The development of nationalism outside Western Europe has been interesting and unfortunate. Socialism, as Marx conceived it, was to be international and it retained this internationalism in the minds of Lenin and Trotsky, both of whom had lived in the Western world and, on the whole, thought better of it than of their own country. But Stalin, in a new 30 way, did for Russia what Bismarck had done for Germany. He made Communism nationalistic. Russians who supported him felt that they were supporting Russia for which many of them had a greater enthusiasm than for Communism. It is this change that enabled Russian Communism to acquire a degree of strength which Lenin could never have given it.

Nationalism triumphant becomes imperialism. This transformation occurred in England, in France, and in Germany. After the Second World War, it occurred also in Russia. Eastern Europe outside Russia contained a large number of small countries lately emancipated from foreign rule. Most of these countries hated most of their neighbours and were stultified 40 by their rivalry. Stalin subdued them all except Turkey and Greece and, after a certain interval, Yugoslavia.

With remarkable propagandist skill, Russian Communism, while enslaving most of Eastern Europe, still posed successfully as the liberator of

Asia and Africa. Nationalism in Asia and Africa has still the liberal flavour that it had in Western Europe in the early nineteenth century. It is inspired by resistance to Western imperialism and tends to be friendly to Russia because Russia supports this resistance. To an impartial observer it seems highly probable that any independence acquired by Asia

and Africa with the help of Russia will be as temporary as the vanished independence of Poland and Czechoslovakia and Hungary. There is every reason to think that Russian imperialism will swallow up the dainty morsels that Western imperialism has been compelled to drop. But it is unlikely that Asia and Africa will realize this danger until it is too late. 10

What gains and losses are to be expected from the spread of nationalism to these new regions? The question has two aspects, one political and one economic. I do not think anybody can deny that the aspiration for freedom from alien domination is a sentiment deserving of respect and that those who have to bow down before a foreign master suffer a damage which is very great and very undesirable. It is not a good thing that one nation should dominate another and, in so far as nationalism opposes such domination, it must be reckoned to be doing a good work. But as the world develops technically there is a continually increasing need of agreement and co-operation between different nations. The claim to national independence is just where only internal affairs are concerned, but becomes disastrous when it is supposed to involve the right to inflict damage on other nations. The world cannot be saved from its present troubles by unlimited nationalism, but only by the development of internationalism. It is a great misfortune that in Asia and Africa co-operation between different regions occurred mainly as the result of foreign imperialism. The consequence has been that newly emancipated States have rejected forms of co-operation even when the common benefit was entirely obvious. One very clear example of this was the fate of the scheme drawn up by the British for the irrigation of the Punjab. When India and Pakistan became 30 separate States, neither could agree to let the other have any share of its waters and therefore both had to adopt very inferior schemes.

But it is not only in Asia and Africa that nationalism inflicts economic damage. All the countries of the world would be much richer than they are if all of them abolished tariffs. A hundred years ago, it seemed as if this might happen, but national passions proved too strong.

Political theory at the present time has no clear principles by which to decide the delimitation between the sphere of nationalism and the sphere of internationalism. The need of hitherto unrecognized principles has been made particularly evident by the dispute about the Suez Canal. 40 Taking the matter first in the abstract and without regard to current disputes, it is evident that mankind as a whole have an interest in keeping open the routes of commerce and that, where a general interest is involved, it is not right or just that any one nation, or even any two or three, should have exclusive control. But this is never evident to those who, at any moment, have such control. The British had control of Suez and in some degree of Gibraltar; the Americans have control of Panama. It did not occur to us that there was anything unjust in this. On the contrary, we felt ourselves so wise and good that everybody ought to rejoice in having anything so important in our hands. The view which Colonel Nasser has proclaimed is, from the standpoint of principle, the same as that which Britain formerly proclaimed: namely, that there is no injustice in having the Canal managed by one Power. It should be generally admitted that anything so internationally important as the Suez Canal or the Panama Canal should be under an international authority. The claim that those who happen to live on its bank should have the right to inflict enormous damage upon those who live elsewhere, is one in which there is no justice. One might as well claim that two people who live opposite each other on Fifth Avenue should have a right to put a wall across the street. But there is another over-riding principle more important than the rights and wrongs of any particular

dispute. It is that in a world of nuclear weapons no dispute must be settled by war except when a decision has been reached by an international authority and resistance to its decision is easily quelled. These conditions do not exist in the Suez dispute and therefore whoever threatens war as a means of deciding it is an enemy of mankind.

But while there ought to be some body with international authority in such matters, there is at present no such body. In saying this I do not forget the United Nations but, so long as the veto exists in the Security Council, the United Nations does not constitute a Government except when all the members of the Security Council are agreed, which does not happen often. It is entirely right that the question of the Suez Canal should be submitted to the Security Council, but it is extremely unlikely that that body will reach a solution, since either Russia or the Western Powers may be expected to veto any suggestion. It will be useful to submit the dispute to the Security Council for two reasons: the first, that the period of deliberation will give time for heated feelings to cool; and the second, that the deadlock which is to be expected will show the necessity for some more effective method of reaching international decisions. I should like to see the Security Council decide in advance to agree to any solution of a dispute commended, after impartial inquiry, by a Committee appointed *ad hoc* containing equal numbers of the two sides of the dispute with a balance made up of representatives of disinterested nations. This would offer a real alternative to war. At present all sane men know that war must be avoided at all costs. In the absence of some peaceful method of reaching decisions, this puts a premium on insanity, since sane men realize, but insane men do not, that war is always the very worst possible outcome of a dispute.

The limitations of nationalism ought to be much the same as the limitations on the liberty of individuals. Individual liberty is immensely important and its preservation is vital to a good community, but we all recognize that it has its limits. We do not think that murder and theft should be tolerated, and we employ the forces of the State to prevent them. Murder and theft by a nation is more harmful than murder and theft by an individual because it is on a larger scale. Its prevention is therefore more important. The principle of nationalism is equally wicked in an unlimited form. It can oppose nothing to murder and theft by a nation, except warlike resistance on the part of the victim. It is obvious that if war is to be renounced it will be necessary to establish a reign of law between nations as firmly as it has been established between individuals. The complete realization of this ideal is as yet distant, since it will involve the dissolution of national armed forces except to the degree required for suppressing civil disorder. A World Government will have to be Federal and will have to have a constitution embodying the principle which should control all federations, namely, that the Federal Government concerns itself only with the external acts of constituent States or, at any rate, only with such acts as very directly affect interests of other States. In regard to the internal affairs of each State, the principle of nationalism should prevail. Each State should have the right to establish any religion that it might prefer or to remain theologically neutral. Each State should have the right to establish tariffs. Each State should have the right to whatever form of government it preferred: monarchical, democratic, totalitarian, or what not. Each State should have the right to establish whatever kind of education it preferred, or even to dispense with education altogether. I think, however, that in regard to education the Federal Government should have certain supervisory rights. Nelson gave his midshipmen three precepts: to shoot straight, to speak the truth, and to hate a Frenchman as you would the devil. An international Government should have the right to object to this third precept if embodied in the system of national education.

From the cultural point of view, as I said above, nationalism has great merits. The large uniformities which grow up in a cosmopolitan world are inimical to art and literature and tend to be oppressive of young talent. In the great days of Greece and of Renaissance Italy a man could rise to eminence in his own city and be honoured by it as an asset in cultural rivalry with other cities. Ancient Greece and Renaissance Italy, alike, after astounding contributions to culture, collapsed for lack of political unity. If culture is not to suffer, some way must be found of combining cultural independence with political union. I do not know whether the cultural variety which I should like to see preserved will prove possible in a world where industrialism and State education and easy transport have become universal. There have been hitherto distinctive characteristics of Englishmen, of Frenchmen, of Germans, of Italians, and these distinctive characteristics have contributed to the merits of their most eminent men. Leonardo could not have been anything but an Italian; Voltaire could not have been anything but a Frenchman; Goethe could not have been anything but a German; and Shakespeare could not have been anything but an Englishman. If these great men had been ground down by circum10 stances and early education to a dead level of uniformity, they would not have been as great as in fact they were.

But it is not only in regard to a few eminent individuals that national culture is important. Almost any kind of aesthetic excellence depends upon a long tradition which has produced sensitiveness to nuances of little utilitarian importance. A man who suffers too strong an impact from an alien tradition is apt to lose the merit of his own tradition without acquiring the merits of the other. When I lived in China I was immensely impressed by the beauty of traditional Chinese paintings, but my Europeanized Chinese friends despised these paintings since their painters were 20 ignorant of perspective. Such attempts as I saw by modern Chinese painters to paint in the Western manner appeared to me to have lost the merits of the East without acquiring those of the West. I found the same kind of deterioration in more everyday matters. Traditional Chinese furniture was beautiful, but Westernized Chinese furniture was hideous. Perhaps the spread of industrialism is making this sort of cultural decline inevitable. Perhaps the political and economic unification, which has become necessary if the human race is to survive, is making an age of universal ugliness inescapable. If this is indeed the case, it is immensely to be deplored. But perhaps, if secure peace were established, the world might revert to less 30 utilitarian standards of what is to be admired, and in the course of time diversities of tradition would again be tolerated and again become beneficent. Meanwhile, the immediate perils are so great that such considerations must remain in the background.

The conclusion to which we are forced is that in the modern world nationalism is a grave evil and a source of appalling danger and that if we are to escape disaster we must develop internationalism in the sphere to which it belongs: namely, that of economics, politics and war. All the nations of the world, both great and small, have sinned in placing their own interest above that of the world at large. It is to be expected that they 40 will continue to do so until such time as there are international institutions strong enough to insist upon the decision of vexed questions in accordance with the general human welfare and not with the insolence of this or that particular region. Some may think this a distant hope, but it is the only one that offers a future to our distracted species.



## Nations, Empires and the World [1957]

PAPER 51 APPLIES Russell's historical understanding of nationalism and imperialism to the Suez crisis and to the possibility of easing the kind of tensions which had precipitated it. The essay was published as "Every Nation Is a Bully at Heart", *Maclean's Magazine*, 70, no. 5 (2 March 1957): 2, 48 (B&R C57.05). The "morality (or immorality) of nationalism" was among several topics proposed by the articles editor of *Maclean's*, Ian Sclanders, in his letter to Russell of 11 December 1956. Sclanders stressed that Russell was free to "deal with any subject of wide general interest but we do like the approach to be controversial, fresh and preferably unorthodox". In accepting the commission at payment of three hundred dollars for three thousand words, Russell expressed a wish to write about "the claims of nationalism and internationalism with special reference to the Middle East. The problem is to present internationalism as something distinct from both Western and Soviet imperialism. Unadulterated nationalism leaves all vital problems unsolved" (18 Dec. 1956). From this germ of an idea, Russell dictated his text on 8 January 1957. He used the following set of enumerated points, also dictated:

1. Nationalism and a Liberal Principle (Mazzini)
2. Liberty and Law
3. Imperialism
4. Nationalism and anarchy
5. Separation of Internationalism from Imperialism
6. Internationalism and the East-West conflict: the Veto
7. Need of East-West *modus vivendi*
8. What powers an international authority should have

The copy-text is the typescript carbon, dated 8 January 1957 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RAI 220.022440).

THE SITUATION IN the Middle East raises in an acute form a conflict between three systems of political ideas, namely, imperialism, nationalism and internationalism. Of these three, imperialism is the oldest and most traditional. Nationalism first became a powerful force in the early nineteenth century. Wherever it has come in contact with an old imperialism, it has been revolutionary and has, on the whole, had the approval of liberal thought. Internationalism is still at an early stage of development. It began with the League of Nations and has continued, with fumbling and uncertain steps, to seek a way of solving the 10 problems created by imperialism and nationalism. The Suez Canal roused the passions of British imperialists and Egyptian nationalists. Up to the present time the new international outlook has been represented, hesitatingly and with a modicum of force, by the United Nations.

I want to say something about each of these three systems of political ideas, about the part which each has played and still may play, and about the possibility of effecting some practical compromise between them.

Imperialism is as old as organized governments. It existed in Babylonia and Assyria. It blossomed in Persia and the Macedonian Empires, and reached its maximum, so far as the ancient world is concerned, in Rome. 20 For a time, the place of Rome was taken by

the Arabs in the regions that abandoned Christianity for Islam, but so far as the Christian world was concerned, there were, for some centuries, no great empires. Imperialism has a bad name nowadays, but considered historically, it has conferred great benefits upon mankind. Macedonian imperialism spread Hellenic civilization from Egypt to Mesopotamia and, in some degree, to India, and Roman imperialism performed the same service for Western Europe. If these powerful military States had not existed, Greek civilization would have perished as completely as the earlier civilization of Crete. Spain and Gaul and Britain, when the Romans first came to them, were barbarian 30 countries, but under the Romans they became as civilized as Italy. The second great wave of imperialist conquest followed the explorations of the great navigators. In the new world, it met with no effective opposition until the civilizations which it had created became strong enough to develop a nationalism of their own. In the East, on the contrary, where there were native civilizations much older than those of Western Europe, the imperial rule of the West never had the success that Rome had had in earlier days or that white men had in the New World. The two great wars that Western Europeans have fought against each other have destroyed their power and have left their colonial empires in ruins. There now re40 mains in the world only one vigorous representative of the old conquering spirit of empire: namely, the Soviet Union. The ancient outlook which the West inherited from Rome has now migrated to Moscow, which alone preserves the traditions of an earlier date.

Nationalism, which at the present day is the most powerful of political forces, did not become influential until after the fall of Napoleon. In the ancient world, it existed only among the Jews. After the fall of Napoleon, it was especially in Italy and Germany that it controlled events, but it had the sympathy of liberal thinkers everywhere. In Italy, it was directed chiefly against Austria; in Germany, against France. The movements toward German and Italian unity were viewed with approval by most men whose thinking was not purely traditional. In neither case were the dangers inherent in nationalism sufficiently apprehended. A nation, while it struggles against foreign oppression, feels itself noble and its oppressor vile. When it 10 succeeds in winning its own freedom, it still retains the belief in its own virtue and in the wickedness of others. The warlike energy which has been generated in the fight for freedom passes on by a perfectly natural transition into the lust for conquest. From Mazzini and Fichte, who represented the idealistic phase of Italian and German nationalism, the evolution into Mussolini and Hitler proceeded step by step in a way which it is easy now to say people ought to have foreseen. There is an inherent logic in the philosophy of nationalism, and it is a disastrous logic. Inevitably, those who have been oppressed feel an impulse to become oppressors; and, if there is not a sufficient external force opposed to them, they will proceed, 20 without much delay, from emancipation to conquest.

From Germany and Italy, the wave of nationalism travelled steadily Eastward, beginning with a revolt of Christian populations against Turkish domination. Greece, Serbia, Rumania, and Bulgaria were successively emancipated. During the 1914-18 war, anti-Turkish nationalism spread to Arab countries. With amazing lack of wisdom, Britain and France took advantage of the ousting of the Turks to establish their own domination rather than to secure the freedom of the Arabs. The intoxication of victory led, during the years 1919-20, colossal follies in Europe, Asia and Africa; and for these follies, Britain and France are still paying a heavy price. 30 Britain appeared, for a time, to have adopted a wiser policy, but all the good effect has been undone by the recent attack upon Egypt. The Middle East, having had experience of Anglo-French imperialism but not of that of

the U.S.S.R., is still more afraid of the West and less afraid of Russia than a rational computation of risks would warrant.

The Middle East is entirely justified in resisting imperialism, whether Western or Communist; but no nation is justified in inflicting wanton damage upon the world at large in the supposed pursuit of purely national interests. The Suez Canal and the oil of the Middle East are important, not only to the countries in whose territory they are, but to the world at large, and, in a sanely controlled world, there would be some system by which a nation could be compelled to take account of the interests of mankind in general. At present, the beginnings of such a system exist in the United Nations, but as yet these beginnings are faint and hesitant. Moreover, no one is clear as to the delimitation between national and international rights. Discussions about the Canal have been conducted mainly in national terms: the rights of Egypt on the one side, and the interests of Western nations on the other. A discussion conducted in these terms can only be decided by force since there is no overriding principle by which a disinterested judge could reach a decision. It is, however, not very difficult to set forth a general principle according to which such questions ought to be decided. When Egypt claims ownership of the Canal, this is not, in itself, something to which the rest of the world has any right to object; but the rest of the world has a right to insist that the Canal shall be kept in good repair and shall be open on payment of reasonable dues to the ships of all countries without exception. Such restrictions upon the rights of owners are a commonplace in municipal law. I once owned a freehold house in London and found, to my surprise, that I had not the right to pull it down, since this would endanger the neighbouring houses on either side. This is only one of innumerable restrictions upon what people may do with their own property. As the world grows more crowded and more unified technically, it becomes increasingly necessary to place analogous limitations upon what a nation may do with national property. The principle of nationality must be interpreted so as to allow of such restrictions, just as the principle of individual liberty is interpreted so as to allow restrictions upon the use of private property within a country.

Such principles may seem to be mere commonplaces, but in the existing world they are very difficult to apply in practice. Every kind of control over a nation from without is resented as a form of imperialism, and not wholly without justice. There are two great blocs: the Eastern and the Western. The Eastern bloc exercises a brutal tyranny over nations that hate it. The Western bloc did likewise as long as it could. Recent experience has convinced the Middle East that the Western bloc would be as bad as it used to be if it still possessed its former power. In spite of all the praiseworthy efforts of the United Nations, there cannot be any truly impartial International Authority while the two great power-blocs remain hostile to each other. Every interference with national independence appears either as an interference by the West or as an interference by the East, but never as an interference in the interests of mankind as a whole. It is this state of affairs that makes the problems of the Middle East so intractable. These problems are at the moment in the foreground, but there are others like them in other parts of the world. And the number of such problems is sure to increase as a result of technical developments. For example, has the United States the right to cause radio-active rain to fall in Japan? According to the existing principles of international law, the answer is in the affirmative; but according to any principle of elementary justice, the answer would be in the negative.

What is most immediately necessary is to dissociate internationalism from imperialism. It is almost inevitable that any decision of a vexed question will affect, favourably or adversely, the interests of at least one of the two blocs. It is to be expected

that whatever is favourable to the one, will be opposed by the other; and whatever is unfavourable to the one, will be supported by the other. This is sheer lunacy, and makes any consideration of the general interest very difficult.

Let us consider what would be done in regard to Middle Eastern prob- 10 lems if matters were decided with a view to increasing human welfare. I think we should allow Egypt to have "ownership" of the Canal, since it seems to give pleasure to the Egyptians; but as to management, there would have to be an International Authority with a right to see that the Canal was kept in good repair, to fix dues, and to see to it that all ships fulfilling the regulations laid down by the International Authority were allowed to pass through the Canal. As regards the oil of Middle Eastern countries, I hardly think that one should go so far as to insist upon their allowing it to be exploited and exported, but I do think that an International Authority should have a right to insist upon the observance of any 20 long-term contract and upon the maintenance of pipe-lines. I cannot think that national rights should permit sudden, grave damage to the economy of large regions in time of peace.

But, allowing such decisions to be just, what Authority is to arrive at them and how are they to be enforced? In the present world situation, there is no way of inducing Egypt to pay attention to the legitimate interests of Western nations, since any threat of coercion would merely drive the whole Arab world into the arms of Russia. Nor, to take an opposite example, is there any way of compelling the Western world to admit China into the United Nations or to agree to a solution of the problem of For- 30 mosa.

I do not think that any quick or sudden solution of such difficulties is possible. I think one must hope that through the action of the United Nations the opinion of uncommitted countries will gradually acquire increasing moral prestige until it becomes very difficult to resist solutions which to them appear reasonable. I do not think it can be said that this is an irrational hope. Britain and France were stopped dead by a decision of the United Nations. Russia in Hungary, it is true, defied the United Nations, but at a great cost: not only was Communism in the West greatly weakened, but the uncommitted nations of Asia became far more aware of 40 Russian imperialism than they had been. I cannot but think that, on reflection, the Soviet Government will feel that its ruthless oppression of the Hungarian people has not furthered Russian interests. If so, it is at least possible that, on the next occasion, the Soviet Government will prove more conciliatory. It is, I think, in only some such way, and by the gradually increasing influence of uncommitted nations, that rational limits will come to be placed upon national independence. Both blocs appear to have realized that they cannot achieve their aims by war. It remains to make them realize that, in so far as disinterested outsiders consider their aims to be bad, they cannot realize those aims without war except at a cost of general obloquy which is so heavy as to be not worth paying.

10 This process, I repeat, will be gradual and not very rapid. But a beginning has been made in the matter of the Suez Canal, and it is to be hoped that, if sensible principles prevail there, they will be applied to other narrow waterways and ultimately to all matters in which the interests of the world may rightly override what are thought to be the interests of a single nation. In a technically unified economy, unrestricted nationalism is dangerously intolerable. It is only by the growth of an International Authority commanding general respect that the problems of the modern world can be solved.

## World Government [1957]

IN THIS HITHERTO unpublished letter to the editor of *Le Soir*, Brussels, Russell emphasized his abiding support for world government. He had been advised by Patrick Armstrong, clerk to the Parliamentary Group for World Government, that his views had been inaccurately represented in the leading Belgian newspaper's translation of his recent interview with Allan Chappelow (Appendix V, p. 378). The choice of tense in the allegedly offending passage implied that Russell no longer believed in the world government ideal. In French it read: "J'ai cru pendant de longues années qu'un Etat federal mondial, base sur une puissance plus grande que celle d'aucuns de ses membres, est la seule solution qui conduise a la paix."

The matter had been brought to Armstrong's attention by Union Fédérale, the Belgian wing of the World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government. As Armstrong related to Russell, the secretary of Union Fédérale felt that the matter was "of some importance because the present management of the paper is ...opposed to a World Federal government, and he thinks that the translation has been so arranged to make the readers think that you no longer believe it is the only solution" (29 May 1957). A more prosaic explanation may be that *Le Soir* thought that it had supplied an accurate rendering of the sentence in question, which in both English-language versions begins, "I believed" (378:42). Perhaps for this reason its editor declined to print Russell's letter of clarification.

The copy-text is the typescript carbon, dated 30 May 1957 (RAI 570) and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RA2 750).

TO THE EDITOR OF LE SOIR

SIR,—I gather that through a mistake in translation appearing in your issue of May 21 it has been made to seem as if I no longer believed in World Government. This is not the case. I am more firmly convinced than ever before that it offers the only solution to the world's problems and, more particularly, to the problem of nuclear warfare. I shall be grateful if you will publish this clarification.—Yours faithfully,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

30 May, 1957. Plas Penrhyn.



## India, Pakistan and the Commonwealth [1957]

THIS PAPER WAS broadcast on the BBC's English-language Asian service on 14 August 1957—the eve of the tenth anniversary of independence for India and Pakistan. The script was recorded in both English and German at a studio in Bangor on 20 July. It has not appeared in print until now. According to Lindley Fraser, head of the BBC's German Service, the recording would be aired on “a programme of a similar type” on the day of the anniversary itself (29 June 1957, RA REC. ACQ. 1,351b). Russell had been asked to contribute to a broadcast for this occasion by London Calling Asia's Hallam Tennyson, a great-nephew of the Victorian poet laureate. This programme was to conclude with recorded statements from Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Nehru's sister and India's High Commissioner in London, and Begum Liaquat, widow of Pakistan's first Prime Minister. The message from Russell, meanwhile, would “represent the British point of view” (9 May 1957). As chairman of the India League in the 1930s and a staunch friend of post-independence India, he was an obvious and uncontroversial choice for such a role. On 23 May Tennyson wrote Russell to confirm what had been settled at their meeting in London the day before:

You agreed to prepare a two-three minute script outlining the change in attitude that has taken place in your lifetime on the part of people in Britain in their conception of the Commonwealth, if possible ending with a glance at the future and your own interpretation of the significance of the multi-racial association which the Commonwealth has become.

Russell enclosed his finished script with a letter to Tennyson dated 11 July. He doubted “whether it is satisfactory, but if you want it changed there is still time”. No significant revisions were made, however, for the copy-text—Russell's manuscript—appears to be substantively the same as the only other extant version, a BBC typescript of the German translation (RAI 220.022270). Russell had been obliged to write this short piece in his own hand because Edith had suffered a heart attack on 6 June and was unable to resume taking his dictation until 12 August.

I AM VERY happy to have this occasion to express the rejoicing which I felt ten years ago, and still feel, in the emancipation of India and Pakistan from alien rules, and in the fact that this was achieved in such a manner as to make it possible for them to remain in the Commonwealth. I think it is permissible to hope that the Commonwealth will play a very important part in softening the conflicts which torture mankind at the present time, and which must be resolved amicably if the human race is to have a future.

The transformation of Empire into Commonwealth is an evolution which all liberal-minded people must applaud. The Empire rested on force, the Commonwealth rests on voluntary agreement. The Commonwealth represents an attempt to bring about friendly relations between different races, different religions, different ideologies, and different Continents. Such friendly relations are what the world most needs. If great groups

continue to be inspired by the fanaticism which makes it seem a duty to hate those who live by a different creed, it will be impossible for the world to make those profound readjustments which modern knowledge and modern technique have made indispensable for survival. I hope that in this respect the Commonwealth may prove an example to be followed in resolving conflicts that have so far resisted the moderating influences of sane men. There was a time—a by no means distant time—when the conflict between British imperialism and the desire for independence on the part of the Indian sub-continent appeared a stubborn and irresolvable as the present conflict between Communist and Anti-Communist governments. Now, imperialism in Britain, in spite of some unfortunate episodes, is dead except in the minds of a few belated survivors of a past epoch. These few survivors, when they try to divert British policy into the old channels, are met at home with an opposition so strong and so vocal that they are compelled to acknowledge defeat. I say with all possible emphasis that *British* imperialism is no longer one of the evils with which humane and enlightened opinion has to contend.

It is not by imperialism that the modern world can solve its problems, but it is also not by anarchic nationalism. There is always a danger that, when empires break up, they may give place to a multitude of conflicting national States, each of which, during the struggle for independence, has not found it necessary to consider any interests outside its own frontiers. But the modern world needs a degree of unification if it is to survive, and this can only be achieved if the limits of nationalism are recognized. I hope that in this process the Commonwealth may lead the way.

## The Reasoning of Europeans [1957]

THIS PAPER WAS the seventh instalment of a thirteen-part series about “The European Complex” which was broadcast by the BBC’s General Overseas Service from October to December 1957. Hugh Trevor-Roper, Salvador de Madariaga, the Abbot of Downside and Sir Harold Nicolson were among the other speakers in this survey of Europe’s historical development, cultural heritage and ethical values. Russell’s contribution was recorded on 7 October; it aired on 10 November and was published in *The Listener*, 58 (21 Nov. 1957): 835–6 (B&R C57.31).

In seeking Russell’s involvement, the BBC producer R.E.Gregson explained what he had in mind:

We hope that this series will serve two purposes. In addition to demonstrating Britain’s close involvement in the affairs and history of Europe, we would wish to show people in other parts of the world that we can have a legitimate pride in our heritage without setting ourselves up as a master race.

Obviously, you cannot condense into a thirteen-and-a-half-minute talk the content of your *History of Western Philosophy*. Would it be possible to follow the thread from Socrates’ concern with the study of all things human to the present day? Would you say that the use of reason is the hallmark of European philosophy and that the intellectual curiosity and scientific achievement of Europeans stem from that fact? In making man rather than the divine the proper study of mankind, have we distinguished ourselves from non-Europeans? (14 Aug. 1957)

The following day Russell replied thus:

I should like to do the broadcast on the reasoning of Europeans that you suggest. Now that the supremacy of Europe in the world is no longer assured, I find in myself a passionate European patriotism, but most Europeans who talk about “Western values” are completely unhistoric. They pretend that charity and tolerance are among the merits of Europeans, whereas the exact opposite is the case. Intolerance was invented by the Jews who passed it on to Christianity and Marxism. The merits of Europe have been intellectual, not moral. They have consisted of scientific method and the thirst for knowledge. (RA REC. ACQ. 1,351b)

Before dictating his script to Edith on 24 September, Russell wrote this short abstract in his own hand:

Art, literature, theology not distinctive.

What is distinctive is mathematics, science, scientific technique.

Reasoning, observation, scientific laws.

*Mathematics:* Pythagoras, partly same as Buddha, but partly deductive reasoning. Greek astronomy—eclipses, Thales

*Science:* Galileo, science of change. All Europe: Copernicus, Lobachevsky and Mendeleef, Bolyai, Bohr.

*Scientific Technique:* Gunpowder, compass, machine industry, nuclear destruction.

Good or Bad? Don't yet know. (RAI 220.022290)

On 16 November, a few days after the transmission of Paper **54** in English, Russell agreed to a request from the BBC's Lindley Fraser to record a German version for broadcast in Switzerland by Basel Radio as well as by stations in Austria and Germany. He did not wish, however, to add a few sentences for these European audiences on how individual liberty might best be upheld, for this was "a difficult subject to treat shortly". Early in 1958 he lifted a paragraph from the English text (see Textual Notes) for the speech (Russell 1958a) which he delivered in Paris on 28 January in acceptance of UNESCO's Kalinga Prize for the popularization of science. Russell later selected Paper **54** as published by *The Listener* (a marked-up newsprint at RAI 210.006986-F2 served as the printer's copy) for inclusion in *Fact and Fiction* (1961), pp. 124-9.

The copy-text is one of two typescript carbons made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RAI 220.022290). At the same archival location there is also a mimeograph of the German translation.

It is a curious fact that, if you ask a cultivated Western European and a well-informed Asian to characterize Western civilization, you will get replies which have almost nothing in common. A Western man is considered by his colleagues to be a worthy representative of European culture if he knows Greek and Latin literature, the philosophy of Plato, and the influence which Christianity is supposed to have had upon Western life. He should also know something of Western literature since Dante and should be well informed about Western painting and music and architecture. If he has these qualifications he will pass muster in any 10 Western academic society and will run no risk of being thought an ignoramus.

But such a man is likely to be completely ignorant of everything that the East regards as important and distinctive in the West. Eastern nations have had art and architecture and philosophy and literature. Some virtues, which it is the custom nowadays to regard as especially Christian, have been at most times more worthily practised in the East than in the West—I am thinking in particular of religious toleration. Christian heretics in the early days of Islam were much more kindly treated by the Mohammedans than by the orthodox Byzantine Emperors. Anti-Semitism, of which the 20 most shocking examples are nowadays given by non-Christians, was originally and until the nineteenth century closely associated with Christianity. It is not what it has become common to call "Western values" that the East regards as typical of the West, for in such matters the record of the East is, if anything, better than that of the West.

But there is one respect—and an immensely important one—in which the West has made a contribution to which there has, as yet, been nothing parallel in the East. This contribution is due in its earlier form to the Greeks, and in its later form to the Europe of

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Greeks invented mathematics and the apparatus of deductive reasoning. The Europeans who followed the Renaissance invented the technique of discovering natural laws, more particularly laws of change. We may select as two outstanding representatives of these discoveries, Pythagoras and Galileo. Pythagoras is a strange character. His mystical philosophy and his belief in transmigration had, presumably, an Eastern origin and in no way distinguished European from Asian thought. But he and his School, utilizing Egyptian and Babylonian beginnings, developed the science of mathematics and applied it with brilliant success to astronomy. The Babylonians and Egyptians could predict eclipses, but it was Pythagoreans who discovered their cause. What the Greeks contributed to civilization in the way of art and literature and philosophy, however excellent, was not so very different from what was done in other nations, but their contribution in mathematics and astronomy was something new and distinctive, and it is for this, above all, that they deserve to be honoured.

The sudden rise of science in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the work of Europe as a whole. The first step was taken by Copernicus, who was a Pole. Kepler was a German; Galileo, an Italian; and Newton, an Englishman. The Greeks, in the main, were only able to deal scientifically with things that were either unchanging or strictly periodic, like the day and the year. The great step, that was due chiefly to Galileo, was the scientific treatment of changes which were not periodic. This was an intellectual achievement which was new in human history. 10

The men of the seventeenth century who invented modern scientific method had an advantage over their predecessors in a new mathematical technique. But, in addition to this technical advance, there was another almost more important. Before their time, observation had been haphazard, and baseless traditions were accepted as if they recorded facts. The laws which were invented to account for phenomena were not legitimate inferences from observation, but were infected by a belief that nature conformed to human tastes and hopes and fears. The heavenly bodies were supposed to move in circles or complications of circles, because the circle appealed to aesthetic taste as the perfect figure. Pestilences and earthquakes were sent to punish sin. Refreshing rain was sent as the reward for virtue. Comets foretold the death of Princes. Everything on Earth and in the Heavens had reference to Man or to aesthetic tastes which closely resembled those of human beings. The scientific temper abandoned this point of view. To find out how nature works, we must forget our own hopes and fears and tastes, and be guided only by careful investigation of facts. Although this may now seem a simple idea, it was, in truth, revolutionary. When Kepler discovered that the planets moved in ellipses, not in circles or epicycles, he dealt a death-blow to the interpretation of nature through the medium of human emotions. The essence of the scientific attitude thus inaugurated is this: Nature does what it does, not what we should wish, nor yet what we should fear, but something blandly unconscious of our existence.

From the realization of this fact, the modern world, for good or evil, has inexorably developed. It is, I repeat, a curious circumstance that most of the men who are thought, in the West, to be embodiments of Western culture, are ignorant of this development which was due, at first, to a tiny minority and is still, in the main, confined to people whom their literary *confrères* regard as narrow and uncouth specialists.

It is not pure science, however, but scientific technique which represents most fully the influence of the West upon mankind. The Industrial Revolution, which is still in its infancy, began in a humble way in Lancashire and Yorkshire and on the Clyde. It was

execrated in the country of its origin by most cultured gentlemen, and was tolerated only because it contributed to the defeat of Napoleon, but its explosive force was so great that, by its own momentum, it spread first to the other countries of the West and, later, to Russia and Asia, which it is completely transforming. It is this, and this alone, that the East is willing to learn from the West. Whether the discovery of this kind of skill is to prove a boon or a disaster is, as yet, an open question. But, whether for good or ill, it is industrial technique that is the main cause of the changes that the world is undergoing.

There are two very different ways of estimating any human achievement: You may estimate it by what you consider its intrinsic excellence; or you may estimate it by its causal efficacy in transforming human life and human institutions. I am not suggesting that one of these ways of estimating is preferable to the other. I am only concerned to point out that they give very different scales of importance. If Homer and Aeschylus had not existed, if Dante and Shakespeare had not written a line, if Bach and Beethoven had been silent, the daily life of most people in the present day would have been much what it is. But if Pythagoras and Galileo and James Watt had not existed, the daily life, not only of Western Europeans and Americans but of Russian and Chinese peasants, would be profoundly different from what it is. And these profound changes are still only beginning. They must affect the future even more than they have already affected the present. For all this the Western World has the major share of responsibility; and, because of this responsibility, it is incumbent upon Western Man to supplement his scientific discoveries by the discovery of how to live with them. At present, scientific technique advances like an army of tanks that have lost their drivers, blindly, ruthlessly, without goal or purpose. This is largely because the men who are concerned with human values and with making life worthy to be lived are still in imagination in the old pre-industrial world, the world that has been made familiar and comfortable by the literature of Greece and the pre-industrial achievements of the poets and artists and composers whose work we rightly admire.

It is not the first time in history that a revolution in technique has caused a revolution in daily life. The same sort of thing happened, though much more gradually, with the adoption of agriculture as opposed to a nomadic existence. It is said, and no doubt with truth, that nomads have certain excellences which cannot be preserved in a stationary, agricultural life. Nevertheless, the spread of agriculture has been inevitable, although it was accompanied by ages of serfdom and oppression. Gradually, agriculture has been humanized, and we may hope that industrialism will be humanized more quickly.

From a political and social point of view, the most important change resulting from industrialism is the greater interdependence of men and groups of men upon one another. Important industrial undertakings require the co-operation of large numbers of men, but what is more important, they require, if they are to be useful, the right kind of relations between the men concerned in the undertaking and the populations which it is to affect. Consider such projects as the St. Lawrence waterway, the irrigation of the Punjab, and the high dam at Aswan. All these raise international issues of the utmost delicacy. In a world of international *laissezfaire* the issues they raise can only be decided, if at all, after long, turbulent debates and contests of power. In such questions, as in the internal affairs of single States, there is much less room than there used to be for *laissezfaire* and much less room for individual enterprise, or even for the enterprise of a single nation. It is growing increasingly difficult in the world to which modern technique is giving rise to preserve for the individual a sphere of initiative sufficient to stimulate his energies and give zest to his efforts. If the individual is not to shrivel and become desiccated through

feeling himself merely an unimportant member of vast, impersonal organizations, something that seems both interesting and important will have to be found outside the main economic activities of communities. Many 20 kinds of liberty, both personal and national, have become dangerous and need to be curbed. But liberty must have its place if men are not to lose stature. I am thinking not so much of liberty in the abstract as of the possibility of important achievement through individual effort. I hope that Europe, which has unwittingly created this problem, may also lead the way to its solution.



Part VII  
The Next Step



## Britain's Bomb [1957]

THE FIRST OF these two letters to *The Manchester Guardian* was published on 21 March 1957, p. 6 (B&R C57.08). Opposition in Britain to the planned series of hydrogen-bomb tests in the central Pacific was not only “influential” (309:3), but also fairly widespread. Forty-one percent of respondents to a Gallup Poll taken in April did not want the British Government to proceed, and even some of those who did were opposed to any further tests (see Wittner 1997, 44). The degree of disapproval only increased through the remainder of the year—a reflection of deepseated public anxieties about the hazards of nuclear testing. These fears were heightened by the appearance of new data about the somatic and genetic effects of exposure to radiation (see Introduction, p. lv). The critics of official policy did not succeed in postponing the tests. Nevertheless, the protests kept the issue of nuclear testing to the fore and assisted the growth of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests.

The NCANWT lobbied the Labour Party energetically and “claimed much of the credit” when in April 1957 Opposition M.P.’s called for a suspension of the British tests as a step towards an international ban (Taylor 1988, 10). But this gesture was deceptive and only masked the damaging rift which had opened both in the parliamentary party and in the labour movement as a whole over the broader question of whether Britain should retain nuclear weapons at all. The Labour Left would have preferred to press for a permanent cancellation of the tests, not to mention for the complete abandonment of the British hydrogen-bomb programme. The bulk of the Shadow Cabinet, by contrast, largely approved the nuclear weapons policy of the Conservative Government, while urging postponement of the central Pacific tests in the interests of party unity.

Richard Rapier Stokes (1897–1957) was a Labour backbencher but had recently (1955–56) served as Opposition spokesman on defence. He looked forward to an agreed cessation of testing in his response to Paper **55a** (Stokes 1957). But Stokes was clearly of the opinion that the Christmas Islands tests must be carried out as planned—unless the need for them could be circumvented by the United States transferring the requisite nuclear technology and information to Britain (a topic of discussion at the Bermuda summit meeting between Macmillan and Eisenhower that was taking place as the Labour M.P. wrote his letter to the editor). Although Stokes insisted a few days later that his argument for an independent nuclear deterrent had been misconstrued in Russell’s second letter to *The Manchester Guardian*—26 March 1957, p. 6 (B&R C57.10)—he made the case for a British hydrogen bomb with even greater conviction in this rejoinder to Paper **55b**.

I do not propose to engage in a nuclear war with Russia. But neither do I wish to depend on the United States as to whether we may use the ultimate deterrent or not.

If Russia contemplates engulfing Europe without fighting on the mainland, but blotting us out in the process as a nuisance, I want it to be quite plain to her that if she sees any such thing she will get it back without hesitation on our part. (Stokes 1957a)

Russell had sent a copy of **55a** to a Japanese correspondent, Ichiro Moritaki. Although he was instructed “to make any use of it that you see fit” (20 March 1957), no confirmation of its publication in Japan has been found. Both these letters to the editor were reprinted in *Yours Faithfully, Bertrand Russell* (2001), pp. 209–10. The copy-texts are the typescript carbons (RAI 220.022181 and RAI 220. 022182 for Papers **55a** and **55b**, respectively) made from the dictated manuscripts in Edith Russell’s hand (RA2 750).

### **55a** Britain’s Bomb (1)

TO THE EDITOR OF “THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN”

SIR,—I wish to join in the already influential protests against the British Government’s decision to carry out a nuclear test at Christmas Island. The hazards are unknown, and the arguments in favour appear to be only those of a rather foolish national vanity. In addition to the arguments against the tests in general, there is in this case the entirely justifiable anger of the Japanese at the wanton and undeserved injury which we propose to inflict upon them. The political disadvantages of carrying out the test far outweigh, on any sane computation, the technical 10 advantages of the knowledge to be gained. Apart, however, from such arguments, there are the much weightier moral considerations. A general agreement to discontinue tests is probably attainable, and it is this that our Government should be seeking to realize.—Yours etc.,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

19 March, 1957. Plas Penrhyn.

### **55b** Britain’s Bomb (2)

TO THE EDITOR OF “THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN”

SIR,—Mr. R.R.Stokes is pursuing a delusive vision in hoping to 20 make us “independent of anyone else in defence of our own shores”. If we were engaged in a nuclear war with Russia while the United States remained neutral, we should be obliterated within a day or two. The possession of nuclear weapons increases the likelihood of this fate and therefore augments our insecurity. I am shocked to learn from a report in your issue of March 23 that Mr. Aubrey Jones, the Minister of Supply, contemplates our entry into a nuclear war without the support of America and imagines that we can be in a position to defend ourselves against Russia in such a war. I had supposed that only a few aged Colonel Blimps still lived in this land of happy dreams,

and I am amazed to find 30 that the British Government is so completely ignorant of things known to all well-informed persons.—Yours etc.,

**BERTRAND RUSSELL.**

23 March, 1957. Plas Penrhyn.



## Should H-bomb Tests Be Continued? [1957]

THIS PAPER is Russell's most considered exposition of a subject which had been brought to the forefront of his political attention by the British Government's announcement of the Christmas Island tests (see Introduction, pp. lv–lvi). It was written especially for *The New Scientist*, where it was published as “The Tests Should Be Stopped”, [1], 19 (28 March 1957): 24–5 (B&R C57.12). In July the article was reprinted as the foreword to an edited collection of scientific papers entitled *Fall Out: Radiation Hazards from Nuclear Explosions* (London: MacGibbon & Kee; New York: Greenberg), pp. 9–13 (B&R B118). Russell had been asked to take on this 1,500-word assignment by his Pugwash collaborator Joseph Rotblat, who was acting in his capacity as executive vice-president of Britain's Atomic Scientists' Association (ASA). Rotblat himself had recently written about the dangers of nuclear testing for the inaugural issue of *The New Scientist* (Rotblat 1957). But he felt that “this article, which deals only with the radiation hazards, should be followed by another dealing with the political arguments against H-bomb tests. I am sure there is no other person who could write such an article better and produce a greater effect on the public than yourself” (23 Jan. 1957).

Rotblat was closely associated with the new weekly publication because the ASA had been entrusted with preparing a special atomic science section for every fourth issue. The journal itself had been launched the previous November as a forum for the popularization of current scientific ideas and their technological applications. The editor was Percy Cudlipp, who had previously worked at the helm of the proLabour *Daily Herald*. Although Russell was extremely adept at rendering modern science in layman's terms, his commission from Rotblat was for something of an overtly political character—so much so that Russell doubted whether he would be able to produce anything acceptable.

I am a little puzzled as to the desired scope of the article that I am to do. I cannot treat the subject politically without expressing controversial opinions and I rather gather that *The New Scientist* would not wish for such opinion as opposed to scientific fact. My own view is that all further tests ought to be abandoned by international agreement but that, if such agreement is unsustainable, our Government should, unilaterally, abandon tests. Is it in order for me to express these views in such an austere factual journal? (2 March 1957)

Having spoken to Cudlipp, however, Rotblat was able to reassure Russell that “as long as we can hear an opposite view as well he will not mind having a controversial issue ventilated” (4 March 1957). Indeed, on 27 March the editor of *The New Scientist* applauded Russell for an article which “gives distinction to our magazine”. Sir George Thomson had been proposed by Rotblat as one possible spokesman for the advocates of nuclear testing, although a different Conservative backbencher, Angus Maude, eventually assumed this role. Maude argued that if a British hydrogen bomb was to be

developed then, quite naturally, its performance must be gauged by experimental explosions. With Britain securely possessed of a reliable thermonuclear weapon, he believed, "this new factor would make both the Russians and the Americans far more likely to conclude a firm agreement to cease further tests of their own". Overall, however, Maude was concerned less with the issue of nuclear testing—"After all, the risk of possible mutations in a hundred years has to be compared with the risk of universal total destruction in ten"—than with justifying Britain's retention of an independent nuclear deterrent. He constructed this case with an amalgam of orthodox anti-Sovietism, post-Suez Tory suspicion of the United States and polite dismissal of Russell's contrary position: "Despite Bertrand Russell's doubts, can any ordinary person believe that the Russians would be as ready to destroy a country if the inevitable result would be the destruction of Russia?" (Maude 1957, 27).

On 8 March Russell enclosed a typescript of 56 in a letter to Rotblat in which he sought permission "to get it printed in other countries and other languages". This does not seem to have occurred to any great extent (B&R lists one Canadian reprint), although Russell did send a copy of his article in answer to a Czechoslovak News Agency survey of "World Scientists on Threat to Humanity". It may have been published in part in Czechoslovakia, for two excerpts were quoted in English in a typescript copy (dated June 1957) of replies received by the agency (RAI 640). In addition, Russell authorized the Tokyo daily *Yomiuri Shimbun* to reprint the article in Japan, and *Fall Out*, the book for which it was used as a foreword, was ultimately translated into eight languages. The copy-text is the typescript carbon, dated 6 March 1957 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RAI 220.022370). According to a marginal note written by Edith on Rotblat's letter to Russell of 21 March, some proofs were returned the following day.

IN THIS ARTICLE I shall not be concerned with the hazards to which H-bomb tests expose the population. This is a matter requiring technical knowledge and still subject to much uncertainty. It has been dealt with by Professor Rotblat in your issue of January 3 and I have nothing to add to his discussion. It is the political aspects of the tests that I wish to discuss.

The tests have roused very wide-spread opposition. Japan, especially, which suffered after the Bikini explosion, has a vociferous public opinion demanding the cessation of tests. This same attitude is nearly universal in India. Large sections of opinion in this country take the same view. It was voiced by Mr. Attlee (as he then was) on behalf of the Labour Party in the House of Commons on March 14, 1955. I do not think that either the British or the American Governments have adequately considered the arguments of those who oppose experimental explosions.

In favour of an agreement between the Soviet Government and the Governments of Western countries to abandon the tests, there is, first of all, the argument that tests cannot be concealed and that there is therefore no need to fear surreptitious bad faith. It is largely this fear which makes agreement on disarmament so difficult. But this impediment does not exist in the case of an agreed abandonment of nuclear tests. There are, in fact, various powerful arguments which should convince both sides that an agreement of this sort would be advantageous to all parties. In the first place, there is no reason to suppose that such an agreement would give a differential advantage to either side, since it would presumably impede research on both sides equally. In the second place, the abandonment of tests would allay the resentment of Neutrals. It cannot be considered surprising that nations which belong to neither camp resent experiments which cause unknown hazards

in every part of the world and not only in the countries which conduct the experiments. In the third place, an agreement to abandon tests would be a step towards peaceful co-existence, and peaceful co-existence has become a necessity since nuclear war is no longer considered as a means of realizing the aims of either side. In the fourth place, while the hazards remain uncertain, it is surely unwise to assess them at the lowest possible level. To diminish these hazards is a universal human interest in which all mankind shares equally. The above arguments are completely impartial as between the Soviet Government and the Governments of the Western Powers. They are arguments which appeal to the welfare of both groups equally and which are, therefore, suitable as motives for a diplomatic agreement. The Soviet Government has, on occasion, seemed willing to enter into such an agreement, but the Western Powers have not been convinced that this willingness was sincere. I think we ought to show more readiness to test Soviet sincerity.

This brings me to a second group of arguments. I think that, whatever Russia's policy may be, it is quite clearly in the interests of the Western Powers to proclaim loudly and with unmistakable sincerity their desire for an agreement with the Soviet Government on this point. The expression of such a desire, if it were convincing, would afford a test of Russian sincerity. But it would do much more than this. It would have an enormous beneficial effect upon neutral opinion everywhere. In Japan especially, it would very likely be a deciding factor in ending Japanese hesitation between East and West. Its influence in India and throughout the Middle East would also be much greater than the Governments of America and Britain seem to realize, and these Governments would at last be able to acknowledge more honestly than they have hitherto done the magnitude of the peril to which they and the Soviet Government are exposing the human race. [See the pronouncement of the Federation of American Scientists as reported in the *Manchester Guardian* of March 8, 1955.] One can understand that some men who are concerned with technical progress may not wish their work to be interrupted and always imagine that their progress will be more rapid than that of scientists and technicians on the other side. But I am afraid this is an illusion, and perhaps commoner among politicians than among technicians. In so far as it has been possible to penetrate the veil of secrecy, which all Governments make as opaque as they can, it does not seem as if either side had any pre-eminence as regards progress in nuclear weapons, and therefore it does not seem as if either side would suffer from a cessation of dangerous experiments.

The experiments, one must suppose, serve two purposes: to make bombs more destructive and to make them less expensive. If these two purposes are pursued with equal success on both sides, both sides are worse off than they would be with less destructive and more expensive bombs on both sides. Since both sides have already arrived at the point where the destructiveness of nuclear weapons is so great that neither side can calmly contemplate employing them, there is no good reason for wishing them to be made even more destructive unless this increase of destructiveness could be on one side only, which there is not the slightest reason to expect.

For these various reasons, any person who considers the matter dispassionately must conclude that it would be immensely to the advantage of the Western Powers to conduct a vigorous campaign aimed at concluding with Russia an agreement to abandon the tests. I think this would be obvious to the Governments of America and Britain if their members had more leisure for reflection and for assimilating the new ways of thinking which are necessary if the thought of nuclear war is abandoned. 40

The policy of the British Government, which in this matter is apparently the same as that of the American Government, was re-stated by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on March 5. His statement was somewhat vague on the subject of an agreed abolition of tests without a general disarmament agreement. To make the tests wait for such a general agreement is to postpone the matter indefinitely if past experience of the disarmament conference is any guide.

I come now to a more disputable contention. Suppose such a campaign has been conducted and has failed to reach agreement with the Russians. What should, in that case, be our policy? I believe that even in that case we should explicitly and emphatically abandon H-bomb tests. I think that if we did so we should put Russia so much in the wrong with Asian opinion and with neutral opinion generally that Russian propaganda, which the Western Powers now find very difficult to combat, would find itself paralyzed unless Russia acquiesced in the agreement which it had previously rejected. I am afraid that the British Government is actuated more than it should be by considerations of national prestige and by a dislike of playing second fiddle to America. The Prime Minister, in the recent statement to which I have already alluded, said, "I should have thought it was common sense to put ourselves in the position that we have been working for so long to attain, that we should not be in a weaker position than those two Great Powers [America and Russia]." This is to misapprehend the role which Britain can still play in the world. From the point of view of power politics, it is impossible for Britain to achieve anything approaching equality with America and Russia, but we could, if our statesmen would divest themselves of nostalgic Victorian dreams, still play a great part, not through power, but through wisdom. We could join with those who proclaim that nuclear warfare is an unimaginable horror and that those who persist in tests of which the danger cannot be estimated are perpetrating against the human race a new kind of crime of which the immense turpitude fails to be realized because of the insane delusions connected with the out-dated game of power-politics.

I do not believe that our liberty and the way of life that we wish to preserve depend upon the ability of the West to slaughter some hundreds of millions of Russians within a space of two or three days [See the statement of the U.S. General Gavin as reported in the *Manchester Guardian* of June 30, 1956], and I do not believe that so long as we rely upon this kind of ability we can avoid a fundamental moral corruption. Risks must be run whatever we do. Mr. Liddell Hart, whose authority is unquestionable, in a letter to *The Times* of January 5, 1955, stated that "Some ten hydrogen bombs could destroy all this country's main centres of industry and chief seaports, thus paralyzing its organic existence—and even five might suffice", and he went on to state that there was very little hope of our being able to prevent the delivery of this number of bombs during the first days of a nuclear war. We know, authoritatively, from Mr. Dulles, that we have been on the brink of war several times in recent years. These are the risks to which we have exposed ourselves by the vain search for security. Can anybody with any plausibility maintain that there would be greater risks in a policy proclaiming more universal aims and a greater regard for the future of mankind? And if risks must be run, is it not better to run the risks in pursuit of something ennobling and splendid rather than in the perfecting of weapons of man's destruction? For such reasons, I should rejoice if the British Government were to abandon, not only the projected tests, but the manufacture of H-bombs. Even from the point of view of security, I should regard this as the wisest course, but it is not security that is my deepest ground for desiring this course. My deepest

ground is that I do not wish to be an accomplice in a vast atrocity which threatens the world with overwhelming disaster.



## Abstract and Script for a Radio Broadcast [1957]

RUSSELL ATTACHED A good deal of importance to Paper **57b**, which was broadcast on the General Overseas Service of the BBC on 18 April 1957 and in translation on the German Service on 5 May. Not only was the script prepared at Russell's own suggestion, but he also lobbied for its rebroadcast on the BBC's Home Service. On 13 February Gordon Mosley, the head of overseas talks and features, had reminded Russell about the possibility of his recording something—either a series or a single talk—on “the contemporary crisis in world developments”. While expressing his doubts about this plan, Russell countered with a slightly different idea.

I am not sure whether what I have in mind to say is suitable for the BBC. I do not wish to go into any of the special thorny questions that at present agitate the world. What I do wish to do is to develop a coldly logical argument as to the necessary next step if a nuclear war is to be ruled out.  
(20 Feb. 1957, RA REC. ACQ. 1,351b)

He even took the trouble to supply an abstract (**57a**) of the kind of “coldly logical argument” which he envisaged. This enclosure and its covering letter were circulated inside the overseas talks department and may also have been passed up to some more senior BBC personnel. Russell's call for a reconstituted United Nations was praised in an unsigned, confidential minute written on Russell's reply to Mosley: “The advantage of showing that this country contains someone with the moral initiative and authority (plus intelligence) for such a proposal seems to me to outweigh any possible disadvantages from an official viewpoint...” (RA REC. ACQ. 1,351b). The perceived “disadvantages” derived, no doubt, from Russell's implied criticisms of British and American policy.

On 26 February Mosley notified Russell that he looked forward to receiving the script of this “important talk”, which was dictated to Edith on 11 March and sent to the BBC three days later. Russell had probably worked from the aforementioned typescript carbon abstract, as well as the following shorter holograph outline (reproduced as Plate VI) headed “Next Step (BBC)”:

*Next Step (BBC)*

Disaster of war admitted.  
But doesn't mean won't happen.

A and B=won't say which is which.

Doctrine of limited wars: Korea, Egypt.  
Risks: one side counts on other's restraint. Other side loses its temper—Hitler after Munich.

Situation where defence if war partial, not if total?

One side can make many small gains if no big wars, temptation to other side.

Passion and mistakes of militarists—Hitler and Japan.

Banning of nuclear weapons useless—

If situations leading to war are to be avoided, must prepare methods *before* situations arise.

Principles for arbitrators:

- (1) No net advantage to either side.
- (2) Ease points of friction.
- (3) Where possible, follow wishes of inhabitants.
- (4) Reject measures inflicting undeserved economic damage.

(RAI 220.021520)

The talk was recorded by Russell in English on 5 April and in German five days later, during a two-week sojourn at 29 Millbank, London. Before completing his script, Russell had indicated to Gordon Mosley that he was keen for “the same broadcast to be given also on the Home Service” (8 March 1957). Mosley’s deputy, R.E.Gregson, tried to accommodate this request but did not succeed. On 3 May Russell expressed to Gregson his regret that “so far, only foreigners have been allowed to hear this broadcast”. Gregson mentioned his earlier efforts and promised to use Russell’s letter “to reinforce the suggestion” (6 May 1957). On 21 March Gregson had asked whether Russell might “care to make the thesis you advance in the script the basis for a discussion also?” Russell’s acceptance of this offer led to the recording and broadcast of Paper 44.

The only additional publicity for Paper 57b, however, again came from outside Britain—on this occasion from the Munich-based German branch of the international Grotius Foundation. On each anniversary of the death of the seventeenth-century Dutch jurist and legal scholar Hugo Grotius, the organization honoured somebody dedicated to the ideals of international law and human rights. On 1 June 1957 Russell was notified by the foundation’s Hans Keller that he had been chosen as that year’s recipient of its award, which would be conferred on the seventh annual Grotius Day (28 August 1957). He was also asked to speak on the conference’s theme of “International Law and World Conscience”, with Keller suggesting that Russell may already have something “which could perfectly be adapted to this subject...”. Russell declined to accept the Grotius medal in person but did agree to send the text and tape-recording of a speech. He even intended to submit something entirely new but resorted to forwarding the typescript of his BBC talk (57b)—with the revised opening that is reported as the variant reading at T319:27.

In a covering note Russell expressed his regret that “reasons of health (probably Edith’s) have made it impossible for me to prepare the kind of address that I had hoped to send you” (12 Aug. 1957). But Keller was more than satisfied with Russell’s contribution, which was printed and circulated to the gathering in Munich under the title “Survival through International Law”. Previously, on 15 June, Keller had intimated to Russell that the text of his speech might subsequently appear in the Grotius Foundation’s annual review or, alternatively, as a small booklet featuring German and French versions as well. However, no record of its publication in either form has been traced. To mark the twelfth Grotius Day in 1962, and Russell’s ninetieth birthday, he was again formally

honoured by the foundation. After receiving his first Grotius medal five years previously, he had told Hans Keller that it was “very pleasant to be associated with Grotius across the centuries” (10 Sept. 1957, RAI 150).

The copy-text for Paper **57a** is a single-leaf typescript carbon (RAI 220.022400), showing two emendations that were incorporated into the clean typescript that Russell enclosed with his letter to Gordon Mosley of 20 February 1957 (photocopy in RA REC. ACQ. 1,351b). For Paper **57b** the five-leaf typescript has been used (RAI 220.022360); it is marked “A” in the upper-left corner of fol. 1 and shows two minor emendations that were incorporated into a clean typescript carbon. The latter document, however, shows no substantive differences from the revised version of the copy-text, which had been prepared from an emended six-leaf typescript carbon that is dated 11 March 1957 and labelled “for BBC European service”. The four lengthy cuts introduced to the copy-text (see T320:9, T320:14, T321:29, T321:36) were marked up provisionally on this first typed version. The earliest form of the text, also located at RAI 220.022360, is the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand, dated 11 March 1957. At the same archival location there are also two BBC typescripts: one in English and one in German. At some point the BBC forwarded a copy of the English version (which is substantively the same as the copy-text) to Viscount Templewood—probably prior to the recording of his *London Forum* discussion with Russell and Sir Charles Webster (Paper **44**: see General Headnote to Part V, pp. 200–1). It seems likely that further (unknown) excisions or revisions were made to Russell’s script before its broadcast in English, since “Not as recorded” was written by hand on the first leaf of this item from the Templewood Papers (photocopy in RA REC. ACQ. 1,377). On 14 August 1957 Russell was asked by Margery Withers to approve publication of the German version in *Hier Spricht London*. Its appearance in this journal of the BBC’s European services, however, has not been confirmed. Although the cuts to the first typed version were likely made only to meet an allotted broadcast time, they have not been restored to the present volume since Russell was satisfied enough with the abridgement to send it in this form to the German branch of the Grotius Foundation. The revised opening to this version of his paper was dictated to Edith Russell on 12 August 1957 and is also present on a two-leaf typescript carbon (RAI 220.022240), comprising this additional material plus a retyped fol. 1 of the copy-text.

### 57a Next Step (Abstract)

NUCLEAR WAR NOW ruled out on both sides.

How, then, decide disputes?

Hitherto, always by war or threat of war.

Present situation leads to an absurdity: if two groups, A and B, disagree, and A is willing to risk war but B is not, A will win every argument. That is to say, in any dispute between lunatics and sane men, the lunatics must prevail. Consequently at present, neither side dare abandon lunacy.

The first step required is a diplomatic détente leading to an agreement to submit disputes to arbitration. The arbitrators to consist of representa- 10 tives of the disputants in equal numbers, with the balance held by representatives of States not concerned in the disputes.

The United Nations should be enlarged to contain all States, and the Assembly of the United Nations should be charged, whenever such a dispute arises, with division of States

into three groups, viz., those on one side, those on the other, and those whose interests are not involved. The body so chosen should arbitrate. The Communist and anti-Communist Blocs should bind themselves to accept such arbitration. The United Nations should inaugurate the movement for such an agreement.

Such an agreement, if concluded, would make possible a drastic reduction of armaments, including the destruction of nuclear weapons.

Repeated Disarmament Conferences have proved that disarmament is not possible without a previous diplomatic détente.

As soon as war is ruled out, some such method as I have suggested is necessary if disputes are ever to be settled.

### 57b The Next Step in International Relations

THE DEVELOPMENT OF nuclear warfare has produced a situation which requires new maxims of state-craft for which the politicians of the world are unprepared. The Great Powers have admitted, some tacitly and some explicitly, that a large-scale nuclear war would be a 30 complete disaster to both sides and also to neutrals. It is not a very difficult process of reasoning to conclude that a large-scale nuclear war must not take place. But, although this would be generally admitted, nobody is willing to take the necessary steps in order to secure the result. This is not merely due to stupidity on the part of statesmen: the problem is a very difficult one and demands on both sides a new kind of thinking. I want to consider it first, in what I am about to say, in a spirit such as one would apply to a chess problem. In a chess problem, the usual rule is: white to play and mate in three moves. Our problem will have to be differently worded. The aim is not to secure a checkmate, which is admitted to be impossible. The aim must be to secure a draw, and it must be an obvious and indisputable draw. One could imagine two chess players contesting before a Sultan in *The Arabian Nights*, and that both should be under sentence of death unless they achieved a draw. This is exactly analogous to the situation in the world at present. In order to eliminate bias, I will call the two chess players "A" and "B". One of them represents the Communist Powers and the other the anti-Communist Powers, but I do not wish to say which is which.

10 It may easily happen that, so long as there is not a large-scale nuclear war, A can make many small gains at the expense of B, and that these may amount cumulatively to a great gain. If B feels that the employment of nuclear weapons might reverse the situation, the temptation to irresponsible militarists might easily become irresistible.

An agreement to abolish nuclear weapons would not, in isolation, be very useful. Neither A nor B would feel any confidence that the other side was keeping to the agreement, and, in any case, the agreement would not be binding if war broke out, so that a race to manufacture the previously banned bombs would be the main military effort on both sides. Indeed, 20 the fact that they had been banned might diminish the dread of war and therefore increase its likelihood. Something much more fundamental than a paper prohibition of nuclear bombs is necessary if the impasse is to be solved.

The present situation involves a patent absurdity: if one of the two groups admits that a nuclear war would involve the defeat of all parties, while the other side does not admit this, the side which is willing to threaten war will win every argument. That is to say, if one side consists of sane men and the other of lunatics, the lunatics will soon become

omnipotent. Since each side suspects the other of this kind of lunacy, neither side, at present, dares to abandon what it knows to be a kind of madness.

Diplomacy between States has been conducted, hitherto, by means of the threat of war. War has occurred whenever the experts on the two sides differed as to who would win. In the present situation, neither side can win in a war. Diplomats, therefore, are completely at sea in attempts to reach agreement where there is a dispute. If the deadlock is to be ended, it can only be by applying to international disagreements the methods that are employed in the internal affairs of democratic States. If you belong to such a State, you may think very ill of the party to which you are opposed, you may think that its victory would be a disaster, and you may do every thing permissible within the framework of law to prevent its victory. But there are things which it is admitted that you must not do. You should not resort to assassination or civil war. Fanatics who do resort to such measures lose the support of public opinion and, in an ordered, stable community, are resisted without undue difficulty. To achieve something similar in international relations is absolutely necessary if the danger of great wars is to be avoided.

If this as yet somewhat remote possibility is ever to be realized, it will have to be approached by gradual steps, each obviously prompted by the necessities of the moment and each leading towards the ultimate goal of the substitution of law for force in disputes between States.

The first step—and this is one which has lately seemed increasingly likely to be taken—is to increase the authority of the United Nations, and more particularly of the Assembly as opposed to the Security Council. 10 (The Security Council, owing to the Veto, cannot become the germ of a world government.) The United Nations should not, as it does at present, exclude certain States on the ground that some people do not like them. On the contrary, it should embrace all States without exception.

The Assembly of the United Nations should be charged, whenever a dangerous dispute arises, with the duty of arbitration. I do not think that the Assembly itself would be a suitable body for drawing up the terms of such an arbitration. It would have to delegate this work to arbitrators appointed *ad hoc*. The arbitrators should represent three groups in equal numbers: namely, those on one side of the dispute, those on the other side, and those who might be considered neutral. This third group would hold the balance of power among the arbitrators, and might be expected to aim at a reasonable compromise.

The United Nations should lay down certain principles for the guidance of arbitrators. These principles should have one over-riding purpose: namely, to diminish the temptation to disputants to resort to war.

For this reason one of the main principles guiding arbitrators should be to avoid any serious net gain to either side, for, if there is such a gain, the losing side can hardly be expected to accept the arbitration.

Easing points of friction should be an important part of the duty of the United Nations. They should, for example, police the Israeli-Egyptian frontier and be in a position to prevent or punish any illegal attack by either side. Wherever there are such points of friction, it should be made completely clear that no unilateral action will be allowed to alter the *status quo*, but that any such alteration must be made, if at all, by a resolution of the United Nations.

This brings me to an important point. The decisions of the United Nations cannot be guided entirely by the present maxims of international law. In the municipal law of developed countries, the rights of private property are subject to innumerable restrictions which have been made in the public interest. Private *national* property will have to be

subject to similar restrictions: it must not be considered proper, on merely legalistic grounds, for a country to inflict grave economic damage upon other countries with which it is at peace. I do not criticize the accepted maxim that an international authority should not interfere in the internal affairs of a national State unless there is a grave international reason for doing so. But as the world becomes more unified economically, there are an increasing number of economic matters which could once be regarded as purely national, but are now so bound up with the economic interests of many countries that they cannot be left to the unfettered discretion of a single national government.

Unrestricted nationalism is, in the long run, incompatible with world peace. Whenever a small nation is tempted, in pursuit of its legal rights, to inflict damage upon a number of great nations, the great nations concerned are tempted to resist by force if no legal machinery for resistance exists. The rights of nations, like the rights of individuals within a nation, must not be regarded as absolute. If they are so regarded, the result is anarchy, and international anarchy is liable, in the present state of the world, to be even more harmful than national anarchy. If the countries of the world were to abolish internal criminal law and no longer inflict punishment upon thieves and murderers, the result, as almost everybody will admit, would be horrifying, but it would not be as dreadful as the result to be feared from the present absence of any legal methods of restraining criminal nations. If thieves and murderers were allowed free rein, the most cunning and ruthless of them would in time establish a new government—doubtless a very unpleasant one, but one in which human life would continue. But if the international anarchy is allowed to persist, we have to face the prospect of a world in which not even thieves and murderers will survive. The grounds in favour of an international legal control of separate nations are thus stronger—indeed, much stronger—than the grounds in favour of municipal criminal law. These grounds are such as appeal to the universal interests of mankind with equal force. They are not grounds directed against any nation or group, but grounds involving solely the common interests of all mankind. For this reason, advocacy of world government should not involve hostility to any nation or group, but should be presented in a wholly impartial manner. The pursuit of national interests would persist under a world government, as the pursuit of sectional interests persists in a democracy, but it would persist within the limits of law and could no longer be conducted by threats of mass extermination, which can no longer hope to be one-sided. The argument is simple: do you wish the human race to survive or to perish? I cannot but think that when this simple issue has come to be generally understood, mankind will consent to the measures necessary for their own survival.

## Earl Russell and the H-bomb [1957]

THIS PAPER REITERATES and explains Russell's frequently voiced opposition to any straightforward prohibition of nuclear weapons (see *Papers* 28: xxiv–xxvi). On this occasion his sceptical viewpoint was not intended for publication but disclosed in private correspondence with Sheila Jones, secretary of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests. Jones had presumably provided an introduction to the Japanese visitor Konishi who, according to Russell's letter of 31 May 1957, had been "disappointed" and confused by the position adopted by Russell when they had met at Plas Penrhyn earlier the same day. On 3 June Russell's letter to Jones was read at a committee meeting of the NCANWT, where the editor of *Peace News*, Hugh Brock, expressed an interest in quoting from it in print. The necessary permission was sought and obtained by the NCANWT'S Ianthe Carswell, and Russell's letter was accordingly published under the title used here (with omissions and some editorial interpolation) in *Peace News*, no. 1,097 (5 July 1957): 7(B&RC57.19a).

The copy-text is the manuscript of the letter to Sheila Jones which Russell dictated to Edith on 31 May 1957 (RA2 750).

I AM NOT prepared to sponsor a movement for the prohibition of nuclear weapons. I have frequently explained my reasons for this which are:

(a) That, while East-West tension remains what it is, neither side would believe that the other was observing an agreement for the abolition of nuclear weapons;

(b) That mutual suspicion of a breach would make the tension even greater than it is at present;

(c) That the fear of nuclear weapons being diminished, war would become more probable;

(d) That, after war had begun, each side would manufacture nuclear weapons in spite of previous agreements to the contrary.

This has been my position throughout, as you will see from the marked passage in the enclosed reproduction of a broadcast that I did in December 1954.

I am whole-heartedly with the abolition of nuclear tests, because tests cannot be concealed.



## Population Pressure [1957]

THERE WAS A close connection in Russell's political thinking between the seemingly discrete threats posed by the nuclear arms race and over-population in the developing world. The connection which he makes explicit in Paper **59a** had been suggested previously in *New Hopes for a Changing World* (1951). More recently, in Paper **6** he had voiced an acute concern that the staggering rate of population growth in the world's poorest countries "will swamp all improvements of technique and leave Asia and Africa to the alternatives of abject poverty or world conquest" (29:26–8).

Paper **59a** was written for a collection of essays marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Family Planning Association. The FPA was Britain's preeminent birth-control advocacy group. It had been formed (as the National Birth Control Association) from the merger in July 1930 of a host of smaller societies. After some uncertain beginnings the organization attracted a growing number of influential and respectable adherents, and by the mid-1950s it could even count on a modicum of official encouragement for its work. Russell's contribution to this ten-part symposium, *The Human Sum* (London: Heinemann, 1957), pp. 63–73 (B&R B120), was later reprinted in *Fact and Fiction* (1961), pp. 238–46.

Publication of *The Human Sum* was delayed until 7 October 1957, more than two years after the FPA had celebrated its silver jubilee. Russell had agreed to submit something for the book as early December 1955, after meeting the organization's honorary secretary, Nancy Raphael. According to her letter of 12 December, Russell seems to have been especially interested in relating the problem of overpopulation to the nuclear peril. When she next wrote, however, Raphael wondered whether Russell might instead "feel moved to do a 'reminiscing' piece"—recounting both the gradual shift in social attitudes towards birth control during his lifetime and his own exertions to this end (9 Jan. 1956). But Russell disliked this suggestion, feeling that an article in this vein "would tend to give readers a sense of complacency for which there is no justification". Moreover, he suspected that his friend Julian Huxley, who had contributed a statistical overview of global population-growth and natural resources, "will have said all the things I want to say..." (17 Jan. 1956). Before he would proceed further, therefore, he wanted to see a final version of Huxley's essay. The necessary arrangements were made, and on 27 March 1956 Russell sent his 3,000-word typescript to the FPA'S London headquarters. In his earlier letter to Nancy Raphael, he had indicated that "A great deal of what I want to say is contained in a new volume by PEP called *World Population and Resources* (PEP 1955)". As the Annotations reveal, Russell drew not only on the report by the progressive policy research institute Political and Economic Planning, but also on the FPA'S quarterly magazine, *Family Planning*, and on a newsletter published by the International Planned Parenthood Federation. He also kept a file of newspaper clippings about the population question—a testament of his determination to keep abreast of this, for him, most critical of issues.

Paper **59b** has not appeared in print before but was broadcast in Chinese by an unknown speaker on the BBC's Far Eastern Service on 18 June 1957. It concluded a four-part series, opened by the recently retired director of the London School of Economics, Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders (see A333:38), and continued in two separate talks written by the University College Hospital obstetrician Dr. William Nixon (see A333:38). At least part of Russell's contribution may have been recorded by him in English as well, for the Chinese programme organizer who had secured his participation in the project had suggested that it would "add greatly to the effect of the broadcast if we could have a minute or so of your actual voice speaking in English" (from P.G.E.Nash, 8 May 1957).

The series had been organized following a remarkably frank admission by the Chinese state that the country's economic development was not keeping pace with the rate of population growth. The Communist regime tended not to make such bleak assessments of the likely impact of over-population (A330:43–331:2). According to a clipping from *The Times* in RA, however, the *People's Daily* was now recommending abandonment of the Chinese custom of early marriage and that "Contraceptives should be sold at cheap prices and all methods of birth control should be investigated and those that were safe should be widely practised" (8 March 1957).

Russell's willingness to prepare a broadcast on this theme was entirely consistent with his long-standing interest both in birth control and in Chinese affairs. His text was based on this undated manuscript outline:

Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders (No. 1)  
 Professor Nixon (2 and 3)  
 Equilibrium of birth and death (subject to technique)  
 Lowering of death-rate.  
 Two dangers: over-population and extinction.  
 Connected: war if population not controlled.  
 Private benefits of birth-control.  
 Wisdom of China, India, and Japan.  
 Prejudice rapidly overcome: Great Britain when I was young  
 Tradition in China: family, ancestors.  
 Tradition weaker than formerly.  
 Need of new morality: world-wide.  
 World unified except politically.  
 Under-nourishment unnecessary.  
 Hopes for happy world. (RAI 220.022250)

Nash later supplied some rather more detailed guidelines for the broadcast than Russell was used to receiving from the BBC, including this advice: "As regards our general policy in broadcasts relating to actions by the Chinese Government, we do not take an *aggressively* critical line even when we disagree, but treat them seriously in the light of the circumstances giving rise to the decision" (31 May 1957). A final letter from Nash,

dated 24 June 1957 and enclosing mimeographed copies of each instalment of the series, notified Russell that all four talks were to be rebroadcast by Hong Kong Radio.

The copy-text for Paper **59a** is the typescript carbon printer's copy for the version in *Fact and Fiction* (RAI 210.006986-F5), prepared originally from the manuscript which Russell had dictated to Edith Russell on 23 March 1956 (RAI 220.022390). Filed with the dictated manuscript are the page proofs of a second reprint, in Stuart Mudd, *et al.*, eds., *The Population Crisis and the Use of World Resources* (The Hague: Dr. W. Junk Publishers; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964). For Paper **59b** the BBC mimeograph has been chosen as copy-text (RAI 220.022250). At the same archival location there is also an error-strewn typescript carbon dated 15 June 1956.

### 59a Population Pressure and War

THE WORLD is faced at the present day with two antithetical dangers. There is the risk, which has begun to sink into popular consciousness, that the human race may put an end to itself by a too lavish use of H-bombs. There is an opposite risk, not nearly so widely appreciated, that the human population of our planet may increase to the point where only a starved and miserable existence is possible except for a small minority of powerful people. These risks, though diametrically opposed to each other, are nevertheless connected. Nothing is more likely to lead to an H-bomb war than the threat of universal destitution through over-population. It is with the nature of this threat and with the means for averting it that I shall be concerned in what follows.

Wars caused by pressure of population are no novelty. Four times—so the historians of antiquity assure us—the population of Arabia was led to over-run neighbouring countries by drought at home. The results were many and of many kinds. They included Babylon and Nineveh, the Code of Hammurabi, the art of predicting eclipses, The Old Testament, and finally Islam. The barbarians who destroyed the Roman Empire did not keep accurate vital statistics, but there can be little doubt that population outgrew the resources of their northern forests and that this pressure precipitated them against the rich Mediterranean lands. During the last few centuries population pressure in Europe has been relieved by emigration to the Western Hemisphere and, as Red Indians do not write history, we have thought of this process as peaceable. The East, however, has enjoyed no such outlet. It was mainly population pressure that precipitated Japan's disastrous excursion into imperialism. In China, the Taiping Rebellion, civil war, and Japanese aggression, for a time kept population in check. In India, the population grew and grows unchecked, producing a downward plunge towards misery and starvation.

30 But, although population pressure has been a vital element in human affairs from time immemorial, there are several new factors which make the present situation different from anything that has preceded it. The first of these is the utter disastrousness of scientific warfare which means that war makes the survival of anything doubtful and the survival of any good thing almost certainly impossible. The second is the absence of empty or nearly empty land such as those into which the White man overflowed from the time of Columbus to the present day. The third, which has an immense importance but has hardly begun to be recognized, is the success of medicine in diminishing the death rate. These three factors taken together have produced a situation which is new in human history. It must be coped with if utter disaster is to be avoided. The East has been

awakening to this necessity; the West, largely for ideological reasons, has been more backward.

A few facts are necessary to make the situation clear, but I shall deal with them briefly as Professor Huxley's previous article has dealt with most of them. The population of the world, which at most periods has been very nearly stationary, began to grow with unprecedented rapidity about the year 1650. Since then the rate of growth has been not merely maintained but continually increased and is now much more rapid than it was even twenty years ago. The present rate of increase in the population of the world is, roughly, one a second or eighty thousand a day or thirty million a year, and there is every reason to think that during the next decade the rate of population growth will become even greater. As a consequence of the growth in numbers during the last twenty years, human beings, on the average, are less well nourished than they were before the Second World War. It is considered that 2200 calories is the least upon which health and vigour can be maintained and that those who have less than this are under-nourished. Adopting this standard, half the world was under-nourished during the thirties and two-thirds of it is under-nourished now. To this process of deterioration no limit can be set except by a slowing-up of the increase in numbers. A careful survey of the world's resources in the matter of food leads to the conclusion that technical advances in agriculture cannot keep pace with the great army of new mouths to be fed. Moreover, technical advances can barely hold their own against the deterioration of the soil which results from a desire for quick returns. There is yet another matter of policy which has played a great part in the USSR and is destined to play a great part in China as well as in various other countries. This is the determination, for reasons of national power and prestige, to industrialize very quickly and even at the expense of agriculture. In the existing state of the world, one can hardly blame countries for this policy. Before the First World War, Russia had little industry but was an exporter of grain. Before the Second World War, Russia had much industry and had ceased to export grain. Russia was defeated in the First World War and was victorious in the Second. In view of such facts we cannot wonder at the race towards rapid industrializing on which many under-developed countries have embarked.

All these reasons make it nearly certain that poverty and under-nourishment will increase in many of the most important parts of the world during at least the next twenty years, even if everything possible is done to prevent this result. The downward trend will continue until the growth of population has been slowed up. The deterioration in living conditions must be expected to produce increasing discontent and increasing envy of the more prosperous parts of the world. Such feelings tend to produce war even if, on a sane survey, no good can come of war to anybody.

In regard to the population problem there is an enormous difference between the white and non-white parts of the world. In most white countries there has been a continual decline in the birth rate during the last eighty years and, at the same time, such a rapid advance in technique that the growth in population has not been incompatible with a rise in the standard of life. But in the East, in Africa, and in tropical America the situation is very different. While the death rate has declined enormously, the birth rate has remained nearly stationary and the nations concerned have not enjoyed those outlets which enabled Western Europe to prosper during the nineteenth century. Let us consider the three most important countries of the East: India, China and Japan. These three countries, between them, contain two-fifths of the population of the world. China, where the vital statistics are somewhat uncertain, is estimated to have a population of 583 million and an

annual increase of 11.6 million. India has a population of 372 million and an annual increase of 4.8 million. Japan has a population of 86.7 million and an annual increase of 1.2 million. All these three countries, as well as the USSR, have recently undergone a change of policy in regard to population. In India and Japan, this change has been very notable. Nehru inaugurated the change by a pronouncement which had no precedent among the leading statesmen of the world: "We should", he said, "be a far more advanced nation if our population were about half what it is." In pursuance of this policy, his government inaugurated a birth control campaign. Unfortunately, so far, economic and ideological reasons combined have led to the adoption of ineffective methods, but there is every reason to hope that better methods will be adopted before long. The Japanese Government in an official bulletin published in December 1940, just one year before Pearl Harbour, said: "If we think of the distant future of mutual prosperity in Asia, and if we give heed to the glorious mission of the Japanese race, the one thing of which we can never have enough is the number of superior people belonging to the Imperial nation." Defeat in war has changed the attitude of the Japanese Government, which is now doing everything in its power to lower the 30 rate of population growth. In the absence of birth control information, abortions in Japan have become extremely prevalent. According to Dr. Yasuaki Koguchi there were between 1,800,000 and 2,300,000 induced abortions in the one year 1953. So desperate is the economic situation that large numbers of women have resorted to sterilization. The Japanese Government, although it does not forbid abortion, is aware that contraception would be preferable and does what it can to encourage it.

Both China and Russia have been compelled by hard facts to take up an attitude not consistent with what Communists have hitherto regarded as Marxist orthodoxy. They have been in the habit hitherto of proclaiming that only under Capitalism does a population problem exist and that under Communism over-population cannot occur in any foreseeable future. In Russia abortion, which Stalin had made illegal, was made again legal by a decree of November 23, 1955. China, during the past two years, has permitted and even encouraged propaganda for scientific methods of contraception avowedly "at the general request of the masses" and in the hope of bringing about a steady fall in the Chinese birth rate.

In all these four countries—Russia, India, China and Japan—the main difficulty is not now the opposition of Government or of public opinion to birth control; but the lack of the necessary appliances and the extreme poverty which would prevent their purchase even if they were obtainable. It is for this reason that abortion is common in spite of the danger to health that it involves. But, however great the difficulties may be, there is good reason to hope that in all four countries the birth rate will be much reduced within a generation.

In under-developed countries that are still under Western domination, a less enlightened policy prevails. In Africa, the West Indies and the tropical part of Central and South America nothing is done to check the increase of population, and the standard of life is, in consequence, continually falling. Western nations, and especially the United States, spend great sums of money in the hope of benefitting under-developed nations, but the hoped-for benefit does not result because it is not accompanied by control of population. On the balance, what the West spends philanthropically on under-developed regions merely increases the number of sufferers and augments the terrible sum of human misery. It is a humiliating reflection for those who are inclined to feel complacent about what are called "Western Values" that on this supremely important question, upon

which the whole future of mankind depends, the West is less enlightened than the East and less capable of rational adjustment to circumstances. This is due, no doubt, in large part to the fact that the most powerful Western countries, owing to their low birth rates, do not have a serious domestic population problem. Western practice at home is at variance with Western theory. What people do is right, but what they think they ought to do is wrong. What they think they ought to do has disastrous consequences, not at home, but wherever Western nations dominate less developed regions either directly or through financial and medical assistance. By their superstitious and benighted policy, they are breeding great areas of discontent and hostility.

There are in the world at present sharply marked divisions between areas of prosperity and areas of poverty. In Western Europe and North America and Australia, the immense majority of the population are adequately nourished. In Africa, India and China, a large majority have less food than is necessary for health and vigour. This situation is not getting better. On the contrary, it is getting worse. The poorer countries are growing poorer, while the richer ones grow richer. It is mainly the increase of population that causes the poverty of the poorer countries. The resulting situation is explosive. It is hardly to be expected that the less prosperous parts of the world will tamely acquiesce in the continually widening inequality. The situation is of just that kind that in the past has always led to war and conquest. However irrational a resort to war in modern circumstances may be, hunger and sullen anger may, in desperation, produce an outbreak that can end only in utter disaster. There cannot be secure peace in the world while the present economic inequalities persist. If peace is to become secure, it can only be through an improvement in the standard of life in undeveloped regions, and this improvement will have to be so great and so long-continued as to give a prospect of ultimate economic equality. 10 As things are at present, if the world's supply of food were divided equally among all the populations of the world, there would have to be a catastrophic decline in the Western standard of life, and it is obvious that Western nations would not submit to such a decline except as a result of defeat in war. Hopes of peace, therefore, must rest on measures designed to benefit the East without injuring the West, and such measures are impossible unless they involve a very great fall in the birth rate of the more prolific countries.

It is difficult not to be filled with despair when one contemplates the blindness of statesmanship and of every-day popular thought on the issues 20 with which modern man is faced. The leading powers of the world spend enormous sums and devote their best brains to the production of methods of killing each other. Eminent moral leaders give their blessing to such efforts, and at the same time tell us that it is wicked to prevent the births which, by their excessive number, drive the nations on to the invention of H-bombs. I could wish to see it generally recognized in the West, as it is coming to be recognized in the East, that the problem of over-population could probably be painlessly solved by the devotion to birth control of one-hundredth or even one-thousandth of the sum at present devoted to armament. The most urgent practical need is research into some method 30 of birth control which could be easily and cheaply adopted by even very poor populations. There is, at present, only an infinitesimal research on this all-important matter, although it is in the highest degree probable that rather more research and rather more public encouragement could produce incalculably beneficial results.

Given a successful outcome to such research, there should be in every town and village of the more prolific countries centres of birth control information and public assistance as regards the supply of birth control apparatus. The Western nations have a

special responsibility in this matter, for it is the discoveries of Western medicine that have so lowered the 40 death rate as to produce a lack of balance that, on a global scale, is a wholly new phenomenon. I will give two illustrations out of many. In Ceylon, when DDT was introduced to combat malaria, the death rate fell within two or three years to the level of Western death rates, while the birth rate remained constant, with the result that there is at present an increase of population at the rate of 2.7 per cent per year. The figures of the death rate in Japan are even more remarkable. In the five years before the Second World War, the average death rate in Japan was 17.4. In 1946, it had risen to 17.6. In the following years it fell with extraordinary suddenness: in 1951 it was 10.0 and, in 1954, 7.9. A large part of this fall is attributable to American methods of public health. In spite of the very highest motives, those Western medical missions and medical scientists who have with extraordinary suddenness brought about the great decline in the death rate, have incidentally done very much more harm than good. 10 The desirable remedy does not lie in restoring the death rate to its former level. It does not lie in the promotion of new pestilences. Least of all does it lie in the vast destruction that a new war may bring. It lies in adapting births to deaths. The stern limits of the earth's fertility will see to it before long that the balance between births and deaths is restored. It will see to it with an arithmetical inevitability which is independent of human wisdom or folly. But if the balance is restored by human folly, immense suffering throughout the world will be involved; while, if it is restored in accordance with the dictates of good sense and humanity, there can be an end to poverty and an end to the vast hopelessness of female lives devoted to the 20 production of children who ought not to exist and whose existence must almost inevitably be filled with misery.

During what remains of the present century, the world has to choose between two possible destinies. It can continue the reckless increase of population until war, more savage and more dreadful than any yet known, sweeps away not only the excess but probably all except a miserable remnant. Or, if the other course is chosen, there can be progress, rapid progress, towards the extinction of poverty, the end of war, and the establishment of a harmonious family of nations. It seems that the East is becoming alive to the problem, but the West, in its theories and in its 30 external dealings, lags behind. Of all the long-run problems that face the world, this problem of population is the most important and fundamental for, until it is solved, other measures of amelioration are futile. It is too late to escape from great hardship in the near future, but there is good reason to believe that, if war can be averted meanwhile, the pressing needs of the world will bring amelioration before it is too late.

### 59b Population Pressures and Family Planning

SIR ALEXANDER CARR Saunders and Professor Nixon have dealt admirably with various aspects of Family Planning especially in connection with recent Governmental policy in China. In this final 40 broadcast I propose to deal with some of the more general aspects of the subject.

It is obvious that in any given state of technique a given area can support only a certain population and if there is to be an adequate food supply the amount that can be supported is less than it would be at a bare subsistence level.

In days when men were food gatherers., before any invention of agriculture, one man required something like two square miles for his support. Agriculture made an enormous

diminution and modern mechanization 10 has carried this process a great deal further. There are those who seem to think that there need be no limit to the growth of population, since they believe that improvement in technique can always keep pace with the growth. There is, however, an obvious limit to this. Broadly speaking there has to be an approximate equilibrium between births and deaths, except at such times as that of the development of the western hemisphere when for some exceptional reason there is an increase in the food supply. At the present time, though, the prospects of an increase in the food supply are somewhat limited. Improvements in medicine have enormously diminished the death rate almost everywhere, with the result that there is 20 an increase of population which offers a threat to all attempts at improving the standard of life. Paradoxically mankind is faced with two opposite dangers, one is the danger of over population, involving an increase in malnutrition and ultimately a new equilibrium painfully established through hunger and starvation. The other and opposite danger, more catastrophic and more terrifying, is the danger of the extinction of the human race by a nuclear war. The two dangers are not wholly unconnected since population pressure has always been one of the main causes of war.

It is this situation which has awakened large parts of the world to the 30 necessity of birth control. China, India and Japan, which contain the world's largest reservoir of population, have at present rates of increase which their Governments rightly consider to be a danger to all their efforts to raise the standard of life. The Governments of these three countries are all engaged—rightly as all sane people must admit—in a campaign to familiarize their populations with harmless methods of diminishing the birth rate.

I do not wish to suggest that only large considerations as to the optimum density of population are involved. There are private considerations of equal urgency and importance. Too frequent pregnancies are damaging 40 to the health of both mother and child alike, and a degree of family planning is important for private well-being. I suspect that these private considerations have weighed with the Governments of China, India and Japan at least as much as the large-scale consideration which I have spoken of earlier.

We live in an age of unprecedentedly rapid change and as yet the rapidity of the change has seemed to be continually increasing. One of the consequences is that tradition nowhere has the strength that it formerly had. There is more difference between what we think and what our grandparents thought, than there was between what they thought and what their grand-parents thought. This is true of practically every part of the world and it is perhaps even more true in China than it is anywhere else. China had preserved for thousands of years a civilization which had grad- 10 ually increased traditionally and conventionally. Western students of Chinese civilization rashly assumed that its stability would continue in spite of contact with alien cultures. This has not proved to be the case. Those in the West who knew anything about China regarded ancestor worship as its most deep rooted institution and accepted as a corollary that every Chinese would desire many sons. In China perhaps even more than in other parts of Asia the West has shown itself at fault in failing to apprehend the irresistible strength of forces making for change. I think that some western people acquainted with traditional China have expected a vehement opposition to birth control propaganda, but although there 20 has been some opposition, mainly due to reticence and prudery, it does not appear to have been very strong. On the contrary, the new knowledge offered by the Governments seems to have been welcomed by the great majority of those to whom it was offered. I think it is reasonable to hope that in China and also in India and Japan, the Governments' efforts will, within the next

twenty years, reduce the birth rate to a point not incompatible with a great improvement in the standard of life.

In Japan and I believe elsewhere also, one of the motives which have activated Governments is the great increase in the number of induced abortions often very injurious to health. It is clear that abortion is an undesirable practice and that if birth-control can take its place that is an important gain.

Abandonment of traditional sentiments has occurred in the West as well as in the East though in the West it has been perhaps more rapid. When I was young most people in the West still regarded birth control as unhealthy, unnatural and immoral. Now this view has become rare, except among those whose opinions are dominated by traditional theology and change in practice has been even greater than the change in theory. The weakening of tradition raises everywhere a difficult problem for moralists, statesmen and private persons. In the old comparatively stable world tradition had developed ways of living, which though not perfect, enabled societies to survive. Without tradition men are compelled to think for themselves and many of them may not think wisely. There is urgent need of a new morality more in harmony with the new circumstances of the world. No society can survive without some generally accepted code of decent conduct and when an old code is abandoned there is likely to be a difficult time of transition before a new code is generally accepted. In the past codes were tribal or national but the world in which we now live is unified technically and economically and from the point of view of travel any part of it can be reached by any other part in at least three days. But in spite of its outward unification the world is not unified politically or emotionally. The geographical locality of our sentiments makes us incapable of profiting as we should by modern scientific technique. The world is oppressed by a load of suffering and fear which has become totally unnecessary. One of the most important things needed to diminish the dominance of suffering and fear, is the solution of the population problem by the maintenance of birth control. I have no doubt whatever that the dissemination of birth control in China will be enormously beneficial to the Chinese. I am also convinced that this dissemination everywhere is of benefit to all mankind, without which the recent amazing advances in medicine and hygiene cannot bear their full fruit in diminishing pain and hunger. Modern knowledge has, for the first time in history made it possible for all mankind to enjoy a reasonable life of happiness and prosperity. In the matter of birth control the Chinese Government like those of India and Japan, is doing its part towards a happy consummation. With all my heart I wish it success in its endeavour.



## Three Protests against Nuclear Testing [1957]

THE FIRST OF these short messages (**60a**) was Russell's earliest public act of support for the recently launched National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests. It was delivered *in absentia* to their meeting at Friends House, London, on 30 April 1957 and published in abridged form in *Peace News*, no. 1,088 (3 May 1957): 8 (B&R C57.17). Russell had hesitated to endorse the NCANWT when first asked, stating that he had "undertaken to do, in the near future, a careful discussion of the whole question {56} and, on the whole, I prefer to make no pronouncement meanwhile, although I expect I shall arrive at conclusions very similar to yours" (n.d., Jan. 1957; quoted in Taylor 1988, 9). By 27 March, however, he was "quite willing" to lend his name to the new pressure group. In conveying his whole-hearted support to the NCANWT'S honorary treasurer, Ianthe Carswell, Russell also elaborated his own position:

Although I am afraid that there is little hope of stopping the projected tests at Christmas Island, I think there is a very good chance of rousing such wide-spread protest that the Government will be forced to advocate an agreement to abolish tests. I think myself that the British Government ought to abstain from tests even if no general agreement can be reached, but this is a view for which there would be much less general support.

Paper **60b** was read *in absentia* on 28 June 1957 to a public meeting in Bala, Merioneth, organized by a group of Quakers from this small town near Russell's North Wales home. It was later published under the title used here in the Quaker Society's national weekly journal, *The Friend*, 115 (2 Aug. 1957): 693 (B&R C57.21). A short editorial introduction to Russell's statement reported that some 200 people had attended the Bala protest. Members of the audience had signed a petition addressed to the Prime Minister, and a resolution had been carried unanimously. This called for the British Government to cease its nuclear tests and to seek, in conjunction with the Soviet Union and the United States, an agreement for the abolition of nuclear weapons. Russell, however, restricted his focus to Britain's nuclear testing policy. The local Quaker to whom he had agreed to supply these brief comments had written in a postscript to one of her letters that "We still think it necessary to carry on though the *present* series of tests may be over" (21 June 1957). This assessment was accurate as the third and last experimental explosion in the first "Grapple" series had taken place on 19 June, nine days before the meeting in Bala (see Introduction, p. lviii).

Paper **60c** was prepared for the Stanford University physicist Albert V. Baez, a leading figure in the Society for Social Responsibility in Science. On 1 September 1957 Baez had requested "a note which I may read publicly" to a meeting of the Peninsula Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Tests. The United States was at this time conducting the "Plumbob" series of fission tests in the Nevada desert. Although Russell's message was probably presented to this gathering on 26 September, no reports of the occasion have

been located. Perhaps it was published in some other form as well, since Russell told Baez that he was “at liberty to use <sup><it></sup> in any way you think fit” (11 Sept. 1957).

The copy-text for Paper **60a** is the typescript (RAI 630), dated 24 April 1957 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand (RA2 750). For paper **60b** a typescript carbon entitled “Friday 28th June 1957” has been used (RAI 630). The copy-text for Paper **60c** is the typescript (RAI 220.022255). There is also a dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand, bearing the same date as the covering note to Baez that is quoted above (RA2 750).

**60a** Message to Be Read at the Meeting on April 30, 1957, of the National  
Council for Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests

THE PURPOSE FOR which this meeting has been called is of the gravest importance not only to our own country but to all mankind. The amount of injury inflicted by one H-bomb test is, at present, doubtful, but it seems nearly certain that every such test will, throughout an indefinite future, cause a certain number of people to be born idiots and a certain number of others to die of bone-cancer. It is claimed that there are “clean” bombs which do not have these deleterious 10 effects, but I do not think that this claim will bear scientific scrutiny. It should not be difficult to reach an agreement for the abolition of tests since their occurrence cannot be concealed in spite of the British Government’s suggestion of the contrary. It is not to be supposed that, if tests are allowed to continue, they will be confined to America, Russia and Britain. It is practically certain that a number of other Powers will follow suit. In view of the hazards involved, every large-scale nuclear explosion is a crime against humanity. It is nonsense to pretend that national safety can be secured by nuclear weapons. The pursuit of safety through armaments is now, more than ever before, the pursuit of an illusion. But, in any case, 20 the pursuit of safety by such abominable means is a crime as well as a folly, and I profoundly hope that the public opinion of mankind may induce some measure of sanity in the Governments of the world.

**60b** Letter from Bertrand Russell

I AM VERY glad that a meeting is being held at Bala to protest about the nuclear tests and especially about the British Government’s participation in these abominations. I deeply regret that for reasons of health I am unable to be present. Exactly how much harm is done by the tests is not yet known but it is practically certain that each test condemns a certain number of people to death by cancer of the bone and a certain 30 number of children to imbecility through genetic damage. These victims may be in any part of the world and it would never be possible to prove that their misfortune was due to a nuclear explosion. Unless measures are quickly taken to prevent the spread of this criminal madness it is pretty certain that many other nations will feel bound to follow the example of the United States and the Soviet Union and (I say it with shame) our own Government. With every fresh nation that possesses nuclear weapons agreement to abolish them becomes more difficult. For this reason, if for no other, the matter is of the

utmost urgency. I hope that every sane man and woman throughout the world will rise up in fierce protest against a practice as disastrous as it is wicked.

**60c** Statement for Meeting at Stanford University

THE NUCLEAR TESTS which are being conducted by the Governments of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., and Great Britain are a totally indefensible abomination. Owing to the fact that such tests cannot be secret, an agreement to abandon them would not face the difficulties connected with inspection. There is no reason to think that renunciation 10 of the tests by both sides would give any net advantage to either. The only purpose served by the tests is to make bombs on both sides cheaper and more deadly. This is not a useful purpose. It is fairly certain that every such test will cause throughout an indefinite future time a certain number of deaths from cancer and a certain number of congenital mental disorders. These may occur in any part of the world and, therefore, all parts of the world have a right to protest against the tests. I think it is politically possible to reach an agreement to stop the tests, but even if it were not, I do not wish our precarious survival to be secured by such infamous means. I earnestly hope that public opinion will be so roused on this issue 20 as to compel the Governments of East and West to permit the survival of the human race.



## Message to First Pugwash Conference [1957]

THIS MESSAGE OF greeting to the participants in the first Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs is a keynote paper in the present volume. Excerpts were run by *The New York Times* (10 July 1957, p. 6) and *The Montreal Gazette* (10 July 1957) two days after the text of Russell's tape recorded message was released to the press. Over twenty years elapsed, however, before its unabridged publication as part of a Pugwash retrospective in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*: "Pugwash Beginnings", 34, no. 4 (April 1978): 36–7 (B&R C57.20). The twenty-two scientists to whom Russell had initially addressed Paper 61 had been invited to the summer retreat in Pugwash, Nova Scotia, of Cyrus S. Eaton, the Canadian-born American industrialist and financier. The "preliminary arrangements" (345:3), proceedings (from 7–10 July) and follow-up to the conference are all discussed at length in the Introduction. The meeting was the culmination of two years' patient organizational work by Russell, the two collaborators credited at the end of the message ("Professors Powell and Rotblat"), and the University College London physicist Eric Burhop. Their travails are briefly recounted (343:14–29) before Russell sketched the perplexing problems confronting the politically diverse group of scientists which he had helped assemble. Yet, he also gave voice to a cautious hope that such East-West cooperation "will prove the seed from which, gradually, a sense of common human problems will come to replace the present futile competition, from which nothing but catastrophe can result" (344:30–2).

Russell had been asked to record a formal statement because he did not intend to participate in the conference himself. He was reluctant to make the journey to Canada primarily because of concerns about his own health. Then, on 6 June, Edith Russell suffered a serious heart attack which ruled out any lingering chance that Russell might change his mind. A few days before this calamitous event, he had expressed concern to Eric Burhop "lest the people who come to the Conference expect to find me present" (3 June 1957). The host, Cyrus Eaton, was still labouring under this misapprehension two weeks later when, in a letter to Joseph Rotblat, he listed Russell as one of twenty-two "definite acceptances" received (17 June 1957). Ten days previously Rotblat had suggested that Russell record a message for the conference participants "to allay their disappointment" about his not being present. The recording was made some time after Burhop and Powell hastily reviewed the matter at London's Paddington Station on 20 June. Burhop's undated memorandum of this discussion states that Powell was "to telephone Russell and arrange time for visit in connection with recording. He should ask Russell whether he needs guidance about content of message". In addition, Rotblat was "to send to Powell his ideas about content of Russell message" (EB MS ADD 385/B3).

According to Eric Burhop's handwritten notes of the proceedings at Pugwash (EB MS ADD 385/B8), the recording was played at an informal session of the conference on 7 July, after Eaton had formally welcomed his guests. Immediately following, Cecil Powell provided a short "impression" of Russell, whose message does not seem to have been composed with a view to immediate publication because of the premium placed on

privacy by the conference organizers (see 343:37–42). It was Eaton who stressed that Russell's words deserved to reach a wider audience as soon as possible: "Conference would like to make public your great opening speech. Please cable immediately if you consent" (9 July 1957). There is no record of Russell's assent to this telegram request, but excerpts from Paper 61 appeared in print for the first time the following day (see above, p. 341).

The copy-text is the undated typescript carbon attached to a compliment slip from Cecil Powell (RAI 625). Russell may have sent a dictated or (less likely) a holograph version of his text to Powell and then recorded the message from the returned typescript carbon. In June 1956, Powell had offered to provide clerical assistance to Russell, and Paper 61 must have been composed when such assistance was urgently required on account of Edith's incapacitation. A more remote possibility is that the message was actually written by Powell, although there is no compelling internal evidence of this and the external evidence suggests only that the Bristol University physicist may have supplied Russell with some rough editorial guidelines. The audio tape (RA REC. ACQ. 203) reveals that Russell departed slightly from the prepared script in a few places (see Textual Notes).

ALMOST EXACTLY TWO years have passed since the statement was issued signed by the late Albert Einstein, some nine other colleagues and myself, drawing attention to the dangers that would face humanity if another world war were to break out with the almost certainty of the widespread use of nuclear weapons. In that statement we drew attention to the need for competent scientists to assemble in conference so that a true assessment of these dangers could be made.

The two years that have elapsed since that statement was issued have not seen any fundamental change in the situation. In fact the stock piles of nuclear weapons have increased, new nations have joined the ranks of 10 those producing those weapons—or trying to produce them—while serious misgivings have been expressed as to whether even the continued testing of such weapons may not result in damage to the population.

The problem of assembling such a conference of scientists has not been an easy one to solve. It was difficult to find a time and place of meeting convenient to scientists of many nations. It was more difficult still to find the necessary financial support. Fortunately, in the end, some generous friends were found to make money available for the meeting. In this connection I must pay a tribute to the great generosity and helpfulness of your host Mr. Cyrus S. Eaton who, by coming to our support at a critical 20 moment, made the present meeting possible not only by providing suitable premises but also by contributing most substantially towards the cost of bringing the participants to his residence at Pugwash. I should like, also, at this stage to thank the Indian Science Congress for their offer of hospitality for the meeting. Some of you will remember that it was at first planned to hold this meeting in Delhi last January and the Science Congress very generously offered to provide all the necessary facilities. Unfortunately, however, owing to various difficulties it was not found possible to proceed with these arrangements.

The present meeting, although of a rather small number of people, is 30 nevertheless of great importance. Its peculiar value lies in the fact that it represents a meeting, for the first time, of leading scientists coming from many countries, and representing all shades of political opinion, who have seriously considered the dangers of an atomic war and are concerned with doing what they can to avert it. The invitations have been issued on an individual basis. The participants represent only themselves so that they may put forward their point of view with frankness; and since the proceedings are private, without the fear

that misquotation or partial quotation may distort their true opinions. I hope that the discussions will be carried on in an informal manner in the security given by complete privacy, because I believe that informal exchanges may achieve more than formal resolutions at the present stage.

On some of the problems that will be discussed there is no unanimity among scientists. Even the effects of the weapons are subject to wide uncertainties. This is particularly the case with respect to nuclear weapon tests. It is first necessary then to try to establish what is definite and to separate it from what has to be inferred or conjectured. If this meeting could make clear the scientific facts with regard to such questions, and the place where certain knowledge ends and hypothesis begins, it would perform a useful service.

Inevitably I expect a great deal of time will be devoted to the biological hazards of radiation in general and of tests in particular. But I hope the 10 members of the conference will dwell also on the importance of sustaining peace, when a major war would inevitably become a nuclear war. The effect of bomb tests is likely to remain controversial for a long time to come. One's attitude to it depends not only on an understanding of scientific facts, but also on certain moral and political assessments. But I do not expect anyone here would care to dispute that the large-scale use of nuclear weapons in war would represent an immeasurable catastrophe. Since the use of these weapons seems certain to follow in the event of any future world war, it is not possible for the conference to escape consideration of the age-old question of the abolition of war as a means of settling differences between nations. Our own age is faced with the task either of solving this problem or of witnessing the destruction of all those finest achievements for which the very highest of human intellect, courage and resourcefulness have laboured during past millennia. When it is agreed that a major war would be an unspeakable disaster to all mankind, it follows that methods other than war, or the threat of war, must be devised for deciding questions as to which different nations disagree. The first step towards such methods must be the lessening of mutual suspicion which has been rendering all negotiations abortive. It may be hoped that the present cooperation among scientists of diverse nations and diverse opinions will prove the seed from which, gradually, a sense of common human problems will come to replace the present futile competition, from which nothing but catastrophe can result.

It seems hardly possible that the present meeting can get very far towards a solution of these perplexing problems, but if it does no more than bring scientists of so many different points of view together for frank and informal discussion, and if it can work out ways and means of continuing these contacts then it will have achieved something of importance. I hope indeed that this meeting will not be thought of as just an isolated incident but rather as the forerunner of other larger meetings even more fully representative of different countries, ideologies and scientific disciplines.

It is a matter of very real regret to me that my state of health has prevented me from being with you in person. I should dearly have liked to take an active part in the discussions, particularly as they concern broad human issues. I realize that my absence may lead to certain complications in the detailed arrangements for the meeting and I regret this very much. I would mention, however, that in all the preliminary arrangements of organizing the conference I have had the advice of Professors Powell and Rotblat and I suggest that it might make for the smoothest running of the meeting if the actual organizational arrangements continued in their hands.

With these few words I can do no more than give you my most sincere good wishes for a successful and stimulating series of discussions.

## The Future of International Politics [1957]

THIS SUCCINCT APPRAISAL of the international political scene was published as “Now That the Big Stick Is Out...”, *News Chronicle*, Manchester and London, 11 Oct. 1957, p. 4 (B&R C57.23). Russell’s article emerged from a conversation with Ian Low, features editor of this liberal daily. As Low had explained:

Our idea is eventually to compile a panel of writers upon whom we can call for articles for a daily series dealing with controversial topics of the moment. They would be published on a special page and would be a regular feature of the newspaper in addition to the normal Leader Page. The writers would be guaranteed absolute freedom of opinion.

To begin with the Editor is commissioning “pilot” articles which would not necessarily be immediately topical, although we hope they will be controversial. The length of each article will be 700–800 words and the fee fifty guineas.

Your suggestion that you might discuss the future of international politics in terms of the present virtual military deadlock seems to me a first-class idea, (1 Sept. 1957)

Five days later Low sent his thanks for an “excellent” article, but Russell does not seem to have made any further contributions of this kind for the *News Chronicle*.

The copy-text is one of two identical typescript carbons (RAI 220.020820), dated 4 September 1957 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell’s hand.

THE UNEASY EQUILIBRIUM which at present governs the relations of East and West has for the moment diminished the fear of world war. It seems to be admitted by both sides that neither could derive any advantage from a nuclear conflict. This has put an end to the time-honoured methods of diplomacy without as yet supplying any substitute. All diplomacy hitherto has been conducted by the open or tacit threat of war. When each side felt confident of victory, actual war resulted. There have also been wars in which one side, though it knew itself to be weaker than the other, preferred heroic defiance to surrender. In our nuclear age, heroic defiance has become an absurdity. The West could produce a world containing no Communists, and the East could produce a world containing no Capitalists, but, as it would be a world containing nobody at all, defiance, however heroic, could not achieve any useful end. Diplomats, consequently, are deprived of their traditional weapon. They are in fact reduced to a game of bluff and blackmail. If it is thought that the other side would rather exterminate the human race than yield, it is rational to give way to the lunacy of opponents. There is thus a premium on madness, and one-sided rationality entails defeat for the less insane.

Such a way of regulating the world’s affairs is palpably absurd. It is not enough that the folly of nuclear war should be recognized, for, after all, 20 rulers of great States have been shown to be liable to acts of supreme folly. Hitler could have won his war if he had

had as much good sense as any intelligent school-boy. We need, if we are to be safe from a completely catastrophic nuclear war, some recognized method other than war by which international disputes can be adjusted. It is evident that no such method will have a chance of success if it gives an obvious advantage to one side or to the other. Nothing could be more futile than the successive armament conferences in which each side suggests methods disadvantageous to the other side and goes as far as it can without risking the acceptance of its proposals by the other side. This sort of thing is completely 30 futile. If the deadlock is to be resolved, each side must abandon the hope of snatching incidental advantage from the chance of ineptitude in its adversaries. Any suggested method of settling disputed questions must be one which gives no obvious net advantage to either disputant.

I should like to see a small body appointed by the United Nations, which must be enlarged by the admission of States now excluded. This small body should be composed of representatives of East and West in equal numbers balanced by representatives of Neutral nations. It would have to consider simultaneously the whole of the international questions that divide the two blocs, since, in some, the solution would seem advantageous to the East and, in others, to the West. It would have to abstain from moral judgments, which in the existing state of the world are inevitably biased. The West is shocked by Russian action in Hungary; the East is shocked by American and British actions in Guatemala and British Guiana. Such feelings, however legitimate, serve no useful purpose in the present state of the world. Nor is there as yet any great utility in urging the abolition or limitation of nuclear weapons. It is true that this must be brought about before mankind can have any confidence in its own survival, but it is not likely to be brought about until some method has been found of lessening the tension between East and West. And the only way of lessening the tension is an agreement to settle vexed questions by arbitration. Complete victory being now impossible, only compromise offers 10 any real hope of a détente. It would be too much to expect that either East or West would bind itself in advance to accept the suggestions of the small body appointed by the enlarged United Nations. The suggestions would nevertheless be valuable. They would represent what impartial opinion considered reasonable and would form a rallying ground for those who wished to promote better relations between the two sides.

Certain principles should govern the decisions of the suggested mediators. First and most important, the one already mentioned: that their suggestions should not offer a net advantage to either side. Second, that their suggestions should be such as to minimize friction in what are at 20 present danger points—such as the Middle East. Third, that, subject to the above two considerations, the wishes of the inhabitants of the regions concerned should be respected.

After the adoption of some such measure, partial disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons would become easy. But without a previous détente it is likely to remain impossible.

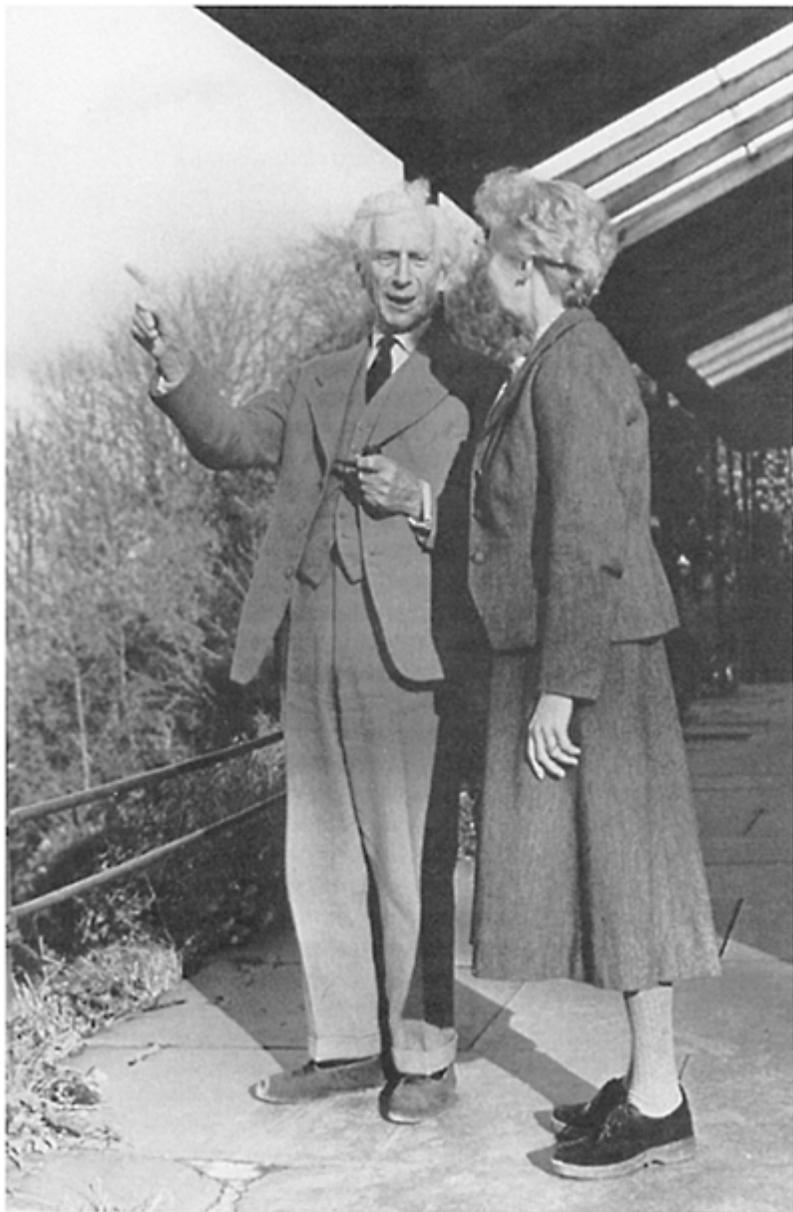


PLATE I. Russell and Edith at Plas Penrhyn.

# **GENEVA**

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## **A Message to the Ministers**

**PUBLIC MEETING**

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to send a message to the Conference of Foreign Ministers at Geneva, impressing on them the sense of urgency felt by all people that there shall be a fruitful outcome to their discussions.

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**CENTRAL HALL, Westminster**

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(doors open 7 p.m.)

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PLATE II. Flyer for the public meeting addressed by Russell at Central Hall, Westminster, on 21 October 1955 (see Appendix VIII). The original measures 125×190 mm.



# MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

MONDAY MARCH 26 1956

## Letters to the Editor

### THE SOBELL CASE

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir—I am writing to enlist your support in the case of Morton Sobell, an innocent man condemned as a result of political hysteria in thirty years in jail and at present incarcerated in Alcatraz, the worst prison in the United States. He was sentenced as an accomplice of the Rosenbergs in espionage. I am reluctant to say that at the time of the Rosenberg trial I did not look into the evidence. I have now done so. I am almost certain that the Rosenbergs were innocent and quite certain that the evidence against them would not have been considered adequate if prejudice had not been involved. But the Rosenbergs are dead and nothing can be done for them now except to hold up their official murderers to obloquy. Sobell, however, is alive and it is not too late for the United States Government to make some reparation to him.

The facts in his case are briefly as follows—He had a friend named Elmsler, who had been his best man. Elmsler had signed an oath that he had never been a Communist. The F.B.I. discovered that in making this statement he had committed perjury. They do not know that he could swear positively if he would denounce other people as accomplices in treasonable activities. He decided to give his own oath by denouncing his best friend, Sobell. While negotiating in the case some writing went on between him and the F.B.I. Sobell and his wife and

their two small children, went to Mexico. Sobell signed with the idea of not returning to the United States, but rejected it. His decision to return because known to the F.B.I. which had determined to present him as a fugitive from justice. In order to be able, while to present him in this light, they hired thugs, who beat him into unconsciousness, bound him and his wife and their two children into East cars, and drove them without stopping from Mexico City to the United States frontier. There they were handed over to an immigration officer, who solemnly stamped their card of entry with the words "Deported from Mexico" although the Mexican Government had not been party to the kidnapping and had expressed no intention of denouncing them.

When Sobell was brought to trial these facts were not mentioned as his counsel considered that any criticism of the F.B.I. however justified, would only increase the severity of his sentence, his condemnation being regarded by his counsel as certain in spite of lack of evidence. The judge instructed the jury that they could not find Sobell guilty unless they believed Elmsler, Elmsler, because he was useful in this trial, had never been indicted for his acknowledged perjury and, in spite of his being known to be a perjurer, every word that he said against Sobell was believed.

People express sympathy when it is said that most Germans did not know of Nazi atrocities, but I am sure that

the immense majority of Americans are quite ignorant of the atrocities committed by the F.B.I. They do not know of the standard technique of these defendants of what, with cynical effrontery, they will call "The Free World." The technique is not with which we have been made familiar in other police States such as Nazi Germany and Stalin's Russia. The police find a man whom they can prove to be guilty of some offence and they produce him innocently if he will manufacture evidence against people who could not otherwise be indicted. Perjury is especially useful as a lever because many people who have been Communist in their student days really hope that this can be concealed and swear that they were never Communists. After a sufficient number of secret interviews the F.B.I. definitely upon innocent people with a good of terrified perjury and in the general hysteria every word uttered by the perjurers is accepted as gospel truth.

I do not suppose for a moment that President Eisenhower is aware of this well-established technique. If he knew of it, he would not only feel the reaction which all decent people must feel, but would realize that every such case which becomes known outside the United States turns hundreds of thousands of people of good into Communists, at least towards conviction and away from the policy of N.A.T.O. For this large reason of public policy, as well as from motives of humanity and justice, it is to be hoped that something will be done to curb the F.B.I. A beginning might be made by the release of Morton Sobell or, at least, by ordering a new trial of his case—  
Yours, etc. BERTRAND RUSSELL,  
41 Queen's Road, Richmond,  
Sussex.

reprinted as a public service by

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell  
940 Broadway, N. Y. C. AL 4-9883

4-10-56

PLATE III. Russell's letter to *The Manchester Guardian* (32a), as reprinted in a flyer circulated by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. The document has been reduced from its original (legal-paper) size of 215×355 mm.

12. 1955

The dilemma of the West

The two Geneva Conferences have left the Western Powers faced with an apparent ~~choice~~ <sup>which</sup> ~~choice~~ <sup>choice</sup> of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~view~~ <sup>view</sup> which, no matter obvious ~~clearly~~ <sup>clearly</sup> speaking, the Conference of heads of state agreed that a great war would not profit anybody & many people ~~indeed~~ <sup>indeed</sup> hoped that this would inaugurate a period of amicable co-existence. ~~At the same time~~ <sup>At the same time</sup>, however, interpreted the renunciation of war differently. If a ~~great~~ <sup>great</sup> war is not to be feared, ~~the Soviet Govt. is willing to pay no respect to the~~ <sup>the Soviet Govt. is willing to pay no respect to the</sup> ~~rights of the~~ <sup>rights of the</sup> ~~West~~ <sup>West</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~matter~~ <sup>matter</sup> of aggression. So long as the renunciation of war is ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~considered~~ <sup>considered</sup> absolute, there is no issue from the situation except the ultimate complete subjugation of ~~the West~~ <sup>the West</sup>. So long as the Communist Powers regard ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~renunciation~~ <sup>renunciation</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~war~~ <sup>war</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~merely~~ <sup>merely</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> ~~imitation~~ <sup>imitation</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~aggression~~ <sup>aggression</sup>, it is clear that ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~West~~ <sup>West</sup> ~~must~~ <sup>must</sup> ~~abandon~~ <sup>abandon</sup> ~~its~~ <sup>its</sup> ~~conciliatory~~ <sup>conciliatory</sup> ~~attitude~~ <sup>attitude</sup>. If the threat of war is to be abandoned as a means of settling disputes, some other means must be found. The Communist position is that disputes can always be avoided by deciding them as the Communists wish. If the West does not submit to this view, it must, for the time being, keep the possibility of war as a deterrent to Communist aggression. The threat of war cannot be removed until both sides have agreed to some method of settling disputes. It is clear that no such method will be acceptable unless it provides that disputes shall be ~~settled~~ <sup>settled</sup> in a manner giving no important net advantage to

PLATE IV. The first leaf of dictation taken by Edith Russell for Paper 2 (see 6:1-18). The effect achieved by the emendations shown on this folio is discussed briefly in the Headnote. The document has been reduced from its original size of 203×254 mm.

Marx's doctrine was bad enough, but the developments which it underwent under Lenin and Stalin made it much worse. Marx had taught that there would be a revolutionary transitional period following the victory of the Proletariat in a civil war and that during this period the Proletariat, in accordance with the usual practice after a civil war, would deprive its vanquished enemies of political power. This period was to be that of the dictatorship of the Proletariat. It should not be forgotten that in Marx's prophetic vision the victory of the Proletariat was to come after it had grown to be the vast majority of the population. The dictatorship of the Proletariat therefore as conceived by Marx was not essentially anti-democratic. In the Russia of 1917, however, the Proletariat was a small percentage of the population, the great majority being peasants. It was decreed that the Bolshevik party was the class-conscious part of the Proletariat, and that a small committee of its leaders was the class-conscious part of the Bolshevik party. The dictatorship of the Proletariat thus came to be the dictatorship of a small committee, and ultimately of one man—Stalin. As the sole class-conscious Proletarian, Stalin condemned millions of peasants to death by starvation and millions of others to forced labour in concentration camps. He even went so far as to decree that the laws of heredity are henceforth to be different from what they used to be, and that the germ-plasm is to obey Soviet decrees but not that reactionary priest Mendel. I am completely at a loss to understand how it ~~comes~~ <sup>came</sup> about that some people who are both humane and intelligent ~~can~~ find something to admire in the vast slave camp produced by Stalin.

(came  
could

I have always disagreed with Marx. My first hostile criticism of him was published in 1896. But my objections to modern Communism go deeper than my objections to Marx. It is the abandonment of democracy that I find particularly disastrous. A minority resting its power upon the activities of a secret police is bound to be cruel, oppressive and obscurantist. The dangers of irresponsible power came to be generally recognized during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but those who have been dazzled by the outward success of the Soviet Union have forgotten all that was painfully learnt during the days of absolute monarchy, and have gone back to what was worst in the Middle Ages under the curious delusion that they were in the vanguard of progress.

There are  
signs

~~It is possible~~ that in course of time the Russian regime ~~may~~ <sup>will</sup> become more liberal. But, although this is possible, it is very far

PLATE V. Russell's emendations to Paper 12 on the page proofs of *Portraits from Memory* (see 58:17–18 and the discussion in the Headnote

Next step (BBC)

Disorder of war admitted

But doesn't mean war will happen

A + B = won't say which is worse.

Doctrines of limited access: Korea, Egypt.

Risks: one side counts on other's restraint; other side loses its temper. Hitler after Munich.

Sanctions when default if war partial, not of total?

One side can make many small gains if no big war; temptation to other side.

Passion + mistakes of militants - Hitler & Japan.

Running of nuclear weapons useless -

If situations leading to war are to be avoided, must

prepare methods before situations arise.

~~to be decided later~~  
Principles for arbitrators:

- (1) No net advantage to either side
- (2) Core points of friction.
- (3) Where possible, follow wishes of inhabitants
- (4) Reject measures inflicting widespread economic damage.

PLATE VI. Manuscript notes for the BBC talk on "The Next Step in International Relations" (see H57). The document has been reduced from its original size of 202×253 mm.



PLATE VII. Participants in the first Pugwash Conference: (from left to right) I.Ogawa, Zhou Pei-yuan, V.P.Pavlichenko, S.Tomonaga, C.F.Powell, A.M.B.Lacassagne, A.V.Topchiev, A.M.Kuzin, E. Rabinowitch, G.Brock Chisholm, D.V.Skobeltzyn, J.S.Foster, Cyrus S.Eaton, J.Rotblat, H.J. Muller, H.Thirring, L.Szilard, W.Selove, E.H.S.Burhop, M.L.E.Oliphant, M.Danysz.



PLATE VIII. Russell at the BBC for the recording of Paper **45** with (from left to right) Viscount Samuel, Hugh Trevor-Roper and Norman Fisher.

## Britain and the H-bomb [1957]

THIS LETTER TO the *New Statesman* was written at the request of its editor, Kingsley Martin, who wanted Russell to comment on the galley proofs of a forthcoming plea for Britain's unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons by the English author and social critic J.B.Priestley (1957). Russell's sympathetic response appeared one week after Priestley's famous article, alongside letters from a number of other readers: 54 (9 Nov. 1957): 617 (B&R C57.28). Indeed, the huge weight of mostly supportive editorial correspondence generated by Priestley's moral, financial and political case for unilateralism acted as a stimulus to the formation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. On 10 December Martin hosted a meeting to determine the feasibility of a new national campaign of opposition to Britain's nuclear defence policy. Priestley and Russell were both present at this gathering of what Canon John Collins called the "midwives of CND" (quoted in Taylor 1988, 20). Overtures were then made to the leaders of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests, which was already contemplating a change of focus from testing to disarmament. Russell attended a meeting of sponsors of the new campaign at Collins's home on 16 January 1958, when the NCANWT agreed to be absorbed by CND.

Priestley's article had provided valuable publicity to the founders of CND. Even before publication of the present paper, Martin told Russell that "Britain and the Nuclear Bombs" was being reprinted as a pamphlet. In reply, Russell elaborated upon the views stated in his letter to the *New Statesman*:

As regards the H-bomb question, the sensible course would be an agreement between Russia and America that no one else should have Hbombs, as a first step towards their general abolition. If we abandoned H-bombs, we could support this proposal. As for the tests, each test-explosion causes an uncertain number of monsters and deaths through cancer. I do not like my country to be one of those that add to this infamy. (8 Nov. 1957)

Paper 63 was also reprinted with omissions in *Peace News* as "Voice of Sanity", no. 1,116 (15 Nov. 1957): 1, 8, and in full, many years later, in *Yours Faithfully, Bertrand Russell* (2001), pp. 210–11. The copy-text is the typescript carbon of Russell's letter to the editor (RAI 410), dated 26 October 1957 and made from the dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RA2 750).

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NEW STATESMAN"

SIR,—I have read with great pleasure and almost complete agreement the article by Mr. Priestley on Britain's share in nuclear warfare. It has seemed until recently that Britain might make nuclear weapons but eschew tests; this, however, I understand is technically

impossible. I deeply regret Mr. Bevan's capitulation to the Foreign Office, which follows the precedent of Ernest Bevin and Ramsay MacDonald. If the Labour Party is to offer a substantial alternative to the present Government, it will have to find in its ranks some statesman bold enough to ignore the so-called experts who are blinded by tradition to the apprehension of present facts. There are three issues which British foreign policy has to consider: first, shall there continue to be human beings on this planet; second, shall Soviet Communism dominate the world, or may other systems survive here and there; third, can Britain continue to be regarded as in the same rank as Russia and America among Great Powers? The Government and Mr. Bevan agree that the third of these issues is the one which should decide our policy. They do not face the inevitable development that nuclear weapons will, within a very short time, be manufactured by a great many States and that, when this stage has been reached, if 20 any one of such States is governed by a lunatic (as will probably be the case) the rest of the world will have to submit to him or perish. For this development Britain will have a grave responsibility unless the present British policy is reversed.—Yours etc.,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

26 October, 1957. Plas Penrhyn.

## Scientific Power: To What End? [1957]

THIS WIDELY CIRCULATED paper was Russell's response to a dramatic and ominous demonstration of Soviet technological prowess in the autumn of 1957—namely, the launch into orbit of two space satellites. It was published first in Britain, as “Can Scientific Man Survive?”, *The Sunday Times*, 10 Nov. 1957, p. 14, and was subsequently reprinted under this title in several American publications, as well as in Japan (see B&R C57.29). In addition, on 12, 13 and 14 November, abridged versions were broadcast in translation by other speakers on, respectively, the Russian, Italian and German Services of the BBC.

As Russell accurately observed (353:4–6), most Western reactions to the *Sputniks* combined respect for Soviet ingenuity with apprehension about the implications for military security. Indeed, Paper 64 was reprinted in one such brooding American assessment: *Challenge of the Sputniks*, ed. Richard Witkin (New York: Doubleday, 1958). The most general source of despondency was the revelation that, for all its supposed rigidities, the Communist system could match and perhaps even outrun the pace of scientific innovation in the West. Of more immediate import, however, was the disturbing exposure of American susceptibility to nuclear attack, for the satellites had confirmed that the Soviet Union now possessed rocket boosters powerful enough to fuel an inter-continental ballistic missile. The shock of the two *Sputnik* flights was magnified the following month (December 1957) by alarming disclosures leaked from a top-secret us defence report prepared by a panel of scientific, engineering, military and economic experts. They had concluded that the strategic nuclear forces of the United States would be disabled by a surprise nuclear attack, that the country's retaliatory capabilities were insufficient to counter such a threat and that woefully inadequate civil defence measures would expose virtually the entire population to the devastating blast or fallout effects of a Soviet strike.

Many Americans were persuaded by the success of the *Sputnik* flights and the strategic weaknesses identified by the Gaither Report that their country was languishing far behind its Cold War rival in a vital area of the nuclear arms race. With the homeland of the United States ever more vulnerable, its NATO partners were afraid that the American commitment to the defence of Europe might be weakened (see Wenger 1997, 166). The Eisenhower administration tried to address these concerns, both of its citizens and allies, by accelerating the pace of missile development, expanding and protecting its strategic nuclear arsenal and striving for a more thoroughgoing integration of American nuclear weaponry into NATO strategy (approved at the meeting of NATO heads of state in Paris in December 1957). On the domestic front, however, the Democratic opposition cleverly exploited the prospect of the United States being seriously deficient in long-range missiles a few years hence. But the only such “missile gap” that opened up was on the other side of the Iron Curtain, as the United States—the trauma of *Sputnik* notwithstanding—managed to maintain a clear lead over the Soviet Union in strategic weapons capability. In the immediate aftermath of *Sputnik*, however, the Soviets did

*seem* to have gained on the West. After all, in August they had successfully tested a multistage inter-continental ballistic missile, while prototypes of the American *Atlas* ICBM had twice exploded in flight during the summer. The launch of the first American satellite in December 1957 also ended in failure.

The editor of *The Sunday Times.*, E.W.Hodson, had wanted Russell's discussion to include some consideration of the strategic ramifications of the Soviet Union's recent accomplishments. He had made this request explicit in a letter of 5 November, which confirmed Russell's acceptance by telephone of an offer to supply a 1,200-word article for the newspaper's next issue. But this letter did not reach Russell until after he had dictated his text the following day. He told Hodson that he had "said almost nothing about the military aspects of Russia's unexpected competence as this is a subject on which much has been said by men who have a better right to an opinion than I have" (6 Nov. 1957). He had preferred to revisit a familiar theme which, for Russell, captured the essence of the most fundamental dilemma posed by the *Sputniks*: the dangerous disparity between knowledge and wisdom in modern scientific society. As a result, though, Russell was now "in some doubt as to whether it (64) is what you wanted". As for the overall tone of the piece, Russell continued, "I think you hoped that I should write in a more optimistic spirit, but I have put in as much optimism as I honestly can."

The copy-text is one of two substantively identical four-leaf typescript carbons, made from the manuscript which had been dictated to Edith Russell on 6 November 1957 (RAI 220.022310).

THE TWO SPUTNIKS have astonished the non-scientific world, although competent physicists have been well aware for some time that such projectiles would be possible, if not now at any rate within a few years. The general public in the West has had a two-fold reaction: one of admiration for technical achievement, and the other of terror caused by the discovery of Russian scientific supremacy.

Our Age, like most others, lives on two planes. There is one world of the things that we profess which cannot be controverted without enduring some kind of penalty. There is another quite different world, consisting of the facts which we know, but dare not acknowledge except in nightmare 10 fantasies. This has had the curious result that there is more truth in fiction which professes to be mere imagination than in serious works which profess to give the facts.

One illustration of this state of affairs is science fiction, which has been viewed as consisting of fantasies for the amusement of adolescents. We are gradually being compelled to view it, instead, as intelligent anticipation—much more intelligent, in fact, than the expectations of statesmen. Let us ask ourselves: what, considered soberly, are the prospects of space-travel rendered possible by new techniques?

It is clear that already it would be possible to send a projectile to the 20 moon if it were thought worth while to spend the money required. It is not yet clear that it would be possible to make this projectile return to the earth, but it is very likely that it will be possible before long. Imagination at once jumps to the question whether it would be possible for human beings to live on the moon. It is, I think, fairly clear that in no foreseeable future will it be possible for human beings to remain alive in the moon for more than a few days. They would have to have apparatus for the manufacture of air to breathe and they would have to be encased in armour that would prevent the air from escaping. They would have to bring with them their own supplies of food and drink. They might be able to stay on the 30 moon long enough to plant the Hammer and Sickle or the

Stars and Stripes on the summit of an extinct volcano, but more than this, I do not think they could accomplish.

The same sort of thing applies to the other planets. Mars has either no atmosphere or, at any rate, very little, and could not support human life any better than the moon could. Venus has an atmosphere, but it consists largely of gases poisonous to human beings. Mercury would be too hot and the outer planets, too cold. There is no knowing what science may achieve, but the difficulties are certainly much more formidable than those involved in launching projectiles to these distant destinations. I am afraid that, at any rate for several centuries, we shall have to be content with our own planet as the only habitat for human beings.

If this is true, as I believe it to be, we are faced with a very grim question, namely: can scientific man survive, or is the mixture of advanced knowledge with primitive, undisciplined passion so unchangeable as to make human survival improbable? I do not know the answer, but I do know that statesmen and the general public are not taking enough account of the danger. Consider one single matter: the expenditure of public money on scientific and technological research during the past eighteen years. What has been the purpose of this expenditure? About ninety-nine percent of it has had for its aim the perfecting of methods of mass extermination. If we may judge by the actions of great States, and by the public opinion which supports these actions, it is a characteristic of *homo sapiens* that he is more anxious to kill his enemies than to stay alive himself. I know that almost everybody will repudiate this statement and say that it is a libel on human nature. I should reply that we must judge men by their actions rather than by their professions, and that one of the surest tests of a man's genuine desires is what he thinks it worth while to spend his money on. This test, when applied to human behaviour since nuclear fission became possible, fully substantiates a very gloomy view as to human desires and purposes.

If mankind is to survive in the new era of science and technology, it will be necessary for both individuals and governments to value and encourage other aims than those which have hitherto been most praised. Who are the heroes whom we in England most admire? The answer is easy. Compare the height of the Nelson monument with the height of statues to Shakespeare, Newton or Darwin. This will give you the exact proportion in which we consider the extermination of enemies more important than services to mankind as a whole. This is not a British peculiarity. It is a trait in human nature unfortunately transmitted from our savage ancestors.

Knowledge is power, but it is power for evil just as much as for good. With every increase of scientific knowledge, man's power for evil is increased in the same proportion as his power for good. I think, therefore, that the really important question raised by modern technology is not will it be possible for man to inhabit other planets, but will it be possible for man to continue to inhabit his own planet? I think that a happy answer is possible only if we can learn to think in terms of the welfare of mankind and not of this or that particular nation or group. This is difficult, but perhaps not more difficult than the discoveries of nuclear physics.

I do not regard this as a pessimistic conclusion. Moral progress has been occurring throughout recorded history. We no longer sell our parents to neighbouring cannibals when they become too old for work. We do not indulge in hecatombs of human sacrifice as the Aztecs did. The British of the present day are horrified by the penalty of being hanged, drawn and quartered, which was cheerfully inflicted not so very long ago. I think it possible that the Governments of East and West, alike, may decide that their

enmity is suicidal and may come together in a determination to make science the servant of man rather than of homicidal lunatics. I do not think either statesmen or the general public have at all realized the immense and hitherto unparalleled happiness that is now possible for the human race if it decides to pursue its collective welfare rather than damage to some hated group. This demands a morality which will only be new in the sense of being acted upon. As an ideal, it is not new, but very old. It has been preached for countless centuries by sages and religious leaders, who have been highly honoured after being put to death. I hope, though not with complete confidence, that men may learn to permit themselves to be happy, even at the cost of enduring the happiness of those whom they have hitherto hated. If this lesson can be learnt in time, science can lay the foundation of a new Golden Age. If it cannot be learnt, every increase of knowledge will be only a step towards ultimate and complete disaster.



# Appendixes



# Interviews

# Appendix I

## East-West Relations after the Geneva Conference [1955]

THIS CONVERSATION WITH an unidentified interviewer probably took place on 14 October 1955; Edith Russell's pocket diary for that date contains an entry for a meeting with a Soviet journalist and an embassy attaché. It was published in Russian in the Soviet cultural and political weekly *Ogonek*, Moscow, 1955 (B&R E55. 09). On 10 December Russell acknowledged receipt of a translation of this text prepared by Mark Winterton of the Joint Services School for Linguists, an institution which from 1951 to 1960 provided intensive language instruction to National Servicemen capable of performing interpretation and intelligence work for Britain's armed forces. Winterton had been "very interested recently in the accuracy of Russian reporting" and wanted Russell to comment on this "rough translation". Russell replied that there was "nothing inaccurate in his (interviewer's) account though he has passed lightly over whatever I said that might be disagreeable to Russian readers, more particularly as regards Eastern Germany". His criticisms of Western policy, by contrast, particularly the exclusion of Communist China from the United Nations, feature prominently below, as do the interviewer's boastful interpolations about the sincerity of the Soviet Union's interest in disarmament and peace.

The copy-text is the undated typescript (RAI 640-F67a) made from the manuscript in Mark Winterton's hand (RAI 710.057681).

I THANKED BERTRAND Russell for having found time to see us.

"Not at all, not at all", he said, gesticulating with a pipe in his hand. "I am glad to meet the representative of a Moscow magazine, here, in my house."

Having given Bertrand Russell the greetings sent by A.V. Topchiev and his other friends in Moscow, I told him of the strong impression which had been created by his message to the participants in the Peace Assembly in Helsinki, where I had been present. The scientist said that the chief task which faces mankind today is the prevention of an atomic war, which would lead directly to the removal, in general, of the danger of a fresh war. "Both sides understood this during the Geneva Conference", Bertrand Russell remarked, with satisfaction.

"What, in your opinion, are the prospects of the peoples' striving for peace now that the beneficial Geneva spirit has made itself felt in England, and throughout the world?"

"The Geneva spirit," repeated Russell, with a smile, "I think that the danger of war has decreased since the Geneva Conference. Although there are many hotly disputed problems still to be solved, the danger of war has undoubtedly become less. People sleep more easily now. They have greater confidence that all these disputed questions can, and must, be solved by peaceful, and only by peaceful, means."

Our talk touched on the subject which is at present in the hearts of all people of good will—that is, on the reduction of armaments. Bertrand Russell, of course, knew that the Soviet Government had decided to cut its armed forces by 640,000 men. Remembering

that the state treaty with Austria was included on the initiative of the Soviet Government, he concluded: "These steps of the Soviet Government deserve the very greatest consideration."

Lord Russell, with unconcealed dissatisfaction, spoke of the fact that UNO's attitude to many most important problems, demanding immediate solution, does not assist the relaxation of international tension. "How can one"—exclaimed the scientist—"be reconciled with the fact, that China remains outside UNO. The USA's opposition in this matter is completely wrong, and cannot be justified in anyway."

Our conversation touched on a great variety of recent international events. Lord Russell expressed, what, in our view, were debatable opinions, about the German problem. One can evidently explain these opinions by the fact that Bertrand Russell was not taking into account the new situation which has come about in Europe. We allowed ourselves to point out to the venerable scientist, that fortunately the constructive idea of seeking, not that which disunites, but that which brings together the different viewpoints on disputed questions, is ever increasingly to be found in international relations.

"I agree with you", said Russell, with a smile.

We were interested to know Russell's opinion of what should be done to improve mutual understanding between the peoples of the East and West.

"I think"—replied Russell—"that we must arrange for as many contacts between us as possible. The exchange of deputations should be encouraged. Tourist trips should become a regular thing. It is no less important to bring trading relations between our countries back to normal. These are the main things."

Next, Lord Russell expounded his own, personal, plan for the removal of the threat of war. As UNO's activities do not produce the desired results, in Bertrand Russell's opinion, an international body should be formed, in which both communists and non-communists could speak, but where countries like India should play the deciding role. As Bertrand Russell said, both the East and West should state their rejection of the idea of world domination.

Having remarked that the last session of UNO took place in a somewhat better atmosphere than the previous one, I said that the Soviet people are struggling to change UNO into an effective weapon for peace.

"I agree with you", replied Bertrand Russell, "but all the same, what can UNO accomplish, when such a large country as China is not a member?"

"We believe that China will become a member of UNO."

"I also believe that", said Russell, "and I hope that not only China, but other countries, also, such as Italy, for example, will finally take their place in that organization."

—Several minutes ago Lord Russell made the statement that "East and West should state their rejection of the idea of world domination."—"Is it possible"—I asked,—"that you believe in the fable of the supposed Soviet threat?" How can one talk about the Soviet Union seeking world domination, when the Soviet Government is cutting down the size of its army?"

"You don't understand me correctly"—Russell forcibly objected—"I am an anticommunist. I have always been against the communists, but I don't think that the Soviet Union is seeking world domination. You didn't understand me."

We again came back to the question of a reduction in armaments. The chief difficulty here, in Russell's opinion, was the question of how to set up an effective control. Each side should know with certainty the strength of the other's armed forces. In this connection the suggestion of the Soviet Government about the setting up of control posts

seemed a good idea to Lord Russell. He supports the establishment of genuinely neutral control posts, and believes they could be of great use to the cause of peace.

“I would like you”, concluded Lord Russell, “to accurately convey my views to the readers of your magazine.”



## Appendix II

### Talking to Bertrand Russell [1956]

THIS APPENDIX WAS subtitled “An Exclusive Interview” and published in *Envoy*, London, June (?) 1956, supp., p. 13 (B&R E56.03). A more precise date has not been determined as publication of this monthly magazine “for the promotion of Indo-British friendship” was suspended between March and May 1956 owing to a printers’ dispute. Its wide-ranging interview with Russell finally appeared in a special “Supplement 1956”, featuring a selection of items from the three lost issues. Russell’s pocket diary suggests that a meeting with Bridget Tunnard and a Mrs. Graham of *Envoy* had taken place at his Richmond home on 17 February 1956. Khrushchev’s call for stronger trade ties between East and West had been made three days before, in the course of his six-hour opening address to the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

The copy-text is the published interview.

THE TAXI-DRIVER at once identified the address as Bertrand Russell’s and expressed considerable local pride in such a distinguished resident.

The front door was opened by Lord Russell himself who led us upstairs to a charming room with book-lined walls, a vase of bright daffodils and a blazing log fire, in cheerful contrast to the bitter drizzling day outside.

We first asked him whether he thought Nehru’s policy was contributing to the lessening of world tension.

“Yes, I do. India is doing a very useful job by maintaining a neutral stand and not aligning herself with any side. When I was in Calcutta, I think in 1951—I was there only for a very short time—the journalists were astonished by my approval of India’s neutral position—they had assumed that I would wish India to take sides with the West; and I still think it is best for India to be neutral.”

Were more people in America coming round to his view that the only alternative to co-existence was no existence?

“That’s rather a difficult question, but they may be. I know that at any rate many people were shocked by Dulles’s ‘brink of war’ statement. As for America herself, I don’t think the outlook is very bright. With Eisenhower standing for election, there is little chance for Stevenson. In his present state of health Eisenhower won’t be able to carry on very long as President and that would put Nixon in power. No, I certainly don’t like it at all.”

What did he think of Khrushchev’s statement. “Instead of the NATO slogan, ‘Let us arm’, we offer the slogan, ‘Let us trade’?”

“It could be that Russia is very short of goods.”

And what about Soviet aid to Asia?

“What I don’t understand is why, when the Russians give a tenth of what, say, the Americans give, they get ten times as much gratitude.”

What did he most approve of in India?

“I approve, as I have said, of her neutral and pacific attitude in world affairs; of her efforts to industrialize the country and develop towards a modern community by

democratic and not by communist methods; her recognition of the importance of birth control in a country of vast population and shortage of food.”

What did he most dislike about India?

“What irritates me is the belief of some Indians that India has much higher ethical standards than other countries. This is quite untrue. Look at your attitude to child marriage, cows and religion.”

If he were invited to lecture in India what would he talk about?

“I would talk about the need to eradicate racial prejudices, to regulate the population, about the importance of India’s role in international affairs. I would talk about the rapid change in the relations between Asia and Europe. From the time of Vasco da Gama until the end of the second world war, Europe has been in the ascendant; but the roles are now reversed—Asia is coming out on top. Of course, there have been periods of Asian dominance in the past—Darius and Xerxes—and the time when the Mohammedans were sweeping over Europe. Now again it is the turn of Asia—though Asian nationalism is as bad as any other nationalism.”

What did he think of mixed marriages?

“I thoroughly approve of mixed marriages. A mixture of races could make for better understanding between peoples. Intolerance of mixed marriages is unhealthy and barbarous. I *hate* race feelings, they are brutal and stupid!”

Apart from Gandhiji and Nehru, who was the most interesting Indian he had met?

“Someone in my own line—Radhakrishnan—a very arresting personality and a broad-minded philosopher—a man of real philosophical stature.”

We asked, perhaps a little tentatively, what he thought of the theory of *Karma*.

“Do you really want to know?... Well, I think it’s rubbish... As for whether Christian theories are any better—I think it is all rubbish...I have no scale of comparative absurdity—all mystical philosophy is a mistake.”

What was the most important role for India to play in the world today?

“India’s most useful contribution would be to discover a really efficient method of birth control. She should devote a lot of research to finding a method that is simple, effective and practicable in a vast rural country like India—a device as easy as swallowing a pill—with no nonsense about coloured beads. They should educate all the women in all the villages in the use of this method. India could lead in the planning of populations throughout Asia. The west is much more superstitious than Asia about methods of regulating populations. In Massachusetts and Connecticut, for example, it is illegal for doctors to give advice about birth control. Even in France I once had trouble about a speech of mine which had to be translated into French. As birth control is illegal in France and as my talk was concerned with this subject the translator felt some embarrassment. However, with Gallic ingenuity he decided that, if he left the words in English in the French text, that would be perfectly in order. The English on the whole have a fairly good record, probably because the proportion of Roman Catholics is low. But Asia certainly has an opportunity here to lead the world.”

Lord Russell had expressed good wishes for *Envoy* which, he thought, could do good work in promoting friendship between our two countries and in breaking down racial prejudice. Did he have a message for *Envoy’s* readers?

“Yes—learn to think of yourselves as human beings. Don’t have sectional feelings. Don’t think of yourselves as women or as men—but as human beings. The human race as a whole is threatened and our task is to try to save it from the disaster which is approaching because of its own folly.”

## Appendix III

### An Interview with Bertrand Russell [1956]

THIS INTERVIEW WITH Cedric Belfrage, editor of the *National Guardian*, appeared in this progressive New York weekly (8, no. 35 [18 June 1956]: 6) only after it had been published with a different introduction as an “exclusive” by *Blitz Newsmagazine*, Bombay, 9 June 1956, pp. 10–11 (B&R E56.04). It is not known why this left-wing Indian journal published the interview before Belfrage’s own magazine. Russell’s typically unflattering portrayal of the FBI came to the bureau’s attention after an abridged treatment of the interview appeared under its subject’s byline in *The Gazette and Daily* (York, Penn., 9 Aug. 1956, p. 19). The Englishborn Belfrage (1904–1990) had introduced himself to Russell on 11 April 1956 as the “editor-in-exile” of the newsweekly which he had co-founded in 1948. He greatly admired Russell’s intervention on behalf of Morton Sobell and had just reprinted the former’s opening salvo of protest (**32a**) in the latest *National Guardian* (8, no. 25 [9 April 1956]: 5). He also indicated to Russell that “it would be a great privilege if I could come to see you and discuss some of these matters for a few minutes”. Russell replied two days later that it would be a “pleasure” to meet Belfrage after returning to Richmond from Plas Penrhyn (13 April 1956).

A permanent resident of the United States since 1937, Belfrage had been deported under the Immigration and Nationality (McCarran-Walter) Act in August 1955 on suspicion of having spied for the Soviet Union while working for British intelligence in New York during the Second World War. Belfrage repeatedly protested his innocence of this charge, but the imputation of disloyalty to him was reinforced after his death by disclosures from the “Venona” signals intelligence operation mounted by the United States (see Haynes and Klehr 1999, 109–11). When he asked to meet Russell, Belfrage denied being a Communist (he had been a member of the party briefly in 1937). He believed that his newsweekly’s impassioned defence of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell had caused him to be hounded by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Ever since its launch in 1948, the *National Guardian* had taken an uncompromisingly radical stand on the most contentious issues of the day. Belfrage’s political views and associations had first been subjected to official scrutiny in 1947, when he was interviewed by the FBI in light of information received from notorious ex-Communist government witness Elizabeth Bentley. In May 1953 he was subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee, where he invoked his fifth amendment right to remain silent. He then spent a month in jail on a deportation warrant until a habeas corpus ruling affirmed his entitlement to remain free on bail until his immigration case was resolved. His deportation was finally ordered in December 1954 and carried out the following August after another three months in detention.

According to Russell’s pocket diary this interview took place on 17 May 1956. As published, it drew the ire of Sidney Hook, amongst others who had recently questioned Russell’s use of Corliss Lamont in Paper **32b** “as an authority on the state of political freedom in the United States” (5 June 1956; see also **H34**). Hook now told Russell that “the Communists’ build-up of you in their press is motivated neither by genuine regard

for you nor by agreement with your ideals". He then cited the "Communist *National Guardian*" piece as evidence of Russell "being used—and effectively used—as a weapon in the Communists' political war against the United States". He also complained that Russell's "statements about America and the use the Communist world press is making about them are hurting not helping American liberals fight for a freer America and a freer world" (18 June 1956). Presumably Hook was thinking of Russell's disparaging comments to Belfrage about the American Committee for Cultural Freedom and his provocative assertion that in the sphere of civil liberties there "seemed to be less and less difference between America and Russia" (370:26). But Russell derided this line of attack by the formerly Marxist Hook as "the obverse of the argument that you and your friends used against me in 1920 when my criticisms of Russia {Russell 1920} delighted the reactionaries" (26 June 1956; 2001, 502).

Russell seems not to have shared Hook's misgivings about Belfrage or the latter's presentation of Russell's views in the *National Guardian*. On 20 September he promised Belfrage that he would read his book (see A177:40) with a view to providing Seeker and Warburg with a blurb for their advance publicity. A few weeks later, however, in a letter to the publisher, he suddenly withdrew this offer: "On reflection I do not feel that I wish to say anything about Belfrage's *The Frightened Giant* as I feel that his case is one about which I have not sufficient knowledge" (6 Oct. 1956).

The copy-text is the version in the *National Guardian*, reprinted much later in *Bertrand Russell's America*. Vol. 2:1945–1970 (1983), pp. 86–9.

FROM HIS QUIET garden villa in the London suburb of Richmond, Bertrand Russell looks back on a life which has never been dull, and still, in his eighty-fourth year, does not threaten to become so. Among the ruddy-faced, snowy-haired philosopher's souvenirs are going to jail for his peace activities in World War I, scandalizing the respectable with his free-wheeling co-educational school between wars, and succeeding to an earldom in 1931. He has travelled everywhere in search of truth, interested himself in everything, said just what he thought to everyone, publicly confessed his error whenever he found anything he said or didn't say to have been wrong. The world has come to recognize him as one who has generally been right.

Last March he started another tumult by expressing in the *Manchester Guardian* shame at not having looked into the Rosenberg case "at the time"; "almost certainty" that the Rosenbergs were innocent; and a plea—with pungent references to the background of FBI "atrocities"—for a new trial of the Rosenbergs' alleged fellow-conspirator Morton Sobell who is in Alcatraz for thirty years. The indignant ensuing correspondence defending the Dept. of Justice and the FBI, topped off by a final and even deadlier volley from Russell, has now died down.

### A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY LIBERAL

Last week I called on him to convey something of what his action has meant to progressive Americans. On the table beside the hospitable tea-tray in his study—which had an electric fire burning and the window wide open to the early summer scents from the garden—were copies of Max Lowenthal's book on the FBI ("I'm just reading it"), William A. Reuben's *Atom Spy Hoax* ("I'm just going to read it") and John Wexley's *Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg* which convinced him and inspired his letter. It

was in this room last winter that he received Mrs. Rose Sobell, who persuaded him to read the facts and judge from them whether justice had been done to her son.

“I am going into all this”, Russell said, lighting his pipe, “because I am an oldfashioned liberal—you might say in the seventeenth century sense, in that I have always had a great fear of the police and feel they are the same danger now that kings were then. Lowenthal’s book is very instructive. I have been reading about the rounding-up in New York streets in 1918 of men who were supposed to be draft-evaders—almost none of them were, but there seems to have been hardly a bleat of protest.”

### DREADFUL LAPSES

“I recall the time when I was at the University of California at Los Angeles in 1939 and they quite suddenly found that one of the lecturers, a man of experience and standing who had defended migratory workers’ right to organize, was incompetent. The others didn’t protest, and I have never seen anything to equal the terror in the common room when Sproul, the head of the university, marched in to lecture the staff. The university was completely controlled by the banker Giannini—everyone did what this Italian fascist told them to. Then in 1940 when I was barred from an appointment at New York City College—on the ground that I was ‘aphrodisiac’ among other dreadful lapses, though obviously they didn’t know what that meant—not one New Dealer except Mrs. Roosevelt supported me. I can’t agree with you that in America there has ever been the same degree of personal liberty that we have here. It doesn’t exist for the average man. At all times I have been rather astonished by their lack of protest against injustice.

Now the way the FBI is behaving is quite extraordinary. Apparently they can find people to testify to absolutely anything. Yet when I meet Americans, if I say anything at all against the FBI it’s as if I’d talked against the Holy Ghost. How can you? This is holy! I am astounded by the letters I have been getting from Americans, abusing me and exalting the police, most of all the one from the Committee for Cultural Freedom of which I am a member. Is it for cultural freedom or isn’t it? What has happened to my old friend Sidney Hook? On the other hand I’ve had many letters from Americans who say: ‘I’m delighted you say these things, I wish I dared.’”

### A CHILLED ALLIANCE

I asked Russell what he thought about the unilateral release of political prisoners and cutting of armed forces by the Russians and their allied countries. He said it was “very embarrassing to the Americans who don’t want to do either.” I asked: Do you think the time may be at hand when the world will see America as the country with the only remaining iron curtain?

“Indeed it’s very likely”, he said. “You know, all of Western Europe is very much chilled, in the whole conception of alliance with America, by the fact that there has seemed to be less and less difference between America and Russia. We must stand in with America but we don’t like it. I am very anxious for good relations, but all these injustices make it harder.”

“How can relations with America be improved?”

“Well, we can’t do it until there is greater liberalism in the American administration—that’s the only thing that will do it. And so there has to be more frankness about what is going on there. Of course every government commits misdeeds and feels it must conceal them. We certainly should not be self-righteous in view of our own failures in Cyprus and so on. Governments often manage to keep their misdeeds fairly dark at home but abroad they can’t. So if they can’t keep them dark the only thing is to mend their ways.”

### BASES OUT OF DATE

“The same is true for us British who commit our sins a long way off, although we’re not so bad at home. Of course we shall end by being turned out of Cyprus—what we’re doing there is absolutely futile. The whole idea that it’s important to have bases is out of date. They are only of use if there’s to be a big war, but even then, if we want a big war to destroy practically everybody, we can do it all from Greenland which is not far from Moscow. But people agree there isn’t going to be a big war: the chances are at least four to one against it, although the risk is still there.”

What did he think about the events in the U.S.S.R. since Stalin’s death?

“I am convinced the Communists really do want to liberalize their regimes. Would I be mistaken in attributing this to the fact that they have really got good hydrogen bombs and so are no longer frightened? But it is quite genuine. They have let out thousands of political prisoners although for years they have been saying there weren’t any. What has particularly impressed me is Hungary tearing down the barbed wire along the frontier—because it is an actual physical act. Also I am glad that the genes are now able to behave as they like, not just as Stalin told them.”

“I have always said that Stalin was the successor of Ivan the Terrible. I think his influence was completely bad. I was in Russia only once, in 1920, and wrote a little book about it. I thought it was horrible—an absolute nightmare—and have had the same view since, although it is getting better now: not what I should like at all, but better. But in any case we’ve got to co-operate with them whether we like it or not.”

### AN APOLOGY TO MAKE

I asked him if his views of Western policy toward Russia hadn’t changed in recent years. This was his answer:

“The worst thing I ever said—and I am sorry I did—was soon after the last war at the time America produced the Baruch plan for atomic control. I said we must urge the Russians to come in and that, if they wouldn’t, we should threaten them, and I thought they would yield. I wanted to see atomic power internationalized and thought the Baruch plan a good one.”

“I think I said that, and I’m sorry. The moment Russia had atomic power the situation was changed. I thought it was quite possible to persuade Russia to come into the Baruch plan. It wasn’t that I wanted a war, or to reform the Russian regime—they have the right to whatever regime they like—but to preserve the peace of the world.”

“Within the next five to ten years”, said the philosopher with the unclosable mind and the habit of courage, “it is possible that hostility will grow enormously less. It is less already. It rests largely with America.” I left him with his books on the American

political police and the fruits of their work, promising to lend him my copy of that great contemporary classic, Harvey Matusow's *False Witness*.



## Appendix IV

### Frayed Temper May Endanger World [1956]

THIS INTERVIEW, SUBTITLED “But Earl Russell Sees Some Hope”, was published in *The Yorkshire Observer*, Bradford, 11 October 1956 (B&R E56.07). It had been conducted at Plas Penrhyn on 6 August by the diplomatic correspondent and author George Bilainkin (1903–1981), who was trying to enlist Russell’s support in an acrimonious child-custody dispute in which he had been locked for four years. Indeed, this private matter was the real purpose of Bilainkin’s journey to Wales, as opposed to the political questions which the two men discussed for public consumption. Bilainkin encountered some problems in placing his article, which probably accounts for the two-month delay before its eventual appearance in a provincial newspaper. “The only paper there that came closest to publishing my interview with you”, Bilainkin informed Russell on 29 August, “says ‘no, it is so anti-British.’ Another says the {Suez} crisis makes the question of Western civilization’s survival of less moment than the current news pictures...”.

For a short time Russell gave some credence to the allegations of child abuse which Bilainkin had levelled against his ex-wife, and he even seemed willing to intercede publicly on his behalf. But he withdrew rather abruptly after he was persuaded by his friends Alan and Mary Wood, to whom he had referred details of the case, that Bilainkin was a crank. Russell was probably confirmed in this opinion when Bilainkin’s correspondence with him turned abusive.

The copy-text is a photocopy of Russell’s dated-stamped newspaper clipping received from Associated Press Cutting Services.

WHILE I CHATTED with the world’s most distinguished living philosopher, Earl (Bertrand) Russell, O.M., F.R.S., the laughter of his three grandchildren, aged twelve, nine, and eight, came up from the garden of his far-away retreat in the loneliest part of North Wales.

Russell, Nobel Prize winner, writer of a famous volume, *German Social Democracy*, in 1896, is at eighty-four as serene and direct, outspoken and swift in response as a man of forty.

He utters his phrases with meticulous precision. He reads three papers daily, deals with a “considerable” correspondence in bed. The letters are from all parts of the world. The eyes twinkle behind brown-rimmed glasses, the grey hairs are as strong as of those of a man of forty. The voice is as firm and limpid as in a man of thirty.

## FALSE FORMULAE

Here are some of my questions (here given in italics) and Earl Russell's answers:

*In the evening of your life, at what may be a crucial moment in world affairs, what do you feel about the theories of Spengler and Toynbee on the theme of the decline of the West?*

I think all people who create a pattern of history are wrong. I don't believe history fits into a group like that.

*Do you believe in the possibility of an immediate decline of the West, with the theme by Toynbee that the two remaining civilizations show the trends that preceded the collapse of the twenty-five or twenty-six identifiable ones?*

If you say yes, you must do so on account of a general factor. There have been lots of similar formulae, by Hegel and Marx. Then Spengler and Toynbee took it up. I regard all of them mistaken in thinking that. I have no view whether the West is going to decline.

## RISE OF THE EAST

*Does that mean you see no signs of the decline of the West?*

I see the rise of the East. If I can assume the world is going to be for ever divided into hostile blocks, then I assume, suppose, that the rise of the East will involve the decline of the West. But, if people in the East or West, had a particle of common sense, they would see that their interests are not antagonistic, and one could rise without the other's falling.

*Have you, as symptoms of current international strategy, any views on the Suez Canal crisis?*

Both the British and the French Governments have been absurd. They have let tempers get the better of them. I am in the unusual and uncomfortable position of thinking better of Mr. Dulles—whom I, you had better say, have not admired—than of the British and French Governments. He is much more right than they.

*Do you think the Egyptians have done anything wicked in nationalizing the Suez Canal Company of Egypt?*

I do not know if they have done anything illegal, for that is a legal question that calls for more legal knowledge than I possess. Their operation was unwise, because it increases the danger of war. Anybody who does anything to increase the danger of war is wicked.

## NATIONALISM BAD

*Irrespective of the rights and wrongs of a dispute?*

In these days of a hydrogen bomb no dispute should be raised to the point that it risks war. Both sides have behaved badly.

*But Nationalism has been rising, naturally, in the Middle East as elsewhere?*

All Nationalism is bad. It is very natural and I cannot blame them, but, it is unfortunate. Nationalism is dangerous because it groups up enmities, between States, and the only hope for civilization to continue to exist is—Internationalism. Otherwise the human race will cease to exist. Remember, soon every little country will have its own hydrogen bomb.

## GOOD FROM EVIL

*How do you regard the impact of the hydrogen bomb on the world?*

It has done good. The hydrogen bomb has caused both the United States and the Soviet Union to realize that they must not risk a great war. That is service to mankind. But the trouble is that you get people's tempers frayed so that they embark on a madness although they know it is madness.

The Suez Canal danger is a case in point. If the English and the French Governments had not been restrained by Mr. Dulles they might, would have risked a world war about the Suez, which is madness.

*Is there anything on the world horizon that makes you happy today?*

Yes, the Soviet Government has definitely improved since the death of Stalin. That is a very hopeful feature in the world.

*Due to any particular cause?*

Personal and impersonal cause. Stalin in his later days was mad, with persecution mania. So his death had a good personal effect. But, apart from this, the Russians are feeling themselves stronger and fairly secure, think they should have more consumer goods. Great pressure by the public for more consumer goods makes for peace.

## "I HATE IT"

*What makes you most unhappy as you survey the horizon?*

After some reflection: A general uprush of certain forces, rebelling against institutions that have served civilization faithfully. In extreme cases, Mau Mau.

*What do you think about apartheid in South Africa?*

I hate, I hate it. I think it is the very devil. The South African Government is absolutely abominable, and has done more than the Russians to promote Communism.

*How do you see Nehru's place in the world?*

I think well of him with certain limitations. He is a force of sanity, a force of peace. I think his neutralism is based on a wish to liberate Asia from Western Imperialism. I cannot blame him for that.

*What about Goa?*

I think Goa, and Kashmir, should have a plebiscite.

*How do you see the future of the human race?*

The human race is faced with much the most important issue that it has ever faced since Noah. The question is whether it should continue to exist or not. It will only continue to exist if people consent to international government. If not, there will, sooner or later, be a hydrogen war, and the race will cease. I do not know whether people will prefer not to stay alive or have their enemies die. I think people would prefer to die rather than have their enemies live. But if I can suppose that people would prefer their own survival, they would accede to international government.

*How soon is there danger of destruction?*

It all depends on international problems, by Dulles and Khrushchev. Marxists think that big things happen because of big causes. It is not so. If Dulles has dyspepsia, it may cause a world war.

## A SOCIALIST

*What do you think of the present Conservative Government here?*

I am a Socialist, and politically I am opposed to them. There are many questions on which parties are not divided. I think the British Government is better than America on China, and worse where Egypt is concerned. I do not like to strike a balance.

*How does Eden compare with, say, Balfour of long ago?*

Balfour was wishy-washy, flabby, weak, wicked. He was all that.

*What of Gaitskell?*

On the whole, I support Gaitskell's wing of the party.

What papers does Earl Russell read? *The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian* and *The New York Herald Tribune*. He comes to his study at eleven o'clock and works till luncheon, at one. He works again after tea and goes to bed at midnight.

He looked fifty at the most. Then the grandchildren, their governess and I drove down the long, lonely lane to the main road, perhaps a mile away.

## Appendix V

# Lord Russell Says Russia Fears China Far More Than West [1957]

THIS INTERVIEW WITH the photographer, writer and sculptor Allan Chappelow was published to mark the occasion of Russell's eighty-fifth birthday. It appeared first with omissions as "From the Mountains of Wales, Bertrand Russell Talks about That War...", *Daily Mail*, 15 May 1957, p. 6, and was reprinted three days later under the title used here by the *Toronto Daily Star*, p. 7 (B&R E57.01). The French-language version in *Le Soir*, "Une Interview de Bertrand Russell", 21 May 1957, pp. 1, 2, prompted Russell to seek from the Brussels newspaper a clarification of his views on world government, which he believed to have been incorrectly stated in translation. His unpublished letter to the editor appears as Paper 52 in the present volume.

The British-Soviet summit to which allusion was made by Russell in his closing comments never actually took place. After Macmillan decided not to honour Sir Anthony Eden's pledge to visit Moscow in the spring (see Appendix X), Bulganin tried to persuade Britain's new Prime Minister to reconsider. The ensuing exchange of diplomatic notes, however, did not result in face-to-face talks.

The interview seems to have been conducted on 5 May, at the same time as that with Arif Tanović and Gajo Petrović (Appendix VII) for, in thanking Russell "for the opportunity of hearing your views on many topics", Chappelow alluded to the presence at their meeting of "the Yugoslavians" (14 May 1957). As his earlier letter (dated 4 May) had made plain, Chappelow was primarily interested in photographing Russell, as he had done in 1948 while a student at Trinity College, Cambridge. The possibility of publishing his account of their conversation seems to have been something of an afterthought, suggested by Russell himself.

The copy-text is the reprinted version in the *Toronto Daily Star*.

LORD RUSSELL, TWEED-SUITED, silver-haired, met me in his drawing-room. One wall is entirely covered with bookshelves. He motioned me into an easy chair opposite his own.

"You may photograph me while I am talking if you wish", he said. "Do you take milk and sugar? There's a hot scone in that dish."

Then came my questions: "Will there be another world war?"

"I think there is a distinct possibility of a third world war, not between the Eastern and Western blocs but between Russia and China. The Russian leaders are, I'm sure, in a great quandary about the development of communism in China because China has three times the population and is potentially much stronger.

"The Chinese are a very industrious race—always as busy as bees—and there are clear indications that Chinese communism is developing upon independent lines—as it has done in Hungary and indeed all the satellites. The Western interpretation of news is published in China alongside their own, as it is in Yugoslavia and in Poland, Czechoslovakia and some other satellites—but not in Russia.

“The H-bomb is, I believe, the main hope for peace—but it’s an uneasy and precarious peace with weapons like that in the cupboard. There is a grave risk that someone in America or Russia or some other country will do something emotional and silly and get into a position from which withdrawal would be impossible without suffering what they would regard as complete humiliation. Reason has never played such a large part in international affairs as emotion.”

“Should the H-bomb be banned?”

“I’m not in favour of its abolition, as I’ve so often been assumed to be. Fear is a great and effective force in human nature. The H-bomb is a real deterrent in three ways not possessed by any previous weapons. It gives equal power to each side; the leaders are no safer than the rest of the population; and the devastation would be on such an unprecedented and incalculable scale as to make any victory very problematical indeed.

“Atomic weapons are the only thing that put East and West on an equal footing.”

“Will the East go Communist?”

“In seeking what they call peaceful co-existence, I think the Russians want relatively peaceful conditions in Europe so as to concentrate on increasing their influence in the East. I think we are bound to lose everything in the East, including the oil, in the end.

“I don’t see how Jordan can avoid going Communist sooner or later. I think India is moving towards communism—but the Chinese, not the Russian brand. They have always had a strong affinity to the Chinese and none with the Russians. Closer ties between India and China could constitute a very formidable problem for Russia.”

“What are prospects of lasting peace?”

“I believed for many years that the federated world state, backed by force greater than that of any constituent member, is the only real road to peace. Pending that, which I can’t see any country being ready to adopt yet, I think the balance of power and the fear and neutralizing power of the H-bomb are real safeguards of peace. There is a possibility of a stable peace—in ten years perhaps. The Russians undoubtedly want peace—nuclear war would wreck all they have achieved—but their leaders are continually acting in ways which are just the opposite of helpful towards peace, as long as they continue pushing farther and creating as much unrest as they can in Asia.

“It’s all part of power politics. They are much more propaganda-conscious than we and they trade a good deal on anti-British and “anti-white man” sentiments. One of the most effective things we could do as propaganda would be to drop millions of leaflets all over Asia with just three words: “Russians are whites!”

“And, finally, what do you think Mr. Macmillan’s attitude should be when he meets Marshal Bulganin in Moscow in the autumn?”

“I don’t know what attitude he will adopt. I think the line he ought to adopt is: “We have all this arming and tension in the world, which—we appear to be agreed—is not good for either side. How can we become better friends? Disarmament and peace must come from the feelings.”

## Appendix VI

### Meeting with Russell [1957]

Two SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT versions of this interview were published in SerboCroat: “Susret S.Russellom”, *Vjesnik*, Zagreb, 18 or 19 May 1957 and “Susret sa Raslom”, *Oslođenje*, Sarajevo, 19 May 1957, p. 6 (B&R E57.01a). Both texts appear above the name of Arif Tanović, who identified himself as London correspondent for these two Yugoslavian publications. The interview, however, was conducted jointly with Gajo Petrović, a young University of Zagreb philosopher whose presence was duly noted in the piece that appeared in the Sarajevo daily. As promised below, Russell did “answer in writing” certain of the philosophical questions posed by his interviewers. These too were published in translation, and they feature in the present volume as Paper **19b**.

The copy-text is a translation by George Thomas of the version in *Vjesnik*. The substantive variation with the interview as printed in *Oslođenje* (also translated by Thomas) is recorded in the Textual Notes.

ON THE WEST coast of the British Isles, where the sea has cut deepest into the land, on a wooded knoll surrounded on two sides by the sea there is only one house: “Plas Penrhyn”. In that house on the knoll lives the philosopher Bertrand Russell.

For strangers who arrive here from bustling, foggy London the change is a real adventure: the friendly, cordial Welsh people, the clean air and the mild climate, the vegetation and the quiet shore cut through by winding brooks, while the expansive ocean is dominated majestically by snow-covered mountains.

An old man of medium height with completely grey hair sprang up energetically from his comfortable armchair, came to greet us warmly and shook our hands firmly. From his eyes there shone the good nature and cordiality of an old man, which can be felt but cannot be fully described. It was as if there stood before us a great poet with the colouring of a heated, passionate nature rather than a rational philosopher full of judicious wisdom. The light, grey-green spring made him look younger than his eighty-five years.

With unwonted ease he led the conversation from the fine weather and the picturesque surroundings to the most abstract questions of dialectics, gnoseology and the theory of relativity, before finally turning to questions of contemporary international relations and the hydrogen bomb. A little shadow of scepticism dogged his matter-of-fact optimism and the serenity of his views: there is hope, says he, that wisdom will overcome fear and distrust.

Without our noticing, two hours passed in conversation, before our host finally noted wittily: “As you can see, we cannot find solutions to all problems”, and smiling pleasantly he promised to answer in writing all the questions which interested us. For him personally, he said, there remained some ethical questions—aesthetics he didn’t deal with and was uncertain whether it fell under the rubric of philosophical investigation.

“In a certain sense I am a materialist”, says Russell. “In the meantime, science has gone beyond the old concept of matter. Atomic physics proves that matter consists of ‘events’. While physics shows that matter is less material, psychology demonstrates that

the mind is less spiritual”, he observes. The distinction between mind and matter has entered philosophy from religion. Both, in his opinion, however, represent appropriate means for grouping “events”, of which some are only the material and others both spiritual and material at the same time. For that reason, Russell adopts James’s theory of neutral monism—and that fits with the British tradition of compromise known as the “middle way”.

Bertrand Russell neither completely accepts nor rejects Marxism. “There is much there that is useful”, he says, “and quite precise, although it does not provide, in the absolute sense of the word, a materialistic, or economic, interpretation of history.” What he dislikes about Marxism is its Hegelianism and the post-Marxist dogmatizing of the theory and the bureaucratization of social relationships. At one time Russell sympathized with communism, then in 1920 he travelled to the USSR, spoke with Lenin and the other revolutionary leaders. Later he called himself a socialist—we didn’t ask him about his present political convictions, but mostly he cooperates with the liberal press. We were interested in his philosophical development from his views on Mill and Hegel in his youth and how via Leibniz he returned once more to the traditional territory of British empiricism, for which he chose Hume as a model.

“Yes, Marxist philosophy can be interpreted rationally”, he told us in answer to our explanation of conceptualizing Marxism as scientific humanism and as a scientific materialistic dialectic without a priori dogmas. Russell belongs to the philosophical school of logical analysis, which prefers scientific method over arbitrary speculations. Of contemporary French and German existentialism he says that it is based on a grammatical error, but that while in philosophy it means little it represents something in literature. There should always be room for doubt when one is talking of philosophical investigation, he added, and thus our conversation brought us to contemporary problems of life and the possibility of preserving peace.

“Philosophers have to point out the senselessness of the division of the world, of the distrust and misunderstanding among nations. The world has become more unified but more intolerant. Misunderstanding has also arisen; in all countries the youth is mainly taught to hate other nations.” The only way out, in his opinion, is the formation of a world government....

Within a couple of decades, Russell thinks, the whole of Asia will be in political union with communism; there exists a special type of Asiatic nationalism which is more and more anti-Western. In China, which he visited before the war and spent some time in, he sees a great rival to the USSR and the predominant force in Asia. He expressed sympathy for Yugoslavia’s successful struggle for independence, realizing the difficulties of a fair policy of coexistence. He says he has nothing against the expansion of communism but not by strength of arms, rather by strength of ideas. He criticized various phenomena in many nations and ideologies. For that reason everyone sees him as a neighbour but not quite one of their own. He is accused of anti-Americanism and anti-Communism. However, he considers himself a fighter for truth and humanism. Because of his pacifism in the First World War he was imprisoned.

The existence of the hydrogen bombs thinks the philosopher, is one of the factors in preserving peace, but the danger is in the possibility of its being used—which cannot be ruled out—and that would lead to the destruction of modern civilization. Still he believes in victory of reason and the eventual ban on the use of hydrogen bombs.

In his philosophical views, Russell starts from experience. He does not believe in God. His social views are based on scientific, logical analysis. Still he believes that there will

always exist unknowns for mankind, which science itself will not be able to solve completely and that there will always be a need for philosophical reflection, which will never cease to influence and inspire our way of life.

While talking to us Russell frequently filled his pipe. His face would take on a good-natured smile, full of understanding. His sense of humour occupied every thought, and his sentences ended on a whimsical, often joking note. His witticisms were naturally aimed at all sorts of ideological prejudices and exclusivism as well as at his own mental ramblings and claims. His lucid mind remained calm and fresh despite his advanced years.

As we said goodbye to our hospitable host, our glance was averted for a moment from the grey hair to the objects in the room: above all the books, of which there was an abundance, the modest furniture, some portraits on the desk.... One portrait was of Hume, others presumably were of the philosopher's forebears, who worked alongside princes. His grandfather was twice Prime Minister. And Bertrand once dreamed of becoming a politician but his life took him in the direction of science and philosophy. Now this lofty aristocrat and nobleman by birth was propounding scientific realism against conservative prejudices. Many view him as the "Socrates of the Twentieth Century" and his clear, concise style as representative of the best English literary tradition. He is a winner of the Nobel Prize for literature, has written more than 100 books and still writes all the time for radio and the newspapers and perhaps even new books....



## Appendix VII

### Voice of the Sages [1957]

THIS INTERVIEW WITH Irwin Ross (b. 1919) probably took place early in September 1957, when the American journalist and author proposed to be in Britain. Russell had been notified by Ross that he was travelling to Europe for the *New York Post* in order “to conduct a series of interviews with a number of prominent scientists, philosophers, artists and writers” (29 July 1957). Ernest Jones, Somerset Maugham, Salvador de Madariaga and Clement Attlee were among the other people whom Ross seems to have met. The account of his conversation with Russell appeared in the issue of 6 Nov. 1957, p. M2 (B&R E57.03).

The copy-text is the publication in the *New York Post*, the only extant version.

AT EIGHTY-FIVE, IT is reassuring to report, Bertrand Russell has not appreciably changed. He is still the same sparse, spry, bird-beaked figure with the familiar shock of white hair and dry, crackling voice lifted in sprightly irreverence.

The movements are slower now, but his frame is still ramrod straight. I caught my first glimpse of him as my train pushed through the rain to the tiny station of Penrhyndeudraeth. There stood Lord Russell, on the exposed railway platform, his white hair flying in the breeze. He gave me a warm handshake, ushered me into a car and off we went to his home for dinner and some four hours of conversation.

I asked him how it felt to have become so eminently respectable in recent years.

“Horrible!” Russell replied. “When I found myself regarded as respectable, I began to wonder what sins I had committed. I must be very wicked, I thought. I began to engage in the most uncomfortable introspection.”

But the danger of losing his bona fides as a rebel was about to pass, Lord Russell assured me. He displayed a copy of a new book of his essays called *Why I Am Not a Christian*.

“I hope this will undo my new respectability”, said Russell.

A conversation with him sets at rest any vagrant doubts on this score. We covered everything from infidelity in marriage (of which he still approves) to the H-Bomb (which he doesn’t) and along the line discussed companionate marriage, psychoanalysis, China, the future evolution of the Russian state and the secret of human happiness.

Russell has many thoughts on the conquest of happiness (indeed, some years ago he wrote an entire book on the subject).

“The first thing”, said Russell, puffing on his pipe, “is to conquer fear. I find that fear and anxiety ruin people’s lives more than anything else.

“Second, I think it is very important to have a friendly attitude towards people. I discovered fairly early in life that if A likes B, B will almost inevitably like A. The reverse, of course, is equally true.

“And, third, there is the matter of good health—often a question of sheer luck.”

In his view, the conquest of anxiety is the most important step towards human felicity. “Years ago”, said Russell, “I worked out a technique. Basically, it is very simple. You

should force yourself to visualize vividly the very worst that can happen in a specific situation.

“Then, after you have imagined the disaster, you are in a position to reflect, ‘Well, after all, suppose it did happen? The very worst wouldn’t be so dreadful.’ And you suddenly find that you have banished that particular worry.”

But what about the phenomenon, I asked, known as “free floating anxiety”—a pervasive apprehension with no discernible cause?

Russell brushed the quibble aside. “If you don’t know what the fear is”, he stated authoritatively, “that’s only because you’re afraid to know”.

He would entertain no doubts that almost every personal problem was responsive to this self-help therapy.

“I just don’t believe in the professional therapists”, said Russell. “I believe in the discoveries of Freud, I accept the theories, but I’ve never known a human being who has been helped by psychoanalysis—except for very little things like writer’s cramp.” (A phenomenon known in New York as writer’s block.)

I asked him how the patients he knew appeared after psychoanalysis. “Why, they’re exactly the same afterwards!” he exclaimed. “But they are not aware of this. They think they are better, but nobody else does.”

Apparently glimpsing my look of wondrous disbelief, Russell hastened to add, “Mind you, I’m no doctrinaire about this. If you give me persuasive evidence, I’ll change my mind.”

He is doctrinaire only about doctrines peculiarly Russellian. One of them, of course, is his benign toleration of adultery. I asked Russell whether he still held to his view, first announced years ago, that both wives and husbands should be free to take outside lovers—without causing any disruption of the marriage.

“I haven’t revised my views on marriage in any important way”, said Russell, “except that now I’d emphasize more the desirability of easy divorce.”

But did he really feel, I persisted, that a couple could condone mutual infidelity without suffering the dismaying effects of jealousy and insecurity? (I asked the question in the full knowledge that Russell was the rare writer who usually suited practice to theory. According to his biographer, Alan Wood, during his second marriage—Russell is now on his fourth—he had one of his wife’s lovers living in their home.)

“Whether jealousy develops”, Russell replied blandly, “entirely depends on the mores of the social group. I know a good many couples who condone infidelity on each other’s part. I can assure you that it’s a custom prevalent among a large proportion of the educated people in this country.

“You’re not surprised, are you? I’ve come across the same sort of thing in the United States.”

How did he feel about companionate marriage—the proposal, first advanced in the ’20s, that impecunious young people be free to contract temporary childless marriages?

“I still think companionate marriage would be a good thing”, said Russell, “but I can’t get people to listen to the argument. The whole purpose of the scheme is to curb promiscuity, so prevalent today among the unmarried young. But what I can’t get the orthodox to face is that they cannot force people to live chastely—they can only force them to live promiscuously.”

Russell is a bit dismayed that only in their sexual habits do young people today seem to rebel against accepted customs. Politically, he agrees, they seem to be conservative.

“I think that their conservatism”, he said, “is a product of the cold war. Fear of the H-Bomb, fear of communism are deeply ingrained among the young. These fears tend to make the youth suspicious of new political adventures. Only a diminution of fear will free their imagination.”

At the moment, Russell neither despairs nor is overly optimistic about the chances of abating the cold war. “The Russians can be difficult indeed” whenever the international atmosphere improves and some accommodation seems possible. Hungary was only the latest and most tragic example.

On the other hand, Russell has a measure of criticism of the U.S.—largely for what he regards as our political inflexibility. “I think it’s absurd to refuse to recognize the Peking government”, he told me. “Recognition is not a good conduct badge awarded a boy at school.”

In some quarters, Russell has been criticized for a change in his views on atomic war and Communist world conquest. For some years after World War II, he had said that an atomic war was preferable to conquest by Communist tyranny.

In the last few years, however, Russell has been a leader in the effort to outlaw atomic war. I asked him how he accounted for his shift in views.

“It’s very simple”, said Russell. “When I suggested that it might be better to fight an atomic war than be conquered by the Russians, it was when we had the ABomb and they didn’t.

“Moreover, I wanted to use the ultimate threat of the A-Bomb as a lever against the Russians to get them to agree to the Baruch plan for atomic disarmament. But ever since they developed the A-Bomb, we face the threat of mutual destruction—and so the emphasis must change.”

Two years ago, Russell took the lead in issuing a statement, signed by Communist and anti-Communist scientists, warning humanity of the dangers of thermo-nuclear warfare. He called a press conference in London and presented his statement to 200 reporters, later repeating it over television. “I regard this whole campaign as more important than any of my philosophical work”, Russell told me.

At the present time, however, he is not sanguine about the chances of banning the H-Bomb through international agreement. “There must be a considerable improvement in the international atmosphere before any basic agreements are possible”, he said.

His prescription for diminishing the emotional intensity of the cold war is a simple one: continual communication between scientists, professional people, scholars of East and West. He has been vastly impressed, at international meetings he has attended, at the ability of intellectuals from democratic and Communist countries to reach a common human meeting ground. Eventually, he feels, as mutual trust increases, it will be possible to tackle the really controversial issues at these conferences.

“The idea that Russia is filled with homicidal maniacs is just nonsense”, said Russell. “It may be that in the next 10 years some men of genius on both sides will decide we have to negotiate. After all, we do have a common fear of annihilation to prompt us.”

He refused to speculate at length about the internal evolution of the Russian state.

“It is quite clear that there is strong public opinion, especially among the young, for a relaxation of the dictatorship. In the end, this pressure may force some changes. But, really, to say anything positive on this subject is to profess an omniscience which I don’t think anybody has.”

And, finally, the inevitable question: what was his recipe for longevity?

Russell laughed. “Choose your parents wisely.”

# Multiple-Signatory Texts

## Appendix VIII

### Geneva: A Message to the Foreign Ministers [1955]

THIS HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED communication was sent to the foreign ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France on 26 October 1955, the day before their summit meeting commenced at the Palais des Nations, Geneva. As a press release from the British Peace Committee made plain, the message was intended to impress upon these statesmen “the sense of urgency felt by all people that there shall be a fruitful outcome to their discussions” (RAI 600, 2 Oct. 1955). This notice had been distributed in advance of a public meeting at Central Hall, Westminster, on 21 October, which was to be expressly concerned with the impending international conference. Appendix VIII was formally presented to this gathering, of which Russell and two of his co-signatories—Lord Boyd Orr, the nutritionist and Nobel laureate for peace, and Cecil Powell, the physicist and signatory of the Russell-Einstein manifesto—were also the sponsors. The organizational arrangements, however, were made by the British Peace Committee, whose secretary, William Wainwright, had first contacted Russell about possible dates and venues on 26 August. Wainwright also enlisted the other sponsors and speakers, set an agenda for the meeting and oversaw the production and distribution of the advance publicity. He may even have drafted Appendix VIII, having already without compunction edited the speech which he had delivered *in absentia* for Russell at the World Assembly for Peace in Helsinki (Russell 1955c). Whatever the precise nature of Wainwright’s contribution to the present appendix, it was written very much in the spirit of the Russell-Einstein manifesto and even makes a direct reference to that declaration. It certainly contained nothing to which Russell would have been inclined to object.

Russell’s continuing involvement with the pro-Soviet British Peace Committee confronted him once more with the perplexities of political collaboration with Communists and fellow-travellers (see Bone 2001, 40–5). Although it did include some Quaker and other non-partisan pacifist representation, this body was dominated by the Communist Party of Great Britain. In June 1957 Russell would be asked by American pacifist Homer A. Jack to explain his endorsement of an antinuclear testing appeal recently circulated by the committee. Although “he has a rule of not working with communist organizations”, reported Russell’s interviewer, “he will sign an occasional specific statement even if some communists sign it” (RA REC. ACQ. 1,432). Two years previously, Russell’s planned participation in a political meeting promoted by the British Peace Committee had triggered a reaction of mild alarm in Patrick Armstrong—clerk to the Parliamentary Group for World Government, under the auspices of whose sister organization Russell was due to speak again at Central Hall two weeks later (see Appendix XIII.) Although fully aware of the political risks that he was courting, Russell was also sensitive to the fact that “the West has been guilty of a bad blunder in allowing Communists to appear as advocates of peace, and if we are to advocate co-existence effectively we must not leave this impression unchallenged”. Moreover, he reassured

Armstrong, if “an impression may be given that I am fellow-travelling”, this misapprehension would definitely be offset by the content of his speech (18 Oct. 1955).

Armstrong’s apprehensions had been forwarded by Lord Boyd Orr, who was equally troubled by the political company that Russell was keeping. Although an official patron of the event at Central Hall, Boyd Orr “was not aware that the Communists had any part in the meeting... Nor I suppose did you”. Boyd Orr had never intended to attend the gathering, but if Russell was determined to deliver his address he would “continue to be a sponsor for *you* but not for any Communist organisation” (16 Oct. 1955). Russell clarified his position in this reply dated two days later:

When I speak I shall make it clear that I am unalterably opposed to Communism but that I do not think either its friends or its enemies should promote their cause by war. More generally, I think that if we are to advocate co-existence we must no longer treat Communists and Fellow Travellers as pariahs. I do not see that when I speak as I intend to do, I shall be used by the Communists any more than they will be used by me. Moreover, the doctrine for which I stand, namely that a great war cannot now serve the interests of either Communists or anti-Communists, is one which it is vitally necessary to spread amongst Communists and it seems to me imperative to seize every opportunity of doing so.

Russell was true to his word when he actually spoke, for he was quoted thus in *Peace News*: “I myself am definitely opposed to Communism, at any rate as far as the West is concerned...and should be sorry to see parliamentary democracy replaced by dictatorship”. The same newspaper report (Russell 1955*l*; Tims 1955) also featured these “five steps to peace” enumerated by Russell.

1. See that neither side has any important accession of strength.
2. Raise the standard of living of the poorer parts of the world. (Poverty could be cured in a generation, he observed later, if we thought it more important to keep ourselves alive than to make other people dead.)
3. Pay attention to the wishes of the inhabitants in areas of tension such as in East Germany, Cyprus and Formosa.
4. Make the possibility of sudden attack more difficult. (He added the proviso that no agreement to abolish nuclear weapons would prevent their use if war broke out. “The only thing that will save us is not to have a war.”)
5. Increase freedom of trade and exchanges of information.

Before Russell’s presentation, Cecil Powell had emphasized the need for disarmament and “the power of ordinary people to influence policy”. A third speaker, the general secretary of the Building Trades Workers Union, Sir Richard Coppock, had dwelt on the advantages for the “common man” of a stable peace (quoted in Tims 1955, 6). Russell required some forbearance as he listened to Coppock, who he caricatured to Boyd Orr as “a more or less Communistic Trade Unionist who stated at great length and with much emphasis that intelligence and knowledge are worthless and that only manual workers are important. He was the only speaker who took this line and the sentiments of the audience, so far as one could judge, were quite reasonable” (24 Oct. 1955).

Boyd Orr had anticipated that the meeting would be “widely reported” and that Russell would therefore be able to place before a larger audience the views on

Communism which he had outlined to him and Armstrong (to Russell, 18 Oct. 1955). But these expectations of lavish publicity were patently not met—to the evident frustration of Wainwright, who complained to Russell of this neglect on 24 October and again on 18 November. In addition to the press release that had been issued three weeks ahead of the meeting for national, provincial and international newspapers, some 50,000 copies of the flyer which is reproduced here as Plate II had been circulated to various professional, peace and labour organizations around London. Of some consolation for Russell, though, was an “admirable report” published by *The Pakistan Times* (to M.A.Shakoor, 2 Nov. 1955, RA REC. ACQ. 70).

Although displeased by the muted reaction of the press, Wainwright expressed to Russell his “gratitude and deep appreciation for your help and magnificent speech which went to make Friday’s meeting such an important event” (24 Oct. 1955). He now asked Russell to write a short covering note for each of the four foreign ministers to whom the message was addressed. The signed copy to John Foster Dulles expressed Russell’s “sincere hope that it may help you in the work which you are now commencing...” (26 Oct. 1955, RA REC. ACQ. 700). Somewhat surprisingly perhaps, Russell managed to elicit this response from the American Secretary of State, dated 10 November.

I have your letter of October 26 and the attached message from you and your distinguished colleagues.

I appreciate having your thoughts on the matters which are before us here and I assure you that I have many of the considerations you mention very much in mind. While I cannot agree with some of the specific policies which you advocate, notably with respect to Communist China, I recognize your sincerity of purpose and am grateful that you have forwarded your views to me.

I am certain that all of the Western Delegations here are making every effort to turn the good words of the Heads of State Conference into good deeds. I confess, however, that after Mr. Molotov’s speech of November 8, I doubt whether the Soviets are equally sincere in their purpose. (*Ibid.*)

Notwithstanding this expression of dissatisfaction with the Soviet foreign minister, Dulles was actually quite gratified by the obstructive line taken by Molotov. On 15 December he told a meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Paris (as reported by telegram to the State Department) that the Geneva Conference had “brought into open rigidity Soviet position re. GDR and other satellites...Showed that USSR could not contemplate election which would jeopardize Communist regimes in East Germany and elsewhere” (United States 1986, 29). Russell, though, was genuinely dismayed by the lack of accord on any of the issues pressed on the foreign ministers in this co-signed message (see also Paper 1). In forwarding to Wainwright a copy of Dulles’s reply, Russell judged it “as favourable as one could have hoped that it would be” (15 Nov. 1955). He also felt “reluctantly compelled to agree with the last sentence”—a reference to the Soviet foreign minister’s blunt rejection (Molotov 1955) of Western demands for free all-German elections.

The copy-text is the two-leaf mimeographed typescript dated 21 October 1955 (RA2 320 Addenda).

THE OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENT of the meeting of the Heads of States which was held in July at Geneva was the substitution of expected agreement for the bitterness of the cold war.

They directed their Foreign Ministers to continue the consideration of the questions on which an exchange of views had taken place and to propose effective means for their solution.

This determination, that agreements shall be reached, is the first thing needed before the new era of peace, for which all of us hope, can be soundly built.

It is now for the Foreign Ministers to endeavour to fulfil the instructions of the Heads of States. It is for them to begin the process whereby good words are turned into good deeds.

At this moment, so crucial for the future of man, we should like to bring to the attention of the Foreign Ministers the warning signed by some of the most eminent scientific authorities in different parts of the world, which dealt with the perils of nuclear war.

That statement suggested that neither the public nor the governments of the world are adequately aware of the dangers facing the human race.

We feel that statement still to be true; and that the Foreign Ministers need to approach their discussions with a deeper awareness of these dangers.

The Foreign Ministers, like all of us, have to learn to think in a new way. They have to ask themselves how they can reach specific agreements on the problems before them so that they will rule out any military contest of which the result must be disastrous to all.

We do not expect that everything can be settled at once; but we feel that a start should be made and that the Ministers can, if they so wish, avoid the set-back of an empty-handed return. Even if final solutions cannot at this stage be reached, at least some interim agreement should be sought, to provide time for further improvements in the situation.

We wish to impress on them the view that agreements on one problem will improve the possibility of agreement on others; but that disagreement on any one problem should not rule out discussion and negotiation of others.

On the question of Germany and European security, it is good that the governments have recognized that these problems are closely linked. There can be no stable peace while Germany remains disunited, but its unification must be brought about in a way which will not involve an important accession of strength to either East or West and will help to end the division of Europe into two hostile blocs.

On the question of a disarmament plan involving reduction of conventional arms, the abolition of nuclear weapons and an effective scheme of control, the viewpoints of both sides now seem so close that agreement ought to be possible, if, as we hope, the Foreign Ministers of both East and West recognize the new spirit of which there is evidence, and do not regard its manifestation either as a trap or as a proof of weakness.

On the question of improving contacts between East and West, much good has already been done. More, however, can be achieved if further measures are taken to increase visits and exchanges of information between the peoples of the world. An easing of the restrictions of trade between East and West would not only make for a friendlier spirit, but would contribute greatly towards the economic stability of the world.

Although the Foreign Ministers will not be discussing the subject of China, parallel conversations will continue between the representatives of that country and the USA. It is

our hope that the American Government will recognize the Peking Government and agree to its admission in the United Nations.

The division of the world into two hostile camps is not in the interests of either side. A further relaxation of tension is possible if the Foreign Ministers approach their arduous tasks in the right frame of mind.

In making the cold war a nightmare of the past, the Foreign Ministers will have the support not merely of the peoples of both sides, but of the species Man.

LORD BOYD ORR, F.R.S.

SIR RICHARD COPPOCK, C.B.E.

PROFESSOR C.F.POWELL, F.R.S.

EARL RUSSELL, O.M.

21st October, 1955.



## Appendix IX

### Suez and World Government [1956]

THE FIRST, THIRD, fourth and fifth of the enumerated “observations” in this appendix were paraphrased in a report by *The Times* headed “Control of Vital Areas; World Authority Urged”, 11 Sept. 1956, p. 13. Russell had added his signature to the document five days previously at the request of Patrick Armstrong, clerk to the Parliamentary Group for World Government (PGWG). All members of the PGWG were being circularized, Armstrong had written, and a signed copy of the statement would be issued to the press “after the conclusion of the NasserMenzies negotiations” (5 Sept. 1956). These talks between Egypt’s President and a committee chaired by Australia’s Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies (see A128:8–11), had begun in Cairo on 3 September and ended in deadlock a week later, in part because of Colonel Nasser’s categorical refusal to accept any form of international control over the Suez Canal. When Russell dictated Paper **50** on 18 and 19 September, he again condemned Egypt’s unilateral action and reiterated the call made by this appendix for the creation of a supranational authority. The rapid escalation of the crisis had also convinced him that the proponents of world government must “find some new way of being persuasive”. As he had explained in his letter of reply to Armstrong:

Asia and Africa have until lately been controlled imperialistically, and they feel that nothing short of complete national independence will free them from alien domination. Russia finds this feeling convenient and encourages it. If any kind of international system is to work, it will have to have the genuine support of Russia. If universal chaos is to be avoided, it will be necessary for Russia and the United States to form an alliance against little countries, such as England and Egypt, to keep them in their place and prevent them from indulging in nationalistic adventures. (6 Sept. 1956)

The last-quoted sentence was vaguely prescient of the remarkable proposal for concerted action with the United States made by Soviet Premier Bulganin at the height of the crisis early in November (see A129:9–10).

The copy-text is the undated Parliamentary Group for World Government mimeograph (RAI 570). There were probably more signatories than those named below. This list was compiled from the names mentioned in *The Times’s* report and in Armstrong’s letter to Russell of 5 September. WE THE UNDERSIGNED, *individual* supporters of the Parliamentary Group for World Government, wish to make the following observations on the Suez Canal dispute:

1. Colonel Nasser’s act of nationalisation, whether juridically justified or not, has revealed the urgent need for the creation of a supranational

Authority to govern those parts of the world, such as the Suez Canal, which are of global concern.

2. Just as there are a number of such zones which come into the above category, so there are a number of other problems of global concern such as disarmament, which can also be dealt with only by the creation of an Authority of supranational character.

3. Meanwhile, the act of Colonel Nasser must be considered as merely the first of a series of nationally motivated yet internationally irresponsible acts, which may be carried out anywhere on the planet and hold the world to ransom in a manner equally grave. Thus a solution for Suez cannot be considered as more than one, and that a temporary, reprieve for the world.

4. A solemn declaration by HMG that the creation of such a supranational authority is the aim of its foreign policy, should be made forthwith and all other governments including that of Egypt should be invited to associate themselves with such a declaration.

5. The international organism now proposed for the Suez Canal should be forthwith designated as the first step towards the creation of such an authority.

6. The Suez Canal dispute, seen in this perspective, can become the first step to lead the whole human family to a better and more secure future in which major war will have been abolished.

BIRDWOOD

JOSEPH REEVES

BOYD ORR

RUSSELL

CLEMENT DAVIES

HENRY USBORNE

ARTHUR HENDERSON

DONALD WADE

I.J.PITMAN

## Appendix X

### Visiting Moscow [1957]

THIS APPENDIX WAS published in *The Times*, London, 18 Feb. 1957, p. 9 (B&R F57.03) and reprinted as “Our Forum Contributors Write to *The Times*”, *BritishSoviet Friendship*, London, March 1957, pp. 2–3. Russell had been asked to subscribe to this appeal by Baron Chorley (1895–1978), a liberal jurist and Labour peer who had indicated his concern about “the serious international situation” (23 Jan. 1957). Three days later Russell answered that he was only too willing to comply, “as I am very much in agreement with what it says” (26 Jan. 1957). The letter was also signed by Kathleen Lonsdale (1903–1971), the distinguished crystallographer and (in 1945) one of the first two women elected as Fellows of the Royal Society. Lonsdale was also a Quaker and a pacifist with a long-standing record of concern about nuclear weapons. She and Russell had been approached by Chorley prior to incoming Prime Minister Macmillan’s announcement on 2 February that he would not fulfil the commitment made by his predecessor to travel to Moscow in May 1957. Macmillan’s “many preoccupations” prevented him from contemplating such a journey in the spring. But the communiqué from 10 Downing Street also stated more frankly that, “with the memories of Hungary still bitter and the threats during the Suez intervention still resounding”, the timing was no longer propitious (*The Times*, 4 Feb. 1957, p. 7). Sir Anthony Eden had promised to undertake this reciprocal visit the previous July, some three months after meeting Bulganin and Khrushchev in London (see Paper **10c**). Notwithstanding such protestations as Appendix X, high level talks between the two states were never rescheduled.

The copy-text is the letter as published by *The Times*. As a result of the decision by Macmillan referred to above, a number of changes were introduced to the typescript draft that Chorley had enclosed with his letter to Russell of 23 January 1957 (RA2 410.141540a).

TO THE EDITOR OF “THE TIMES”

SIR,—We would urge the Prime Minister to reconsider his decision not to carry on with Sir Anthony Eden’s project of a return visit to Moscow this May. We appreciate that the diplomatic climate is considerably colder now than it was when this proposal was first put forward, but in our view this makes it all the more important that the leading figures in both countries should meet each other round a table, perhaps a festive table of the kind which Russians so well know how to prepare, instead of declaiming against one another from platform and front bench.

At this time Britain needs peaceful relations and trade with other countries more than ever before, and it is unfortunate that the events of the autumn—both in Egypt and Hungary—should have halted the growing improvement in our relations with the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Government, however, continues to show its willingness to further the development of friendly exchanges between our countries, both culturally and commercially.

These favourable aspects of the situation deserve exploitation, but this will be difficult to secure without meetings at the highest level, where the difficulties can be discussed, and solutions, we hope, may be found. This can pave the way for increasing the development of British-Soviet trade, which has already shown a gratifying growth during recent months, and it could also lead to a measure of disarmament such as is particularly needed by this country at the present time, and which could be both realistic and appreciable.—Yours etc.,

CHORLEY  
KATHLEEN LONSDALE  
RUSSELL

## Appendix XI

### Two Protests against the Hydrogen Bomb [1957]

THESE TWO APPENDIXES should be read in conjunction with Papers **55a**, **56** and **60**. They shed light on a source of tension within the British anti-nuclear movement which existed even at a very formative stage of its growth. In the spring of 1957 a small number of pacifists decided that the pressure group tactics of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests were inadequate as a method of protest against the impending series of British hydrogen-bomb tests in the central Pacific. As a result, they established an Emergency Committee for Direct Action against Nuclear War and resolved to thwart the Macmillan Government's plans by sailing illegally into the test site near Christmas Island, some 1,200 miles due south of Honolulu. Their appeal for funds was published in *The Manchester Guardian*, 12 April 1957, p. 10 (B&R F54.05a).

Although the Direct Action Committee (DAC) attracted some support from nonpacifists such as Russell (who made a small donation of his own in a letter to J. Allen Skinner dated 26 April 1957), it had been formed by a cluster of activists associated with *Peace News*, the pacifist weekly publication, and reared in the Gandhian or Quaker traditions of non-violent political protest. The three volunteers named in Appendix XI.1 certainly belonged to this strand of British pacifism. Harold and Sheila Steele were elderly Quaker farmers, and Reg Reynolds was a veteran of past civil disobedience demonstrations. Two of the signatories—Brock and Skinner—were, respectively, the current and former editors of *Peace News*, and a third signatory, Arlo Tatum, also helped launch the DAC (see Taylor 1988, 122). It was soon decided that Harold Steele would travel to the Pacific alone, sacrificing his own life, if required, to register his protest. But he was still in Japan when on 15 May the first test in the series (Operation "Grapple") took place offshore from Maiden Island (four hundred miles south of Christmas Island). Steele never ventured any further, but the meetings which he addressed and the interviews given during his extended stay in Japan nevertheless garnered some useful publicity for his cause.

The DAC was also helped by the patronage of such well-known figures as Russell, the psychiatrist Alex Comfort (another signatory of Appendix XI.1), and the authors Doris Lessing and Sir Herbert Read. But its phalanx of dedicated protesters, who were prepared to defy the law if necessary, coexisted somewhat uneasily with the NCANWT and its more formidable successor, CND, both of which were pledged to act legally and constitutionally. Indeed, many members of the latter organization regarded its primary purpose as ensuring that any future Labour Government implemented a unilateralist defence policy. Although failing to achieve the specific objective for which it had been set up late in March 1957, the DAC was already finding a niche within the wider anti-nuclear movement when the NCANWT'S call for members and funds (XI.2) appeared in the weekly journal of the Labour Party's left-wing: *Tribune*, London, 20 Sept. 1957, p. 8 (B&R F54.04).

At this time the British Government was conducting the “Antler” series of nuclear tests at Maralinga, South Australia. The object of this exercise was to develop an efficient fission “trigger” for the thermonuclear device that was dropped offshore from Christmas Island on 8 November. Producing a 1.8 megaton yield, this explosion (*Short Granite* in Operation “Grapple X”) was Britain’s first truly successful hydrogen-bomb test. As anticipated by the multiple-signatory letter to *Tribune*, three more hydrogen bombs were tested in the same central Pacific location during 1958, along with two low yield atomic bombs (Operations “Grapple Y” and “Grapple Z”). In the autumn of 1957 the DAC was planning a major campaign, and the NCANWT would shortly be absorbed into the new Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Russell was by no means the only anti-nuclear campaigner who condoned both civil disobedience and legal-constitutional methods of protest, even after he assumed the presidency of CND in January 1958. At that time, this “situation was merely anomalous”, Ronald Clark has written, looking ahead to Russell’s acrimonious break from CND in November 1960; “later it was disastrous” (1975, 559).

The copy-texts are the published versions in *The Manchester Guardian* (XI.1) and *Tribune* (XI.2).

### XI.1 The British H-Test

TO THE EDITOR OF “THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN”

SIR,—Harold and Sheila Steele, Reginald Reynolds, and other volunteers from this country have expressed their intention, if possible, of going to the Pacific in order to challenge the right of the British Government to carry out the proposed tests with nuclear weapons.

At this late stage an Emergency Committee has been established in order to raise funds for this purpose, to cooperate with Japanese and, we hope, American organizations sharing the same general purposes, and to provide the basis for further direct action in future so long as it may be necessary. The Emergency Committee wishes to hand over its responsibility to a larger and more representative body as soon as this can be done.

In the meantime funds are urgently needed and donations can be sent to J. Allen Skinner, Hon. Secretary, Emergency Committee for Direct Action against Nuclear War, at the address below.—Yours etc.,

ALEX COMFORT  
 LAURENCE HOUSMAN  
 BERTRAND RUSSELL  
 RUTH FRY  
 SPIKE MILLIGAN  
 HORACE ALEXANDER  
 PEGGY RUSHTON  
 JOHN HOYLAND  
 ARLO TATUM  
 HUGH BROCK  
 J.ALLEN SKINNER.

79 Lordship Park,

London N.16.

XI.2 H-Bomb

TO THE EDITOR OF "TRIBUNE"

IN SPITE OF widespread opposition to nuclear weapon tests, more explosions are taking place in Australia now and the Government is, apparently, planning further H-bomb tests at Christmas Island next year.

Apart from the risks involved to the health of present and future generations, the continuation of tests will only bring us more rapidly to the stage when more and more countries have the means of world destruction at their command, in the shape of inter-continental missiles armed with hydrogen bomb warheads.

Unless we can now take steps to halt this quest for easier methods of mass destruction, the peace of the world will become increasingly unstable.

As sponsors of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests, we urge all those opposed to further testing to send their name and address and, if possible, a financial contribution as well, for funds are urgently needed, to the Secretary, at 29, Great James Street, London, W.C.I.

The Government must be made aware of the full strength of public support for the National Council's campaign.

JIM CAMPBELL  
GEORGE CICESTR  
ROSE MACAULAY  
COMPTON MACKENZIE  
GEORGE F.MACLEOD  
BEN NICHOLSON  
RUSSELL  
DONALD SOPER  
MICHAEL TIPPETT  
C.H.WADDINGTON.

London, W.C.I.



## Appendix XII

### Hungarian Writers on Trial [1957]

THIS LETTER TO the editor of *The Times* was signed by thirteen other members of PEN and published on 29 October 1957, p. 11 (B&R F57.08). Three days previously a draft had been sent for Russell's approval by David Carver, the secretary and treasurer of the English centre of PEN, which had been striving to highlight the plight of intellectuals in Hungary and to support their emigré community in Britain. A fuller account of Russell's support for persecuted Hungarian writers is provided in the General Headnote to Part III.

Of the four accused, the acclaimed novelist Tibor Déry (1895–1977) and the dramatist Gyula Háý (1900–1975) had been especially active in the circle of writers and journalists which had played such a prominent role both in the uprising of October–November 1956 and in mounting opposition to Kádár's Government thereafter. They were given prison sentences of nine and six years respectively, although both were freed in a general amnesty of 1960. Tibor Tardos had shared the platform with Déry and others at pro-reform rallies in the summer of 1956. He too was convicted but he was released on health grounds and became a political exile in France. The poet Zoltán Zelk (1906–1981) served one-third of the threeyear term which he was handed for his lesser role in the revolt. None of these men had been overtly anti-Communist. Dery, Háý and Zelk had all become members of the illegal Hungarian Communist Party during the 1920s, and before the Communist takeover in 1945 they had spent time either in exile or in prison for their left-wing beliefs. Before joining the staunchly reformist Hungarian Writers' Association, Zelk's extravagant poetic praise of Stalin and Mátáyas Rákosi had made him one of the "poet laureates" for the latter's dictatorial regime in the early 1950s (Romsics 1999, 287). The much younger Tardos had enrolled in the Communist Party after the Second World War and had worked as a journalist for its principal newspaper, *Szabad nép*.

The letter from Carver (RAI 640) shows a pencil note written by Edith Russell in the upper-left corner to indicate that Russell had communicated his affirmative reply to the PEN official by telephone. At the bottom of this single-leaf document Russell himself wrote the following destination and text for the telegram that he had probably decided to send as well: "Editor Times Central 2000/Agree sign Pen letter." The copy-text is the version in *The Times*.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES"

SIR,—We have learned with the deepest anxiety that the trial of four of Hungary's most distinguished writers, Tibor Dery, Gyula Hay, Tibor Tardos, and Zoltan Zelk, began last week in Budapest.

Without, at this late hour, entering into controversy over the part any one of these men played in the tragic events of October a year ago, we would wish to set on record our consternation that the Kadar Government, in the face of universally expressed disapproval, has decided—after prolonged imprisonment and interrogation—to bring to

trial native writers whose only crime is that they used their pens in support of the cause they believed to be just.

We can but hope that even now the Hungarian Government will realize that to bring these men to trial constitutes a total denial of the right of the individual to freedom of expression, and that to pass sentence on them would be a crime against all basic human rights.—Yours faithfully,

PHYLLIS BENTLEY  
RICHARD CHURCH  
T.S.ELIOT  
E.M.FORSTER  
JOHN LEHMANN  
C.DAY LEWIS  
JOHN MASEFIELD  
W.SOMERSET MAUGHAM  
CHARLES MORGAN  
J.B.PRIESTLEY  
RUSSELL  
C.P.SNOW  
REBECCA WEST  
ANGUS WILSON.

P.E.N., 62–63, Glebe Place, Chelsea, S.W.3.

# Miscellaneous Texts



## Appendix XIII

### Steps to World Government [1955]

THESE NOTES WERE prepared for Russell's speech to a meeting at Central Hall, Westminster, on 9 November 1955. He was to appear on a platform with his fellow contributors to *The Bomb: Challenge and Answer* (see Russell 1955h) at a meeting sponsored by the British wing of the World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government, under whose auspices Russell (1955g) had addressed the World Conference of Scientists at County Hall early in August. The editor of this book (and secretary-general of the WAPWG), Gilbert McAllister, wanted each participant to speak "very much in the sense of their contributions...but with variations according to the situation as it appears at that time" (15 Sept. 1955).

The press coverage of the gathering was only marginally less sparse than for Russell's previous excursion to Central Hall (see Appendix VIII). The few column inches that appeared in the *News Chronicle* and *The Times* both lingered on the organized interference that had been staged, according to William Wainwright, by the "same group...which made a less successful attempt at disturbance of our {21 October} meeting..." (18 Nov. 1955). The *News Chronicle* quoted one heckler's cry that "We don't want to be ruled by Moscow", and another's that "World Government means Communist government" ("Treason Shouts at Atom Meeting", p. 5). The report in *The Times* follows in full.

There were interruptions at a meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, last night of the Parliamentary Association for World Government, at which authors of the book *The Bomb: Challenge and Answer* spoke on new hope for the nuclear age. While the chairman, Mr. Clement Davies, leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons, was reading a speech made in the House of Commons by the Foreign Secretary, outlining the foreign policy of the Government, he was frequently interrupted by shouts of "treason". A fresh uproar broke out after the first speaker, Prof. A.Haddow, had been speaking for a few minutes, and stewards warned the interrupters.

Bertrand Russell (Earl Russell), the second speaker, was unable to speak for 10 minutes as stewards struggled at the back of the hall to turn out interrupters. Lord Beveridge was given a quiet hearing, but in view of the previous interruptions it was announced that Mr. Henry Osborne, M.P., would answer questions instead of making a speech. After a number of police had arrived, the meeting proceeded quietly. ("Interruptions at London Meeting", p. 10).

On 21 November McAllister expressed his hope to Edith Russell that her husband was "none the worse for the Central Hall meeting". It is unlikely that he was, at least according to the account of author Lionel Britton, who had been "glad to catch that

fleeting glimpse of you at the One World meeting, and to see you in such vigour standing up to the rowdies” (28 Nov. 1955). Despite the disappointing response to this particular event, the British movement for world government greatly appreciated Russell’s efforts on its behalf during the previous year. Its Parliamentary Association even offered some formal acknowledgment of this work by hosting a dinner in Russell’s honour at the House of Commons on 18 February 1956 (see Russell *1956b*).

The copy-text is Russell’s manuscript (RAI 220.021400). These notes are undated but were labelled thus in pencil by Edith Russell: “Central Hall/World Gov’t Speech/9 November, 1955”.

## I. PRESENT SITUATION

Only PEACE will serve. Prohibition of nuclear weapons useless. Other weapons:

*Chemical Warfare, The Manchester Guardian 7 November 1955.*

US army ordered to widen scope of investigation.

US army’s chemical corps ordered to develop chemical, biological and radiological weapons “to the fullest extent the human mind can encompass”.

“Uninhibited speculation” to be encouraged.

Smoke gases, especially arsenic.

One thousandth of ounce kill person. Gas mask useless.

Poison water with bacteria.

Bacteria that attack eyes.

Destroy population, disrupt medical services, but soon permit re-occupation by attackers.

No use in prohibitions; only hope is peace.

## II. MAKESHIFTS IN NEAR FUTURE

Though war would be madness, provocation beyond a point would lead to war.

Each side has minimum sphere.

Neither will acquiesce in *all* vexed questions being settled in favour of the other side.

If peace is to be preserved, must have compromises which appear just to neutrals.

What means of settling disputes when war is ruled out?

Problems: Germany; France and North Africa; Cyprus; Russia and Middle East, Egypt and Israel, China and Formosa; Indo-China.

Must have impartial body to arbitrate.

UNO? Yes, but must include nations now excluded, at least eighteen of twentytwo, urged by Canada (not Korea and Indo-China).

Communist China, of course.

For arbitration, not whole UN but chosen committee—East and West equal, neutrals to hold balance.

At first, only moral authority; gradually more.

UN publish impartial information—all nations circulate it.

*Principles for deciding disputes.*

- (1) Least possible net gain to either side
- (2) Diminish causes of friction
- (3) Wishes of inhabitants
- (4) Freedom of intercourse and trade

### **III. ULTIMATE SOLUTION**

UN control armaments, enforce peace.

Possible gains to humanity from secure peace: No poverty, no nightmare fears, science for happiness, surge of creative energy, great SHOUT OF JOY.



## Appendix XIV

### China, geen oord voor tyrannen [1955]

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION of this appendix appears in the present volume as Paper 47. The difficulties of dating Russell's text are discussed in the Headnote to that paper.

The copy-text is the only extant version, in *Vrij Nederland*, 16, no. 14 (26 Nov. 1955):3 (B&R C55.37).

IN DE GESCHIEDENIS van China keert, vanaf de stichting van her Chinese Keizerrijk tot op de huidige dag, met een zekere regelmaat dezelfde figuur terug. De man die de „Eerste Keizer” werd genoemd, Shih Huang Ti, herinnert in sommige opzichten aan een hedendaags communist. Hij schafte het feodale stelsel af—iets, dat door verscheidene latere keizers opnieuw moest worden gedaan. Hij stelde een soort militaire autocratic in. Hij had een diep gewortelde afkeer van de traditionele cultuur van China, die—hoewel zij tot 1911 duurde—geen levensvatbaarheid meer leek te hebben, toen hij in 221 v. Chr. de troon besteeg. Hij vervolgde de geleerden, als apostelen van deze oude cultuur, en verbrandde alle boeken, behalve die over geneeskunst of landbouw. Hij bouwde het oostelijk deel van de Grote Muur en trachtte zijn land van de beschaafde, geletterde samenleving die de Confucianen er van hadden gemaakt, te veranderen in een ruige, militaristische staat. Van zijn werk bleef niets over, behalve de politieke eenheid van China.

Toen hij dood was, kropen de geleerden uit hun schuilplaatsen te voorschijn en kregen weer vaste voet aan het hof van zijn zoon, die zij door allerlei listige kunstgrepen wisten over te halen, afstand van de troon te doen. Bij een grote staatsieplechtigheid ten hove, waarbij alle ministers verwacht werden op stijgerende rossen, verscheen een van hen in plaats van te paard op een kameel.

De jonge keizer wendde zich tot de mannen om hem heen en vroeg „Waarom komt hij op een kameel?”

„Kameel, Uwe Majesteit?” antwoordden zij met gehuichelde verbazing. „Wij zien geen kameel.”

Hij hield vol dat hij een kameel zag, maar zij schudden hun hoofden. Ten laatste begonnen zij elkaar veelbetekenende blikken toe te werpen en tersluiks op hun voorhoofd te tikken.

Na enkele voorvallen van soortgelijke aard raakte hij overtuigd van zijn eigen krankzinnigheid. De boeken werden uit hun schuilplaatsen te voorschijn gehaald en de regering der traditionele wetenschap werd in ere hersteld, om langer dan 2000 jaar aan het bewind te blijven.

De daarop volgende geschiedenis van China wordt gekenmerkt door een reeks dynastieën telkens gesticht door Sterke Mannen, die een einde maakten aan een tijdperk van anarchie; al deze dynastieën verzwakten en ontaardden geleidelijk en maakten weer plaats voor een nieuw tijdperk van anarchie.

Precies hetzelfde speelt zich in onze eigen tijd af. De Mantsjoe-dynastie verzwakte na een roemrijk begin geleidelijk, tot zij in 1911 werd om verge worpen. Van die tijd af heeft het gebruikelijke tijdperk van anarchie geheerst. Maar nu is een nieuwe sterke man,

Mao Tse-toen, bezig een nieuwe dynastic te grondvesten. In zoverre zijn optreden gelijkenis vertoont met dat van de Eerste Keizer, mag men aannemen dat het lot van zijn opvolger gelijk zal zijn aan dat van de zoon van de Eerste Keizer.

Het is mij volstrekt onmogelijk, te geloven dat een zo sceptisch en rationalistisch ras als het Chinese zich lang aan een nieteigen dogmatische leer zal blijven onderwerpen.

Hun onderwerping aan de Sowjet-Russische ideologie dient in feite te worden gezien als een noodsprong in het eeuwenlange verzet tegen vreemde invloeden, dat altijd kenmerkend voor China is geweest. Het kan óók worden beschouwd als een hernieuwing van de Boxer-opstand van 1900, die een protestbeweging tegen de „buitenlandse duivels”, zoals de blanken toen werden genoemd, was.

Voor het ogenblik hebben de Chinezen het gevoel, dat zij zich in samenwerking met Rusland tegen de westelijke invloedssfeer kunnen verzetten. Maar zodra Rusland China in ernst als een satellietstaat zou gaan behandelen, zouden de antibuitenlandse hartstochten van het Chinese volk zeer snel tot uiting komen en zou hun communisme niets dan een vernisje blijken te zijn.

Het is waar, dat het Chinese volk zich tweemaal aan vreemde heersers heeft onderworpen: eens ten tijde van de Mongolen in de dertiende eeuw, en daarna toen de Mantsjoes in de zeventiende eeuw China veroverden. Maar in beide gevallen werden de veroveraars al gauw geassimileerd en waren zij weldra Chineser dan de Chinezen zelf.

Het valt mij volstrekt niet moeilijk, me een onbuigzame Rus voor te stellen, die van zijn troosteloze steppen naar het lieflijke China komt en daar geleidelijk zijn hardheid voelt wegsmelten. Hij zal in 'teerst met afgrijzen, dan met gelatenheid en ten slotte met instemming bemerken, dat er iets te zeggen valt voor beschaving en traditie en dat er misschien méér steekt in de aloude wijsheid, die de Chinezen in de loop der eeuwen hebben vergaard, dan in de strenge dogmatiek van een verzuurde Duitse banneling.

Het Chinese volk bezit buitengewoon innemende eigenschappen en grote overredingskracht. Het heeft zijn kwade buien. Het heeft nu, op dit ogenblik, een kwade bui. Maar die kwade buien gaan voorbij, evenals na de dood van de Eerste Keizer.

Ik heb de aangenaamste her inner ingen aan de tijd toen ik in China woonde en ik geloof eenvoudig niet, dat al die voortreffelijke eigenschappen, die het Chinese volk heeft overgehouden uit een traditionele beschaving, veel ouder dan enige bekende Europese, voor altijd vernietigd zouden zijn door de grove dogma's van Moskou. Grote volkeren blijven niet voor goed in een toestand van razernij—behalve inderdaad de Russen; die waren al zo onder Iwan de Verschrikkelijke, en ze zijn het sindsdien gebleven.

Maar het Chinese volk niet. Dat is van huis uit verstandig en gezond van geest, en ik geloof dat er alle reden bestaat om te hopen dat zijn huidige stemming niet blijvend is. Het is natuurlijk nodig rekening met die stemming te houden, zolang zij bestaat.

Maar ik ben er zeker van dat de dag zal komen, waarop de Chinezen de Russen zullen teleurstellen door blijkt te geven van een gezond onafhankelijkheidsgevoel. En ik geloof, dat wij moeten blijven open staan voor tekenen van deze ommekeer.

## Appendix XV

### Eight Blurbs [1955–57]

IN THESE EIGHT short texts Russell endorses a range of publications addressing a variety of subjects. They have been included in the present volume because, however slight, each commendation was definitely written with a view to its appearance in print. The selection is not an exhaustive one since Russell occasionally permitted other authors, editors or publishers to use his private correspondence with them for publicity purposes (see *Missing and Unprinted Papers*, p. 445). In their published form, all these blurbs convey little beyond the fact that Russell had read and approved the publication in question. But the longer and only partially published documents from which Russell's comments were drawn are slightly more revealing and, where possible, these have been used as the textual source for most substantive readings.

On 14 September 1955 the editor of *The Sunday Chronicle*, E.R. Wason, sent Russell the synopsis (Waller 1955) of a planned series of articles on the hazards of radiation from the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Wason anticipated that controversy would be occasioned by certain alarming claims made by the staff writer he had engaged on this story. He therefore hoped that Russell would encourage publication and “make a general statement” to this effect, even if he was not convinced by every detail (17 Sept. 1955). Russell had, in fact, already indicated that he wished first to authenticate some of the scientific information contained in the synopsis. But he seems to have been reassured on this count the following week after he met its author, Guy Waller, at 41 Queen's Road. Appendix XV.1 was possibly dictated to Waller at this meeting, since there are no other versions of the text besides that published in *The Sunday Chronicle* under the heading used here as the title, 16 Oct., p. 2 (B&R Gg55.03). This short statement appeared in a small box next to a photograph of Russell and accompanied the first of Waller's four articles (1955a). A fifth instalment had been scheduled, but this never ran owing to the sudden closure of the Manchester-based Sunday paper early in November. This unanticipated development effectively averted what was threatening to become for Russell a rather uncomfortable dispute between *The Sunday Chronicle* and his close political associate Joseph Rotblat. A few days after publication of Waller's introductory article, Rotblat notified the *Chronicle* that he had been misquoted in it. If the next issue of the newspaper had then printed in full Rotblat's complaint of the misattribution, the matter would in all likelihood have rested. But when a satisfactory correction did not appear, Rotblat chose to air his grievance in a letter to *The Times* (1955a). Waller, who had held his ground all along, now felt strongly that his journalistic integrity had been publicly impugned. But Rotblat was taking issue with more than Waller's interviewing technique. Notwithstanding his own acute sense of the dangers posed by radioactive fallout (see Rotblat 1955), he regarded Waller's work as “highly exaggerated and irresponsible” (24 Oct. 1955) and added substance to this indictment in another letter to the journalist, dated four days later. The latter had failed to “differentiate clearly between the various causes of radiations, between doses and their effects, between scientific facts and pure speculation”. Waller wanted the newspaper's management to support his

position—by legal action if necessary—but he decided against such a course, he informed Russell on 8 November, after becoming aware of the *Chronicle's* impending demise.

Part of Russell's already succinct appraisal of *Atoms and the Universe* (XV.2) appeared shortly after it was sent to Eyre and Spottiswoode in a publisher's advertisement in *The Times Literary Supplement*, no. 2,820 (16 March 1956): 163 (B&R Gg56.01). The authors of this physics primer were Rotblat and two of his colleagues from the University of London: the physicist G.O.Jones (b. 1917) and the applied mathematician, astronomer and historian of science G.J.Whitrow (1912–2000). It had earlier been suggested to a director of Eyre and Spottiswoode that Russell “may care to glance at... (this) book aimed at the layman with a trained mind” (R.Warren Fisher to Russell, 22 Feb. 1956).

On 13 July 1956, Hector Hawton, president of the Rationalist Press Association and editor of the *Literary Guide and Rationalist Review*, notified Russell about his publication's impending change of title to *The Humanist*. Hawton hoped “in this way to widen our appeal and provide a monthly journal which will represent an attitude to world affairs and contemporary thought that is congenial to people with a scientific outlook”. Russell's reply (XV.3), dated three days later, was published in the first issue of the retitled journal under the heading “Welcome to *The Humanist*, 71, no. 9 (Oct. 1956): 6 (B&R Gg56.02). It ran alongside supportive messages from five other notable humanists, including Julian Huxley.

Russell's opinion of *Battle for the Mind* (1957) had been solicited by the chairman of Heinemann, A.S. Frere, who enclosed an advance copy with his letter of request dated 27 March 1957. Excerpts from Russell's reply of 31 March (XV.4) were printed on the dust-jackets of both the British and American editions of the book (B&R G26). The “physiology of conversion” (the book's sub-title) was a topic of considerable interest to Russell; he had written on Pavlov in *The Scientific Outlook* (1931, 46–57) and was both alarmed and curious about the alleged use of systematic indoctrination in Communist China (see A163:23–5). The author of *Battle for the Mind*, William Walters Sargant (1907–1988), was a British psychiatrist who had pioneered new and sometimes controversial clinical approaches to mental illness, including the drug treatment of shell-shock victims. In 1976 he appeared as an expert witness for the defence in the trial of Patty Hearst, the publishing heiress who had been kidnapped by an underground radical group and then coerced into an act of armed robbery.

An abridged version of Russell's blurb (XV.5) for Kurt Meyer's pamphlet *By the Way* (1957) was printed on the green paper wraparound for this short selection of aphorisms and anecdotes, which included the author's “Shakespearean heresies”—his debunking take on the playwright's great tragic heroes.

Appendix XV.6 was actually published on the dust-jacket of a different work by Lancelot Hogben in the same Rathbone Books series: *Men, Missiles and Machines: The Wonderful World of Power* (B&R G28). It was reprinted the same year on the dust-jacket of Lord Boyd Orr's contribution to the series, *Feast and Famine: The Wonderful World of Food* (1957). A biologist by training, Lancelot Thomas Hogben (1895–1975) was a prolific author who had published widely on language, philosophy and history, as well as producing several such popular treatments of scientific or technical subjects as *Man Must Measure* (1955). Indeed, he had already produced a mathematics primer some twenty years previously—the immensely successful *Mathematics for the Million* (Hogben

1936)—for which Russell had supplied a blurb (1936) equally as flattering as that reproduced below.

Appendix XV.7 was addressed to Seeker and Warburg, the British publishers of Norman Cohn's social history of militant chiliarism in the late Middle Ages. Lengthy excerpts from the letter were printed on the dust-jacket of the British edition; a shorter blurb appeared on the back cover of the American edition published four years later by Harper and Brothers (B&R G29). Russell was clearly persuaded by the parallels drawn by Cohn between modern totalitarianism and medieval millenarianism. In a private correspondence with the author, Russell intimated that he had "had an inkling of a thesis similar to yours" in *A History of Western Philosophy*, where the discussion of St. Augustine concludes with a schematic comparison of Christian and Marxist eschatologies (1945, 364). He also remarked that Cohn had reinforced his "conviction that it does not so much matter *what* people believe as *how* they believe..." (1 March 1957). Later the same month Russell declined an offer from the BBC's Third Programme to present a talk on *The Pursuit of the Millennium*. Norman Rufus Colin Cohn (b. 1915) was a Professor of French at Magee University College, Londonderry, an affiliated institution of Trinity College, Dublin. Moving subsequently to Durham University and then the University of Sussex, his interest in popular mythologies and religious and political persecution was expressed in several other scholarly works.

The commendation of *The Sweeniad* (XV.8) was solicited by its "rather diffident" author in a letter of 8 November 1957, written after Russell had exposed "her" true identity in these comments reported in the *Daily Express*: "I know Victor Purcell is the author. I think it is a very clever piece of work...I understand the name Myra Buttle comes as a sort of anagram of 'my rebuttal'" (Russell 1957f). Victor William Williams Saunders Purcell (1896–1965) was a Cambridge University orientalist who had worked as a China expert in the Malayan civil service between the wars. His pastiche of T. S. Eliot's poetry had already been printed privately in Britain and was about to be published in the United States. Encouraged by its success, he then produced an equally irreverent treatment of the historian Arnold Toynbee (Buttle 1959), and Russell himself was subjected to Myra Buttle's rather more friendly satirical scrutiny in *The Bitches' Brew, or the Plot against Bertrand Russell* (1960). Indeed, Russell's blurb for *The Sweeniad* was not published in full until its appearance on the dust-jacket of the latter work, although a shorter version had been used for the American edition of the Eliot spoof (B&R G30). Under his own name, Victor Purcell published several studies of Chinese and Malaysian history and politics. Indeed, this South-East Asian expertise provided the basis for the political connection with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation which Purcell established after meeting Russell for the first time at the latter's ninetieth birthday celebrations at London's Festival Hall in 1962. Thereafter, the two men struck up a close and satisfying friendship, which was fondly recalled by Russell as he lamented the death of Purcell, "a brave and thoughtful, a compassionate and boisterous man" (1969, 167).

The copy-text for Appendix XV.1 is the only extant version, that in *The Sunday Chronicle*. The copy-text for Appendix XV.2 is the dictated manuscript of Russell's letter, written in Edith Russell's hand and dated 28 February 1956. For Appendix XV.3 there is both a typescript copy-text (RAI 410) and a dictated manuscript (RA2 750). Both documents are dated 16 July 1956. The copy-text for Appendix XV.4 is the typescript carbon letter (RAI 410) made from the dictation taken by Edith Russell on 31 March 1957 (RA2 750). For Appendix XV.5 the copy-text is the dictated manuscript in Edith

Russell's hand that is dated 26 May 1956 (RA2 750). The typescript dated 1 September 1955 (RAI 220.021370) serves as copy-text for Appendix XV.6. Bearing the same date there is also a dictated manuscript in Edith Russell's hand (RA2 750), as also there is of Appendix XV.7 (1 March 1957, *ibid.*). For the latter appendix, though, the copy-text is the typescript carbon made on the verso of the letter to Cohn that is cited above (RAI 410). The copy-text for Appendix XV.8 is the dictated manuscript of Russell's enclosure with his letter to Victor Purcell of 16 November 1957—"something which I hope you will think suitable for a blurb" (RAI 220.022230).

#### XV.1 What Earl Russell Says [1955]

I HAVE CAREFULLY read this manuscript and I consider it of the highest importance and urgency that it should be published.

It appears to me to be a very fair assessment of the perils to which the whole population will in all likelihood be exposed and of which, on that account, the whole population ought to be informed in terms that are intelligible to all.

#### XV.2 G.O.Jones, J.Rotblat, and G.J.Whitrow, *Atoms and the Universe* [1956]

DEAR MR. FISHER,—Thank you for sending me the book about *Atoms and the Universe*. I am at present about halfway through. It is very interesting and admirably done and contains just the sort of information that one wants.—Yours sincerely,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

#### XV.3 *The Humanist* [1956]

FOR A GREAT many years I have found aid and comfort in the pages of *Literary Guide*. I have no doubt that under the new title, *The Humanist*, it will continue to serve the same purposes as heretofore with the same valiant ability, and I hope that the number of its readers may steadily continue to increase.

#### XV.4 William Sargant, *Battle for the Mind* [1957]

DEAR MR. FRERE,—Thank you for sending me Dr. William Sargant's book *Battle for the Mind*. The book has a thesis which is both interesting and important. The author brings under one unifying formula the results of Pavlov's experiments on dogs, the experience of mental hospitals, especially during the Second World War, the phenomena of sudden religious conversion, brain-washing in China, the Russian technique for extorting confessions, and Voodoo magic. It is maintained that in all these cases there are more or less similar physiological processes in the brain. Wide experience and extensive knowledge give weight to Dr. Sargant's contentions, but they do not make his writing ponderous. On the contrary, every page is full of lively interest. The implications of Dr. Sargant's theory, medical, psychological and political, are very sweeping and will, I hope, receive the attention that they deserve.—Yours truly,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

XV.5 Kurt Meyer, *By the Way* [1957]

DEAR MR. MEYER,—I have read your *By the Way* with interest. Your description of how people behave to a blind man is very vivid. You possess the art of expressing yourself well, pointedly and with vigour and humour. I do not agree with you about Shakespeare, but it is a pleasure to see him treated unconventionally. I am returning the manuscript herewith.—Yours truly,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

XV.6 Lancelot Hogben, *Man Must Measure: The Wonderful World of Mathematics* [1957]

*THE WONDERFUL WORLD OF MATHEMATICS* by Lancelot Hogben is wholly admirable and makes me wish that I could be a child again. It deals with mathematics pictorially and historically, showing vividly what were the practical problems that led men to invent the abstruse mathematical symbolism which most young people, taught by old methods, find baffling and merely tiresome. The illustrations are so good that they will tempt any intelligent child to read the letterpress. I cannot too highly recommend this masterpiece of simplification without falsification.

XV.7 Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* [1957]

DEAR SIRs,—I am grateful to Mr. Cohn and to you for sending me the proofs of his book on *The Pursuit of the Millennium*. I have read the book from cover to cover with the greatest interest. It is full of historical facts which deserve to be widely known, but are passed by in silence in most histories. The uniform psychological pattern from the Book of Daniel to the present day is portrayed with an astonishing wealth of learning. But, in spite of the author's erudition, his book is never heavy or weighed down by undigested material. The book is as valuable as it is interesting, and I hope that it will be widely read.—Yours truly,

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

XV.8 Myra Buttle, *The Sweeniad* [1957]

THIS WORK is a delight to those who are oppressed by the fake fustian religiosity of many of our Apostles of Culture. It is rollicking and jolly and witty and full of gusto, as much so as *Hudibras*. And beneath the fun, it is wise and courageous as well as an admirable piece of literature.



## Appendix XVI

### Excerpts from Five *Brains Trusts* [1956–57]

As THE OPENING to the first of these *Brains Trusts* suggests, Russell had long been associated with this enduringly successful question-and-answer programme. Prior to the recording of 5 February 1956, however, over three years had elapsed since his last appearance. Previously the programme had aired on BBC radio. The switch to television came in September 1955, although Russell had participated in a one-off televised broadcast as early as 11 June 1946—contrary to Alan Melville’s introductory remark that the February 1956 session was his “first appearance on ⟨a⟩ television *Brains Trust*”. In all, Russell had been a panellist on at least thirty-six occasions between October 1944 and September 1952.

The *Brains Trust* had been conceived during the Blitz as an entertaining yet educational programme for listeners in the armed forces. Its appeal proved considerably broader, however, and after the first *Brains Trust* aired on 1 January 1941 the programme soon established itself as the “outstanding popular triumph” of wartime radio (Briggs 1970, 51). By the time that Russell was first invited onto a panel, the *Brains Trust* had become a veritable national institution—occasionally derided, but much loved. Most intriguingly perhaps, countless amateur Brains Trusts had been set up by servicemen, gardeners and farmers, either to disseminate specialized knowledge, or simply to emulate the kind of lively and informed debate that took place each week on BBC radio. The format of the programme was very simple and remained essentially unchanged as its popularity carried over into the post-war era. The producers would select a few questions from the vast quantity (often more than a thousand) that were mailed in each week by BBC listeners and (later) viewers. To preserve spontaneity, these questions were withheld from the panel until the recording, when they were relayed by a question master who also chaired any ensuing discussion. Wartime censorship had inhibited the *Brains Trust* from tackling some contentious topics in its early years, but the excerpts printed in Appendix XVI demonstrate how widely the programme now ranged—from lofty matters of philosophical or political discourse to such whimsical subjects as the aesthetic merits of the mock Tudor style. The transcripts of the broadcasts are of considerable interest to students of Russell, as he can often be found addressing issues that he never raised in print—not even in his days as a supplier of endlessly varied copy to the Hearst press.

As with the majority of the papers in Part V, the copy-texts are transcriptions made from the mimeographs located on microfilm at the BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading. Documents from the same source show that Russell took part in another *Brains Trust* (no. 109) on 6 October 1957, along with Mrs. V.L.Pandit, India’s ambassador to Britain, Margaret Lane, a novelist and biographer, and Lord Chandos, an industrialist and former Conservative Colonial Secretary. There is, however, no extant transcript of this particular programme. The texts in Appendix XVI have been treated somewhat differently from those in the *London Forum* series of broadcasts. They have been abridged quite drastically in order to showcase Russell’s contributions to the *Brains*

*Trust*. Only occasionally have the comments of other panellists been retained—as in the case of such quick-fire exchanges as that between Russell and the historian Alan Bullock, for example (431:29–432:7), or when another speaker clarifies something said by Russell. The latter purpose has been served more frequently by editorial interpolations in angle brackets.

## XVI.1 *Brains Trust* no. 22, 5 February 1956

QUESTION MASTER: ALAN MELVILLE

PANEL: LORD DAVID CECIL, GLYN DANIEL, JULIAN HUXLEY,  
BERTRAND RUSSELL

MELVILLE: The Brains Trust was then {25 Sept. 1945} asked, “Can we now look forward to one hundred years of peace?”, and Lord Russell replied, “No, in my view there will be no permanent peace until either America or Russia gains supremacy of the world.” Does the Brains Trust hold this view today?

RUSSELL: No, I do not hold that view now because it seems clear that neither will get supremacy of the world. I do not think we shall get secure peace until we get some agreement between the two—to establish a world government. But that is the best hope now possible, I think.

{Panel discusses possibility of peace through nuclear deterrence and the likelihood of limited wars still being fought.}

RUSSELL: Yes, I would say that I think this question of little wars and of not having a big war runs up against a snag—which is that, as long as you do not have a big war, the Russians on the whole will have everything their own way. And sooner or later, I am afraid, the Americans will get tired of that.

MELVILLE: Can the Brains Trust account for the fact that the Victorian age, still looked upon as predominantly gloomy period in our history, produced novelists whose books are among the most delightful ever written?

RUSSELL: I think we are very apt to get the Victorian age a little wrong. I agree on the whole that it was a cheerful age—it enjoyed life—but I think there were two things that worried it that we are apt to underestimate. One, I think, was the decay of faith, and people were very much upset by the attacks that were made upon orthodoxy and they were very much worried about them. “Are God and nature then at strife, That nature lends such evil dreams”—that point of view. Another which we have quite overlooked is the fear of revolution. Now my maternal grandfather died in the sixties, a period which appears in history as a stable moment. Now as he was dying there was a great noise in the street, and he said, “Is it the revolution?” (LAUGHTER)

HUXLEY: Are we not still subject to this fear?

RUSSELL: Oh yes, but now it seems natural (LAUGHTER) looking back on }blank{ that time it does not.

{Panel compares Victorian and Elizabethan ages.}

RUSSELL: Oh well, I was thinking about the Elizabethans. It seems to me they did believe in progress. Now Shakespeare’s sonnets take it for granted that the next

generation of poets will be much better than he is, and I doubt whether any poet in the Victorian age took that view. (LAUGHTER)

CECIL: He also took the view that the poets a thousand years before were much better than anybody could be now.

RUSSELL: Ah yes, long ago, yes, but we do not believe that the next lot of poets are going to be better, and Shakespeare did—oddly enough.

MELVILLE: Can members of the Brains Trust tell me why the cuckoo is denied one of life's great and joyous experiences—the right and the fulfilment of motherhood?

RUSSELL: Well, I always understood—and here I should like to ask Huxley whether this is right. I have always understood that the female cuckoo lays its eggs at considerable intervals, so that if they were all laid together they would not hatch out all together as that would be inconvenient. Is that not the case?

MELVILLE: Does the Brains Trust consider that the mastery of mathematics is essential as an aid to clear thinking?

RUSSELL: Well, it started with Leonardo da Vinci. I possess his notebooks and certainly nobody can read them with profit unless they know the amount of mathematics that he knew—which is very much less than people know now—because they are mainly mathematical works. I should say certainly that there are a good many important kinds of clear thinking which you would not get from a person quite ignorant of mathematics. I think you must apprehend the idea of rate of change, which is a mathematical idea, and I think unless you have done the infinitesimal calculus to some degree you would not get that idea; and a great many things that are important to understand, you would not understand.

⟨Daniel and Cecil dispute whether clear thinking requires mathematical expertise.⟩

RUSSELL: Well, I think there are a good many kinds of clear thinking you can do without mathematics—and others that you cannot—and it is certainly not the least use to worry at mathematics if you cannot do them. That I quite agree to.

MELVILLE: Can you explain the apparently innate and unreasonable fear that many people have of certain animals, birds and insects?

RUSSELL: Well, I do not believe at all in these things being innate—I think they are taught. Chalmers Mitchell wrote a very nice book about the childhood of animals in which he relates having found a moorhen's nest and the moorhen was absent. Only the little ones were there, and they were not afraid of him at all, and he went away. The moorhen came back and when he returned all the young ones were terrified of him. They had been taught by their mother to be frightened of him, and I think that these fears people have been taught then by their mothers or their nurses or whoever it may be.

⟨Huxley takes the opposite view, followed by brief discussion.⟩

RUSSELL: I can only tell—I remember my son at the age of three saw a snake and ran after it and tried to catch it. And I had to tell him not to, and teach him to be afraid of snakes.

MELVILLE: Yes, but your son is not a chimpanzee...

RUSSELL: Well, I thought you were suggesting he was. (LAUGHTER)

MELVILLE: "In England intellectuals are not expected and do not expect to exercise any corporate influence at all. It is only our scientists (fresh breed of men) who suppose

that their opinions on subjects outside their own competence are of importance. This illusion will pass” (Sir Harold Nicolson).

RUSSELL: Well, I think that the unfortunate intellectuals are not perhaps so much to blame as the newspapers are. The moment you get into the public eye, for no matter what, newspapers will ring you up to ask your opinion upon every imaginable subject under the sun, and if you are not a little careful you find yourself having made pronouncements.

(Discussion of question about the relationship between character and physical features to which Russell did not contribute.)

MELVILLE: Do we consider it true, false, fallacy, or otherwise, that the French are the most civilized nation on earth?

RUSSELL: I should not say so. I should say that the English are more civilized myself, though I realize that I have a bias, and therefore my opinion is not impartial. But I think that the capacity to work together with people that you do not wholly agree with is an important element in civilization, and it is one in which the French are singularly lacking.

MELVILLE: It has been said that if Cleopatra’s nose had been half an inch shorter or longer the history of the world would have been different. Do we agree?

RUSSELL: I think that small causes often decide, when there is an unstable crest, which side of the hill the stone will roll down. And a very tiny force may do that, and I think that was the case between Anthony and Octavius.

XVI.2 *Brains Trust* no. 40, 10 June 1956

QUESTION MASTER: ALAN MELVILLE

PANEL: JOHN BETJEMAN, LORD DAVID CECIL, V.S.PRITCHETT,  
BERTRAND RUSSELL

MELVILLE: To what extent were the intellectual advances of the last century based on a rejection of religion, and to what extent has that process been reversed in this century?

RUSSELL: I do not think they were based on the rejection of religion. They led many people to reject religion, but that is not the same thing. They were based upon detailed evidence—which is quite a different thing. I do not think that that process has been seriously reversed. There is of course a certain revival, undoubtedly, of belief. But I think the explanations for that are political and not scientific.

(Panel questions extent of Victorian crisis of religious faith.)

RUSSELL: Yes, I should like to add something to that. There was of course in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the doctrine of evolution, and Darwinism, and that knocked on the head a very large part of the argument from design, which had had a profound influence upon people. And I think that was the reason why science appeared anti-religious at that time. I do not think that physics—the sort of thing that Faraday occupied himself with—has ever had any bearing either way, but biology did seem to have.

MELVILLE: “Beauty is truth; truth is beauty. That is all ye know on earth, and all ye need to know”. Would members of the Brains Trust say what they think this statement means, and whether they consider it be true?

RUSSELL: Well, I am one of these latter class of persons  $\langle$ who say, as Cecil had remarked, “what nonsense Keats talked” $\rangle$ . I think Keats was talking utter and complete nonsense, and, if anybody asks me what the statement means, I cannot answer because it means nothing. I think that this whole idea of connecting truth with beauty is just silly. Consider the sort of things where truth is indisputable: take, say, the telephone book—it contains an enormous amount of truths and none of them have any beauty whatsoever. (LAUGHTER)

$\langle$ Further discussion of Keats’s meaning. $\rangle$

RUSSELL: I want to protest with all the strength I have against the notion of The Truth. The Truth is a notion which has caused an incredible amount of harm. It caused people to be burnt at the stake; it caused Jews to perish in Auschwitz; it caused dissidents to be sent to the Arctic region in labour camps. The Truth is the most pernicious thing that could possibly be imagined. There is not such a thing.

BETJEMAN: I cannot believe that Lord Russell is unresponsive to anything beautiful. There must be some things you think are beautiful, but do you think they are untrue. I mean, that is, philosophically—I do not know about philosophy.

RUSSELL: No, surely I never said I was irresponsive to beautiful things. I hope I am completely responsive; but I think that being beautiful is not the same thing as being true. If I said to be solid is the same thing as to be liquid, you would not infer that I could not sit on a chair. (LAUGHTER)...

But anybody who thinks there is the Truth almost inevitably also thinks, and I have got it, and it is practically certain that he has not. And he therefore sets to work to do all sorts of evil, because he thinks he has got the Truth when he has not.

MELVILLE: Does the Brains Trust think that any work of art is worth the sacrifice of a human life?

RUSSELL: You might have to answer it, “Yes”—practically, in your own life. If you saw a Ming vase sinking and also a Chinaman sinking, the question is, now, which of these two shall I save?

MELVILLE: Which would you save?

RUSSELL: Oh I do not know, I am sure. I am not prepared to answer the question, but I say it might arise in practice.

MELVILLE: Jules Verne and H.G. Wells wrote science fiction which was good literature and good prophecy. Can science fiction achieve as much today?

RUSSELL: Well, I should like to bring up a book which is not a new book by any means, but seems to mean a little to contradict what you say, and that is Stapledon’s *Last And First Men*, which I think is a very good book, and it is not good because of the characters in it. It is science fiction but it is really, I think, quite good—I mean an important book, worth writing; so that I think science fiction can be written if a man is clever about it; it is only a question of having capacity.

MELVILLE: Do we think that to be a great leader, a man needs to be a little bit wicked, or a little bit eccentric?

RUSSELL: I cannot think for a moment that a great man has to be wicked. Abraham Lincoln—Lord David mentioned, and I agree entirely about that—I do not think he

was in any degree wicked, and he certainly was a very great man. As for eccentric, well, I mean any man who is going to achieve anything very much must be a little different from the average. And while a boy he will seem eccentric to other boys; so that I think it is probable that until he achieves recognized greatness, he will be thought eccentric. But that is a little different, I think. I can't see any reason at all why a great man should be in any degree wicked, or why he should be eccentric in any important sense.

MELVILLE: Did he {Oscar Wilde} ever say anything wise and true?

{Brief discussion of the question.}

MELVILLE: Well we seem to agree that he probably said some true things.

RUSSELL: But not wise ones...

TOGETHER: Without any great...enormous wisdom....

MELVILLE: Will the Brains Trust say how far they agree that no man was ever the wiser for learning?

RUSSELL: I feel a sort of mixed feeling about this. I have known in my life a great many learned men—very learned men—who were extremely stupid (LAUGHTER); so that it certainly does not mean that you must get wisdom through being learned. But I do think, on the other hand, that a certain amount of learning is very important indeed and that when you get affairs in the hands of people who are completely ignorant, they do lead you to disaster.

MELVILLE: Would members of the Brains Trust give their views as to whether it is the coward, or the wise man, who chooses the middle way?

RUSSELL: Well you cannot argue it generally at all. Sometimes the middle way is right and sometimes it is wrong. There was that famous Mayor who, at the end of his term of office, said that he has always tried to steer the narrow line between partiality, on the one hand, and impartiality on the other. (LAUGHTER) Well, it is a good form of the middle way. But quite often the middle way is right.

MELVILLE: Surely most people who are lovers of the Tudor style can only afford to have it mock. Do you think the people go in for mock Tudor, therefore, show a lack of taste?

RUSSELL: I haven't anything much to say about this, except that I think imitation is always bad. I should not like to see writers trying to write in the style of the Tudors, although they wrote extremely well in that age. And I think when you write from conscious admiration of something which is not the spirit of your own time, you produce something weak. And I should think the same applies to architecture, but I am no judge of that.

MELVILLE: It has been said that hypocrisy is the nearest the average man gets to goodness. What does the Brains Trust think of that assertion?

RUSSELL: I have never heard it in that form. The form one knows it in is the homage that vice pays to virtue, and in that form I think the statement is very true and very profound. But I cannot think that hypocrisy is the nearest the average man gets to virtue—it is simply an added vice and seems to me one of the most abominable of vices. (LAUGHTER)

MELVILLE: Can the Brains Trust suggest any good reason why the Third Programme should not be immediately abolished?

RUSSELL: I think very well of the Third Programme on the whole, and I should deeply deplore its abolition. I get a good deal out of the things that appear on the Third Programme and I want to see them go on appearing.

XVI.3 *Brains Trust* no. 74, 3 February 1957

QUESTION MASTER: NORMAN FISHER

PANEL: JACOB BRONOWSKI, ALAN BULLOCK, BERTRAND RUSSELL, REBECCA WEST

FISHER: What do you consider to be the most palatable way of being given the sack?

RUSSELL: Well, if you are a Member of Parliament, I suppose, being sent to the Upper House.

FISHER: 〈What does the Brains Trust think〉 about the advisability of televising the proceedings of the House of Commons?

RUSSELL: Well, I agree entirely with Bullock and Bronowski. I think that if Members of Parliament all the time are thinking of themselves as an exhibit—and thinking how it will look—they would not be thinking about the subject matter, and I think they ought to be thinking about the subject matter. I think also there is another argument, which is that—so far as our legislators will permit it—it is a good thing if we can feel some respect for them (LAUGHTER), and I do not think we should if we saw them televised. (LAUGHTER)

FISHER: Does this apply to the House of Lords too, Russell?

RUSSELL: Oh, yes. (LAUGHTER)

FISHER: What benefit has mankind received from the studies of philosophers?

RUSSELL: Well, this is a very nasty question, is it not? I do not know whether mankind has received much benefit from philosophers. They have not, in the first place, made any discoveries at all. They would not think that was their job, and I suppose they have enlarged people's imagination in some ways, and given them a capacity to think about the universe as a whole more than they would otherwise have done—which is something of the same sort of merit you might get from poetry. But I cannot see that philosophers have done anything for mankind that is in any way comparable to what the men of science have done.

BRONOWSKI: 〈After arguing that Locke, Berkeley and Hume helped establish the basis for modern scientific thought.〉 You see, I think no propositions in philosophy are *true*, but all of them force on us questions which are very profound, and which goad us to make true statements about quite other things than philosophy. Is that a fair statement of philosophy?

RUSSELL: I think that is quite fair, yes. That I should agree with.

〈Panel discusses further the relationship of philosophy to science and also the value of philosophy.〉

FISHER: Well, Bertrand Russell, you do not dissent from any of this?

RUSSELL: I do not think—no, except that I must be too enthusiastic for philosophy. But I am very glad to have it defended on what I think are on the whole valid grounds. (LAUGHTER)

FISHER: What should be the action of a true patriot if the United Nations Assembly gives a decision against the government of his country?

RUSSELL: Well, I cannot accept this view that you suppose your own country to be in the right, because, in the first place, I do not think it can be in the right if it is against the United Nations. I think that, if mankind is to survive, which appears very doubtful, it will only be able to do so by the establishment of an international authority of some sort, and that anything you do to prevent the growth of an international authority is doing more harm to the world than would be done by any specific question on which you might think your country was right and the United Nations wrong.

〈Panel discusses nature of patriotism, the Kashmir and Sinai disputes and the differences between the United Nations and a national government.〉

FISHER: Well, I wonder whether perhaps Bertrand Russell has put this point very clearly. If I understood him he says that if your government is opposed by a majority verdict of the United Nations, it is your duty to oppose your government and support that majority verdict of the United Nations, whether you think your country is right or wrong on that particular issue. Is that what you said?

RUSSELL: Yes. It depends of course. I do not say what action you should take in consequence. I do not say that necessarily you should break the law (INTERRUPTION), as far as agitation goes, expressing your opinion. I mean, I hope that if I were an Indian I should be now urging India to accept the ruling about Kashmir. I hope I should—I do not feel sure. But I think that is what a moral and enlightened Indian ought to do, and I think that—not on the grounds that the United Nations is always right, but on the same ground on which I should urge submission to the law in my own country—submission to the law is very important. And if we are to get any kind of a world we can all live in, there has got to be international law. Otherwise, we cannot all live together any longer. (LAUGHTER AND INTERRUPTIONS)

〈Bullock criticizes the selective application of international law by the United Nations.〉

RUSSELL: Well, may I say in reply to that, that law has grown up everywhere through exactly such injustices as you are complaining of. Law, everywhere, always, in its early stages, pays undue respect to the strong. And if it did not it would never get to the point where it is respected and authoritative—and authoritative law is very, very necessary.

BRONOWSKI: Russell, in the First World War, when you were at odds with the law of this country, you went to prison—by flouting the law. Now, what would you propose that an Israeli, or a Muslim in Pakistan, should do today if he were opposed to the United Nations?

RUSSELL: Well, it depends how strongly he feels. If he feels strongly enough, he would have to do as I did and go to prison. But if he only feels mildly, he can content himself with agitation.

〈West argues that international law is just as likely to be flawed as national law.〉

RUSSELL: I disagree entirely with that: it has nothing to do with the question whether the United Nations is wise or foolish—whether it is wrong. The point is that law is the only alternative to war, and war has got, henceforth, to be avoided, and it is not that I

think the law will be right—or wise, or anything else—but just that it has a method of settling disputes otherwise than by killing each other.

〈Bullock doubts whether Russell really believes his “cynical doctrine” that anything should be done rather than risk war.〉

RUSSELL: I do believe it, most firmly. I urge it and I urge it upon all mankind, and I think if they do not realize it they will just go straight to disaster.

BULLOCK: But I mean if we take the concrete case of Hungary, much, much better that we should never have protested, that we should never—we should have said “no condemnation of Russia because it might involve the danger of war”.

RUSSELL: Well, we did not go to war, and I think we were quite right not to (BOTH TALKING TOGETHER, UNINTELLIGIBLY)...we ought not to have gone to war about Hungary...

BULLOCK: I do not say that, but I say I am at least unhappy about the situation.

RUSSELL: So am I, so am I...

BULLOCK: But it sounds to me as though you would not be content about it because at least it had avoided war and that was the only thing...

RUSSELL: No, it is not the only thing. What you have got to do is find some way of avoiding war without too much injustice. You are bound to have some injustice—always, in any situation—and you want to minimize the amount. And if you had an international authority, Hungary would not have happened.

FISHER: “If I cannot have reform without injustice, I will not have reform” 〈Edmund Burke〉 Can there be reform without injustice?

RUSSELL: Well, I find the question a little puzzling. I suppose it does almost inevitably happen, that any reform upsets some vested interest, which society has acquiesced in hitherto. Take, say, a very simple example: you build a bridge where formerly there was a ferry; the ferryman is dispossessed. Well, you can give him compensation, but he may have been an artist in ferrying, and he may find life without the ferry almost unbearable. And then of course it is very hard on the man, but you would not say there ought not to be a bridge on that account.

FISHER: When we meet someone for the first time, we usually form a definite impression of their character. What qualities immediately attract or repel the individual member of the Brains Trust?

RUSSELL: Well, it is very difficult to say. I gather that what the questioner wants to know is what attracts you, not what repels you....

Well, I do not know. Now, there is a quality called “charm”, which I feel, but I do not know quite how to define. Some people have charm, and you may find on further acquaintance that you do not like them so well, but they are the people who, the first moment you meet them, you think, “Oh, what delightful people”. And it is not easy to settle what it is exactly about them...

FISHER: Do not most of us fear freedom?

RUSSELL: I agree entirely with that. I think there are a great many people in the world who like bondage with ease, but I think it is base to like that, and I think that people ought to have that kind of courage in facing the world that will make them want freedom—and want to be self-directed—and not directed by an outside person. I feel that very, very strongly.

XVI.4 *Brains Trust* no. 83, 7 April 1957

QUESTION MASTER: NOT IDENTIFIED

PANEL: SIR RICHARD ACLAND, MARGHANITA LASKI, SIR JOHN MAUD, BERTRAND RUSSELL

QUESTION MASTER: Can we be called a free society, when pickets forcibly restrain men and women when they are so unpopular as to want to work?

RUSSELL: Well I agree broadly with that *(Laski's statement that people should not have the right to prevent other people from doing something that is legal)*. But I think it wants a little limitation. I think some kinds of collective action that are desirable and useful might become impossible if that were taken quite strictly. I think this case of strike action is one of them. I do not think that one could say that, in the name of liberty, one should make strike action impossible, and I do not think it is possible, unless a certain amount of pressure is brought to bear upon a recalcitrant minority. And if that minority is small, then I think perhaps a certain degree of pressure is justifiable. If it is a large minority—no. I think it is very largely quantitative. It depends upon how many people you are coercing, and how many people are profiting by the coercion. But I think you must allow people collective action of a sort which sometimes involves some degree of control—as everybody admits in military discipline, where it is obviously necessary.

*(Laski alludes to the difficulty of a majority determining when a minority is large enough not to be coerced and that, therefore, it is better to act on the principle that nobody should ever be coerced.)*

RUSSELL: Yes, I think perhaps that is a valid argument. But I think there would be some marginal cases where it would be a little difficult to apply that argument.

QUESTION MASTER: Would the members of the Brains Trust say what they consider to be the purpose of man's existence? Would you care to answer that in thirty seconds Lord Russell?

RUSSELL: I certainly should not care to answer it either in thirty seconds or in thirty days or in thirty years. I do not think there is a purpose; I think it is a mistaken question.

*(Panel discusses notion of man as a "human animal".)*

RUSSELL: No, I can only repeat that I think the idea that there is a purpose in human existence as something other than the purpose of particular human beings is just an illusion. I do not think there is anything in it. I think there are only the purposes of actual human beings.

QUESTION MASTER: A large proportion of our population is atheistic or agnostic in its thinking about religion, yet officially this is an overwhelmingly Christian country. Can the Brains Trust discuss this problem?

RUSSELL: I quite agree with that *(Laski's assertion that there are very few atheists and agnostics in Britain but many people "of faith in search of a creed", although not necessarily a Christian one)*. I think the number of people who are expressedly either atheist or agnostic is very small. On the other hand I think there are a great many people who do not think much about religion and who therefore are practically

agnostics, although they would not think enough about religion to say so. Those I think are quite numerous, and that I think is perhaps more or less modern. But as for the youth being not liberated; well, that I think is due to political factors mainly and has always been the case. One of the things that you discover if you read history is how like previous ages were to your own in those matters in which they thought themselves peculiar. If you take anything that this age thinks peculiar you will find that every previous age has thought it was peculiar in the same way. And I do not think that the confusion of the youth which does exist has anything to do at all with religion; I think its source is political.

QUESTION MASTER: Can the Brains Trust tell us whether a fifteen year old girl should read *Lady Chatterley's Lover*?

RUSSELL: Well,, this is a very nice question. I think myself that the harm done to young people by reading the sort of books which are considered improper is immensely exaggerated by all older people, who all pretend that when they were young they did not know things which they certainly did know, and I think there is a great deal of humbug about it. I do not think it matters whether the girl reads it or whether she does not. I think that it is all much less important than people think—that is my view.

QUESTION MASTER: {After Laski has argued that less overtly obscene material is more corrupting than *Lady Chatterley* and Maud has suggested that a child's age is an important consideration in such matters.} Lord Russell, have you anything further to say on this?

RUSSELL: Well, yes, I feel myself that there is an argument against horror comics and things that portray cruelty. I feel a much stronger argument in the case of cruelty than I do in the case of sex, because, after all, sex is going to be part of the normal decent human life, and cruelty ought not to be. And I feel there is a great difference there.

QUESTION MASTER: Of course sex in some forms can be cruel.

RUSSELL: Oh it can be, but it does not need to be, and there is nothing essentially cruel in it.

QUESTION MASTER: It is said that the malady that sooner or later afflicts most of the men of a profession is that they construct a mystique that cuts them off from the common man. What does the Brains Trust think?

RUSSELL: Well, yes, I quite agree {with Acland and Maud, who have argued that specialists of all kinds *do* exhibit such tendencies}. I think this business of occupational disease is a thing that is bound to happen and that people ought therefore to be made occasionally to pass outside their profession and be, as it were, ordinary citizens. I used to suggest for fun, in the days when I was a don, that every don should have a sabbatical year as a pirate. And I thought it would cure him of his occupational diseases. But it never was taken up, I am sorry to say.

QUESTION MASTER: Lord Russell, how would you react to that {Laski's assertion that writers should not actively strive to reach a wide public} as a writer?

RUSSELL: Well I am not a novelist; it is a different sort of writing and, I mean, my sort of writing is the sort that dons do. And what I said about dons applies to it, but I think if I were a novelist I should probably agree with what Miss Laski has said. I think I should feel the same way if I were a novelist. I think probably a good deal of withdrawal is the right thing there. I mean, not being all the time in touch with your

public, but retiring and thinking and feeling a bit in isolation. But that is a different sort of writing from what I do, so that is not...

LASKI: You have, I believe Lord Russell, written a novel quite recently. I think you are being too retiring...

RUSSELL: No, I have written short stories, but they were not what you would call a novel. I mean, they did not aim at all at being in any way realistic; they were queer tales.

QUESTION MASTER: What does the Brains Trust mean by discipline, with reference to the upbringing of children?

RUSSELL: Yes I agree very much with that (the Question Master's comment that the panel seems to accept that children both need and value a framework of rules). I wrote about education at one time and I was supposed by the general public, and especially by journalists, to go in for complete liberty for children. I never did; I always took the view that activeness must be expressing, and I think that a great deal of discipline is quite essential. To begin with physical discipline, you want children to be clean, to brush their teeth, and you want them to get up at the right time in the morning—still more to go to bed at the right time in the evening. All sorts of things like that, that would not happen of themselves, they happen because, perhaps, by imposing discipline. And of course the same thing applies to learning, but I think there—this, I suppose, is what gave rise to the popular view of my opinions—a great deal more can be done than usually is to make learning pleasant, and that therefore the amount of discipline required in actual school work can be a good deal diminished. But you do want discipline; especially you want physical discipline.

XVI.5 *Brains Trust* no. 89, 19 May 1957

QUESTION MASTER: NOT IDENTIFIED

PANEL: ALAN BULLOCK, SIR JOHN MAUD, MRS. V.L.PANDIT,  
BERTRAND RUSSELL

QUESTION MASTER: There are many striking similarities between the careers of Napoleon and Hitler. Can the Brains Trust say why the heroic Napoleonic legend should have persisted whilst Hitler has been dismissed, rightly no doubt, as merely a super-political gangster denied even the quality of an evil grandeur?

RUSSELL: Well I think there is an enormous gulf between the two men. I think that Napoleon was out for his own greatness and he committed crimes that were necessary to his own greatness, but I do not think that his make up, apart from his own career,, was definitely abominable, whereas Hitler's was. Hitler had a disinterested love of a great many very evil things and seems to me an infinitely worse figure than Napoleon, quite infinitely worse.

QUESTION MASTER: Most people in Western countries have little doubt that the West has much to teach the East. What does the Brains Trust think we can learn from the East?

RUSSELL: Well I think on the whole I very much agree with that summing up on the situation (by Mrs. Pandit, who had stated her dislike of generalizations about East and West but that, nevertheless, the East perhaps exhibits greater tolerance than the West) but, as regards tolerance, well, I think it is true that India is showing tolerance. But I

do not think it is true of other Eastern countries, and I do not think that we can learn tolerance from the Chinese at the present time.

〈Panel discusses how best to understand and learn from other cultures.〉

RUSSELL: May I say I think travel is very important when you are young, if you stay for a considerable time in whatever foreign country you go to. I do not think travel is so useful when you are old—when your prejudices are fixed—and on the whole I have found that a great many of the people who have had to live out of their own country have become more prejudiced in favour of home than anybody else. I think it is when you are young that you ought to be...the exchange of students. That sort of thing, I think, is enormously important.

〈Maud appeals for a less insular approach to other cultures.〉

RUSSELL: I have been rather surprised that in this discussion nobody has mentioned the distinctive Western contribution for good or evil, which is science, and scientific technique. That is really the most distinctive thing that the West has done. Whether it is going to be an utter disaster or just the opposite, nobody yet knows, but anyway that is far and away the most important separate item that the West has contributed to the world.

QUESTION MASTER: What is the function of a philosopher and has it changed noticeably during Lord Russell's lifetime?

RUSSELL: Well this is a very difficult question and, speaking as a philosopher, I have some doubt as to what the contribution is that a philosopher can make. I am not quite certain whether in the modern world there is much that a philosopher can do unless it is to offer a certain comprehensiveness, a bringing into one consciousness of things which generally are held separately in different people's consciousness. The function of history in one's view of mankind, the function of astronomy, the function of physiology, of medicine: things—I am not talking now of politics, I am talking of other things—and I think it is perhaps the function of a philosopher who cannot be a specialist in all these things to pick out what is humanly important in regard to one's view of the world and make up a view of what man can be and what man can do out of these different bits of things and to be focused where these things are all combined. That is all I can see that a philosopher can do.

QUESTION MASTER: Then you would not assume from that that the function has changed noticeably during your lifetime?

RUSSELL: Not a bit, no, nor indeed since early Greek times.

〈Panel discusses the Socratic function of the philosopher, the importance of philosophy in an age of rapid technological change.〉

RUSSELL: I do very much want to say something about this further, which is that I do not for a moment think that the value of a philosopher consists in his answers. But I also do not think that it consists only in his questions. I think that a man who has had the habit of asking himself awkward questions and difficult questions, though he may not come, he ought not to come to believe in any dogmatic or definite answer to those questions, has a certain temper of mind, owing to surveying these questions, and I think that is the valuable thing that a philosopher should give you.

QUESTION MASTER: Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall in his *Newsletter* of 24 April has called for a Royal Commission to consider the possibilities of unarmed resistance as a national policy. He urges his readers to put aside all preconceived notions about defence and start from the simple proposition that we desire to defend our way of life and would prefer not to do it by risking its utter destruction. What does the Brains Trust think of this?

RUSSELL: It seems to me that Commander King-Hall has raised a very important question and it is one that I have thought about a good deal and I do not find it easy to make up my mind. I do think that passive resistance—passive resistance in the manner that was advocated by Gandhi—would not succeed against either Hitler or Stalin, and I think active resistance would not either—as we have seen recently in Hungary—and I do not believe that, if one can assume that if we disarmed we should be met with the sort of attitude that Hitler had, then I do not think disarmament could possibly be a good plan. But I think it is possible—and I am not sure about this—I think it is possible that, if we dramatically disarmed, the psychological effect upon those whom we are inclined to regard as our enemies might be so great that they would cease to be enemies, and the thing might work. But it is a gamble.

QUESTION MASTER: But surely this is a point in favour of Gandhi because, as opposed to the Jewish situation in Nazi Germany, because surely Gandhi's resistance was dramatic?

RUSSELL: Yes.

QUESTION MASTER: (After panel has discussed difficulty of influencing Soviet public opinion and the effectiveness of nuclear deterrence.) Lord Russell, have you anything further to say on this?

RUSSELL: Well only that I think perhaps we exaggerate the extent to which Russia is kept in ignorance. I mean, I have had a certain amount of contact with Russians in recent years and, of course, Russians who were *persona grata* to the régime. But I did find that they knew, and I think the people who are well thought of by the régime do know more perhaps than we think and are capable of being influenced more than we think.

## Missing and Unprinted Papers

FORTUNATELY, THERE EXISTS an almost complete picture of Russell's writings for the twenty-seven-month period covered by *Collected Papers* 29. Many of his publications were reprinted a number of times, and in nearly all cases there are some pre-publication documents as well. Even the rather smaller number of hitherto unpublished papers are usually extant in both typescript and dictated manuscript form. In addition, Russell's publishing correspondence and the letters he exchanged with the BBC enable the context of his written work to be recreated quite easily. There are a few exceptions: Russell's intentions for the hitherto unpublished Paper 2 remain somewhat obscure, and there is neither a pre-publication trail nor any external evidence to shed light on the appearance of Paper 47—perhaps some time after its composition—in a Dutch journal. Although some speculative editorial commentary has been required on occasion, gaps in the publishing correspondence are rare. The detailed record of Russell's writing and broadcasting activities even provides some leads to the few texts relevant to the present volume which may reasonably be classified as missing.

Falling into this category are several of Russell's radio and television performances for the BBC. For example, there is no transcript for the last of the six televised *Brains Trusts* on which he appeared between February 1956 and October 1957. His televised appearance on *Asian Club* on 22 February 1957 is similarly lacking in documentation. The only clues to Russell's participation in this half-hour long show are provided by his pocket diary and some correspondence with the BBC's Eastern and Far Eastern Services. Previously, in March 1955, he had been a guest on a radio broadcast of the same programme (see *Papers* 28:486). On both occasions he delivered unscripted answers to questions posed by his Asian audience. Edith Russell's pocket diary shows that on 9 April 1957 Russell was scheduled to record a *London Forum* with the penal reformer Margery Fry and the novelist and critic Marghanita Laski. He had been informed about the recording arrangements and the topic of debate—"the place that women do or should occupy in our society"—in a letter from R.E.Gregson (assistant head of overseas talks and features) dated 29 March. It is not clear, however, whether any such recording was ever made since there is no extant transcript. Laski did, however, participate with Russell in a televised *Brains Trust* on 7 April 1957 (Appendix XVI.4). The only evidence pertaining to Russell's interview with Veikko Kontinen on the BBC Finnish Service's *Man of the Month* programme on 13 October 1955 is provided by a photograph in RA and an entry in Edith Russell's pocket diary. Russell's *Autobiography* (1969, 101) mentions that he and his biographer Alan Wood were interviewed together on the BBC around the time of *The Passionate Sceptic's* publication. There is, however, no extant transcript of this conversation, which was recorded, according to Edith Russell's pocket diary, on 17 May 1957. There is a booking slip for Russell's appearance on *Voices in the News* on 26 November 1957, but there is neither a prepared script nor a transcript of this short (seven-minute) radio broadcast on the BBC's North American Service.

On 12 July 1956 Russell tentatively agreed to be interviewed at Plas Penrhyn by the University of Chicago author and academic Milton Mayer. But there is no conclusive

proof that this interview was ever recorded and still less that it was broadcast on American college radio—as promised by Mayer in his approach to Russell dated five days earlier. On 20 May 1957 Russell had a meeting at 29 Millbank with Sibnarayan Ray, a scholar at Calcutta University who was visiting the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Ray remembers taking notes of their “fairly long discussion” and that he “later published a report on the basis of these notes” (to Carl Spadoni, 22 April 2001, RA REC. ACQ. 1,376). Unfortunately, however, no such record of this encounter has been located.

The following month Russell was interviewed by Homer A. Jack, an American Unitarian minister, civil rights activist and anti-nuclear campaigner. The two men discussed the possible cessation of nuclear testing, the fallacy of the “clean” bomb, Einstein’s dramatic adhesion to the manifesto which bore his and Russell’s names, the political role of scientists, Britain’s nuclear programme, and the wisdom of cooperation with the Communist-aligned peace movement. Jack then sent for Russell’s approval a typescript account of their conversation. Although he suggested that this “might deserve a wider hearing” (29 June 1957), it is not certain that it ever appeared in print, or even that Russell granted permission for it to be published. Jack’s typescript version, however, can be found among his papers in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection (see also RA REC. ACQ. 1,432).

There are eighteen known multiple-signatory publications to which Russell subscribed between September 1955 and November 1957. Since there is no evidence that he assisted in the composition of any of these statements, most have been excluded from the present volume. The five exceptions (Appendixes VIII–XII) are cases in which the documents shed important additional light on other writings by Russell. What follows is a summary of those multiple-signatory publications which have been omitted.

Russell’s endorsement (1955*m*) of the special fund that had been set up as a ninetieth birthday tribute to his old friend Gilbert Murray is referred to in **H18**. He was also one of five signatories whose names appeared below an appeal for contributions to the Bhoodan Well Fund in a letter to *The Manchester Guardian* on 16 April 1956 (Russell 1956*d*). The irrigation projects for which donations were being solicited were ancillary to the broader “Bhoodan” (land gift) movement—an ambitious scheme of voluntary land redistribution in rural India that had been launched in 1948 by the social reformer and ascetic Vinoba Bhave.

On 22 November 1956 *The Times* published a letter announcing the amalgamation of the Divorce Law Reform Union with the Marriage Law Reform Society (Russell 1956*q*). All the signatories—Russell, Leonard Woolf, Robert Pollard and Lord Meston—had long urged Britain to adopt a less moralistic legal regimen in the matter of divorce. A Royal Commission had just submitted some modest proposals for reform but had been deadlocked on the central question of whether divorce should be made available on demand—a division of elite opinion which partly explains the postponement of new legislation for another thirteen years. Also on 22 November 1956 Russell added his name to an international appeal for the worldwide abolition of capital punishment which appeared subsequently in *Peace News* (Russell 1957*a*). Although he belonged to the committee of honour of a new British pressure group, the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment (NCACP), Russell was not in the forefront of the quest for repeal that had been gathering pace since the early 1950s. Indeed, as recently as 2 July 1955—eleven days before the execution of Ruth Ellis, the last woman to be hanged in Britain—he had refused to endorse a Howard League memorial of opposition to the death

penalty, because he had “never reached a definite opinion either for or against” (to Hugh Klare). Yet, by February 1956, he felt able to accept an honorary position within the NCACP, and the following month he made a small donation to the organization. There is no obvious explanation for the rapid dissipation of Russell’s earlier uncertainty. In all fairness though, he was not making a dramatic volte face from a position of convinced support for the death penalty. Perhaps he was exhibiting a susceptibility to the influence of a repeal campaign to which, against his own record on other issues of legal and moral reform, he was a comparatively late convert.

Russell was one of over twenty British literary figures who signed a greeting (Russell 1956n) to the Annual Congress of the Union of Polish Writers, which met in Warsaw from 29 November to 2 December 1956. The promoters of this initiative were the co-editors of *Encounter*, Stephen Spender and Irving Kristol, who explained in their letter of invitation that the idea for such a message had come from a number of Polish editors and writers who felt that it “would provide them with tangible assistance in their present efforts to achieve greater liberty of thought and expression” (31 Oct. 1956).

In his interview with George Bilainkin, Russell had expressed his view of the apartheid system as “absolutely abominable” (375:7). After South African authorities arrested 156 anti-apartheid activists early in December 1956, he therefore did not hesitate to sponsor the legal defence fund which Christian Action had set up to assist the detainees—who were charged with high treason. Next, on 31 December, the chairman of Christian Action, Canon John Collins of St. Paul’s Cathedral, circularized each of the sponsors to request that they sign the appeal for donations which appeared in *The Times* on 14 January 1957 (Russell 1957b). An updated version of this letter, again co-signed by Russell, was published subsequently in *The Manchester Guardian* (7 Feb. 1957, p. 6), and a few months later as an advertisement in *The Observer* (12 May 1957, p. 3). Later in 1957 Russell was one of 123 world figures from the fields of religion, politics and the arts who signed a “Declaration of Conscience” in support of a day of protest against apartheid on 10 December. This initiative was reported at length in *Peace News* on 6 December (Russell 1957h). The previous week’s issue of the same publication had printed Christian Action’s most recent appeal for funds. The advertisement reported that £26,000 had been collected thus far. But an estimated £150,000 was needed to meet the legal costs of the defence and to support the families of the accused. In September 1957 charges against all but twenty-nine of the detainees had suddenly been dropped, but for the remaining defendants the trial proceedings were still only at a preliminary stage. For the next three years Christian Action continued to place newspaper advertisements and send letters to *The Times* above the names of Russell and his fellow sponsors. After numerous lengthy delays, the defendants in the “treason” trial were eventually acquitted by a panel of three judges in March 1961. The following year a fresh round of arrests was made as the apartheid regime sought to curb the activities of the African National Congress. Donations to the Defence and Aid Fund continued, and it eventually disbursed millions of pounds to the anti-apartheid cause, operating underground after being proscribed in South Africa in 1966 (see Russell 2001, 544 n. 4). By June 1962 Russell was publicly supporting economic sanctions and an arms embargo against the South African Government, and he was vocal in protesting the life sentences that were handed to Nelson Mandela and seven of his ANC colleagues in June 1964.

Notwithstanding Russell’s productive and largely cordial relations with the BBC, he did not shrink from criticism of Britain’s public broadcaster. For example, he had objected several times to the anti-humanist bias of its religious programming. In April

1957 he joined a protest of a different sort, in response to a threatened reduction in the airtime allocated to the Third Programme—the Home Service’s main source of classical music, serious drama and the kind of talks at which Russell himself so excelled. In February Russell had succinctly but vigorously championed the Third Programme in response to a question put to the *Brains Trust* (Appendix XVI.2, p. 429). A major overhaul of sound broadcasting had been prompted both by a need to reduce costs and BBC radio’s loss of listeners to rival commercial stations operating from Europe—Radio Luxembourg most notably—and to television. The letter of complaint signed by Russell and thirteen others (Russell 1957c) appeared in *The Times* on 26 April. It had been circulated by Peter Laslett, a young Cambridge historian and former BBC producer who was also chairman of the recently established Third Programme Defence Society (from June 1957 the Sound Broadcasting Society). But the public intervention of Russell and other eminent literary and cultural figures did not steer the BBC from its intended course of action. Likewise, no concessions were extracted from the BBC’s management by representations that were made to them privately on 18 July (see Briggs 1979, 48–61). When a second public protest (also co-signed by Russell) was sent to *The Times* early in October (Russell 1957e), the revised sound broadcasting schedule—incorporating a much diminished Third Programme—was already in place. Although the Sound Broadcasting Society had lost this battle, it was determined to remain vigilant in preserving the Third Programme’s shrunken domain, and Russell further validated its efforts by accepting an honorary vice-presidency from the organization in September 1957.

Russell also agreed to sign at least four other statements in the period covered by this volume, none of which have been located either in print or in RA. On 20 March 1957 he was asked by R.S.Trafford to endorse a protest of Britain’s hydrogenbomb programme. Trafford was the Midlands organizer of the small pacifist and internationalist Fellowship Party, founded in London two years previously. Russell’s adhesion is indicated by Edith Russell’s short note above her customary “Answered)” in the top-left corner of Trafford’s letter. Another petition, concerning the hazards of radiation, was forwarded to Russell on 25 March 1957 by the writer and poet Lucy Masterman, widow of the late Liberal politician Charles Masterman. She had been persuaded to contact Russell after *The Manchester Guardian* published Paper 55a. Although willing to sign her text, Russell disapproved its assertion that “radiation ‘will ultimately end in the destruction of all life’ ...I should prefer to substitute the word ‘may’, or, alternatively, add the words ‘quite probably’. I think it is important to avoid anything that could be considered an over-statement” (28 March 1957). Exactly two months later Russell also added his name to an appeal for funds to subsidize the British Peace Committee’s mass petition against nuclear testing. It is not clear whether this appeal was published or simply circulated privately to prospective donors, but it somehow came to the attention of one of Russell’s interviewers—the pacifist Homer A.Jack (see Headnote to Appendix VIII, p. 391). Finally, on 25 October 1957, Russell satisfied a request from the Labour M.P. Anthony Wedgwood Benn that he sign a protest against electoral fraud in Salazar’s Portugal. Drafted by Portuguese liberals, this petition was to be presented to Portugal’s ambassador in London and released to the press a few days before the election date of 3 November.

An unidentified news clipping in Russell’s files, dated 23 September 1955 and headed “Atom Talks—Battersea Call”, alludes to the efforts of four Labour members of the Battersea Borough Council to convene a conference on nuclear warfare. The belief of the councillors that Russell was “willing to address any conference that can be arranged” seems to have been wishful thinking on their part, for he gave no such indication when

writing to one of them on 28 September 1955. He did not even think “that a message from me to the people of Battersea was called for”, Ivor Pickford was told in this letter, “but you are of course entirely at liberty to state that I support your proposal”. Perhaps Pickford was the Battersea councillor who visited Russell around this time in order to complain about this London district’s highly fanciful plans for civil defence (see Russell 1969, 73).

When Russell *did* agree to address public meetings, the reported fragments of his speeches have not ordinarily been printed in this edition of Russell’s writings. This rule has been observed most strictly when the content is rendered in the third person. A few other minor items have been omitted from the present volume, even where their textual provenance is more transparent than for Russell’s spoken words. But fragments of both types have occasionally been incorporated into the editorial apparatus of a related text and then listed under “Russell” in the Bibliographical Index. For example, Russell’s blurbs for the books by John Wexley and Malcolm P. Sharp about the Rosenberg-Sobell case are quoted at A155:5–6 and **H36**, p. 180, respectively.

The coverage in *Peace News* of Russell’s political speech at Central Hall, Westminster, on 21 October 1955 (Russell 1955i; Tims 1955), *could have* provided the basis for Appendix VIII, but the co-signed letter to the foreign ministers was deemed to be a more pertinent text. Similarly, Appendix XIII comprises the manuscript of Russell’s notes for another speech at this venue, although *The Times*’s report of this meeting—which is quoted in full in the Headnote—might have been used instead. The same Headnote also mentions a dinner in Russell’s honour arranged by the Parliamentary Association for World Government. This function was held at the House of Commons on 18 February 1956, and Russell’s address to his hosts was reported thus by *The Times* two days later:

Lord Russell (Bertrand Russell) said in London on Saturday night that nothing stood in the way of a period of happiness and well-being for the world except “the ignorance, the stupidity, the mutual suspicion, and the folly that unfortunately have too much hold on almost all the Governments of the world”.

Speaking at a dinner at the House of Commons, given in his honour by the Parliamentary Association for World Government, he said that we were living in an extraordinarily peculiar time, “very different from any other since history began, because we are almost bound to go either to something extraordinarily bad or something extraordinarily good. There does not seem to be a middle course, and I hope and pray that mankind will choose the better course....”

If we were to avoid friction, big sacrifices would have to be made by the more fortunate people of the world. “You cannot expect those sunk in poverty to be acquiescent when they see the riches of other parts of the world. The richer nations will have to make up their minds on a really much more drastic effort to raise the level of the poorer nations.” (1956b)

The outlines which Russell either dictated or wrote for some of the texts in the present volume have also been quoted in full in the appropriate Headnote. There is also, however, a miscellany of short or fragmentary texts to which reference is made only in the Chronology and the descriptions which follow. For example, in addition to Paper **31a**,

Appendix XV and the blurbs that are quoted in **H32** and **H36**, Russell produced at least two others that *may* have appeared in print. On 21 June 1956 he told the American author Gregory Mason that he had read his novel *The Golden Archer* “with much amusement”. A few weeks later, on 29 August, Mason requested permission—which Russell granted—for this appraisal and another excerpt from the earlier letter to be quoted by him or his publisher. On 21 May 1957, the day after his meeting with Russell at 29 Millbank (see above, p. 440), Sibnarayan Ray solicited a brief commendation of *Explorations: Essays in Literary and Philosophical Criticism* (Ray 1956), a book which he had sent to Plas Penrhyn early in January. Three days later Russell supplied the author with a short statement of praise for representing “a point of view which I consider important in every part of the world, including India. Every part of the world is too much prone to rival fanaticisms which generate heat without light”.

Russell also supplied blurbs for two collections of his own essays published during the period covered by the present volume. Indeed, for *Why I Am Not a Christian*, he approached this task with such mischievous relish that, in addition to the text that appeared in the Allen and Unwin *Announcement List* for 1957–58, he provided two mock blurbs (one extravagantly gushing, the other written as if by a stern Catholic moralist) for the amusement of his British publisher (see *Papers* 11:564–5). Previously, on 6 February 1956, he had dictated a blurb for *Portraits from Memory*. He subsequently revised a typed copy into the form that is quoted below; this version was then expanded by Allen and Unwin and printed on the front flap of the dust-jacket to the first edition of this book.

This volume consists of essays most of which are personal either in the sense of autobiography or as character sketches of people known to the author. He has known many eminent men among his contemporaries, and has attempted in his portraits from memory to analyse the character and assess the contribution of some among them. The author also relates in what respects the impact of experience has modified his beliefs and in what respects they have remained unshaken. Although some of the essays have a more impersonal character, all share in the attempt to convey a point of view and a way of feeling both about world affairs and about more purely philosophical matters. The book ends with a plea for world peace and some suggestions as to possible methods of avoiding war. (RAI 210.006893)

Some casual asides spoken by Russell to the *Daily Express* diarist “William Hickey” were twice quoted in the latter’s society column. On 18 May 1956 Hickey telephoned Russell in order to congratulate him on the occasion of his eighty-fourth birthday.

“I consider my good constitution a gift from God. I follow no particular course for health. I always eat and drink exactly what I like.”

The total of his books to date? “I really don’t know”, replied Lord Russell. “I have quite lost count.”

How many birthday greetings did he receive? “I have lost count of them, too.” (Russell 1956e)

The previous year, on 6 October, the two men had met at a reception for Russell in the Savoy Hotel. Russell was being awarded the Silver Pears Cyclopaedia Trophy in

recognition of his work for world peace in 1955. His receipt of this prize is noted in the *Autobiography* (1969, 73). At the time, his acceptance speech—probably delivered extempore—was reported in the same “William Hickey” column that featured his pithy comments about Jane Austen and Tolstoy (“I think I know her } Austen { almost by heart... I prefer *War and Peace*. *Anna Karenina* is already something of a tract”—Russell 1955k), and at slightly greater length in this piece from *The Yorkshire Evening Post*.

Lord Russell (Bertrand Russell) said in London today he hoped that the few rather faltering steps which had recently been taken towards world peace “will go on and bear fruit, and we shall arrive at a state where the thought of a great war will become an unimaginable horror”.

He added: “Mankind cannot long continue to preserve any degree of sanity or balance unless it can find a way to diminish the nervous stress.

“The world has begun to go rather slowly and rather tentatively towards life as opposed to death.

“Perhaps people are beginning to think that their own salvation and survival is better worth pursuing than the unhappiness and the death of their enemies.

“If they do, it will be only because they know they cannot kill their enemies without killing themselves as well.” (1955j)

The following June Russell made another public appearance at a chic London establishment by attending the annual dinner of the Oxford University Voltaire Society at the Café Royale. According to *The Times Educational Supplement’s* coverage of the event, Russell held the “most important office of all” in this undergraduate organization, “that of Patron”. The journal’s report quotes these three short sentences spoken by Russell in reply to the toasts that were drunk to his philosophical works: “There are no questions of importance left for philosophers to answer... It {his pursuit of philosophy} was in the nature of wild oats... Faith is a mistake” (1956g).

On 18 February 1958 an Indian philosophy teacher called P.R.Damle forwarded to Russell the printed text of a radio talk which he had delivered two years previously. This talk had also been published around the same time (February 1956) in an unidentified Indian serial (Russell 1956a). Although it was headed “An Interview with Bertrand Russell”, it might be described more accurately as Damle’s personal record of his meeting with Russell in June 1955. All Russell’s contributions to their ninety-minute discussion of a variety of philosophical topics—reason, morals, fact and value, Indian and British philosophy—were reported in the third person, aside from a brief exegesis on the meaning of the term “experience”.

In July 1956 Russell revealed his strong disagreement with the direction taken by Oxford philosophy to *The Observer’s* “Pendennis” (Kenneth Harris), who then quoted these remarks (Russell 1956i) in his “Table Talk” column, along with some criticisms of the “ordinary language” school published recently by Russell in *The Hibbert Journal* (1956h). A few weeks later, under the subheading “Marriage Philosopher”, the *Evening Standard’s* diarist quoted two short statements by Russell (1956j)—on marriage and on his intended writing of the book which became *My Philosophical Development* (1959).

The volume features a number of short goodwill messages written by Russell for a variety of organizations and occasions. Some of these have appeared in print before (26,

29, 48, 60a, 60b), others seem only to have been read aloud at the gatherings to which they were sent (10a, 32d, 60c). The world renown commanded by Russell in the 1950s meant that he was often approached, from many different quarters, for such statements of encouragement or support. But not all these short messages have been included as papers. Some samples of these excluded items—none of them previously published—are examined briefly in the succeeding paragraphs.

On 14 September 1955, for example, Russell emphasized in a letter to the Women's College of Hyderabad and its publication, *Cosmos*, that "The collegeeducated rising generation in India has a great work to perform not only for India but for the world in preserving culture, humanity and good sense amid contending fanaticisms." The following month he supplied a short statement to the Association of Scientific Workers, which was planning a conference on the issues raised by the Russell-Einstein manifesto. The ASCW was a British organization of leftwing scientists, founded in 1918 as the National Union of Scientific Workers. Since 1946 it had been a national affiliate of the Communist-aligned World Federation of Scientific Workers. Russell's message exhorted "scientific workers, whatever their political convictions...{to} write in informing mankind of the dangers and in urging statesmen of all countries to find a way of leading the nations along the road of peaceful co-operation" (6 Oct. 1955). It was supposed to have been read to the conference delegates, although it is not clear whether the meeting ever actually took place.

On 21 June 1956 he dictated another message of goodwill to Indian students. On this occasion his words were directed to the Federation of Indian Students' Societies in Great Britain, Ireland and Europe; they received Russell's concise expression of "hope that your annual festival will be a great success and that those who take part will be able, in later years, to further those common causes in which we can all share". The general secretary of this body had indicated to Russell that his greetings would be printed in a "Festival Souvenir" (16 June 1956), but no record of this publication has been traced.

Having recently (in Paper 32a) voiced his qualms about the methods employed by the FBI in the Sobell case, Russell was only too willing to telegraph this message of encouragement for the launch at London's Caxton Hall on 18 July 1956 of a campaign to limit secret police powers: "Strongly support your proposals. Secret policy tyranny grave danger everywhere. Best wishes for successful meeting." This short statement was written by Russell on the verso of a letter dated 16 July from an organizer of the campaign, the dramatist and screenwriter Benn W. Levy.

Twice in 1956 Russell sent messages of congratulation to the American broadcast network NBC. The first of these letters, dictated on 3 April, was a testimonial for Lawrence Spivak, host of the television programme *Meet the Press*, on which Russell had appeared in October 1951 and which was now approaching its tenth anniversary. Later in 1956, on 20 November, the European director of NBC, Romney Wheeler, solicited from Russell "a few words of good wishes" for the network's thirtieth anniversary celebrations in Miami on 13 December. Russell complied with this request almost immediately, remarking also that he had "profited by its {NBC'S} excellent service when I lived in America during part of the Second World War..." (22 Nov. 1956).

In addition to the multiple-signatory greeting to Polish writers that Russell endorsed late in 1956 (1956n), he also dispatched three messages of goodwill to the Polish people above his own name only. It is not clear, however, whether any of these short statements ever appeared in print, either in English or in translation. On each occasion Russell

echoed the cautious optimism with which he had briefly assessed that country's political prospects in Paper 25 (see A130:26–7). The first message was sent on 22 December 1956 at the request of *Trybuna Ludu*, one of the Communist regime's official daily newspapers. "Events in Poland during recent months", Russell wrote, "have been such as to give encouragement and pleasure to lovers of freedom everywhere. My wishes for the Polish people are that the gains they have secured may prove permanent and perhaps even a basis for a still further movement in the same direction". Six days later he conveyed the same sentiments by telegram to an unidentified Polish youth organization. Seven months later, to coincide with Poland's national day (22 July 1957), Russell wrote that he was "happy to wish the Polish people a fortunate and prosperous future, and success in the preservation of independence". The text of this message is on a typescript circular sent to Russell by the British-Polish Friendship Society.

On 21 January 1957 Russell supplied Bernard Wall, the editor of *The Twentieth Century*, with a message for the eightieth anniversary issue of the journal (formerly *The Nineteenth Century* and *The Nineteenth Century and after*), to be published in March. Wall, however, had wanted an article-length submission—perhaps introducing a symposium entitled "What Is Wrong with the Twentieth Century?", or commenting on recent changes in philosophical debate—and so he decided not to use Russell's short statement. This recalled how, as a youthful reader of *The Nineteenth Century*, he had "read with avidity the controversy between Gladstone and Huxley about the Gadarene swine, from which it appeared that the truth of the Christian religion turns on the question whether the swine belonged to a Jew or a Gentile, as to which, in the total absence of evidence, everybody was free to have dogmatic opinions".

On the same day that Russell replied to Bernard Wall, he also dictated a message of goodwill to mark the impending achievement (on 6 March 1957) of Dominion status by Ghana. This former British colony was the first African nation to gain independent statehood. Russell wished it "all possible success as a pioneer on the road to African freedom". The following month he sent a message to an antinuclear rally organized by several branches of the Australian Labor Party and scheduled to take place in Melbourne on 14 March 1957, the anniversary of Einstein's birth. In reply to one of the organizers, P.D.Fraser, Russell hoped that the meeting "will be a great success and will awaken Australian public opinion" (27 Feb. 1957). In addition, he recounted the origins of the Russell-Einstein manifesto, since an article from the issue of *Tocsin* (the monthly publication of the Australian Labor Party's Victoria branch) which Fraser had enclosed with his letter of request had credited this initiative more to the late Nobel laureate than to Russell. Finally, on 6 September 1957, Russell dictated a short message of encouragement to the Edinburgh and District Peace Movement.

Besides those texts which have appeared already in *Collected Papers* 11, there are only five known Russell publications unaccounted for in the preceding descriptions. The first of these was a short tribute to George Boole, sent to the Royal Irish Academy as far back as 19 May 1954 (for a conference in Dublin celebrating the centenary of the Anglo-Irish mathematician's *Laws of Thought*) but not published for another eighteen months (Russell 1955*n*). The second appeared in German in the Zurich periodical *Du*, and applauded the philosophical academy that had been proposed by editor Walter Corti as a forum for inquiry that would remain free from the political pressures and prejudices of the Cold War.

I believe the planned academy can have an immeasurably useful function in our very complex modern world. What needs to be done is to make it clear to mankind that we of course hold different world views but also have common needs. If the latter were to be properly dealt with, the world might proceed from an age of futile fighting to a rapid collective realization of new fame, new glory and new joy. The academy could do much good, and Switzerland would be the most appropriate country for it because of its neutral stance. (1956k)

The statement appeared alongside nineteen other signed messages under the general heading “Stimmen der Bauleute” [Voices of the Founders]. The third item consists of a set of four one-word answers—“Non. Non. Non. Oui.” (Russell 1956l)—to this series of questions on “The Powers and Possibilities of Human Intelligence” posed by the French journal *L’Age Nouveau*:

1. Is human intelligence “one”; that is, something singular and indivisible?
2. Can a man of genius be as brilliant in one discipline as in another?
3. A famous intellectual who has established himself in one field of study (or a well-known writer who specializes in a particular literary form): would his intelligence be as productive in all areas where he would like to apply it?
4. Is it true that Henry Poincaré could have excelled if he had “applied his intelligence” to building bridges, for example?

The fourth of these minor texts is a short protest about Hungary that was published in German by *Die Kultur* (1956r) and is quoted in the Introduction (p. xxxvii). The last piece was published in Swedish in the Stockholm literary and political weekly *Idun*, in a special Christmas issue devoted to “Peace on Earth”. Russell had been asked for “some thoughts about peace” and to describe briefly the gift that he would most like to confer on mankind (from Béatrice Glase, 24 Oct. 1956). He had “nothing to say in general about peace beyond what I have already said, especially in the last two chapters of my *Portraits from Memory*”; but he would submit a short response to “the specific question that you ask” (29 Oct. 1956). This single-sentence statement appeared with nine others under the heading, “Vi måste leva tillsammans” [We Must Live together]. The English version, which he had dictated to Edith Russell on the same day as his letter of reply, reads thus: “I think the gift I should wish mankind to have is that of abstaining from opposite dogmatic opinions when there is no adequate reason for either view” (1956t). None of these short publications have been included as papers or appendixes in the present volume.

Finally, during the period covered by the present volume Russell composed what must be one of his most candid autobiographical writings—albeit a piece that was definitely not intended for publication. These “Private Memoirs” (26 Dec. 1955, RA2 221.149203) contain Russell’s deeply personal reflections about his relationships with his lovers Lady Ottoline Morrell and Lady Constance Malleon, and with his second and third wives, Dora and Peter. They are among the embargoed items in the Russell Archives, but non-archival copies of this important document have been referred to by the Russell biographers Ronald Clark (1975) and Ray Monk (1996 and 2000) and by the editor of his *Selected Letters*, Nicholas Griffin (Russell 2001).

# Annotation

## 1 Failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva

4:8–9 **Germany...as the West desires...as Russia would prefer** The German problem had been rendered still more intractable in May 1955 by the admission of West Germany into NATO and East Germany's signing of the Warsaw Pact. Although both superpowers were nominally committed to reunification, they had radically different conceptions of exactly what this should entail. These diametrically opposed viewpoints had been restated at the conference of heads of state in July 1955, although a joint communiqué issued from that Geneva summit had conveyed agreement in principle on the question of free all-German elections. At the conference of foreign ministers, however, Molotov backed away from this tentative pledge. The object of the West's demands for a vote, the Soviet foreign minister protested, "still seemed to be the re-militarization of Germany and the inclusion of all Germany in a military block directed against Russia and her friends" (Molotov 1955). The Soviets, mean-while, stood accused of unwillingness to countenance anything which might jeopardize Communist control of East Germany.

4:14 **British in Cyprus** In July 1954 Britain had proposed extending the limited self-rule which Cyprus had enjoyed since before the First World War while simultaneously augmenting its military presence there to offset the impending closure of its Suez Canal base (see Introduction, pp. xxxiii). But a powerful pan-Hellenist movement, led by the charismatic Archbishop Makarios, objected strenuously to British bases on the island and wanted full independence as a prelude to *enosis* (reunion) with Greece. The following April this campaign turned violent as the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters directed its terror and sabotage tactics at British nationals and interests in Cyprus. Trilateral talks between the British, Greek and Turkish foreign ministers were held in London late in August, but no settlement was reached. Turkey's patronage of a substantial (twenty-five percent) Turkish-Cypriot minority resolutely opposed to *enosis* further complicated the issue. In May 1956 Russell predicted (accurately) that Britain would ultimately be turned out of Cyprus, while also condemning the "absolutely futile" military build-up there (Appendix III, p. 370). The previous month he had joined the Cyprus Conciliation Committee, founded by Liberal and Labour peers who favoured independence hedged with guarantees for the Turkish-Cypriots.

4:15 **Americans in Formosa** The commitment of the United States to uphold Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese government-in-exile on Formosa (Taiwan) had been strengthened by a mutual defence treaty signed on 1 December 1954. This pledge had been made in response to Communist China's call for the "liberation" of Formosa and to the sporadic bombardment of Kuomintang installations on the Taiwanese island-group of Quemoy. The crisis deepened early in 1955 with a Communist aerial assault on the Kuomintang-held Tachen islands. On 24 January President Eisenhower obtained from Congress sweeping powers for the protection of Formosa and contiguous positions, and both he and Secretary of State Dulles publicly threatened the use of nuclear force against mainland China. In a short but emphatic expression of his anxiety about the hazardous situation in the Formosa Straits., Russell had called for the dispute to be mediated by Churchill and Nehru (1955a).

## 2 The Dilemma of the West

6:1 **two Geneva Conferences** See H1.

6:43–7:1 **ask the Russians...Germany...member of NATO** See A4:8–9.

7:5 **Russian superiority in man power** The exact size of the Soviet Union's armed forces was a matter of speculation; in March 1955 the Soviet delegate to the United Nations Disarmament Commission Subcommittee had repeatedly refused to disclose any statistics of military manpower. In a speech to the Supreme Soviet five years later, however, Khrushchev revealed that force levels had peaked at 5.7 million men in 1955. The clear advantage of the Soviet Union in this regard partly explains the West's determination to negotiate *balanced* reductions to the armed forces of the major powers. The Soviet Union, by contrast, tended to favour *proportional* cuts by one-third across the board, although a unilateral reduction of 1.2 million men was announced by Moscow in May 1956.

### 3 Science and Human Life

11:18 **At present there is a race for uranium** The extent of global uranium resources was still unclear in the mid-1950s. The purest forms—uraninite, pitchblende and coffinite—were being mined in the Northwest Territories and northern Ontario in Canada, in certain mountain regions of the United States and in the Congo River basin. The richest deposits accessible to the Soviet bloc were located in Czechoslovakia, although according to one 1955 estimate (see Björklund 1956, 142–8), some two hundred uranium mines were already operating inside the Soviet Union itself, mostly in southern Siberia.

12:23 **Norbert Wiener's book on Cybernetics** Wiener 1948. The American mathematician Norbert Wiener (1894–1964) was a child prodigy who completed a doctorate at Harvard at the age of eighteen then studied mathematical logic for a time under Russell at Cambridge. In 1919 he accepted a position at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he remained throughout a distinguished career in which he conducted highly innovative work on stochastic or random processes, the theory of Brownian motion and quantum mechanics. The subject he dubbed cybernetics drew on neurophysiology, mathematics and other disciplines to posit a basic analogy between mechanical systems and the working of the human brain. Popularized by the book to which Russell refers, cybernetics influenced control theory and information theory, and one of its foremost practical applications was the simplification of computational and decision-making processes previously done by humans.

13:31–2 **The liberal doctrine of nationality...liberals before 1848** See Russell 1934, Chap. 28.

13:32–3 **embodied in the Treaty of Versailles by President Wilson** The liberal nationalism of Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) perhaps found its most satisfactory expression in the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to French sovereignty. The American President also endeavoured, less successfully, to achieve a territorial settlement based on national self-determination through separate treaties brokered at the Paris Peace Conference with Austria (St. Germain) and Hungary (Trianon), granting *ex post facto* recognition to the “successor” states which had already emerged in eastern and southern Europe from the wreckage of the Habsburg Empire. Russell had no sympathy for the Wilsonian programme, having come to reject by 1917 “the assumption so widespread within the left that a distinction could be made between those nationalisms that were progressive and thus deserving of self-determination and those that were imperialistic and thus had to be restrained” (Greenspan 1996, 360).

14:8 **great conqueror...Alexander or Napoleon** In his short but spectacular reign as Macedonian King, Alexander (356–323 B.C., ruled from 336 B.C.) destroyed the powerful Persian Empire and extended Macedonian control over Asia Minor, Syria,

Egypt, Persia and even parts of the Punjab. Of Alexander personally, Russell had written: “No other fully historical hero has ever furnished such a perfect opportunity for the mythopoeic faculty” (1945, 221). Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) was viewed by Russell in much the same light, as exemplary of the influence that character and will alone could exert on history: “His ghost stalks through the age, the only force which is strong enough to stand up against industrialism and commerce, pouring scorn on pacifism and shop-keeping” (*ibid.*, 750).

14:32–5 **The new techniques...degree of wisdom.** This was a favourite notion of Russell’s, and one which he had explored more fully in a 1954 broadcast called “Knowledge and Wisdom” (58 in *Papers* 11).

16:3–5 **The Red Star...thermo-nuclear weapons.** Early in 1955 Russell had been sent some translations from the Soviet press by a Mr. Rennie, including at least one piece from the official newspaper of the Soviet Army, *Red Star*, which prompted him to respond thus: “If one can accept the extracts from *Red Star* at face value, they show gross ignorance of what hydrogen bombs can do. I can, however, imagine two reasons for simulating such ignorance: one, to persuade the Russian people to be willing to fight; and two, to persuade the West that the Soviet government knows less than it does about hydrogen bombs” (5 Feb. 1955). In 1948 the same publication had pilloried Russell for acting as “a warmonger in the scholar’s gown” (quoted in Moorehead 1992, 469).

16:9–10 **schemes for civil defence...equally misleading** In the United States, a Federal Civil Defence Administration had been created in 1953 and placed under the direction of the former Republican Governor of Nebraska, Val Peterson. Drawing on generous appropriations from Congress and thousands of local volunteers, the agency had already staged several elaborate “dispersal” exercises. In Britain, the Home and Scottish Offices would spend sixty-four million pounds on civil defence from 1952 to 1957. A special service was established, employing over 2,500 workers full-time and using 634,000 volunteers. In addition, both the Territorial Army and Royal Air Force reservists were being trained in preparation for post-attack relief and rescue work (see Noel Baker 1958, 169–71). In neither country, however, were civil defence experts at all sanguine about the efficacy of such contingency planning.

16:15 **have been glad** Russell had altered these words on the galley proofs from “should wish” but initially retained the word “should” in the revised reading. This was one of the “ambiguities” in the emended paragraph which Newman asked Russell either to explain or remove (25 Aug. 1955).

16:17–18 **many countries...Poles** Russell had originally written “all countries” instead of “many countries”, and “Russians, Chinese, Indians” instead of “Poles”. These revisions to the galley proofs (see Headnote) acknowledged the adhesion of Polish physicist Leopold Infeld to the Russell-Einstein manifesto as well as the fact that Russell “did not succeed in getting the signatures of the Russian {D.V.Skobeltzyn}, the Chinese {Li Szu-kuang} or the Indian {H.J. Bhabha}...” (to Newman, 1 Sept. 1955).

16:18 **have rejoiced to see** See A16:15 and T16:18.

16:39–41 **As Lord Adrian said...end the human race** Adrian 1954, from his inaugural address as president to the 116th annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, delivered on 1 September 1954. The Nobel Prize winning physiologist Edgar Douglas Adrian (1889–1977, 1st Baron Adrian, 1955) was a long-standing acquaintance of Russell’s. In addition to his leadership of the British Association, he was at that time also president of the Royal Society and Master of Trinity

College, Cambridge. Adrian had been among those Trinity Fellows who in 1919 urged Russell's reappointment to the college from which he had been unceremoniously dismissed three years previously on account of his anti-war politics. Despite his apprehension of the dangers posed by radioactive fallout, Adrian had been unwilling to sign the Rus-sell-Einstein manifesto. The absence of his signature from this famous appeal was recalled by Russell as his "most personal disappointment" with the enterprise (1969, 75).

17:4–5 **Kapitza...Rutherford's favourite pupil** The Russian physicist Pyotr Kapitza (1894–1984) had joined the famous Cavendish laboratory at Cambridge in 1921 and had quickly won the admiration of its director (and his mentor), Sir Ernest Rutherford (1871–1937, 1st Baron Rutherford of Nelson, 1931), the New Zealand-born pioneer of theoretical and experimental work on radioactivity (for which he had been awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1908) and atomic structure. Kapitza studied electromagnetism before moving on to research in low-temperature physics.

17:5–7 **Soviet Government refused...scientific skill at the disposal** Kapitza was not a political refugee from the Russian Revolution, and his relations with Soviet authorities were always more nuanced than implied here by Russell. The Bolsheviks had allowed him to study in England only after the revolutionary writer Maxim Gorky intervened on his behalf. Even as his career abroad advanced, Kapitza frequently returned to Russia and never ruled out the prospect of a permanent return. On one such visit home in 1934, he was denied an exit visa. For nearly a year after his enforced return to Russia, Kapitza refused to accept the directorship of a proposed Institute of Physical Problems. But he eventually did resume work he had been doing at Cambridge and gradually transformed this new facility into a prestigious research centre. Buoyed by his scientific reputation perhaps, Kapitza never became a Communist Party member and frequently criticized the conduct of Soviet science. In 1945 he was placed under house arrest for eight years and dismissed from the Institute, not regaining his position there until 1955. He was awarded a shared Nobel Prize for physics in 1978.

17:22–4 **Archimedes was respected...Syracuse against the Romans** A beneficiary of patronage from the royal court in Syracuse, Archimedes (c.287–212 B.C.), the Greek mathematician, physicist and inventor, experimented with a number of military devices which helped hold back the Roman invaders for some three years. When the city eventually fell, the Roman commander ordered that Archimedes be spared, but he was killed nevertheless. In an earlier broad-cast (1948a), Russell had used this historical example and the three which follow to support a slightly different point—namely, how military innovation has curbed obscurantism and the persecution of scientists.

17:24–5 **Leonardo obtained employment...skill in fortification** In 1483, the Florentine artist, scientist and thinker Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) began working for Ludovico Sforza (1451–1508), who had become the *de facto* Duke of Milan in 1480 after opposing his sister-in-law's regency for her infant son. Leonardo listed several of his military innovations in a letter of application to the court, including "very light bridges...which will resist both fire and sword"; "secure and covered wagons for the transport of guns into the enemy's lines"; and "ships which are both gun-proof and fire-proof" (Hart 1925, 44–5).

17:26–8 **Galileo similarly...trajectories of projectiles** After accepting a chair of mathematics at the University of Padua in 1592, Galileo Galilei (1547–1642) taught a private course on military architecture and devised an elevation gauge for artillery gunners. Cosimo II, de' Medici (1590–1621), Grand Duke of Tuscany after 1609, was

originally a pupil of Galileo's. In 1610 he persuaded Galileo to leave Padua and accept a position as philosopher and mathematician at his court.

17:28–9 **French Revolution...not guillotined...making new explosives.** In the 1790s much interest was shown in the use of chlorates and perchlorates (the salts of chloric or perchloric acid) as a base for explosives. The most eminent French scientist to be guillotined was the chemist Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier, who had conducted much of his pioneering experimental research into combustion as head of the *ancien régime* state's gunpowder commission. One of his assistants was E.I. du Pont, who shared Lavoisier's moderate liberal views and subsequently founded a powder-making enterprise in the United States after fleeing from revolutionary France in 1799.

17:38–9 **appallingly devastating plague** Russell makes the commonplace but still much-disputed linkage between the dramatic spread of syphilis throughout Europe and the first contact of Europeans with the "New World". In fact, both the geographical and temporal origins of the disease have been the subject of vigorous medical debate ever since this epidemic and the symptoms associated with it began to be documented in the last decade of the fifteenth century.

17:39 **James Watt** With a number of patents taken out from the 1760s to the 1780s, the Scottish engineer James Watt (1736–1819) significantly advanced steam-driven technologies. In particular, his application of steam power to rotary action was crucial to the later development of railway locomotion, although other inventors refined the high-pressure engines that were required as well. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1785.

17:39 **Dust Bowl** American farmers in midwestern and central states had been reluctant to curtail the intensive farming of fields converted from pasture to grain production during the First World War. This practice was assisted by the increased mechanization of agriculture, but only remained profitable for a few more years as the top soil became dangerously exposed by the drought conditions of the inter-war period. One New Deal project oversaw the construction of a "tree-belt" to minimize soil-damage caused by high winds, and the federal government intervened further by constructing large reservoirs in the Dakotas and Oklahoma.

## 4 Nuclear Weapons and World Peace

20:1–2 **The H-bomb...fission-fusion-fission bomb.** Russell had ascertained this from Joseph Rotblat's "interesting piece of...detective work about the Bikini bomb" (Russell 1955*d*). Using the partial disclosures made by the United States Atomic Energy Commission., together with the fallout studies of Japanese scientists, Rotblat had deduced that the hydrogen bomb tested by the Americans on this Pacific atoll on 1 March 1954 was "in reality a fission-fusionfission bomb"; the bulk of whose massive explosive power and radioactive fallout was derived not from a fusion reaction of the lithium-deuteride but from the fission of its outer casing of "ordinary uranium", i.e. U-238 (Rotblat 1955, 225). Britain's atomic energy officials had been furious at Rotblat's decision to publish his findings.

20:3 **uranium 235** Natural uranium is comprised of two isotopes—atoms of the same element but with slightly different physical properties—one with 235 neutrons and protons in each atom's nucleus and one with 238. At all but the most extreme temperatures, however, only the atomic nuclei of U-235 are fissionable enough to produce the chain reaction of disintegrating atoms needed to cause an explosion. U-235, therefore., must first be separated from uranium 238, an intricate process further complicated by the fact that 99.3% of the metal in its natural state is U-238.

20:4 **ordinary uranium** Although “ordinary uranium” (U-238) is non-fissile in its naturally occurring form, it is rendered not only fissile but also highly radioactive by absorbing neutrons released by the controlled fission of U-235 or, as in this example, the fusion of hydrogen isotopes at incredibly high temperatures. To the press conference at which the Russell-Einstein manifesto was launched, Russell had spelled out what the Bikini test had demonstrated—namely, that enormous destructive power could be added to hydrogen bombs at low cost by using the comparatively cheap and abundant stocks of U-238, “of which there are vast slag heaps discarded in producing uranium 235” (1955d).

20:38–9 **United Nations...rendered world-wide** Although many countries still lacked representation at the UN, sixteen of eighteen applications for membership were approved by the Security Council on the same day that Russell wrote this paper (14 December 1955). The applicants included five countries from the Communist bloc—Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Outer Mongolia—and thirteen from the opposite side of the Cold War divide—Austria, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Jordan, Libya, Ceylon, Laos, Cambodia, Nepal and Japan. This “package deal” on membership had almost collapsed in the Security Council after Nationalist China (i.e. Formosa) added South Korea and Vietnam to the list of aspiring member states. The Soviet Union vetoed this move, which led Nationalist China to oppose the admission of Outer Mongolia, and the Soviets to retaliate by obstructing all thirteen “free world” candidacies. Although a compromise was quickly hammered out, neither the Soviet veto of the Japanese application, nor the Chinese veto of Outer Mongolia’s, was lifted. The continued exclusion of Communist China—for Russell the most significant absentee state—had not even come up for review on this occasion.

20:39 **veto were abolished** The veto to which Russell alludes was built into Article 27 of the Charter, which stipulated that the concurrence of all five permanent members of the Security Council was required before action could be initiated on any “substantive” issue which came before it.

21:8–9 **relations of Israel to surrounding States** Although Israeli-Egyptian relations provided the most likely source of combustion in the Middle East, attention had shifted to Syria temporarily as Russell wrote this paper. On 12 December 1955 Israeli forces had inflicted a number of civilian and military casualties in an armed assault on the north-east shore of Lake Tiberias—possibly in response to Syria’s acceptance of a mutual defence pact with Egypt earlier in the year. Fresh impetus to the consideration of Middle East politics as a whole had come from Sir Anthony Eden’s offer of mediation in a speech at London’s Guildhall on 9 November. His proposals, based upon implementation in some form of the UN’S 1947 partition plan for Palestine, received a guarded welcome from Arab states but were curtly rebuffed in the Knesset by Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion on 15 November.

## 5 How to Avoid Nuclear Warfare

24:36–7 **Conference of Heads of State...of Foreign Ministers** See H1.

25:10 **the three questions just mentioned** See A4:8–9, A4:14, A4:15.

25:27 **relations of Israel to the surrounding Arab States** See A21 18–9.

25:43–26:2 **admission of Communist China...existence and influence** With Communist victory in the civil war assured by October 1949, the retreating Nationalists set up a rump Chinese state on the offshore island of Formosa (Taiwan) which continued to command recognition in the United Nations as the legitimate sovereign power for all China. Russell blamed the policy on the anti-Communist “China lobby” in the United States. He opposed it out of contempt for Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek and simply

because “A government should be recognized when, in fact, it has authority in the country concerned, and whether other governments like it or dislike it is totally irrelevant” (1951c; Feinberg and Kasrils 1983, 327).

26:3 **Japan which is still excluded** The exclusion of Japan from the United Nations, like that of Communist China, was intimately bound up with the politics of the Cold War. Japan had first requested entry in 1952, and its latest application (along with seventeen others) had been approved in principle by the General Assembly on 8 December—the day before Russell dictated Paper 5. When the matter was decided by the Security Council, however, Japan’s candidacy was vetoed by the Soviet Union (see A20:38–9). Japan was finally admitted to the United Nations in December 1956.

## 6 Prospects for the Next Half Century

29:31 **opium war** The first opium war (1839–42) was triggered by Chinese efforts to eradicate the opium trade controlled by British merchants at Canton. After stockpiles of the drug were seized by Cantonese authorities, the British Government responded to this interference with the property of its nationals by sending an expeditionary force to southern China. After being defeated militarily, China was forced by the Treaty of Nanking (1842) to cede Hong Kong to Britain and to open five other “treaty ports” to foreign trade. A second opium war (1856–60) was fought when China resisted Anglo-French pressure for an extension of these commercial concessions and for the accreditation of Western diplomatic representatives at Beijing.

29:32 **King Leopold’s regime in the Congo** The Congo Basin was designated a Belgian sphere of influence at the Berlin Conference of imperial powers in 1884, and for the next twenty years King Leopold II (1835–1909, ruled from 1865) oversaw the ruthless exploitation of its people and natural resources. A humanitarian campaign of international scope dramatically exposed the brutal treatment of native labour on the rubber plantations of the Congo Free State. Under intense moral and political pressure, the Belgian Government promised to eradicate the most flagrant abuses by transferring (in 1908) the disgraced Leopold’s essentially private fiefdom to formal colonial rule.

29:42–3 **population...one a second** See PEP 1955, xvi.

## 7 Prospects of Disarmament

33:1–3 **question of disarmament...no decisions** Disarmament talks conducted under UN auspices had been ritualistic occasions, with each side jockeying for propaganda points rather than adopting serious negotiating stands. This paltry record of achievement had been recounted by French negotiator Jules Moch (1955, Chaps. 12–15) in a book reviewed by Russell in March 1955 (51 in *Papers* 28). Two months later, however, the impasse was broken by the Soviet Union’s unexpected acceptance of recent Franco-British military manpower proposals, along with the Western insistence that these troop reductions be achieved *before* any measures of nuclear disarmament. The Soviet plan also addressed another Western concern by making provision for inspection controls at strategically sensitive ports, airfields and railway stations. Unsettled by this appearance of flexibility, the United States did not respond directly to the Soviet concessions but countered them (at the Geneva Conference of heads of state in July) with the so-called “open skies” plan. This called for each superpower to allow unfettered aerial reconnaissance over its military installations in order to minimize the risk of their being targeted by a surprise nuclear attack. The scheme promised still more rigorous inspection but no actual disarmament.

33:4 **on this occasion** As Russell wrote Paper 7, the UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee was about to reconvene in London. At the first meeting of this session (19 March 1956) the French and British delegation presented a revised version of a plan first tabled in June 1954. According to Britain's negotiator, this was "designed as a synthesis of all the realizable aspects of the former Western and Soviet proposals" (Nutting 1959, 22) and to deflect Soviet complaints that the Western approach involved too much inspection and not enough disarmament. No progress was made in the negotiations which followed, however. Discussion of the less ambitious schemes of conventional armament reductions put forward by the Soviets and Americans also foundered, and this latest round of talks wound down inconclusively on 4 May 1956.

33:11–12 **surprise attack in the style of Pearl Harbor** Both superpowers were anxious about the destruction or blunting of their retaliatory potential by a preemptive enemy strike, and they were refining early warning, dispersal and "counterforce" targeting plans to meet such a threat. Although the United States was aware that its forward bases in Europe were already exposed, the most deep-seated American fears were projected a few years ahead, in anticipation of the Soviet Union enhancing its long-range aviation and missile-delivery capabilities. To this end, in March 1954, the president of MIT, James R. Killian, had been commissioned by the National Security Council to evaluate the future vulnerability of the United States to a surprise attack. Neither the immediate nor long-term forecasts of the Killian Report were completely reassuring. As for the Soviet Union, its forces remained far less capable of delivering a preemptive nuclear strike than the United States, but at least Soviet strategic doctrine had been liberated from the old Stalinist shibboleth—a perverse response to the near disaster of 1941—that surprise was a mere transitory factor in modern warfare. By February 1955 a Red Army general could write with official approval that, in the nuclear age, "surprise is one of the decisive conditions for the attainment of success not only in battles and operations but also in the war as a whole" (quoted in Freedman 1989, 146).

33:43–34:1 **U.S., the U.K., and the U.S.S.R. are all planning further tests** On 22 February 1956 the United States gave notice of Operation "Redwing" at its Pacific proving grounds of Bikini and Eniwetok. Seventeen devices in all would be tested between 5 May and 21 July including (on 20 May) the first airdrop of a hydrogen bomb. Britain, meanwhile, was preparing to detonate two atomic bombs on the Monte Bello Islands off the coast of Western Australia in the "Mosaic" trials of 15 May 1956. The Soviet Union carried out two series of tests in March 1956, although these operations were conducted secretly and revealed to the West (by the United States) only after Russell had completed this paper.

34:4–5 **a serious nuclear explosion cannot be concealed** After Sir Anthony Eden's public denial "that all hydrogen and atomic explosions can be known" (United Kingdom 1955a, 196), Russell had complained to Eric Burhop that the Prime Minister was dishonestly "confounding {large-scale} nuclear tests with tests of tactical atomic weapons" (9 Dec. 1955). Russell does seem to have thought that less powerful test-explosions could be carried out surreptitiously. Burhop, however, corrected him on this point: "Contrary to what Eden stated, even an explosion of the 'Hiroshima' type of atomic bomb can be detected from afar" (30 Jan. 1956). Acoustic-listening, air-sampling and seismic techniques were already sophisticated enough by the mid-1950s to make low-yield atmospheric tests virtually impossible to disguise. But neither Russell nor Burhop seems yet to have considered the possibility of concealment by underground testing (the first such successful explosion, by the United States, did not occur until

September 1957). The limitations of seismology (a science very much in its infancy in the 1950s) partly explain the exclusion of underground testing from the Partial Test-Ban Treaty signed in 1963, although proponents of a comprehensive agreement argued that this technical problem could be minimized by a properly empowered international inspectorate.

**34:14 disarmament commission** A UN Disarmament Commission had been created in October 1950 from the merger of its Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments Commissions. The United States had wanted to counter Soviet claims that Western rearmament alone was responsible for international tension and to ensure that any talks focused on Soviet preponderance in conventional weapons as well as American nuclear superiority. Although Communist countries at first opposed this institutional change, they were represented on the twelve-power committee which reported in favour of the merger in November 1951. Owing to continuing deadlock over the sequence and scope of the proposed disarmament measures, however, in November 1953 the UN General Assembly recommended that substantive negotiating powers be delegated to a five-nation subcommittee representing Britain, France, the United States, Canada and the Soviet Union. This body was probably the “disarmament commission” that Russell had in mind.

## 8 Statement for Polish Radio

**36:17–18 test explosions...detected without inspection** See A34:4–5.

## 9 Nuclear Weapons

**39:9–10 experimental explosions cannot be concealed** See A34:4–5.

**39:10–11 difficult problem of inspection** This problem was essentially reducible to the insistence of the United States upon inspection before disarmament and of the Soviet Union upon disarmament before inspection. Russell had earlier lamented that the “Russians have a morbid fear of being inspected” (*1954d*), but Soviet proposals to the UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee in May 1955 (see A33:1–3) had revealed a new willingness to accede to at least some such supervision. Their suggested scheme of strategic control posts was dismissed by the United States as inadequate to the task of verifying the quantity and location of all fissile materials. Yet, the Americans’ counterproposal—Eisenhower’s “open skies” plan—represented the apotheosis of inspection without disarmament and had no chance of winning Soviet approval. Notwithstanding Russell’s optimism, “the difficult problem of inspection” could not be skirted by restricting its application to nuclear testing: the United States and Britain both disputed the Soviet contention (adhered to until June 1957) that a test-ban would be largely self-policing (see A34:4–5, A339:13–14).

## 10a Message for a Meeting at the Stoll Theatre

**44:4–5 atmosphere generated by the meeting of the Big Four at Geneva** Despite a lack of progress on any of the substantive issues raised at this gathering of American, Soviet, British and French heads of state from 18–23 July 1955, the meeting had spawned a mood of optimistic expectation that was shared by Russell and transformed by the Western press into the “spirit of Geneva” (see **H1**).

## 10b *British-Soviet Friendship*

No annotations.

## 10c Welcome to Bulganin and Khrushchev

No annotations.

## 10d Britain and Russia: What Now?

No annotations.

## 11 Faith without Illusion

51:13 **Hotspur** Sir Henry Percy, or Hotspur (1366–1403), was a powerful English nobleman at a time of internecine struggle for the royal succession between rival aristocratic factions. Hotspur was first an ally then an enemy of Henry IV, of the House of Lancaster, by whose forces he was eventually slain in battle near Shrewsbury.

51:22–3 **when the Jesuits brought Voltaire...combat anti-clericalism** François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694–1778) does not seem to have been invited to the Duc de Lorraine's court in Lunéville for quite the reason adduced in Russell's analogical reference to this episode in the life of the French Enlightenment philosopher. According to Voltaire's memoirs and several biographical accounts, the invitation was extended on advice to the Duc from his Jesuit chaplain, Menou. But this Jesuit was interested less in combatting anti-clericalism than in positioning Voltaire's companion and former lover, Madame de Châtelet, as a possible successor to the Duc's current mistress, and his rival at court, Madame de Boufflers. Menou's plan backfired, however, as Madame de Châtelet took a different lover and even befriended Madame de Boufflers. Moreover, Menou soon "realized what a fatal mistake he had made... The courtiers had all taken to philosophy, the King hung upon Voltaire's lips and his greatest treat was a reading of the *Pucelle* or of the even more dangerously insidious *Contes Philosophiques*" (Mitford 1957, 253). Voltaire remained a guest of the Duc (Stanislas, the deposed King of Poland and father-in-law to France's Louis XV) from January 1748 until September 1749. He left shortly after Madame de Châtelet died from complications following the birth of her child by the aristocratic guardsman the Marquis de Saint-Lambert.

51:24–5 **Twice in...most popular citizen.** Károlyi's prestige and popularity landed him the premier's office in the final days of Habsburg rule, and after the October Revolution of 1918 he became provisional President of the new Hungarian republic. On his triumphant return to Hungary after the Second World War, Károlyi was widely feted by politicians and public alike.

51:26 **Twice his property was confiscated.** Károlyi first suffered this fate in 1923 after being convicted *in absentia* of treason by the right-wing Horthy regime. His assets were again sequestered in 1949 after he resigned as Hungary's ambassador to France and, from Paris, publicly protested the arrest of László Rajk and other dissident Communists.

51:35–7 **He speaks...England and Churchill...peace.** Károlyi 1956, 295–7.

51:40–2 **He relates...Havana cigars** Károlyi 1956, 237.

52:10–11 **Fascist Government...overthrowing Bela Kun** After the fourmonth old Communist regime led by Hungarian-Jewish journalist Béla Kun (1886–1939) was ousted on 4 August 1919, monarchists gained control of the country and designated Admiral Miklós Horthy as regent the following March. The latter, however, blocked all attempts to hand the throne to its Habsburg claimant, Charles, and ruled Hungary as dictator for the next twenty-four years. Horthy's counter-revolutionary movement was widely supported in the West in 1919 and 1920, and Czechoslovakia and Rumania both provided military assistance to him.

52:16–17 **condemnation of Rajk...admired** Károlyi 1956, 327. László Rajk (1909–1949) was a Hungarian Communist leader who had fought in the Spanish Civil War and the anti-Nazi resistance during the Second World War. From August 1947 he served as interior minister, then foreign minister, in the first post-war administrations to include Communist representation. In 1949, however, he was executed after confessing to involvement in a treasonable conspiracy. In March 1956, shortly after Russell's review

appeared, the Hungarian Government declared that Rajk had been wrongfully tried and convicted.

52:17–18 **persecution of Cardinal Mindszenty...disapproved** Károlyi 1956, 348–9. The Catholic Primate of Hungary, Josef Mindszenty (1892–1975), had already been a political prisoner under Germany’s wartime occupation. He was arrested by Communist authorities in 1948 on an array of conspiracy, espionage and currency charges and was sentenced to penal servitude for life after pleading guilty, a confession which together with his penitent demeanour in court prompted much speculation (later confirmed) about the use of torture to extract it. Owing to the cardinal’s frail health, his sentence was commuted to house detention in July 1955. Mindszenty played a minor public role in the uprising of 1956 and then took refuge in the American legation, where he remained—a prisoner of Cold War antagonisms—until his exile in Rome was negotiated by the Vatican in 1971.

52:34–5 **“The Hungarians...an operetta.”** Károlyi 1956, 77.

52:35–6 **“There is nothing...a majority.”** Károlyi 1956, 147.

## 12 Why I Am Not a Communist

57:9 **doctrine of surplus value** Marx expounded the theory of *Mehrwert* at length in his *Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and, especially, in *Das Kapital* (1867–94). Its underlying premise, forcefully rejected by Russell, was that profit accrued to the capitalist from the difference between labour’s produce and its rewards, the latter of which necessarily gravitated always towards a bare subsistence level. Russell had an additional objection to those raised in this paper, namely that the doctrine was incompatible with a second fundamental of Marxian economics—the trend towards concentration of capital: “the theory of surplus value, besides being false, is unnecessary, nay even antagonistic, to his theory of the concentration of capital...” (1896, 14). As originally formulated in the 1890s, Russell’s refutation of Marx’s labour theory of value derived from the marginal utility school of economic thought, with which he had become well acquainted at Cambridge through such economists as Alfred Marshall and W.S.Jevons.

57:11–12 **surreptitiously...Malthus’s doctrin...repudiate** See Russell 1896, 26 and 1934, 201–2. In *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798, rev. 1803), the Anglican cleric Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834) had argued that population multiplied in a geometrical progression while the food supply increased only arithmetically. The looming subsistence crisis could be averted only by sexual restraint; such stimuli to population growth as artificially high wages were to be discouraged. Marx dismissed this pessimistic equation of poverty with demographic pressure as a convenient rationalization for capitalist restraint of wages, although his notion of a permanent “reserve-army” of workers had a similar premise. For Russell, Malthusianism was not flawed by any congruency with capitalist ideology, but by the law of increasing return.

57:12–14 **by applying Ricardo’s theory of value...articles** David Ricardo (1772–1823) set forth his theory that the value of a commodity was determined by the amount of labour expended on its production in *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation* (1817). According to Russell, Marx overlooked the qualifications attached by Ricardo to his theory and neglected fluctuations in demand as another possible determinant of value. He did concede, however, that “capitalistic production does enable the recipients of rent and interest to grow rich by idleness, and does, to this extent, mulct labour of a part of the produce” (1896, 28).

57:19–21 **Dialectical Materialism...mere mythology** See Russell 1896, 1–8 and the lengthier critique in his 1934, Chap. 18.

57:22 **like Tertullian** The early Christian theologian and moralist Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (c.160–c.230) was a convert whose writings were instrumental in establishing Latin as the language of ecclesiastical discourse in the West. They also abound with vitriolic and sectarian tirades against his religious opponents, although Tertullian too, alienated by the laxity of his fellow Christians, became a heretic himself around 210 and even established his own sect when his fellow Montanists proved insufficiently ascetic for his tastes.

57:22 **and Carlyle** Although Russell continued to admire Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) as a writer, after his adolescence he was gradually repelled by the Victorian author's politics and ethics (see also A86:8–9).

57:43–58:3 **He even went...priest Mendel.** In the late-1930s the Soviet biologist and agronomist Trofim Lysenko obtained public backing from Stalin for his theory of environmentally acquired characteristics. Lysenko's "Marxist" doctrine promised to enhance productivity in Soviet agriculture, whereas the accepted principles of heredity propounded first by Gregor Mendel (1822–1884) were condemned for resting on "bourgeois" foundations supported by research in the capitalist West. After Lysenko became president of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Science in 1938, and until his questionable theories were finally discredited in the mid-1960s, the study, teaching and practical application of orthodox genetics was effectively suppressed—the most dramatic example of "Stalinization" in Soviet science.

58:6–7 **My first hostile criticism...published in 1896.** The book, *German Social Democracy*, was based on a series of six lectures delivered at the London School of Economics and Political Science in February and March 1896.

58:32–3 **cobalt bombs** When Russell wrote this paper in April 1954, the American hydrogen bomb test at Bikini (see A312:7–9) had just triggered a wave of speculative and alarmist reporting about the massive radiation that would be released from fission reactions triggered by detonating a fusion device encased in a cobalt shell. One such piece (Laurence 1954) had been brought to Russell's attention on 13 April 1954 by the editor of an American Protestant clerics' publication for which he had been asked to submit a short statement (1954e).

### 13 My Recollections of George Trevelyan

61:3 **his two older brothers** Charles Philips Trevelyan (1870–1958), Liberal M.P. and Cabinet minister in the first two Labour Governments, was regarded by Russell and his Cambridge friends, as "the least able of the three..." (1967, 64). With Robert Calverley (Bob) Trevelyan (1872–1951), a minor poet and translator of Lucretius, Russell struck up a life-long friendship at Cambridge, where he met Charles and Bob for the first time after sitting Trinity's scholarship examination.

61:6–7 **Macaulay...a politician, a poet, and a historian** The political career of Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859, Baron Macaulay of Rothley, 1857) formally commenced with his election as a Whig M.P. in 1830; four years later he accepted an appointment to the new Supreme Council of India and proceeded to institute significant educational and legal reforms. He reentered Parliament in 1838, served as Secretary for War for the last two years of Lord Melbourne's Whig administration (1839–41) and briefly (1846–47) held the post of Paymaster-General under Lord John Russell until he lost his Edinburgh seat. Although reelected in 1852 and offered a Cabinet position, Macaulay's interest in politics had dwindled as he became absorbed by his monumental

*History of England*. Acclaimed less for his poetry than for his essays and oratory, Macaulay did, however, publish a considerable amount of verse including, most notably perhaps, his long poem “The Lays of Ancient Rome” (1842). Macaulay’s most successful historical work was his incomplete *History of England from the Accession of James II*, first published in five volumes between 1849 and 1861. Its appeal to the mid-Victorians was underscored by Macaulay’s historical imagination and literary creativity, but also, no doubt, by his uplifting and Whiggish view of the subject as “eminently the history of physical, of moral, and of intellectual improvement” (1864, 1:3).

61:7–8 **his great-nephews** In 1835 one of Macaulay’s sisters, Hannah, had married the Trevelyan brothers’ paternal grandfather, Charles Edward Trevelyan. Macaulay remained devoted to his sister and spent a great deal of time at the Trevelyan family estate in Wallington and at their London home.

61:12–13 **I could not...George Meredith’s poetry** Trevelyan had celebrated the verse of the Victorian novelist and poet George Meredith (1828–1909) in a critical study *The Poetry and Philosophy of George Meredith* (1906). Many years later he also compiled a *Selected Poetical Works* (1955). Although Russell disliked Meredith’s poetry, “What Shall I Read?” (*Papers* 1:347–65) records that he read nine different works by this author between June 1891 and February 1902. Meredith’s novels—full of witty social commentary, stylistic innovation and psychologically complex characters—exerted a significant aesthetic influence in the late-Victorian milieu in which Russell and his peers reached intellectual maturity.

61:13 **nor he mine...for the Elizabethan lyrics** In all likelihood Russell had elaborated on his appreciation of sixteenth-century English poetry in the paper “on Elizabethan Lyrics” which he mentioned in a letter dated 3 September 1894 to his fiancée, Alys Pearsall Smith. Unfortunately, however, this text is not among his surviving Cambridge essays.

61:25 **his book on Garibaldi and the Thousand** Trevelyan 1909.

61:26–7 **Garibaldi’s route from Marsala to Palermo** Trevelyan’s study (1909) of Garibaldi’s campaign in Sicily contains a fold-out map of the seventeen-day march which the historian and his companions (Russell, Charles Trevelyan and the brothers Geoffrey and Hilton Young) undertook in April 1908. Garibaldi’s 1,100-strong force landed virtually unopposed at the western Sicilian port of Marsala on 11 May 1860. In battle at Calatafimi four days later, these “Red Shirts” defeated a contingent of troops loyal to King Francis II of the Two Sicilies. Garibaldi then diverted some of Palermo’s Bourbon defenders by advancing circuitously towards this city, over which he had gained control by 30 May after three days of bitter street fighting.

61:33–6 **All the vivid...the march.** Trevelyan used the topographical knowledge that he had acquired first hand to question the assumptions of older authorities about the precise movements of Garibaldi’s men during their Sicilian campaign (see Trevelyan 1909, 344–6).

61:37 **Samuel Butler’s spiritual home, Calatafimi** The attachment of Samuel Butler (1835–1902) to this town derived from his obsessive quest to prove that Homer’s *Odyssey* had actually been written by a woman in King Alcinous’s court at Trapani, on the Sicilian coast about twenty miles west. The results of his quarrying both in the ancient texts and on the island itself were published in 1897 as *The Authoress of the Odyssey*.

61:37–8 **where Garibaldi had fought a battle** See A61:26–7.

61:41 **Segesta** The ruins of this ancient city lay two miles north-west of Calatafimi. Culturally Greek, Segesta became a dependency of Carthage in 409 B.C. and fell under Roman rule after the First Punic War (see A279:1).

62:16–18 **Piana dei Greci...surrounding population** Garibaldi's men bivouacked at this mountain village on 24 May 1860. The local farmers who joined the Garibaldini were descendants of Greek and Albanian refugees from the Islamic conquest of the Balkans. Settled in the fifteenth century by permission of Giovanni Borgia, Archbishop of Monreale, Piana dei Greci was the largest of the seven Sicilian villages founded by these Christian immigrant farmers. All of these settlements maintained a distinct religious and cultural identity well into the twentieth century.

62:24–5 **I wrote a very enthusiastic review** Russell 1907—an essay in which he exhibited both a detailed knowledge of the *Risorgimento* and a deep-seated and quintessentially Victorian admiration for its revolutionary heroes, Mazzini and Garibaldi.

62:29–40 **In the history...judgement.** Russell 1907; *Papers* 12:344. The Roman Republic and its (not quite so short-lived) Venetian counterpart were codas to the Italian revolutions of 1848, which had wrested concessions from all rulers in the disunited but Austrian-dominated peninsula. The Habsburgs themselves were almost ousted from the north-eastern provinces of Lombardy and Venetia, which they ruled directly. But after the retreating Austrians defeated an Italian force at Custoza led by Piedmont's King, Charles Albert, the more radical Italian patriots resolved to sever this royalist connection. They saw in their Roman Republic (proclaimed by elected assembly on 8 February 1849) a base from which to build a united Italy. But they succeeded principally in arousing the ire of Catholic Europe, and although Garibaldi's men held back a French expeditionary force for three months, the city fell on 3 July.

63:1–4 **the feelings...reverently indoctrinated** In soliciting a review of Trevelyan from “the grandson of the man who did so much for Italy” (*Papers* 12:341), the editor of *The Edinburgh Review* (Russell's cousin, Arthur D. Elliot) appealed directly to Russell's emotional identification with, and family connection to, the *Risorgimento*. After the Bourbon dynasty was toppled and Sicily and Naples voted for union with the north in October 1860, Lord John Russell, as Foreign Secretary, had informed the European powers that Britain looked favourably upon recent changes in the Italian peninsula. During Russell's childhood, the sitting room at Pembroke Lodge displayed a large statue which had been presented to his grandfather by the Italian Government as a token of the new nation's esteem. “Like all Liberals of his time”, Russell had written of Lord John, “he had a romantic love of Italy” (1956, 111)—a commonplace sentiment which sprang from several sources: sympathy for an oppressed nationality, veneration of Roman and Renaissance culture and an attraction to the anti-clerical bent of many Italian radicals.

63:11–12 **point of view...“Clio, a Muse”** Trevelyan 1913. Russell had praised this “truly admirable essay” in his otherwise lukewarm review of the collection in which it appeared (Russell 1913; *Papers* 12:407). Expanded and revised from a piece published ten years earlier, Trevelyan's essay asserted the value to nonspecialists of historical narrative that eschewed causal laws. It also mounted a semi-polemical attack on J.B. Bury, Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, who had urged in his inaugural lecture of January 1903 a more scientific approach to historical study. At Trevelyan's request, Russell too entered the fray with his essay “On History” (1904), which added to “the growing groundswell of English criticism of Bury's thesis” (*Papers* 12:74).

63:19–21 **he and Lytton Strachey...no means congenial** Russell's *Autobiography* mentions the "long drawn out battle" between his two fellow Apostles and recalls that "Strachey was on the whole victorious" (1967, 74). Trevelyan was appalled by the debunking style upon which the biographer and critic Giles Lytton Strachey (1880–1932) built his literary reputation. Russell did not wholly approve either but was greatly amused by the latter's most celebrated work of historical iconoclasm—*Eminent Victorians* (1918)—which he read in prison during 1918.

63:31 **he disagreed with his two older brothers** Charles was a member of the Union of Democratic Control and spoke in the Commons on Russell's behalf after restrictions on the latter's freedom of movement were imposed in September 1916. Bob also supported Russell's anti-war work, while George, although disqualified by poor eyesight from a combatant's role, raised and commanded a British Red Cross Ambulance unit on the Italian front.

63:32 **subsequent cooling in our friendship** Russell remembered meeting Trevelyan only once more before 1944 when the latter, as Master of Trinity, played a crucial role in obtaining for Russell a life Fellowship and five-year lectureship at the College.

## 14 Cranks

66:6 **Great Pyramid** The Great Pyramid of Giza, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, was built as a tomb for the Pharaoh Khufu (Cheops) of the Fourth Dynasty, c.2560 B.C.

66:21 **Osiris** The ancient Egyptian God of the underworld, Osiris, was the object of an elaborate cult, in which he was worshipped not only as ruler of the dead but also as a personification of the creative and restorative powers of nature.

66:31–2 **lost Ten Tribes** The Asher, Dan, Ephraim, Gad, Issachar, Manasseh, Naphtali, Reuben, Simeon and Zebulun tribes were all named after sons or grandsons of Jacob. In 930 B.C. these ten of the original twelve Hebrew tribes which had been led to the Promised Land by Joshua, an Ephraimite, established the kingdom of Israel in the north, while the two southern tribes—Benjamin and Judah—founded the kingdom of Judah. After the northern kingdom was conquered by Assyria in 721 B.C., its peoples were gradually absorbed by other cultures. But according to the legend which arose, the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel would eventually reappear.

67:2–3 **when I shared a flat in London with a friend** From February 1919 until his departure for China with Dora Black in June 1920, Russell did share a London flat—in Batter sea with Clifford Allen, his wartime colleague in the NoConscription Fellowship.

67:20 **Arthur Balfour, at that time Foreign Secretary** The Conservative and Unionist statesman and sometime philosopher, Arthur James Balfour (1848–1930, 1st Earl of Balfour, 1922), served as Foreign Secretary in Lloyd George's Coalition Government from 1916 to 1919. Russell believed (perhaps incorrectly) that in 1918 Balfour's intercession had been crucial in ensuring that his imprisonment for six months under the Defence of the Realm Act was served in the much less harsh confines of the British prison system's first division (see *Papers* 14:397).

67:37 **a skit on my philosophy** Jourdain 1918.

68:1 **"the statement that Julius Caesar is dead."** One of several examples to which Russell frequently returned in his work on logical complexes,, although it does not feature in Jourdain's *The Philosophy of Mr. B\*rt\*nd R\*s\*s\*ll*.

68:13 **"and I am sure that Arthur Balfour will be much interested."** Perhaps Russell is making a playful suggestion that the then Foreign Secretary would have taken as true the Russian stranger's belief that he was Julius Caesar. Balfour, who had been

trained in philosophy at Cambridge under Henry Sidgwick (one of Russell's teachers), had used the "Caesar's death" example to illustrate how such a proposition need not necessarily "mean the same thing in the mouths of all who use it" (1901, 362). As an analytic philosopher, Russell regarded logical propositions as independent of the minds that perceive them and would have scorned Balfour's contrary, Hegelian view. Indeed, while Balfour's philosophical writing was praised by many of his contemporaries, Russell regarded his efforts as amateurish. He made a critical appraisal of the first edition of *The Foundations of Belief* in an unpublished manuscript on free will written in June 1895 (37 in *Papers* 1) and twice (in 1914 and again in 1923) penned dismissive reviews of the Gifford Lectures delivered by Balfour at the University of Glasgow.

68:17–18 **obscure footnote...new edition...Foundations of Belief** No such note exists. The only revised edition of this philosophical work had been published in 1901.

## 15 Do Human Beings Survive Death?

70:3 **the Orphics** Great weight was placed upon the afterlife by the adherents of this ascetic religious cult which flourished in ancient Greece in the sixth century B.C. They believed in transmigration and also that the soul would ultimately be rewarded with eternal bliss or, if one did not lead a pure life in this world, punished by eternal or temporary torments. These mystical doctrines were derived from a body of sacred texts supposedly written by the mythological Thracian musician Orpheus, and they were incorporated into Greek philosophy by Pythagoras. Plato's dialogue with the Socratic philosopher Phaedo of Elis is his most considered exposition on the immortality of the soul.

70:4 **by the time of Christ...accepted by most Jews** See A239:35–6.

70:18–22 **For my part...the perception.** Hume 1888, 252. This rejection of the philosophical concept of "substance" had also been quoted by Russell ten years before, in the introduction to a collection of Hume's writings that was never published (31 in *Papers* 11).

70:25–6 **When I was young...atoms...indivisible and immortal** The observation of naturally occurring radioactivity by the French physicist A.H. Becquerel (see A93:24–5) had in 1896 raised doubts about the two thousand-year-old theory of the indivisibility of the atom. These doubts were further confirmed the following year when the British physicist J.J. Thomson isolated electron particles using cathode rays. The substantiality of matter was further undermined by the development of quantum mechanics. Russell had discussed these developments and the notion of the physical world as a series of events in *The Analysis of Matter* (1927).

## 16a The Importance of Shelley

75:25 **Blake calls "mind-forged manacles"** Blake 1794, 1955, 46. Like other poems from the cycle *Songs of Experience*, "London" was an impassioned protest by the English poet and artist William Blake (1757–1827) against the grip on modern civilization of a corrupt and soul-destroying rationalism.

75:35 **Golden Treasury volume of selections from Shelley** Shelley 1880, an edition that is not in Russell's library, although its holdings do include a three-volume edition of *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1885).

76:5–7 **Whitehead...used to praise Shelley...Prometheus Unbound** Russell's "friend and collaborator" (76:5) Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947) had drawn attention to Shelley's aptitude and enthusiasm for scientific ideas in his 1925 Lowell Lectures on "Science and the Modern World". Of the stanza containing the line from

*Prometheus Unbound* quoted by Russell, he had remarked that it “could only have been written by someone with a definite geometrical diagram before his inward eye...” (1926, 119).

76:10–13 **Worlds on worlds...borne away.** Shelley 1821; 1885, 2:391.

76:19–22 **I love waves...man’s misery.** Shelley 1821*b*; 1885, 3:95.

76:25–6 **“lone Chorasmian shore”...on the map** Shelley 1816; 1885, 1:259. Russell had quoted these words from “Alastor” once before, to convey the romantic movement’s fascination with the geographically “remote, Asiatic, or ancient” (1945, 679). As a young man he had probably been enamoured of Shelley’s romantic image of the nameless poet taking pause at this “wide and melancholy waste” because it “intensified a similar image in Russell’s mind. The image of human beings standing on a shore, facing emptiness, occurs frequently in Russell’s essays and letters” (Leithauser 1984, 38–9). If he *had* wished to locate “the lone Chorasmian shore” on a map, he would have looked at the historic Central Asian region of Chorasmia (Khorezm) in the area south of the Aral Sea that encompasses parts of modern Uzbekistan. An independent Chorasmian kingdom had been founded during the fourth century B.C. after two centuries of rule by satraps of the Persian Empire.

76:29–30 **“Like the ghost...time long past.”** Shelley 1819; 1885, 3:85.

76:32–77:3 **Unfathomable Sea!...Sea?** Shelley 1821*a*; 1885, 3:90.

77:4–18 **I shuddered...his sonnet...found it not.** Shelley 1818; 1885, 3:34, a poem which had inspired the nineteen-year-old Russell to compose the experimental sonnets that are in his “Locked Diary” (*Papers* 1:58–9).

77:24–5 **“The flower...dies”** Shelley 1821*c*; 1885, 3:97.

77:25–6 **Her rick’s “And this same flower...will be dying”** Herrick 1648. Robert Herrick (1591–1674) belonged to the circle of “Cavalier” poets led by Ben Jonson. Although Herrick had been out of favour critically for much of the time since his death, his reputation as a lyricist had revived in the nineteenth century. Ordained as an Anglican minister in 1623, Herrick produced much of his best work after he obtained a rural Church living in Devonshire from Charles I in 1629, although he was deprived of this source of income from 1647 to 1662 on account of his royalist sympathies. Much of Herrick’s verse was published in the collection entitled *Hesperides* (1648).

77:33–4 **“the banded anarchs fled”** Shelley 1821; 1885, 2:387.

77:36–78:2 **The world’s...a dissolving dream.** Shelley 1821; 1885, 2:415.

78:8 **When I went to Italy...Casa Magni** It seems more likely that Russell was recalling either his journey to Italy with his Aunt Maude Stanley in March 1894, or that with Alys in March 1895. Casa Magni was located near San Terenzo on the Gulf of Spezia.

## 16b The Romance of Revolt

78:27–8 **Tolstoy and Dostoevski, I did not read until some years later** “What Shall I Read?” contains seven entries for Tolstoy (1828–1910) between January 1892 and October 1899 (*Papers* 1:349–62 *passim*). Until he tired of Tolstoy’s asceticism, Russell greatly admired both his creative genius and his courage in defiance of Tsarist authority. Dostoyevsky (1821–1881) is mentioned nowhere in this partial record of books read between 1891 and 1902. By November 1894, however, Russell does seem to have read a German translation of *Crime and Punishment* (*ibid.*, 401), and its author was possibly one of the exponents of “modern psychological fiction” referred to the following year in an unpublished essay on the foundations of geometry (*ibid.*, 261).

78:36 **I read him in German** See the “Tourgenieff” entries in “What Shall I Read?”, especially the ten that are recorded for 1893 alone.

78:37 **Mrs. Garnett’s translation** Constance Garnett (1862–1946) did much to introduce the English-reading public to the classics of nineteenth-century Russian literature. In addition to translating the complete works of Turgenev between 1894 and 1899, she also produced the first English-language editions of Chekhov and Dostoyevsky. Extremely prolific, Garnett had over seventy volumes of translated texts in print by the late 1920s.

79:24–5 **Wordsworth...disillusioned...complete tranquillity.** Russell’s wording evokes the definition of poetry supplied by William Wordsworth (1770–1850) in the preface to the second edition of his *Lyrical Ballads*: “Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings: it takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity” (1800, 1:xxxiii). Wordsworth was an early enthusiast for the French Revolution and its republican ideals and remained so for some time after returning to England in December 1792 from a year in France. He flirted with the English Jacobin movement and wrote (but did not publish) a radical apologia for the French regicide in *A Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff* (1793). He became slowly disenchanted, however, with the erosion of liberty and the wars of conquest on which he believed the republic had wrongly embarked. This process culminated for Wordsworth in Napoleon’s coronation of himself as Emperor in 1804.

79:27–8 **Jones! As...side by side...** Wordsworth 1802.

79:30–1 **Bliss was it...very heaven.** Wordsworth 1915, 243.

79:34–5 **Tom Paine...judicious advice of Blake** The Anglo-American political theorist and radical leader Thomas Paine (1737–1809) had incurred the wrath of nervous British authorities for championing the French Revolution and agitating for democratic reform in Britain. Indeed, Paine’s writings had already caused him to be placed under indictment when he hurriedly sailed for France on 13 September 1792. On hearing that a warrant had been issued for his friend’s immediate arrest, William Blake (see A75:25) allegedly told Paine: “You must not go home, or you are a dead man!” (quoted in Keane 1995, 343).

79:37–8 **elected by Calais...frenzy of acclamation** With elections to the new National Convention looming in the summer of 1792, the outgoing Legislative Assembly decided to grant honorary French citizenship to a number of eminent foreigners who, like Paine, had distinguished themselves in the service of liberty. The enthusiasm with which Paine (who spoke no French) was greeted by the local citizenry after landing in Calais continued as he journeyed to Paris to take his seat in the Convention and was crowned on 19 September by the rapturous reception of his impromptu appearance at the closing session of the Legislative Assembly.

79:39 **hatred of Pitt, Washington, and Robespierre** After Paine’s flight into French exile, the Conservative administration of William Pitt the Younger (1759–1806) continued its prosecution of the allegedly seditious libels contained in the second part of *The Rights of Man* (1791). Convicted *in absentia* in December 1792, Paine then alienated radical French republicans such as Maximilien de Robespierre (1758–1794) by opposing the execution of Louis XVI. Arrested in December 1793, he narrowly escaped the guillotine during the Committee of Public Safety’s reign of terror and languished in prison for over ten months. Aggrieved that the first President of the United States had not done more to secure his release, Paine vented his anger in a *Letter to Washington* (1796)—a polemical attack on the latter’s political and military leadership. Although

Paine returned in 1802 to the country whose revolution he had earlier abetted, he suffered from social ostracism and political isolation in the prevailing anti-radical climate of the United States (see A168:15).

80:4–5 **Byron...disgusted with Napoleon...in praise of Washington** George Gordon, 6th Baron Byron (1788–1824) revered Napoleon and openly lamented his final defeat at Waterloo in 1815. But his admiration had been strained temporarily the previous year when the Emperor had opted for abdication and exile rather than an honourable death by his own hand (see Russell 1945, 750). The untitled homage to George Washington (1732–1799), written in 1814, concludes thus: “The Cincinnatus of the West,/Whom envy dared not hate,/Bequeath’d the name of Washington,/To make man blush there was but one!” (Quoted in Russell 1934, 391.)

80:7–10 **Richard Cobden...invested it in the Illinois Central Railroad** So convinced was Cobden (1809–1865) of the soundness of this investment that in 1857 he maximized his stake with borrowed money. His confidence was eventually vindicated, but a stock market panic in 1859, plus two bad grain harvests in the American Midwest, undermined the company temporarily and compelled shareholders to pay the “calls” on their stock. Fortunately for Britain’s distinguished apostle of free trade, his heavy losses were covered by former colleagues in the Anti-Corn Law League and by a discreetly-raised subscription.

80:10–11 **When my parents visited America...halo of romance.** Russell had been “astonished” to discover in editing *The Amberley Papers* (1937) the strength of his parents’ enthusiasm for the United States, where they conducted a four-month political pilgrimage in August 1867. But, he observed: “In the nineteenth century the English regarded America with the same mixture of admiration and hate that has been given to Russia since 1917. It was thought to be a strange, wild, revolutionary country; it was beloved by young radicals and hated by old conservatives. Young people who hoped to reform the world went to America to discover how to do so” (1944a; Feinberg and Kasrils 1973, 328).

80:12–13 **This survived...Walt Whitman, whose house...I visited** Not only was Whitman (1819–1892) highly esteemed by Russell, but the American poet was also a friend of Russell’s American wife and her family, the Pear sall Smiths. As Russell and Alys embarked upon a three-month tour of the United States in the autumn of 1896, “The first place we visited was Walt Whitman’s house in Camden, New Jersey; she had known him well, and I greatly admired him” (Russell 1944; *Papers* 11:11).

80:15–16 **Byron and Shelley, Greece...inspired the Muse** Both poets supported the Greek struggle for national freedom, which began in earnest with a series of revolts against Ottoman rule in 1821 and culminated eleven years later—after the great powers had intervened—in the inauguration of an independent kingdom. Shelley dedicated the verse drama *Hellas* (1821) to Alexander Mavrocordato, the exiled Greek Prince with whom Byron later tried to forge a united independence movement. Indeed, Byron is probably better known for his participation in the Greek revolt—prematurely ended by his death from fever at Missolonghi in 1824—than he is for the lines from the third canto of *Don Juan* (“The Isles of Greece”) that were inspired by “the most romantic cause of the age” (Russell 1934, 391).

80:17–18 **Browning and Swinburne...Italian patriotic exiles** Robert Browning (1812–1889) was a keen supporter of the *Risorgimento* for the fifteen years that he lived in Florence after 1846, although this fashionable liberal cause inspired far less overtly political verse from him than it did from his wife, Elizabeth Barrett Browning. An earlier

poetic tribute by Browning to “The Italian in England” (1845) had actually been translated by Mazzini (see A291:14) to provide solace and encouragement to his fellow exiles. Mazzini exerted a more direct influence on the English poet and critic Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837–1909), who had championed Italian freedom and unity since his adolescence. He had already (in 1857) written an “Ode to Mazzini” and was composing *A Song of Italy* when he met the revered Italian patriot in London in March 1867. At Mazzini’s exhortation to “Give us a series of ‘Lyrics for the Crusade’” (quoted in Lafourcade 1932, 149), Swinburne’s next collection, *Songs before Sunrise* (1871), was devoted to the theme of political liberty.

80:19–20 **Neapolitan regime...Gladstone from a Peelite into a Liberal** When the Conservative Party split in 1846, William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898) had sided with the free trade minority. The Peelites, led by Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850), succeeded in repealing the Corn Laws only with the parliamentary support of the opposition Whigs. During the 1850s Gladstone adopted a reform-minded approach to many issues of policy, domestic as well as foreign. In 1859 he was persuaded to join the Whig-Liberal Cabinet of Lord Palmerston, in part because of the opposition of the Prime Minister and his Foreign Secretary, Lord John Russell, to the reactionary Bourbon kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

80:22 **Cavour harnessed this enthusiasm to the House of Savoy** As Prime Minister of Piedmont-Sardinia after 1852, the liberal statesman Count Camillo di Cavour (1810–1861) succeeded in conjunction with Garibaldi’s celebrated “Red Shirts” in unifying Italy by diplomacy and force of arms under the aegis of the limited constitutional monarchy—“the {Royal} House of Savoy”—which Cavour served.

80:23 **result was profoundly disgusting to the man** Mazzini was a democrat and a republican who regarded unification as a moral undertaking to be achieved by popular will. He despised Piedmont-Sardinia, whose King Victor Emmanuel II had betrayed him to the Habsburgs in 1853 as Mazzini plotted an insurrection in Austrian-ruled Lombardy. Although he was convinced that Victor Emmanuel wished to enhance Piedmontese power rather than unify Italy, Mazzini nevertheless approved Garibaldi’s alliance with the Savoyard monarchy in 1860. But he bitterly resented the dispatch of Piedmontese troops to head off an attack by the “Red Shirts” on Rome, and even before the Italian kingdom was proclaimed in 1861 Mazzini had returned to exile in London.

80:34 **Decembrists** After the death of Alexander I in December 1825, a group of Russian army officers revolted against his successor, Nicholas I, in a bid to impose constitutional limitations on the Tsarist autocracy. Having absorbed liberal ideas from Western contacts made during and immediately after the Napoleonic Wars, the future “Decembrists” had formed a network of secret societies on returning to Russia. Their insurrection, however, was quickly and brutally suppressed. Five of the ringleaders were executed, and more than a hundred others were imprisoned or exiled.

81:1–2 **Nihilist, a word which Turgenev invented** The term had actually been used much earlier by the German philosopher Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819) in a critique of the transcendental idealism of Kant and Fichte which was published as an appendix to his *David Hume über den Glauben, oder, Idealismus and Realismus* (1787). Only with the aggressive rejection of authority and morality espoused by Turgenev’s fictional character some seventy-five years later, however, did the notion of nihilism gain any popular recognition. It acquired thereafter an imprecise association with the Russian revolutionary underground in particular and with clandestine and violent forms of political activity generally.

81:23–9 **There are no...will never penetrate.** Turgenev *1895*, 226.

81:30–1 **“You’re a capital fellow...for all that.”** Turgenev *1895*, 322.

81:41 **Edward Garnett’s** Edward Garnett (1868–1937) was distinguished in his own right as a critic of Russian literature but was probably better known within English literary culture as a promoter and mentor of the novelists Joseph Conrad and John Galsworthy.

82:1–2 **letter of Turgenev to a Russian lady** See Turgenev *1895*, xi; the “Russian lady” is not identified. The conservative Moscow journalist and publisher Mikhail N.Katkov (1818–1887) had serialized *Fathers and Children* in his journal the *Russian Herald*. Reportedly “appalled by the work”; Katkov may have tried to present the character of Bazarov in a more unfavourable light than Turgenev wished (Schapiro *1978*, 184). Their disagreement was not entirely literary, however, for Turgenev was coming to despise the reactionary politics of his principal publisher.

### 16c Revolt in the Abstract

82:19–20 **I first heard...Philip Wicksteed... work on economics.** See Wicksteed *1892*. Philip Henry Wicksteed (1844–1927) was a leading London Unitarian and a lecturer in economics for the University Extension movement. He left the ministry in 1897 owing to his increasingly unorthodox theology, but achieved distinction thereafter both as a medievalist and as an economist of the marginal utility school which had influenced the undergraduate Russell. Wicksteed’s political economy may also have been attractive to Russell because of the homage which it paid to Henry George’s thinking on the land question. The connection between Wicksteed and the Russell family has not been firmly established, but when Russell lived at Bagley Wood (1905–10) he and Wicksteed became neighbours, collaborated on the suffrage issue and shared a mutual friend in Gilbert Murray.

82:21 **Shaw’s laudatory writings** See Shaw *1891*, where the Norwegian dramatist is hailed “as a pioneer in stage progress no less than in morals...” (160).

82:22–3 **a hostile criticism in the Cambridge Review** Unidentified from a search of Vols. 11–16 of this journal, covering the years 1889–95.

82:23–4 **a periodical...Dons feeling comfortable** Subtitled *A Journal of University Life and Thought*, the *Cambridge Review* had been founded in 1879 as a medium for college news, light verse and belletristic essays. It soon transcended these genteel literary origins, however, providing a scholarly platform for some of Cambridge’s most innovative philosophers, critics and social and natural scientists (including Russell). The weekly journal did not shun political debate either: a huge controversy was provoked, for example, by its publication of an anti-war essay by Russell in February 1915 (**15** in *Papers* 13).

82:38 **Elizabeth Robins** The American-born actress, author and feminist Elizabeth Robins (1862–1952) was highly regarded both for her dramatic portrayals of Henrik Ibsen’s characters and for the repertory productions of his plays which she staged in London in the early 1890s. In 1898 she co-founded (with William Archer, Ibsen’s principal English-language translator) the New Century Theatre company, which was devoted to the non-commercial performance of Ibsen’s work. She later became active in the Edwardian suffrage movement and dramatized this struggle in her play *Votes for Women* (1907).

82:38–83:5 **Edmund Gosse wrote...“Of Miss Robins’...buoyancy.”** See Gosse *1893*, vii—a short bibliographical note added to a new edition of his and William Archer’s translation of *The Master Builder*. Together with Archer and Robins (see

A82:38), the literary biographer and critic Sir Edmund Gosse (1849–1928) was largely responsible for introducing English readers and audiences to the Norwegian dramatist’s work. Russell may have seen Robins as Hilda Wangel during the fortnightly run of matinées that followed the play’s London opening at the Trafalgar Square Theatre on 20 February 1893. Her production of *The Master Builder* was also staged at the Vaudeville Theatre for several weeks of evening performances beginning on 6 March., and later the same year Robins reprised the role of Hilda at the (London) Opera Comique.

83:23–4 **rebellion against the subjection of women** Before encountering Ibsen or Whitman, Russell had been influenced in this direction by the examples of his parents and of his secular godfather, John Stuart Mill, all of whom were vigorous supporters of female suffrage, married women’s property rights and gender equality in higher education and the professions.

83:24–5 **Whitman’s praise of “the brawny...I love”** Russell has conflated these two lines from the poem “Unfolded out of the Folds” in Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass*: “Unfolded out of the strong and arrogant woman I love, only thence can appear the strong and arrogant man I love,/Unfolded by brawny embraces from the well-muscled woman I love, only thence come the brawny embraces of the man” (Whitman, 1882, 302–3). This book was among those from which Russell and Alys Pearsall Smith had read aloud to each other in the early 1890s. Conforming to Victorian standards of decorum, the courting couple expurgated one of the more sexually suggestive sequences from their copy (see Leithauser 1975). Some time after meeting Russell for the first time in many years, Alys inscribed the book thus (although she seems not to have presented it to her ex-husband as a gift): “For Bertie from Alys 1894–1950. From a former Arch-Prig to the other former Arch-Prig!”.

84:17 **Rebecca West** The main female character of *Rosmersholm*, which Russell read in August 1893 (“What Shall I Read?”, *Papers* 1:352).

84:30–1 **The outcome must inevitably be a régime of Nazi despotism** See Russell’s 1944 essay “The Thinkers behind Germany’s Sins” (45 in *Papers* 11) for an assessment of the elitist “superman” ethic of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) as a philosophical harbinger of twentieth-century totalitarianism.

85:9–10 **what Baudelaire calls the nostalgia of the slime** The attribution here should have been to the French dramatist Émile Augier (1820–1889), one of whose characters uses the expression “nostalgic de la boue” in *Le Manage d’Olympe* (1855). Prior to this, however, the poet, critic and translator (of Edgar Allan Poe) Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) had reflected on the yearning for degradation (“le goût de l’horrible”) in his “Choix de maximes consolantes sur l’amour” (1846): “For certain more curious and world-weary minds, the delight of ugliness results from a feeling more mysterious still, which is the thirst for the unknown and the taste for the horrible” (Baudelaire 1975, 1:548–9). More generally, Baudelaire’s renowned collection of poems *Les Fleurs du mal* (1857) exhibited such a fascination with the grotesque and the debased that author, printer and publisher were all prosecuted for obscenity. Russell may also have been familiar with D.H.Lawrence’s description of Lady Chatterley as “one of those half-insane, perverted women who must run after depravity, the *nostalgic de la boue*” (Lawrence 1960, 311).

## 16d Disgust and Its Antidote

86:5–6 **“twenty-seven millions, mostly fools”** Carlyle 1850, 199.

86:6–7 **“Fancy that thou...to be only shot!”** Carlyle 1887, 184.

86:8–9 **But I came to feel...peevish rather than tragic.** While Russell continued to respect Carlyle as a prose stylist, he developed a profound aversion to the political

implications of his thinking, especially his “belief in the importance of will rather than knowledge, faith rather than reason, and duty rather than happiness; worship of the State and admiration of vigorous despotism; emphasis on race and on heroic individuals; dislike of industrialism disguised as pity for the industrial proletariat” (1934, 415).

86:13–14 **When we are born...stage of fools.** *King Lear*, IV.vi.180–7.

86:16–17 **As flies...their sport.** *King Lear*, IV.i.36–7.

86:21–4 **“Ha! here’s...Come; unbutton here.”** *King Lear*, III.iv.102–7.

86:26–34 **Blow, winds...ingrateful man!** *King Lear*, III.ii.1–9.

87:3–4 **Through tattered clothes...hide all.** *King Lear*, IV.vi. 163–4.

87:6–10 **Thou hast seen...a dog’s obey’d in office.** *King Lear*, IV.vi.152–8. The exchange is with Gloucester.

87:13–15 **Get thee...thou dost not.** *King Lear*, IV.vi.168–70.

87:27–8 **The Tale of a Tub...theological controversies with a flippancy** Swift 1704.

In this story of three brothers—a blatantly Anglican parable of the history of Christianity—Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) indulged in much pointed satire of Catholic superstition and Puritan fanaticism, unfavourably comparing the doctrines and practices of these creeds with the supposedly enlightened moderation of the established Church, which the author, an ordained priest, later served as Dean of St. Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin (1713–45).

87:34–5 **anticipated...by Francis Godwin** *The Man in the Moone* (1638), a posthumously published work by Francis Godwin (1562–1633), historian and Bishop of Hereford, is the first literary treatment of space travel in the English language. Godwin used the story of Domingo Gonsales—who makes his epic journey in a ship pulled by large birds—to convey his agreement with the new cosmology of Copernicus and Kepler.

87:35 **and Cyrano de Bergerac** The freethinking French soldier and author Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac (1619–1655) produced fantastic accounts of journeys to the moon—*L’autre Monde; ou, les estats et empires de la lune* (1657)—and to the sun—*Les Estats et empires du soleil* (1662). Although credited with anticipating such future scientific developments as photography and rocket technology, Cyrano was very much the contemporary satirist and especially vocal in his criticism of the Church.

87:35–6 **first to represent a scientific community** For Swift, contemporary science was either too divorced from reality or too easily destructive of traditional ways of life. After being transported to Laputa (see A95:39), Gulliver visited the island of Balnirbabi, which was controlled by the Laputan King. Here, a Grand Academy was engaged in an endless round of mainly futile scientific experiments. Despite the extravagant promises of the scientists, even those few innovations with a practical use had not benefitted the inhabitants of Balnirbabi but had, rather, created widespread misery. The only truly successful application of science was by the Laputans, who had adapted their floating island-fortress into a weapon for the suppression of periodic outbreaks of rebellion on Balnirbabi.

87:36–7 **familiarized for our generation by Huxley’s *Brave New World*** Huxley 1932. A similar effect had been intended by Russell in the third part of *The Scientific Outlook* (1931), which is full of speculation about the future abuses of modern science. Indeed, Russell briefly thought that its influence on the fictional dystopia created by Aldous Huxley (1894–1963) warranted legal action against the English author for plagiarism (see *Papers* 10: xxii). Huxley, a conscientious objector, had become acquainted with Russell at the Morrells’ Garsington Manor during the First World War

and, in *Crome Yellow* (1921), had produced an unflattering portrait of him thinly disguised as the witty but cynical Mr. Scogan.

88:40–1 **Avenge, O Lord...mountains cold.** Milton 1655; 1801, 4:102.

89:1–2 **in his capacity of Foreign Secretary** John Milton (1608–1674) de-voted much of his literary energies during the English Civil War to political pamphleteering in support of Cromwell and Parliament against Charles I. His strong identification with the Commonwealth was recognized in 1649 by his appointment to the Council of State as Secretary for Foreign Tongues—a role in which for the next five years he oversaw the translation of French and Latin dispatches from foreign governments.

89:4–7 **I admired the *Areopagitica*...“As good almost...reason itself.”** Milton 1907, 13. This impassioned history and critique of state censorship, first published in 1644, was Milton’s response to a Presbyterian proposal to the Long Parliament for the licensing of printers.

89:10–12 **“Where there is...in the making.”** Milton 1907, 60–1.

89:15–16 **to cure Milton of opposing censorship they made him a Censor** In 1650 Milton was appointed censor and supervisory editor of *Mercurius Politicus*, the official organ of the Cromwell regime. He produced much pro-Commonwealth writing for the newspaper and exerted considerable influence over its policy until his association with it ended in 1652.

89:23–6 **Methinks I see...the full mid-day beams.** Milton 1907, 64.

## 16e An Education in History

90:1 **the case of the seven bishops prosecuted by James II** On 18 May 1688 the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Bristol, Chichester, Ely, Peterborough and St. Asaph submitted a petition of protest against the Declaration of Indulgence which the Privy Council had ordered to be read from every Church of England pulpit. By this royal proclamation, freedom of worship was affirmed and the civil disabilities of non-Anglicans were suspended—thereby allowing the appointment of Roman Catholics to offices of state. Outraged by the bishops’ defiance, the Catholic convert King James II (1633–1701, ruled 1685–88) had them arrested and charged with seditious libel. In a verdict that was greeted with widespread popular acclaim, however, the bishops were acquitted by jury on 30 June 1688.

90:4 **Wars of the Roses** This protracted dynastic struggle was waged by (and within) the rival noble houses of Lancaster and York, both of which, in fact, asserted their rights to the throne by direct descent from Edward III. Thirty years of civil strife were effectively ended by the Lancastrian Henry Tudor’s defeat of Yorkist King Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485.

90:9–10 **I was told to deplore the British Empire** Russell’s youthful thinking on such questions was shaped largely by his paternal grandmother, Frances, Countess Russell, who was “passionately opposed to imperialism...” (Russell 1944; *Papers* 11:7).

90:10 **Afghan** In the 1870s Afghanistan became a focus of British strategic concern at Russian expansion in Central Asia. Although its Emir tried to maintain a position of neutrality, Britain insisted on the establishment of a military mission and invaded the country in 1878 to dictate a peace by which Afghanistan relinquished control over its defence and foreign policies. When the new British minister in Kabul and his staff were murdered in 1879, a second expedition was launched from India and, following some bloody reprisals and a battle at Kandahar in September 1880, Afghanistan’s geopolitical status as a buffer between the Tsarist Empire and British India was tentatively secured.

90:10 **and Zulu wars** The 1879 Zulu War originated in Britain's desire to protect Boer settlements in the Transvaal (annexed to the Crown in 1877) from Zulu attack and, ultimately, to incorporate Zululand into a federated South Africa. The British Army's superiority in fire-power eventually proved decisive, but not before Zulu warriors under King Cetshwayo had achieved a dramatic victory at Isandhlwana. Zululand became a British protectorate in 1887 and was merged into Natal province a decade later.

90:12–13 **From the time of Henry VIII...history of my family.** As a royal courtier and diplomatic emissary of the Crown, the 1st Earl of Bedford, John Russell (c.1486–1555), was Russell's first politically significant ancestor. He belonged to a powerful new elite that was created by Henry VIII (1491–1547, ruled from 1509) and enriched by property expropriated from the monasteries and from the Catholic aristocracy.

90:14–15 **My ancestor whose head was cut off by Charles II** As a leader of the "Protestant" party in Parliament under Charles II (1630–1685, ruled from 1660), Lord William Russell (1639–1683), a younger son of the 5th Earl and 1st Duke of Bedford, challenged the incipient absolutism of the King and the right of succession of his Catholic brother, the future James II. Lord William became a martyr to these Whiggish causes after being implicated in the Rye House Plot, a possibly spurious conspiracy to assassinate both monarch and heir.

90:15 **whose life my grandfather had written** Russell 1820.

90:17–20 **My grandfather...Parliament since 1813...personal and lively** Lord John Russell (1792–1878) entered the House of Commons in 1813 as a Whig member for the Duke of Bedford's "pocket borough" of Tavistock. He represented another five constituencies before his elevation to the peerage as Earl Russell in 1861, having sat continuously as an M.P. except for a four-year hiatus between 1855 and 1859. Architect of the Great Reform Act (1832) and twice Queen Victoria's Prime Minister, Lord John was described by the Liberal statesman Sir William Harcourt as the "last doge of Whiggism" (quoted in Monk 1996, 5).

90:34–5 **Sugden on *The Law of Property*** Sugden 1858. Edward Burtenshaw Sugden (1781–1875) was a barrister, jurist and Conservative M.P. whose legal and political career culminated in a nine-month term as Lord Chancellor after being made Baron St. Leonards when the Earl of Derby's short-lived minority administration took office in March 1852.

90:35 **Coxe's *Pelham Administration*** Coxe 1829. William Coxe (1747–1828) was an Anglican curate who became archdeacon of Wiltshire in 1804. After publishing several accounts of his European travels in the 1780s, Coxe began producing a somewhat uncritical series of biographies of Whig statesmen such as Henry Pelham (1696–1754), who served under Sir Robert Walpole (another of Coxe's subjects) before leading the Whig ministry which held office from 1743 until 1754. Foremost among the achievements of the "Pelham administration" were its negotiation of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) to end the War of the Austrian Succession, and a rescheduling of the national debt.

90:36 ***The Scottish Nation*** Anderson 1863, a genealogical guide to Scottish family history, which is still cited as a standard work of reference. It was compiled by the Edinburgh-born poet, journalist and anthologist William Anderson (1805–1866).

90:36–7 ***The Dispatches...Wellington, K.G.*** Wellington 1834–39, a monumental work which reinforced the Duke's burgeoning reputation as a national hero. The fourteen volumes were edited by Lieutenant-Colonel John Gurwood (1790–1845), an officer who had served under Wellington during the Peninsular campaigns and later became his

private secretary. A supplementary edition of dispatches, compiled by Wellington's son, appeared in fifteen volumes between 1858 and 1872.

90:38 **Mohan Lal's *Life of Dost Mohammad Khan*** Mohan Lal 1846. A native of Kashmir, Mohan Lal (1812–1877) was attached to the British military during the first Afghan war (1839–42) and collected useful intelligence during its occupation of Kabul. Britain wanted to replace the subject of Lal's biography, the Emir Dost Mohammed (1793–1863), with a pliable Afghan ruler solicitous of their strategic concern for the security of northern India from Russian attack. Dost Mohammed was eventually forced into Indian exile, but in 1841 the simmering anti-British sentiment in Kabul exploded into a violent uprising. This compelled the British expeditionary force to make a humiliating retreat, which turned into a rout as the soldiers were gradually picked off by the Afghan warriors in pursuit. Subsequently, however, the deposed Emir reached agreement with the British, and after reprisals were exacted in Kabul he was returned to his throne.

90:40–2 ***The Annals of Ireland...Four Masters...that cataclysm*** The first volume of these annals, written in Gaelic between 1632 and 1636, opens with an account of the flood. The principal chronicler was Michael O'Clery (1575–1643), a Franciscan monk and scholar who also wrote lives of the Irish saints. He was assisted by his kinsmen Conary and Cudogry O'Clery and by Ferfeasa O'Mulconry, Maurice O'Mulconry and Cucogry O'Duigenan. The sources are unclear as to which three of Michael O'Clery's collaborators joined him as one of the "Four Masters".

90:42 ***Irish Pedigrees*** O'Hart 1876–78, one of the best known works of genealogical reference for Ireland, researched and written by John O'Hart (1824–1902), an educational official, amateur historian and staunch Irish nationalist.

91:1 **Robert Bruce** Robert the Bruce (1274–1329) is celebrated in Scottish history for his army's resounding defeat of English forces led by Edward II at Bannockburn in June 1314. Although he had been the nominal King of Scotland since 1306, his hold on the throne remained insecure until it was recognized by England in the Treaty of Northampton signed in the year before Robert's death.

91:1–2 **my own genealogy up to Robert Bruce was known** A genealogical study commissioned by Russell's great-grandfather, the 6th Duke of Bedford, had arrived at the somewhat fanciful conclusion that the family was descended from a Norman baron whose son Hugh Bertrand (after whom Russell was named) had crossed to England with William the Conqueror. A subsequent and more scrupulous inquiry, however, traced the Russell lineage back no further than to a family of fourteenth century wine and wool merchants from Dorset (see Monk 1996, 4).

91:8 **Buckle's *History of Civilization*** Buckle 1857–61. Dissatisfied with traditional political and military history, Henry Thomas Buckle (1821–1862) asserted that various causal laws—such as the law of climate—could explain a nation's historical development more scientifically. The two published volumes of his *History of Civilization in England* were part of an unfinished larger project which even in this incomplete form achieved considerable influence in the later Victorian era. Buckle's impact on the adolescent Russell can be discerned from his exposition of "How Far Does a Country's Prosperity Depend on Natural Resources"—one of several surviving essays written while attending a London "crammer" school in preparation for his Trinity College entrance examination in December 1889 (2 in *Papers* 1).

91:12 **sixteenth-century edition of Guicciardini** Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540) was an historian and statesman who, as a political servant of the papacy, actually participated in many events described in his "Machiavellian" opus, a contemporary

history covering the period of the Italian wars (1492–1534). Lord John Russell’s library probably held an early edition of *La Storia d’Italia*, a landmark work of Italian historiography in particular and of Renaissance literature in general.

91:12–13 **I read large parts of the works of Machiavelli** It seems likely that this reading included *The Prince*, the best-known work by the Italian statesman and political philosopher Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527). This cannot be asserted with complete authority, however, since neither does Russell’s library contain anything by Machiavelli, nor is he mentioned in “What Shall I Read?”.

91:15–16 **Draper’s Intellectual Development of Europe** Draper 1863. John William Draper (1811–1882) was an English-born American scientist who in 1841 became a Professor of Chemistry at New York University and a founder of its medical school. He conducted pioneering photographic experiments in the late 1830s and published textbooks on physiology and chemistry as well. But Draper is also known as the author of two works outside these areas of scientific expertise. Russell was probably attracted to the *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* because of its attempted application of methods from the physical sciences to historical study. He may also have been favourably disposed to Draper’s anti-clerical *bias*, which was even more evident in his subsequent *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (1874).

91:17 **Dean Milman’s History of Christianity** Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868) was a clergyman., poet and historian who served the Church of England as Dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral after 1849. Russell is referring either to Milman’s three-volume *History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire* (1840), or to the six-volume *History of Latin Christianity* (1854–55). “What Shall I Read?” records that Russell reread one of these works in October 1892 (*Papers* 1:350).

91:19 **Gibbon, whose many volumes...re-read while still adolescent** Even after his adolescence Russell frequently returned to *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Between June 1891 and June 1897 he slowly but systematically worked through the later volumes of this epic narrative by the English historian Edward Gibbon (1737–1794).

91:23–4 **“the polished tyrants of Africa”...people these were** The prepublication versions of this paper contain Russell’s incorrect answer to his adolescent question (see T91:24). Gibbon’s “polished tyrants” were not the Germanic tribesmen who invaded Rome’s North African provinces in 429, but the Romans themselves: “the Moors...embraced the alliance of the enemies of Rome...to satiate their revenge on the polished tyrants, who had injuriously expelled them from the native sovereignty of the land” (1776–88, 3:337–8).

91:25–7 **his account of oecumenical councils...Constantine...Justinian** Gibbon 1776–88, especially 4: Chap. 47. Much of the early dissension revolved around the Arian heresy (see A92:18–20), which was formally condemned by the first Council of Nicaea in 325 during the reign of the Christian convert Constantine I (c.280–337). Four other such ecumenical councils were held before the death of Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (483–565, ruled from 527). The purpose on each occasion was to determine whether new theological doctrine was orthodox or heretical.

92:1 **in later years to read about the Bactrian Greeks** Wrested from Persian control by Alexander the Great in 328 B.C., this Central Asian region (its capital was Bactra—Balkh in modern Afghanistan) subsequently absorbed Greek culture and, under a succession of Hellenized rulers, became a powerful and virtually independent state in its own right. Bactria’s influence extended across Chinese Turkestan and into northern India

before its conquest by Sakas nomads in the second century B.C. Russell's sources on the Bactrian Greeks have not been identified; he had previously referred to them in a discussion of "bypaths in history" in a lecture for the English PEN club on "History as an Art" (1954*b*; *Papers* 28:111).

92:4–5 **heritage of Greece...Buddhist sculpture** Greco-Buddhist sculpture flourished until about the seventh century A.D. in the areas of western Asia conquered by Alexander the Great and later by Asoka (ruled c.265–235 B.C.), a Buddhist Emperor of the Indian Maurayan dynasty. The art form combined Hellenic aesthetics and artistic techniques with Buddhist iconography.

92:6–7 **civilization of Ireland...destroyed by the Danes** The earliest recorded Viking attack on Ireland took place in 795. The incursions continued and posed a more serious threat to the Irish civilization of which Russell speaks when the invaders (who until the middle of the ninth century came mainly from Norway) began establishing permanent encampments (c.830). The monasteries were targeted in these raids not because they were centres of Christian learning and culture which the pagan Norsemen rejected, still less because they were repositories for many literary treasures of Western Civilization, but, rather, because they were rich in material and human resources: valuable religious artifacts were plundered, livestock and other provisions looted, and slaves taken from among the local population. For similar reasons, monastic settlements had been a focal point of conflict between rival Irish chieftains well before the arrival of the Vikings.

92:11–12 **France was ready...John the Scot** Ranked by Russell as "the most astonishing person of the ninth century" (1945, 400), the neo-Platonic philosopher Johannes Scotus (c.800–c.877) was a product of the Irish classical learning to which this passage alludes. Although born in Ireland, he moved to France around 845 to head the court school of King Charles the Bald. Possessing an expertise in Greek that was rare in continental Europe, he was commissioned to produce a translation of the pseudo-Dionysus, whose neo-Platonic ideas thus entered the Western intellectual tradition. His two major works, *On Divine Predestination* and *On the Division of Nature*, were long condemned as heretical, although John the Scot seems to have escaped serious persecution.

92:12–15 **St. Boniface and St. Virgilius...quarrelling desperately** Boniface (originally Winfrid, c.675–c.754) was an English missionary and monk who, with the sanction of Pope Gregory II and under the protection of the Frankish ruler Charles Martel, attracted numerous converts from among the pagan Germans and established several monastic centres of Christian learning. Before his martyrdom at the hands of Friesan pagans, Boniface had clashed with the Celtic monk and scholar Virgilius (originally Fearghal, d. 784), who was consecrated Bishop of Salzburg in 745 and was also engaged in missionary work among Germanic tribesmen. Specifically, Boniface accused Virgilius of heresy for claiming (perhaps in an obscure reference to the existence of a Southern Hemisphere) that another inhabited world lay beneath the earth. The seriousness of the allegation led Virgilius to be summoned to Rome, but he was exonerated by Pope Zachary I.

92:18–20 **outlook, as expressed...Boethius...Arian heretic, Theodoric** See Russell 1945, 370–3. The statesman and philosopher Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (c.475–526) belonged to an aristocratic Roman family which entered the service of Emperor Theodoric the Great (c.454–526) after the Ostrogoth ruler conquered Italy in 493. Imprisoned and awaiting execution for treason, Boethius later wrote *The*

*Consolations of Philosophy*, the neo-Platonic treatise through which the pagan outlook referred to by Russell influenced the medieval Church. Boethius's posthumous reputation for Christian piety derived from some orthodox theological works that were falsely attributed to him and from his persecution by Theodoric, who adhered to the widespread belief—expounded by the fourth-century Alexandrian priest Arius and condemned as heretical at the first ecumenical council in 325—in the non-divinity of Christ.

92:24 **Minoan civilization** The first chapter of *A History of Western Philosophy* discusses briefly the artistic achievements and the maritime commerce of the Minoan civilization which flourished in Crete from c.2500–c.1400 B.C. The history of this ancient culture remains fragmentary and the reasons for its collapse somewhat uncertain, although Russell speculated that it was destroyed “probably by invaders from Greece” (1945, 6).

## 16f The Pursuit of Truth

93:14–15 **desire to refute Kant...theory of space and time** Indeed, Russell attempted such a refutation in one of his early undergraduate papers on epistemology: “Kant’s arguments for the apriority of space and time from the certainty and universality of their properties apply only to the concepts, not to space and time as they occur in perception” (1893; *Papers* 1:122). Nonetheless, his first independent work after graduation from Cambridge owes a great deal to Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), especially as regards method, and his first philosophical book, *An Essay on the Foundations of Geometry* (Russell 1897), can be seen as an attempt to update Kant’s philosophy of geometry by taking account of nineteenth-century developments in non-Euclidean geometry. In subsequent works, however, Russell’s hostility to Kant returned and never wavered. His rejection of Kantian intuition was integral to his logicism.

93:19–21 **Faraday and Maxwell...beyond Newton...did not read** The English physicist and chemist Michael Faraday (1791–1867) staged the first successful demonstrations of electrical current as a source of power. His observations were recorded in *Experimental Researches in Electricity* (1839–55), although this may not have been the work that Russell had in mind. By introducing the notions of “lines of force” and “fields of force” surrounding the wires which carried electricity, Faraday influenced the theory of electro-magnetism formulated in 1861 by the Scottish physicist James Clerk Maxwell (1831–1879). Despite his revolutionary claim that light consisted of electromagnetic waves, Clerk Maxwell’s continuing adherence to orthodox Newtonian dynamics was evident in his assumption that inert atmospheric ether was the medium through which light was transmitted. “What Shall I Read?” (*Papers* 1:357–9) notes that Russell read Clerk Maxwell’s *Matter and Motion* (1876) in April 1896 and his *Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism* (1873) in July 1897.

93:21 **finished with Triposes** Cambridge University undergraduates were required to pass two sets of “tripos” examinations for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In June 1893 Russell took the first part of the notoriously taxing mathematics tripos, and the following June (after shifting his attention to philosophy) he sat for the second part of the moral sciences tripos.

93:22–3 **Hertz’s...electro-magnetic waves** Between 1885 and 1889 the German physicist Heinrich Rudolf Hertz (1857–1894) proved Clerk Maxwell’s theory of electro-magnetism by broadcasting, receiving and analysing electromagnetic waves in his physics laboratory at the Karlsruhe Polytechnic.

93:24–5 **Becquerel’s discovery of radio-activity** The French physicist Antoine Henri Becquerel (1852–1908) made this discovery in 1896 through the experimental

observation of uranium salts. In 1903 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for physics jointly with Marie and Pierre Curie.

93:25 **Planck's discovery of the quantum** While studying the phenomenon of black-body radiation in 1900, the German physicist Max Planck (1858–1947) hypothesized that energy was not emitted and absorbed continuously, as the classical theory presumed, but in bundles, or quanta. This quantum theory was later applied by Niels Bohr to atomic structure and was discussed by Russell in *The Analysis of Matter* (1927, Chap. 4). Planck was awarded the Nobel Prize for physics in 1918.

93:25–6 **Einstein's special theory of relativity** Albert Einstein (1879–1955) introduced the special theory of relativity in “On the Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies” (1905). By substituting the notion of “space-time” for time and space it provided an explanatory framework for the experimental observations of Clerk Maxwell and Hertz amongst others.

93:31–2 **new kind of joy when I began Euclid** At the age of eleven Russell had been coached by his brother through *An Introduction to the Elements of Euclid* (Hawtrey 1874). He recalled the experience as “one of the great events of my life, as dazzling as first love”. Although profoundly impressed that geometry seemed to embody verifiable truths, he was sceptical about the validity of Euclid's axioms. “If you don't accept them we cannot go on”, Frank had told him, so Russell “reluctantly admitted them *pro tem*. The doubt as to the premisses of mathematics which I felt at that moment remained with me, and determined the course of my subsequent work” (1967, 36).

93:38–9 **tutor who told me about non-Euclidean geometry** The tutor, John F. Ewen, was also an agnostic in whom Russell confided his own religious doubts—the cause of Ewen's subsequent dismissal from Pembroke Lodge by the Countess Russell (see Monk 1996, 29).

94:1–2 **the subject of my first serious original work** His Fellowship dissertation, submitted in August 1895 and subsequently published in revised form as *An Essay on the Foundations of Geometry* (Russell 1897).

94:2–3 **W.K. Clifford's *Common Sense of the Exact Sciences*** Clifford 1886, a copy of which had been presented to Russell as a gift by a tutor on New Year's Day 1888. Russell had been attracted not only by the clarity of Clifford's mathematical reasoning, but also by his breadth of intellectual outlook, which “saw all knowledge, even the most abstract, as part of the general life of mankind, and as concerned in the endeavour to make human existence less petty, less superstitious, and less miserable” (1946; *Papers* 11:320). This acknowledgement of his debt to the work was written for the preface of a new edition issued in 1946. William Kingdon Clifford (1845–1879) was a graduate, then a Fellow, of Trinity College, Cambridge; he taught for the last nine years of his life as Professor of Applied Mathematics at University College London. Most of his writings, which touched on philosophical and scientific subjects as well as on mathematics, were assembled and published posthumously.

94:6–8 **Newton's *Principia*...his deduction of Kepler's laws** Newton 1760. On Kepler's laws, see A301:28–9.

94:18 **Dalton's atomic theory** Based on observations made initially from his studies in meteorology, the English physicist, chemist and teacher John Dalton (1766–1844) lectured on his atomic theory during 1803 and made his first published statement of it two years later (Dalton 1805). Although certain of Dalton's postulates have long since been discarded—the indivisibility of the atom most notably—the notions that atoms of

different elements have characteristic properties, and that chemical reactions occur with the fusion or separation of atoms, remain integral to the physical sciences.

94:19–20 **Boscovitch...“centres-of-force theory”** Roger Joseph Boscovich (1711–1787) was a Dalmatian Jesuit, astronomer and mathematician who taught and studied in Italy for twenty years before ending his career—after the Society of Jesus was suppressed—as an advisor on optics for the French Navy. His Newtonian *Theorie Philosophiae Naturalis* (1763) also posited a complex if slightly *ad hoc* atomic theory based on the premise that matter was ultimately comprised of numerous indivisible points acting as centres for the forces of attraction and repulsion. Although much disparaged, this “centres-of-force theory” influenced later scientific thinkers such as Faraday and shaped Russell’s early thinking about physics (see *Papers* 2, Pt. I *passim*).

94:43–95:1 **Spinoza allayed my suspicion...geometrical method.** Spinoza’s *Ethics* (1677) had been written in the deductive form of Euclidean geometry.

95:9–11 **Morally, he still stands...wholly unsatisfactory.** This judgment echoes that of *A History of Western Philosophy*, in which Benedictus de Spinoza (1634–1677) is ranked as “the noblest and most lovable of the great philosophers. Intellectually, some others have surpassed him, but ethically he is supreme” (Russell 1945, 569).

95:13–21 **I read Mill’s Logic...two and two are four.** In his *System of Logic* (1843), Russell’s secular godfather, John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), had asserted that “the foundation of all sciences, even deductive and demonstrative sciences, is Induction” (Bk. 11, Chap. 5, §1). Russell took detailed notes from this work before commencing his study of mathematics at Trinity College, Cambridge, in October 1890. In an earlier autobiographical piece, he had recalled his dissatisfaction with Mill’s *Logic*, especially its “assimilation of pure mathematics to empirical science—a view which is now universally abandoned” (Russell 1938a; *Papers* 10:23).

95:26–8 **I became subjected...German idealism...much difficulty** Aside from those exerted by the Benthamite moral philosopher Henry Sidgwick, “All the influences that were brought to bear upon me were in the direction of German idealism, either Kantian or Hegelian” (1959a, 38). Of particular importance in this regard were Russell’s tutors at Cambridge, James Ward and G.F. Stout, his slightly older contemporary, J.McT.E.McTaggart, and perhaps the preeminent British philosopher of the 1890s, F.H.Bradley. Together with G.E.Moore, Russell rejected idealism beginning late in 1898, and for some years thereafter he was periodically concerned with refuting the Hegelian doctrine of relations.

95:39 **philosophers of Laputa** In the third part of *Gulliver’s Travels*, the hero is rescued from the sea and taken to the floating island of Laputa, which is controlled by a group of impractical philosophers who are so immersed in the life of contemplation that they must employ attendants, called “flappers”, to direct their attentions to the external world.

96:1–2 **beauty in nature...lean towards pantheism** See “Greek Exercises”, entry 22; *Papers* 1:20–1.

96:5–6 **I resolved...beginning of my quest...misled by sentiment** This “quest” began with the “Greek Exercises”, a secret journal in which the adolescent Russell subjected theological questions to rigorous standards of proof, thereby undermining further his already shaky religious faith. In the third entry (dated 19 March 1888), he wrote: “Now in finding reasons for belief in God I shall only take account of scientific arguments. This is a vow I have made, which costs me much to keep and to reject all sentiment” (*Papers* 1:5).

## 17 Some Changes in My Lifetime: Good and Bad

99:9–10 **compulsory education...enacted only two years ago** The Education Act of 1870 was a landmark reform of Gladstone's first ministry, establishing a national system of elementary education in England and Wales (a similar Scottish measure was passed in 1872). Attendance was not made compulsory until 1880, but the legislation increased Exchequer grants to the patchwork of predominantly Anglican voluntary schools run on denominational lines, with the gaps in this system to be plugged by locally elected boards empowered to levy rates, hire teachers and build schools. Highly controversial on religious grounds (Nonconformists resented the perpetuation of state aid to Anglican education), the new law nevertheless helped double working-class elementary school enrolment over the last three decades of the century.

99:12–13 **urban working-men had been recently given the vote by Disraeli** Although most Tories were resolutely opposed to extending the franchise, the so-called Second Reform Act was enacted during Lord Derby's short-lived minority Conservative Government of 1866–67. As leader of the Commons in this administration, Benjamin Disraeli (1809–1881, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield, 1876) was largely responsible for piloting the legislation through the lower house. An aborted Whig-Liberal bill had been introduced the previous year under the premiership of the 1st Earl Russell, persuading Disraeli and Derby that franchise reform was now inevitable. But after a "household suffrage" clause was added on amendment, their measure was made more sweeping than the modest proposals that had been sponsored by Russell's grandfather. As it affected the borough constituencies (where the majority of urban workers resided), the 1867 act gave the vote to all male householders liable to pay rates for administering the Poor Law, as well as to male tenants who paid an annual rent of at least ten pounds. The British electorate increased from 1.3 to 2.5 million voters, although an elaborate system of plural voting ("fancy franchises") had been devised as a concession to the anti-democratic elements in both parties.

99:13–14 **Conservatives fiercely contested...rural wage-earners** Gladstone's Representation of the People Act (1884) placed voting rights in the county constituencies on the same footing as those in the boroughs. Afraid that such an extensive reform would simply hand over their party's rural seats to the ruling Liberals, Conservative peers had blocked the bill's passage through the Lords. Their resistance was only eased by the promise of an accompanying reapportionment of parliamentary seats, which was embedded in a companion measure enacted the following year. This Redistribution Act was tailored to the electoral advantage of the Conservative Party and created the structure of single-member constituencies characteristic of modern British politics.

99:30–1 **philanthropic aunt...Girls' Club in Greek Street** *The Amberley Papers* allude to the philanthropic work of Russell's "perfect aunt", the Hon. Maude Alethea Stanley (1832–1915), unmarried daughter of his maternal grandmother (Russell and Russell, eds. 1937, 1:23). She is mentioned by name in Russell's abstract for the present paper (see Headnote). Greek Street is in the Soho district of central London.

100:21–2 **dominated by the Junkers...s to which Bismarck belonged** Authoritarian and militaristic in politics and protectionist in the economic sphere, this East Prussian landowning class enjoyed an influence in post-unification Germany that was bolstered both by Prussia's undemocratic constitution and by the over-representation of Prussia in the new (federal) imperial parliament. Appointed Prussia's Minister-President in 1862, Prince Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck (1815–1898) was chief architect of the unitary German state created in 1871 and which he served as Chancellor for the next nineteen

years. Throughout his long political career, Bismarck consistently protected and pushed the interests of the Junker class into which he had been born.

100:23–4 **of Russia and Poland...no longer inhabited by Germans** The north of East Prussia had been ceded to the Soviet Union at the Potsdam Conference in 1945, while Poland absorbed the remaining territory as its Olsztyn province. About 600,000 East Prussians had been killed in the Red Army offensive of 1945, and the majority of surviving German speakers were forcibly expelled westward at the end of the war.

100:24–5 **Teutonic Knights...German culture Eastward** This Germanic religious and military order had been founded in Palestine 0.1190 during the Third Crusade, before shifting the focus of its activities to eastern Europe early in the thirteenth century. First, they helped combat pagan incursions into the Christian kingdom of Hungary and then, backed by Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, they embarked on an aggressive programme of conquest and Christianization in Prussia. By establishing military and administrative centres and a feudal system of agriculture, the order laid the foundations of the Prussian state. These achievements outlasted the Teutonic Knights' political influence and territorial sway, both of which were drastically curbed (to the advantage of Poland) as a result of the Thirteen Years' War (1454–66). The eastward expansion of the order had already been checked by Polish and Lithuanian forces at the Battle of Tannenberg in 1410.

100:34–6 **Russian bogey...Afghanistan...North-west India** See A90:10.

101:6–7 **This began in Japan...four years before I was born.** Russell is referring to the profound social, economic and political changes that accompanied the Meiji Restoration beginning in 1867, actually *five* years before Russell's birth. "Feudalism was abolished, the Central Government was made omnipotent, a powerful army and navy were created, China and Russia were successively defeated, Korea was annexed and a protectorate established over Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, industry and commerce were developed, universal compulsory education instituted, and worship of the Mikado firmly established..." (Russell 1922, 102–3). Also in *The Problem of China*, however, Russell observed that in Japan the "modern era was inaugurated" (*ibid.*, 99) by another momentous change—predating by thirteen years the transfer of political authority from the Tokugawa to the Satsuma and Choshu clans—namely, the forced opening of the country to Western trade in 1854 after an intimidating display of American naval strength by Commodore Matthew Perry.

101:8–9 **a brief experience of Europeans in the sixteenth century** For almost a hundred years after the arrival of the Portuguese in 1543, merchants and missionaries from Portugal, Spain, and Holland vied for religious and commercial influence over the perennially feuding local warlords ("Daimyo") who were the *de facto* sources of political authority throughout Japan. But the influence of this feudal nobility and its European contacts was undercut by a succession of national leaders who established a strong and resolutely antiforeign central government. Ultimately, in 1637, both Christianity and international trade were proscribed, and for the next two hundred years "Japan enjoyed complete peace and almost complete stagnation—the only period of either in Japanese history" (Russell 1922, 96).

101:14 **first production of *The Mikado*** This Gilbert and Sullivan operetta premiered at the Savoy Theatre, London, on 14 March 1885.

101:23–4 **Europe and Asia...in conflict...Battle of Marathon** Having supplanted Babylonia as the preeminent power in western Asia during the sixth century B.C., and having subjugated the Greek-speaking cities of Asia Minor, the Persians under Darius I

attempted next to extend their imperial sway over Greece. In 490 B.C. a military expedition was sent to Athens in reprisal for Athenian support of the recently thwarted Greek-led revolt against Persian rule in Asia Minor. Notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the Persians, however, they were completely routed in battle at Marathon by a combined Athenian and Plataean force commanded by Militades.

101:24 **defeat of Persia** A decade after the Battle of Marathon, the Persians under Xerxes (son of Darius) launched a full-scale invasion of Greece. They encountered staunch resistance, however, from the uneasy alliance of Greek city-states that had been formed in response to this latest threat, and the prospect of conquest by Persia was permanently removed by decisive victories for the Greeks—at sea in the Straits of Salamis (480 B.C.) and off Mycale (479 B.C.), and on land at Plataea (479 B.C.).

101:34 **Tai-ping Rebellion** The Taiping Rebellion (1850–64) seriously weakened both the ruling Manchu dynasty and the Confucianism which was its official ideology. Led by the charismatic Hong Xiuquan, who espoused an egalitarian, quasi-Christian creed, the rebels attracted widespread support among the poorer class of Chinese peasants. In 1853 they turned Nanjing into a rival seat of government to Beijing, but the city was eventually captured by Manchu forces and the rebels were subjected to wholesale and bloody reprisals. It is estimated that some twenty million people were killed during the long years of violent upheaval.

101:35–8 **war with Japan in 1894...vultures upon the carcass** Far less advanced militarily than Japan, China was “easily and decisively defeated” (Russell 1922, 122) in this brief struggle for control of Korea. Diplomatic pressure exerted by Russia, Germany and France, however, compelled Japan to return the territory ceded by China under the Treaty of Shimonoseki, and the victorious power did not gain a secure hold over Korea until after the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05). Tsarist Russia was the first of the European “vultures” to descend on the Chinese “carcass” after the war of 1894–95. Its political support for China during the latter conflict was rewarded with strategically important railway rights in northern Manchuria, which prompted the other great powers to scramble for more commercial and territorial concessions from the Chinese.

101:38 **Boxer Rebellion** See A275:2.

101:40 **Empress Dowager** Since the death of Emperor Hsien-feng in 1861, his widow, the Empress Dowager Tz’u-hsi (1835–1908), had managed to maintain power in the Manchu court by twice assuming the role of regent, on the first occasion (1861–73) for her son T’ung-chih, and then (1875–89) for her nephew Kuang-hsü. Even thereafter she wielded enormous influence and became the ultimate source of imperial authority once again in 1898 when, on her orders, reform-minded Emperor Kuang-hsü was made a prisoner of his palace in the Forbidden City. Politically, Tz’u-hsi espoused an ultra-conservative traditionalism, becoming increasingly open in her support of the anti-foreign Boxer uprising (see A275:2) at the turn of the century.

102:4 **1911** See A274:33–5.

102:6 **when I lived in Peking next door to a school** Russell and Dora Black were in Beijing from 31 October 1920 until their departure for Japan on 11 July 1921. A vivid description of their lodgings and of life in the Chinese capital was provided by Russell in a letter to Lady Constance Malleon, dated 24 December 1920 and printed as Appendix VII in *Papers* 15.

102:7–8 **reciting the Confucian books by the class in unison** Russell had also lamented the passivity of his own students at the National University of Beijing. While “eager and enthusiastic”, he informed Lady Ottoline Morrell, they were also “ignorant

and untrained and lazy, expecting knowledge to be pumped into them without effort on their part” (17 Dec. 1920; quoted in *Papers* 15: lvii). He attributed these shortcomings in part to the authoritarian and hierarchical nature of Confucianism itself and ranked educational reform as one of the most urgent tasks confronting modern China (1922, Chap. 13).

102:8–9 **Chinese reformers looked to America for their ideals** See also Russell 1922, 217–21. Several thousand Chinese students had received higher education in America since 1908, when the United States Government allocated a sizeable proportion of its Boxer indemnity to this end. Russell was wary of the uncritical enthusiasm for American methods exhibited by many “returned students” but acknowledged their vital importance to China’s future economic and political development. They were organized loosely through a network of societies in the major Chinese cities. When Russell visited one such “Returned Students’ Club” in Beijing, however, he was struck less by its Americanization than by the pro-Bolshevik disposition of his young hosts, most of whom were “taking the view that China could and ought to become communist tomorrow” (1921; *Papers* 15:307).

102:15–16 **I felt that it might happen...lived in China in 1920** Russell had entertained grave doubts about the possible emergence of China as a great power. Although much more mindful of the obstacles to its modernization—political instability, foreign control of its economy and chronic under education—Russell also worried that a strong Chinese state might be “led astray by the lure of brutal power...” (1922, 251). In order for China to become powerful while remaining benign, its intellectual and technical elites needed “to acquire Western knowledge without acquiring the mechanistic outlook” (*ibid.*, 81) of their counterparts both in the capitalist West and in Bolshevik Russia.

102:16–17 **turmoil of civil war** Political turbulence in the new Chinese republic had been increasing since the death in 1916 of President Yuan Shikai, who had managed since 1912 to preserve a modicum of unity and stability. When Russell docked at Shanghai in October 1920, a weak national government in Beijing was being challenged by Sun Yat-sen’s Kuomintang movement in the south and by rival *dujuns* (warlords) in Manchuria and in the north. The internal strife was aggravated by the determination of the Western powers and Japan to protect or enhance their territorial concessions and access to Chinese markets and resources.

## 18 Gilbert Murray

104:3–4 **a cousin of mine** Lady Mary Howard (1866–1956), eldest daughter of George Howard, the 9th Earl of Carlisle, and Russell’s maternal aunt, Rosalind Stanley.

104:5–6 **The occasion...*Hippolytus*...greatly admired.** See Headnote.

104:9 **he admired Sir Edward Grey, but I did not** See Murray 1915 and Russell 1915. Sir Edward Grey (1862–1930, Viscount Grey of Fallodon, 1916) became Foreign Secretary in the Liberal administration formed in December 1905. He held this Cabinet post for the next eleven years and was the chief ministerial proponent of the rapprochement with France and Russia so staunchly defended by Murray, and so vigorously denounced by Russell, in their contrasting appraisals of Britain’s pre-war diplomacy.

104:19 **His work for the League of Nations Union** Murray had been a member of the committee which at the end of the First World War settled the basis for an amalgamation of the League of Nations Society with its more avowedly anti-German offshoot, the League of Free Nations Association—for which Murray had acted as chairman after its formation in June 1918. He held the same position on an interim basis for the new

League of Nations Union but stepped down to the role of vice-chairman early in 1919. He resumed the chairmanship in 1923 and continued in this capacity until 1938, serving thereafter as co-president with Lord Robert Cecil until the Union's formal demise in 1945. Murray was a diligent and conciliatory administrator at the Union's London headquarters, as well as a committed proponent of the schemes for disarmament and international cooperation which his organization sought to promote.

104:21–2 **persisted without bitterness...same kind of work** When a United Nations Association was formed in 1945, Murray was nominated as co-president of this successor organization to the League of Nations Union. He remained active in this role until the mid-1950s, while also serving for a time as president of the Liberal International Association (1947–49) and chairman of the Council for Education in World Citizenship. Although he “persisted without bitterness” in these internationalist endeavours, he was frustrated by the lack of political progress towards real peace. In a January 1956 broadcast, however, Murray did express his satisfaction with “the great non-political work of the United Nations” in the humanitarian and cultural spheres (quoted in Wilson 1987, 391).

## 19a This Is My Philosophy

107:9 **Athens of Pericles** Pericles (c.495–429 B.C.) was the dominant Athenian statesman for the last fourteen years of his life, a period of extraordinary cultural vitality during which the city-state's political institutions also reached their fullest development. Russell often used this example, or that of Elizabethan England, when speaking of civilization's golden ages.

107:12–13 **Sir Philip Sidney** The Elizabethan courtier, diplomat and writer Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586) was a godson of Philip II of Spain and a nephew of the Earl of Leicester. His *Astrophel and Stella* (1591) was one of the most famous sixteenth-century sonnet cycles. He was also the author of the verse and prose pastoral *Arcadia* (1590), and of the major critical work *In Defence of Poesie* (1595). Sidney served the Queen on diplomatic missions to her fellow Protestant rulers in Europe and also in battle against the Spanish at Zutphen in the Netherlands, where he was mortally wounded.

## 19b Philosophy

107:24–5 **definition of “philosophy”...History of Western Philosophy** Russell 1945, xiii–xiv.

107:35–6 **I do not like Wittgenstein's later writings** Tanović and Petrović (see Headnote) had specifically asked for Russell's opinion of *Philosophical Investigations* and *Remarks on the Foundations of Mathematics* (Wittgenstein 1953 and 1956). In the latter book, Russell could not find “anything that seemed to me interesting and I do not understand why a whole school finds important wisdom in its pages” (1956h; *Papers* 11:615).

107:36–7 **English philosopher of whom I think best is A.J.Ayer** Russell had been favourably disposed towards Alfred Jules Ayer (1910–1989) ever since publishing a sympathetic review (43 in *Papers* 10) of the latter's logical positivist manifesto, *Language, Truth and Logic* (1936). The respect was mutual; Ayer later wrote two books on Russell's philosophy, and it is not unfair to say that he “regarded himself as Russell's protégé, if not his disciple” (see *Papers* 11:168).

108:1–2 **my opinions on Marx...Freedom and Organization** Russell 1934, Chaps. 17–20. See also Paper 12.

## 20 Mr. Alan Wood

110:19 **his father was a professor** George Arnold Wood (1865–1928) was Challis Professor of History at the University of Sydney from 1891 until 1928, although he almost lost the chair at the turn of the century because of his controversial stand against the Boer War. An historian, as well as a critic, of the British Empire, Wood was best known professionally for *The Discovery of Australia* (1922)—a successful popular history which included a sympathetic, revisionist treatment of the convict labourers who were transported there.

110:19 **as was his brother** F.L.W.Wood (1903–1989) took a first in modern history at Balliol College, Oxford in 1928. Two years later he began lecturing at the University of Sydney and produced two standard textbooks of Australian history before accepting in 1935 the chair of history at Victoria University College, Wellington—a position which he held until his retirement in 1969. After moving to New Zealand, Wood concentrated on the study of his adopted country and later became “a guiding light in the War History Branch” (of the Department of Internal Affairs), which was engaged in preparing a multi-volume *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War* (Munz 2003). Alan Wood’s other brother, W.A.Wood, was a student radical at the University of Sydney during the depression. He later joined the Australian Communist Party and was a long-serving editor of its newspaper, *Tribune*.

110:20 **his uncle was Vice Chancellor of Perth University** Hubert Edwin Whitfield (1875–1939) was made inaugural Professor of Mining and Engineering at the University of Western Australia in 1913. Wood’s uncle twice served the institution as rotating vice-chancellor (1913–15 and 1925–27), and in 1927 he became the first permanent incumbent of this office—which he continued to hold until his death twelve years later.

110:26 **Rhine crossing** Although a us Armoured Division managed to cross the Rhine at Remagen on 7 March 1945, a truly secure bridgehead was not established for another two weeks—until after an airborne attack on key German positions on the north side of the river. Gliders and paratroopers were again deployed, as they had been for the thwarted assault on Arnhem the previous September. By ensuring that Allied troops landed very close to their targets, however, Operation Varsity avoided a critical tactical mistake of the earlier Operation Market Garden.

110:27–9 **“If in the days...greatness is made.”** Wood 1944, where the start of the quotation reads: “if, in years to come, any man says to you, ‘I fought with the Arnhem airborne force’...”. Wood had filed this dispatch on 24 September from inside the Arnhem pocket where the British paratroopers who had led this daring but ill-fated attack behind enemy lines were hemmed in by ferocious German shelling. The following night, however, the remnants of the First Airborne Division succeeded in withdrawing to safety across the Rhine.

110:30–2 **the Overseas Food Corporation’s...Groundnuts Scheme** The Overseas Food Corporation was a public body created in 1948 to take over the British Government’s grandiose but already ill-fated scheme to convert thousands of acres of jungle and scrub in Tanganyika to the commercial production of peanuts. The project had been dogged from its inception two years earlier by the overreaching ambition of its promoters, poor planning and highly wishful thinking about the spiralling costs and technical difficulties of converting such large tracts of marginal land to agricultural use. In resigning his public relations position in September 1949, Wood criticized the “delays, evasions, and mystifications” (quoted in his 1950, 114) surrounding the Groundnuts

Scheme which, in the face of mounting press and political censure, was wound up before the year's end.

110:33 **book on this subject...rise to controversy** Wood 1950.

110:35 **his book *Mr. Rank*** Wood 1952, a biography of the British businessman J.Arthur Rank (1888–1972, Baron Rank of Sutton Scotney, 1957), who as owner of several studios and the Gaumont and Odeon cinema chains was the dominant figure in the British film industry during the 1930s and 1940s. The Rank Organization, of which he became the founding chairman in 1941, later broadened its holdings in the leisure and hospitality industries, while Rank also oversaw the massive expansion and diversification of his father's successful flour-milling business.

110:37–8 **book on the Channel Islands during the German Occupation** Wood and Wood 1955.

## 21a Christian Ethics (1)

114:5 **Mr. Toynbee quotes what he calls “one appalling passage”** Toynbee 1957. “Assuming the break-up of the family and the establishment of rationally conducted State institutions for children, it will probably be found necessary to go a step further in the regulation of instinct. Women accustomed to birthcontrol and not allowed to keep their own children would have little motive for enduring the discomfort of gestation and the pain of child-birth. Consequently in order to keep up the population it would probably be necessary to make child-bearing a well-paid profession, not of course to be undertaken by all women or even by a majority, but only by a certain percentage who would have to pass tests as to their fitness from a stock-breeding point of view. What tests should be imposed upon sires... (is a question) which we are not yet called upon to decide” (Russell 1957, 121–2).

114:8 **Cassandra** In Greek myth this Trojan princess was given the gift of prophecy by her suitor Apollo, but when she refused to become his lover he caused her predictions always to be ignored.

114:15–28 **In the end...devoid of beauty and of joy.** Russell 1931, 267–8.

114:32 **What Mr. Toynbee says in criticism of my views on ethics** In reference to Russell's celebrated debate of the existence of God with Father Copleston (Russell 1957, Chap. 13), Toynbee had noticed how, in their dispute over moral absolutes, “Russell irritably falls back on the subjectivist position. ¶Yet it is a position which he obviously detests and which obviously corresponds neither to his emotions nor to his experience” (Toynbee 1957). Russell later admitted a certain frustration that his final attempt to wrestle with this problem of moral philosophy, in *Human Society in Ethics and Politics* (1954), had demonstrated only “the impossibility of reconciling ethical feelings with ethical doctrines” (1969, 34).

## 21b Christian Ethics (2)

115:10–12 **Professor Ayer...existence of God** “There is therefore a logical inconsistency in maintaining, as Mr. Toynbee seems to do, both that values are absolute and that they are validated by authority; and this inconsistency is not removed by supposing the authority to be divine” (Ayer 1957). Toynbee's short criticism of Russell's ethics had concluded thus: “Yet if you are convinced that cruelty is absolutely wrong...then it is hard to see where this absolute comes from unless from something or someone outside and superior to ourselves” (Toynbee 1957).

115:12–13 **This is the view...until Kant was seduced by Rousseau.** For Russell, one of Rousseau's most significant legacies was his justification of religious belief by

reference to the emotions, as opposed to the intellectual arguments advanced by theistic philosophers. Kant was profoundly influenced by Rousseau's programmatic statement of his creed in *Émile* (1762), and by his own a priori moral law (see A245:6)—based upon the distinction between “pure” and “practical” reason—which presupposed the existence of God. Russell heartily disapproved the modern tendency, for “the new theology of the heart dispenses with argument; it cannot be refuted, because it does not profess to prove its points” (1945, 694).

### 21c *Why I Am Not a Christian* (1)

115:30–3 **Christian Churches...from denying the accusations** This assertion was disputed in the letter to *The Times* by Schuyler N. Warren which prompted Russell to write Paper 21d (see Headnote).

115:34–5 **kind of Christianity which I criticize...end of the Regency** *The Times's* anonymous reviewer had actually made allowance for the persistence of religious obscurantism well after George IV's accession to the throne in 1820. “Lord Russell is hampered by the fact that a more accurate title for his book would be ‘Why I Am Not a Low-Church Anglican of a Type Almost Totally Extinct’. That is to say, the things which worry him about Christianity are the things which disturbed Evangelicals at the time of Bishop (John William) Colenso...” (10 Oct. 1957, p. 13). The allusion is to the radical theology of the first Bishop of Natal, whose questioning of the bible's literal truth in *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined* (1862) occasioned both a serious doctrinal controversy and his own excommunication (later rescinded) from the Church of England.

### 21d *Why I Am Not a Christian* (2)

116:12–18 **When grossly untrue statements...deny them on oath.** Russell 1940; quoted in Edwards 1957, 191.

116:23 **Mr. Warren's statement that my counsel** Warren was evidently thinking of Osmund K. Fraenkel, a lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union who tried unsuccessfully to have Russell made a party to the proceedings after counsel for the defendants—the Board of Higher Education—refused to appeal the ruling of Judge McGeehan.

116:30–2 **“lecherous...bereft of moral fiber”** Quoted in Edwards 1957, 190. The prosecutor in question was Joseph Goldstein, a former magistrate for the City of New York.

### 21e Earl Russell Replies

117:6–7 **“once knew...fat living”** Irvine 1957, 1,342.

117:14–15 **a God-daughter of Queen Victoria** Unidentified.

117:20–1 **Professor Edwards's account of this episode** Edwards 1957.

### 22 The Suez Canal

128:3–4 **statement by a number of Labour Members** Reported as “Labour Group Deplores Any Use of Force in Suez”, *The Manchester Guardian*, 9 Aug. 1956, p. 10, this four-point statement had been signed by twenty-four M.P.'s, mainly from the party's left-wing. They were alarmed at the prospect of Egypt being coerced into accepting international control of the canal: “To attempt to carry out such internationalisation of the Suez Canal by force, against the resistance of the Egyptian Government and people, would be an act of aggression under the United Nations Charter.” According to *The Manchester Guardian's* report, the signatories felt that the belligerence displayed on both

sides of the House in the debate of Suez on 2 August had not accurately reflected opinion in the Commons as a whole. The Conservative press interpreted the statement as a rebuke to Hugh Gaitskell for extending in his recent parliamentary performance a measure of support for the less than conciliatory position of Prime Minister Eden (see Williams 1979, 425).

128:8–11 **I suggest...proposed conference...hold the balance.** A conference of “most-interested nations” had been called by Britain, France and the United States on 1 August after Colonel Nasser had nationalized the Suez Canal the previous week. Egypt boycotted the meetings in London from 16–23 August, but twenty-two other nations were represented. They resolved not to ask for the arbitration machinery recommended by Russell, but to establish a committee under Sir Robert Menzies, the Australian Prime Minister, to negotiate directly with the Egyptian President. These face-to-face talks commenced on 3 September but collapsed after a week.

128:11–12 **Such a body could act by a majority** Russell’s proposed circumvention of the UN Security Council veto (see also Paper 50) was criticized by two Labour M.P.’s who entered the Suez debate in *The Manchester Guardian* shortly after the appearance of Paper 22. Left-wing stalwart Konni Zilliacus thought that those who “want to dodge the unanimity rule...merely show that they are not yet ready to accept the basic necessity to co-operate and seek agreement with the Soviet Union as assiduously as we do with the United States” (Zilliacus 1956). Meanwhile, Russell’s colleague in the Parliamentary Group for World Government, Henry Osborne, lamented the inadequate scope of the UN’S present powers: “Basically, Russell’s proposal is designed to give a committee of nations the ability and authority to govern. But while power—that is, substantial armed force—remains in the hands of any States which may form the minority, enforcement of a decision upon them is synonymous with war or the threat thereof” (Osborne 1956).

## 23 Britain’s Act of War

128:25 **Mr. Gaitskell’s indictment** In reply to the Prime Minister’s hesitant admission to the Commons on 31 October that Franco-British attacks on Egypt had just been launched, the leader of the Opposition lambasted the Eden Government for “an act of disastrous folly whose tragic consequences we shall regret for years” (United Kingdom 1956b, 1,454). Russell’s dictation files contain this undated draft of a telegram to Hugh Gaitskell (1906–1963): “Governments *{sic}* action against Egypt both wicked and foolish. You will have my entire support in vigorous denunciation of disastrous policy. Bertrand Russell”. Below, on the same dictated manuscript leaf, there is also the draft of a telegram to the editor of *The Manchester Guardian*: “Consider Government’s action in Egypt disastrous. Have telegraphed Gaitskell saying:...You are free to publish”. It is unclear, however, whether this communication was ever sent. If so, the newspaper does not seem to have taken advantage of Russell’s offer.

128:25–6 **your leading article of November 1** “A Disaster”, p. 8.

128:26–7 **Only one hope...United States...stop the fighting** Although hostile to Colonel Nasser, the United States was forthrightly opposed to the precipitate use of force against him by Britain and France. Such action risked closing the canal and cutting the flow of oil to Western Europe. Armed intervention, President Eisenhower believed, also savoured of old-style European colonialism and would alienate not only all Arab states but also most of the developing world. Keeping the United States in the dark about the Franco-British-Israeli collusion, the Eden Government was badly mistaken in believing that Eisenhower would ultimately accede to an attack on Egypt as a *fait accompli*. After

France and Britain issued their ultimatum to Egypt and Israel on 30 October, Eisenhower cabled to Eden and Mollet (France's Socialist Prime Minister) an urgent expression of his concern about the conflict which the European leaders stood poised to ignite. After hostilities commenced the following day, the American President publicly rebuked the two European powers in a televised speech. As the crisis deepened in the first week of November, the United States orchestrated (or at the very least connived in) a run on sterling which placed additional strain on Britain's already overstretched gold and dollar reserves. American influence over the International Monetary Fund, meanwhile, prevented Britain from obtaining loans from that source to prop up the pound. Although Britain and France suspended military operations as early as 7 November, the United States continued to wield diplomatic and economic leverage over its European allies until the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egypt was assured (see also A132:3–5).

## 24 This Act of Criminal Folly

129:6 **some parts of the British Commonwealth** Among Commonwealth states only Australia and New Zealand joined Britain, France and Israel in opposing the cease-fire resolution which the United States brought before the UN General Assembly on 2 November and which carried by a margin of sixty-four votes to five (and fifty-nine to five when it was reaffirmed two days later). Two other Commonwealth states, South Africa and Canada, were among the six which abstained on this vote, but Canadian Minister of External Affairs Lester B. Pearson was already striving to end the fighting through UN mediation and could hardly be counted as even a passive supporter of British policy.

129:8–9 **To use our veto...Security Council** On 30 October 1956 British and French representatives on the UN Security Council blocked an American resolution—similar to that carried by the General Assembly three days later—calling for a cease-fire and the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Egyptian territory. As per the secret agreement with Israel, however, the British representative demanded instead that both combatants withdraw from the Canal Zone and accede to a Franco-British occupation to ensure safe-passage through the waterway. Britain and France again vetoed the resolution later the same day after its resubmission in slightly revised form by the Soviet Union. On 31 October they were joined by two non-permanent members of the Security Council, Australia and Belgium, in voting against a Yugoslav resolution to convene an emergency session of the General Assembly. But the veto powers of Britain and France did not cover this essentially procedural matter, and the Suez debate in the General Assembly took place on 2 November.

129:9–10 **unity between America and Russia** This appearance of “unity” would soon be shattered by the suppression of Hungary's uprising, but the Soviet Union had backed the American resolution to the UN Security Council on 30 October and had voted with the United States in the General Assembly on 2 November. Next, on 5 November, Soviet Premier Bulganin suggested publicly that the conflict over Suez should be ended by moving a combined Soviet-American force into Egypt. Eisenhower dismissed this extraordinary proposal as “unthinkable” (quoted in Bowie 1989, 212); American diplomatic and financial pressure alone, rather than concerted superpower action, brought a halt to Franco-British (and Israeli) military operations.

129:10–11 **cost of disrupting the Commonwealth** See A129:6, A133:1.

## 25 British Opinion on Hungary

129:25 **breach of faith in regard to Nagy** After Soviet tanks entered Budapest and János Kádár was placed in charge of a reconstructed Hungarian Government loyal to Moscow, ousted reformist Prime Minister Imre Nagy (1896–1958) took refuge in the Yugoslavian embassy. Although promised safe passage to Belgrade, *en route* to the airport he was seized by Soviet agents and transported to Rumania. He was later returned to Hungary for trial and was executed in June 1958. Nagy's role in the Hungarian uprising is discussed in the Introduction, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.

129:32–3 **the failure to relieve Warsaw** When the Red Army reached the outskirts of Warsaw in July 1944, the Polish underground's Home Army challenged the German occupation. But the Russians provided no assistance, allegedly because of Stalin's desire to eliminate a military force loyal to the anti-Communist Polish government-in-exile in London. The Home Army's resistance was gradually sapped in two months of bitter fighting, and the retreating Germans then razed the badly damaged remnant of the historic city.

129:36–7 **United Nations...imprisonment of Polish democratic leaders** On 21 June 1945 leaders of the Polish resistance were detained for engaging in "anti-Soviet activities", although a new Polish Government formed one week later did include some non-Communists from the London-based government-in-exile. The San Francisco Conference concluded five days after these arrests with the official launch of the United Nations Charter.

129:38–9 **The East Germans...Russian tanks.** In June 1953 East German workers in Berlin and several other cities demonstrated against the economic policies of the hard-line Ulbricht Government. Local detachments of the Red Army helped quash these protests, and their leaders were either imprisoned or executed—a sign to the West that Stalin's death would not necessarily result in greater autonomy for the Soviet satellites.

130:3–4 **the denunciation of Stalin by the Soviet leaders** On 25 February 1956 Nikita Khrushchev had delivered his famous indictment of Stalinism to a closed session of the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Without questioning the fundamentals of the Soviet system (and avoiding all reference to the period before 1934), he charged Stalin with gross incompetence in his handling of economic, military and foreign affairs and, more seriously, with "the most cruel repression, violating all norms of revolutionary legality" (quoted in Crockatt 1995, 119). The worst features of Stalin's rule, which had already been subjected to muted criticism by the Central Committee, were ascribed to an egregious cult of personality. Khrushchev's performance can be assessed in terms of his uncertain standing against his anti-reform rivals inside the Politburo. Although the speech was not published in the Soviet Union for many years, its anti-Stalinist essence soon became widely known and stimulated demands for freedom and democracy across the entire Eastern bloc.

130:5 **a new era of comparative liberalism** For several months after Khrushchev's secret speech, the Soviet leadership showed signs of an impending liberalization: more political prisoners were rehabilitated; special tribunals run by the security services were abolished; a commission of inquiry into the Soviet legal code was appointed, and there was even talk of permitting contested elections to the local Soviets (see Tompson 1995, 162–3). Yet, as reports of Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalinism filtered through Soviet society, the intelligentsia, rank-and-file party members and ordinary people began to urge more thoroughgoing reform, and accountability for those implicated in Stalin's crimes. To keep these demands in check, a resolution from the Central Committee on 30 June

stressed the Communist Party's exclusive claim to political leadership and that only "enemies and slanderers" condemned the Soviet system as a whole. But this directive did not quell the political ferment, which soon spread to the satellite states. The suppression of the Hungarian uprising reinforced the conservative backlash inside the Soviet Union, where hundreds of arrests for "anti-Party" activities were carried out early in 1957. Khrushchev thereby assuaged the old guard of Politburo hard-liners led by Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich but still barely survived the challenge to his leadership which they mounted in June.

130:5–6 **in which co-existence would not be difficult** The Twentieth Party Congress was also notable for the enunciation of a revised Soviet foreign policy doctrine. In the general report of the Central Committee, Khrushchev substituted the principle of "peaceful co-existence" for the old Leninist thesis of inevitable conflict between rival social and political systems—embracing a position which he had rejected less than two years previously when Premier Malenkov had tried to justify a policy of cohabitation with the capitalist West (see *Papers* 28:507).

130:26–7 **Poland...considerable degree of independence** Events in Poland and Hungary progressed in eerily similar fashion in 1956. The death in February of the hard-line Polish Communist Party leader, Boleslaw Bierut, was followed by some piecemeal reforms introduced by his successor, Eduard Ochab. But these concessions merely emboldened the disgruntled workers, students and intellectuals, although their popular movement was never quite so ambitious as its Hungarian counterpart. The "Polish Nagy" was Wladyslaw Gomulka, an anti-Stalinist reformer released after five years imprisonment in April 1956 and immediately rehabilitated. In mid-October Khrushchev himself approved Gomulka's elevation to the Communist Party's leadership, as a sop to discontent which had not been silenced by the brutal suppression of the Poznan Rising on 28 June. Poland's Russian defence minister was removed shortly afterwards. Some modest economic reforms were also instituted, but nothing more dramatic ensued. The Hungarian uprising arguably revealed to the Communist leadership and reform movement alike not so much the "considerable degree" of Poland's independence but, rather, its very narrow limits.

130:42–3 **So long as British and French troops remain in Port Said** An announcement of their impending and unconditional withdrawal was made on 3 December 1956 (see A133:2), four days after Russell wrote Paper 25.

## 26 Message to the Indian Rationalist Association

131:16–17 **enclosed communication to *Reynolds News*** Paper 24.

## 27 The Atlantic Alliance

131:28–30 **Conservative opinion...anti-American campaign** See General Headnote, p. 125.

131:30–1 **I have been at times critical of some things American** A brief note on the dictated manuscript of this paper, written in pencil by Edith Russell then deleted, concludes thus: "criticism of US's China etc. policy".

132:2–3 **Having by our...Suez Canal to be closed** Egypt responded to the British bombing of its airfields on 31 October by scuttling dozens of ships filled with cement and stones and thereby blocking passageway through the canal. Although a major clearance operation was launched at the year's end by salvage crews commissioned by the United Nations, the waterway remained closed until April 1957—when it reopened as an enterprise exclusively owned and operated by Egypt.

132:3–4 **we have made ourselves dependent upon American oil** On 14 August the United States had set up a committee of administration and industry personnel to plan for the shipment of American oil to Western Europe in the event of serious disruption to the supply from oil-producing Arab countries. Such arrangements became an urgent necessity after the Suez Canal was blocked, pipelines were sabotaged in Syria and Kuwait, and an oil embargo was imposed on Britain and France by Saudi Arabia. But Eisenhower refused to activate the Middle East Emergency Committee until receiving assurances from Britain and France of their full compliance with the UN resolution passed on 2 November (see A129:6). The President revealed to aides his inclination to think “that those who began this operation should be left to work out their own oil problems—to boil in their own oil, so to speak” (quoted in Yergin 1991, 491). The planned “oil lift” only commenced in December after the two European powers had at last succumbed to American economic pressure and resolved completely to withdraw from Egypt. The operation was threatened both by a shortage of tanker capacity in the Western Hemisphere and by anti-trust concerns raised by smaller American producers. But these logistical and legal hurdles were overcome, and by the spring of 1957 the oil lift (as supplemented by rationing, new fuel taxes and other restrictions on European consumption) was meeting almost ninety percent of Europe’s lost supply.

132:4–5 **without American aid...suffer catastrophically** In addition to withholding emergency supplies of oil, the United States deprived Britain of financial assistance until Franco-British forces began pulling out of Suez early in December. As the crisis had dragged on through November, Britain had been brought to the brink of economic ruin by a drop of some \$279 million in its gold and dollar reserves (see also A128:26–7). On 10 December, however, only five days after an unconditional withdrawal was started, the British Government disclosed that a \$561 million loan had been negotiated with the International Monetary Fund and that a stand-by pledge of an extra \$738 million had also been received. Eleven days later the us Export-Import Bank announced the extension of a \$500 million line of credit to Britain, and another \$500 million was obtained from the same source in February 1957.

132:9–10 **Treaty of Utrecht in 1713...creation of peers** The peace of Utrecht actually comprised nine separate treaties negotiated by Britain with other European powers to end the War of the Spanish Succession. The most important agreement was that with France, by which the latter country accepted the Protestant Succession, plus various safeguards of Britain’s maritime security in northern Europe and the Mediterranean, and a considerable extension of the British Empire in North America. Exclusive commercial privileges extracted from France and Spain promised to be lucrative but proved contentious because they overrode an agreement negotiated with the Dutch by Whig ministers in 1709. When the Whig opposition in the Lords joined forces with some dissident Tories, Queen Anne was persuaded by the Earl of Oxford to create a dozen new peers. But this questionable use of Crown against Parliament did not settle the matter; the commercial clauses were eventually struck from the treaty after the Commons reversed its earlier position and voted against them in June 1713.

132:10–11 **ending of the Seven Years War...Chatham** Russell here echoes the contemporary attacks on the Treaty of Paris (1763) mounted by supporters of William Pitt the Elder (1708–1778, 1st Earl of Chatham, 1766). By reputation a “Patriot” minister standing above party, Pitt had presided over Britain’s early successes in the Seven Years’ War but had resigned in 1761 after his plans for broadening the conflict were rebuffed. His successors, particularly King George III’s favourite, Lord Bute (who brokered the

Paris agreement) were judged to have forfeited the advantages won by Pitt the Elder, although the final settlement did extract some lucrative trading privileges from the French East India Company and significantly augmented Britain's overseas empire at the expense of France.

132:12–14 **Lord North...American Colonies...parliamentary majority** Russell is probably referring to the legislative dispatch with which such coercive measures as the "Intolerable Acts" were enacted and imposed on the American colonists two years prior to the Declaration of Independence. A brief note on the dictated manuscript of this paper (see A131:30–1), written in pencil by Edith Russell then deleted, begins thus: "Compare Anthony Eden with Ld. North". Although nominally a Whig, Frederick, Lord North (1732–1792) gave King George III twelve years of loyal service as Prime Minister from 1770 to 1782, thereby placing him high in the Russell family's pantheon of the politically disreputable. North's political skill, as well as his "ruthless use of a parliamentary majority" (132:13–14), enabled him to maintain a stable administration for such a long period. "Lord North" was a courtesy title used until he inherited the Earldom of Guildford in 1790.

## 28 Message to *The Hindustan Times*

132:30–1 **I am wholly at one...condemnation of Anglo-French action** Nehru made numerous public and private protests of the attack on Egypt. He tended, however, to concentrate his fire on Sir Anthony Eden, so as to counter members of the ruling Congress Party and opposition politicians of both Right and Left who were demanding India's withdrawal from the Commonwealth. Although Russell here applauds Nehru's forthright criticism of Franco-British aggression, privately he was disappointed by the Indian Prime Minister's failure to speak of the Soviet invasion of Hungary in the same indignant terms.

133:1 **harm done to Commonwealth relations** Although the possibility of an Indian withdrawal was very real, Nehru managed to withstand this pressure, and ultimately no such dramatic step was taken by any member state. The association survived intact even without the emergency meeting of Prime Ministers that had been urged by Britain's critics—Pakistani and Ceylonese as well as Indian. In addition to the vital role played by Nehru, outraged Commonwealth opinion was mollified somewhat by the formation, at Canada's suggestion, of a United Nations Emergency Force to monitor the cease-fire and oversee the withdrawal from Egypt of all British, French and Israeli troops.

133:2 **British agreement to withdraw troops from Egypt** This promise of an unconditional withdrawal had been announced only on 3 December, after Britain and France had tried unsuccessfully for some weeks to convince the United States that a Franco-British contingent should form the core of the UN peacekeeping force. The evacuation of British and French troops from Egyptian territory began on 5 December 1956 and was completed by 22 December.

## 29 Message to Meeting on "Writers and the Hungarian Revolution"

133:15–17 **protests against...eminent mathematician** In March 1920 Russell had sent a letter of appeal on behalf of Alexander Varjas (1885–1939) to the editor of *The Manchester Guardian* (29 in *Papers* 15). The plight of this philosopher and logician was subsequently taken up with Hungarian diplomats by the British Foreign Office, and he was eventually freed in 1922. Opting for exile in the Soviet Union, Varjas may have ultimately perished there in one of Stalin's purges.

133:22 **reign of terror after the fall of Bela Kun See A52:10–11.**

133:27 **Mr. Kadar** Born Laszlo Csermanek, János Kádár (1912–1989) was Hungary's Communist leader from 1956 until 1988. He was active between the wars in the proscribed Hungarian Communist Party and assumed his pseudonym after going underground when the Horthy Government formed an alliance with Nazi Germany in 1940. Appointed to the Politburo in 1945 and as interior minister in 1949, Kádár later fell victim to Rákosi's purge of "native" Communists whose loyalty to Moscow was supposedly shaky. Tortured and imprisoned for three years, he was quickly rehabilitated upon his release in July 1954 as the Soviet Union—post-Stalin—sought to bolster the legitimacy of its satellite regimes. As late as October 1956, Kádár had joined Nagy's reformist administration, and he even sided with the revolutionaries briefly until the Soviet military build-up outside Hungary persuaded him to shift his allegiance. On 4 November 1956, as the uprising was being brutally smashed by the Red Army, Kádár was installed as head of a new Hungarian Government of proMoscow loyalists.

### 30 Bertrand Russell Urges Parole for Jacob Mindel

No annotations.

#### 31a Michael Wharton, *A Nation's Security*

141:6–7 **the inquiry...“security risk”** United States 1954 and 1954a. These confidential transcripts of testimony in the Oppenheimer hearing were released at the prompting of Lewis S. Strauss, chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission. Strauss had discovered from FBI wiretaps that Oppenheimer and his counsel were perplexed about the possibility of publication and were therefore considering leaking extracts which supported the scientist's position (see Rhodes 1995, 557).

#### 31b The Scientist in Society

142:10 **Dr. Oppenheimer was refused security clearance** Oppenheimer's "Q clearance" to classified information of the United States Atomic Energy Commission had been withdrawn by order of President Eisenhower on 3 December 1953. From 12 April until 6 May 1954 a dramatic hearing "In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer" was conducted by the USAEC. On 1 June the investigating authority ruled that Oppenheimer's actions had "reflected a serious disregard for the requirements of the security system" (quoted in Rhodes 1995, 556) and advised against reinstatement of his previous standing. On 29 June a majority of USAEC commissioners accepted this recommendation.

142:28 **one of them...rather grave** Russell is probably referring to Oppenheimer's friendship with Haakon Chevalier, a translator of André Malraux and an instructor in French at Berkeley. In 1943, at the instigation of a British engineer called George Eltenton, Chevalier may have attempted to suborn Oppenheimer into spying for the Soviet Union. When the latter testified in 1954 about these contacts with Chevalier, he damagingly contradicted statements made to American military intelligence eleven years previously.

142:34–8 **"In some sort...physicists have felt"** Oppenheimer 1955, 88.

143:11–12 **Russian rejection of the Baruch Plan** This aborted scheme of atomic energy control had been put to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission on 14 June 1946 by the leading American representative, Bernard M. Baruch (1870–1965), a wealthy financier and veteran Washington insider. The plan was conceived by a committee of the State Department and called for an international agency to manage the extraction and distribution of uranium ore and to ensure its utilization by national

governments for peaceful purposes only. The Soviet Union strongly opposed the mandatory inspection provisions, Baruch's insistence on the "swift and sure punishment" of any violations, and his suggestion that the Security Council veto be suspended for the consideration of nuclear issues. These details (along with the two tests carried out by the United States on Bikini atoll only a month after the plan was unveiled) added to Soviet suspicions of a scheme which appeared to be perpetuating America's monopoly of nuclear force whilst prohibiting their own atomic development. The Baruch Plan was effectively scotched by the Soviet Union's abstention in a UN Security Council vote on 30 December 1946.

143:12–15 "**Openness... Soviet hostility.**" Oppenheimer 1955, 62.

143:22–4 "**Our twenty-thousandth...two-thousandth.**" Oppenheimer 1955, 66.

143:25 **Big Four at Geneva** See A44:4–5.

143:30–2 "**Many have...agree with this.**" Oppenheimer 1955, 12.

143:43–144:2 "**Science can...on earth.**" Oppenheimer 1955, 106.

144:4–6 "**There are...single end.**" Oppenheimer 1955, 107–8.

144:15–19 "**It is possible...anymore.**" Oppenheimer 1955, 121.

145:4–9 "**The science...conceivably be.**" Oppenheimer 1955, 126.

### 32a The Sobell Case

152:15–16 **a friend named Elitcher** Morton Sobell's friendship with Max Elitcher is recounted in Wexley 1955, Chap. 8. Elitcher had attended the same high school as Sobell and had studied engineering with both Sobell and Julius Rosenberg at the College of the City of New York. Elitcher had joined the Communist Party while sharing an apartment with Sobell in Washington D.C. from 1939 to 1941—although he denied ever having been a member when later (in 1947) he was required by the Department of the Navy to take a federal loyalty oath. Troubled by his perjury, however, Elitcher resigned from government service the following year and renewed his acquaintance with Sobell in New York. His house in Queens backed onto the Sobell family's, and he began working for the same engineering firm as his friend. He later testified, *inter alia*, that Sobell had told him about the espionage activities of Julius Rosenberg and, most damagingly, that in July 1948 he had actually witnessed Sobell transfer a canister of film to Rosenberg.

152:22–31 **Sobell and his wife...“Deported from Mexico”** Russell's account of the Sobell family's abrupt departure for Mexico and enforced return to the United States is based on Wexley 1955, Chap. 7. Sobell's prosecutors had read a strong presumption of guilt into his taking flight almost immediately after the arrest of David Greenglass (see A155:6–10) and into his efforts to obtain passports after reaching Mexico. Two other known associates of Julius Rosenberg disappeared around the same time as Sobell and resurfaced over thirty years later in the Soviet Union, although a number of frightened Americans had innocently sought refuge south of the border after being targeted for political investigation in the United States. In Sobell's defence, the immunization shots which he and his family received in Mexico were used as evidence of his intention to return home voluntarily. Sobell has always insisted that he went south only because he feared prosecution for perjuring himself about his shortlived association with the Young Communist League from 1940–41: "I had falsely sworn on several occasions that 'I had never been a member of any organization dedicated to the violent overthrow of the government'—to wit the Communist Party" (see Sobell 1997).

## 32b The Case of Morton Sobell

153:31 **The letter from Professor Perkins** Perkins 1956. A historian of early Anglo-American diplomatic relations, Bradford Perkins (b. 1925) was an assistant professor at the University of California at Los Angeles who was residing temporarily in London. He seems to have been drawn further into the controversy engendered by publication of Paper 32a, for on 27 April the American Committee for Cultural Freedom sent Perkins some literature to prepare him for a debate with another Sobell supporter, Labour M.P. Sydney Silverman (from Norman Jacobs, RA REC. ACQ. 870).

153:36 **evidence of Elitcher** See A152:15–16.

153:37–9 **Judge Irving Kaufman...“If...defendant Sobell.”** See Wexley 1955, 175. At forty, Irving R. Kaufman (1910–1992) was one of the youngest federal judges in the United States. In November 1950 he had presided over the first espionage trial of Americans arrested for their alleged connection to Klaus Fuchs, and at which the defendants, Abraham Brothman and Miriam Moskowitz, were convicted of conspiracy.

154:2–3 **chief agent...henchman Cohn** Russell is referring to allegations by paid informer Harvey Matusow (see A169:19–21) that the controversial prosecutor Roy M. Cohn (1927–1986) had instructed him to give false testimony in the trial of thirteen New York Communists charged with sedition under the Smith Act in 1952 (see H30). In the Rosenberg-Sobell case, Cohn had actually been one of five assistants working under another formidable anti-Communist prosecutor, United States Attorney Irving H. Saypol. On Cohn’s association with McCarthy, see A164:6.

154:18–19 **The cases of Oppenheimer and Lattimore** On Oppenheimer, see Paper 31. A sinologist and occasional government advisor, Owen Lattimore (1900–1989) was a victim of McCarthyite attacks on the State Department and its China policy. In March 1950 the Wisconsin senator himself denounced the then director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University as “pro-Communist” and an “extremely bad security risk” (quoted in Reeves 1982, 255). Lattimore was subsequently indicted for perjuring himself before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that was investigating these allegations. The charges were finally dropped by the Justice Department in 1955, but Lattimore’s career and reputation were ruined.

154:25 **Mr. Wade N. Mack points out** Mack 1956.

154:26 **“Quis custodiet custodes?”** Originally “Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?” [Who will guard the guardians themselves?], a phrase coined by the Roman poet Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis, c.50–c.130) in the sixth of a cycle of sixteen *Satires* (c.100–128) in long verses of which he assailed the corruption of society and the cruelty and weakness of human nature. Here (VI: §327) he ridicules the notion that men might be employed to ensure that Roman women remained faithful.

154:29 **Dr. Johnson’s remark** The attribution should be to the Anglican cleric and wit Sydney Smith (1771–1845), whose daughter, Lady Holland, had recorded this famously dismissive reply (“Ah! what you don’t know would make a great book”) to an unidentified “young person” in a memoir of her father (Holland 1855, 242).

154:33 **Corliss Lament** See H34.

154:33 **of the well-known American banking family** Corliss’s father, Thomas William Lamont (1870–1948), was a partner, and later director, of J.P. Morgan and Company. He had become known to Russell as the American representative on the international banking consortium established in 1920 to broker loans for the economic reconstruction and development of China.

154:35–43 **I was much...other people.** On this letter from Lament (dated 29 March 1956) which Russell quotes, he drafted a short reply to be sent by telegram: “May I publish in *Manchester Guardian* whole or part of your letter to me”. Lament immediately cabled his assent.

155:1 **Mr. Robert H. Rose seems to object** Rose 1956.

155:5–6 **by John Wexley** Wexley 1955. John Wexley (1907–1985) was a radical New York screenwriter and playwright whose original intention had been to dramatize the plight of the Rosenbergs as he had in *They Shall Not Die* (1934) for the defendants—black Americans wrongfully convicted of rape—in the almost equally infamous Scottsboro case. Russell’s copy of *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg* contains a number of notes and page references on the inside back-cover. On 15 October Russell was asked in a telegram from Wexley’s publishers for permission to use parts of Papers **32a** and **32b** (see Textual Notes) in an advertisement for the book in *The New York Times*. He agreed and, as published, Russell’s blurb (1956o) was supplemented by excerpts from this commendation previously solicited by the author himself: “I am happy to have the opportunity of expressing my warm appreciation of your book *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*. I think you have carried out your selfimposed task courageously, fairly and convincingly. I hope that a great many people will read your book and realize that a great injustice was done to the Rosenbergs and to Sobell, the former, alas, now irremediable” (to John Wexley, 27 June 1956).

155:6–10 **Davis...“Assuming... Elitcher... Greenglasses... Gold.”** The quotation appears in Alman and Alman 1956, 5 and in the same Cameron Associates’ advertisement that featured Russell’s blurb (1956o) for Wexley’s book. An American broadcaster, author and wartime director of the Office of War Information, Elmer Holmes Davis (1890–1958) had in 1954 published his own critique of McCarthyism, *But We Were Born Free*. On Elitcher, see A152:15–16. David Greenglass (b. 1922), the brother of Ethel Rosenberg, was a skilled machinist who had been seconded to the Manhattan Project in July 1944 after being drafted into the army. Both he and his wife, Ruth (née Printz, b. 1925), had joined the Young Communist League the previous year. Ruth later testified that she had been urged by the Rosenbergs to persuade her husband to divulge technically sensitive information about the high-explosive lens mold on which he was working. After his arrest by the FBI in 1950, Greenglass confessed and gave evidence against the Rosenbergs—which many years later he admitted was false—in return for immunity from prosecution for his wife. He was sentenced to fifteen years in prison. The authorities had been led to Greenglass by his other espionage contact, Harry Gold, who had himself been named as a Soviet agent by the Manhattan Project physicist Klaus Fuchs. An industrial chemist, Gold had flirted with Communist politics in the early 1930s and had been engaged in small-scale industrial espionage for a number of years before assum-ing his pivotal role in the wartime spy-ring as courier for Fuchs. After admitting his part in the conspiracy, Gold received a thirty-year prison term.

155:11–12 **“National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell”** This pressure group; known also as the Committee to Serve Justice in the Rosenberg Case and the Committee to Free Morton Sobell, had been founded in the aftermath of the Rosenberg-Sobell trial. The initial object of its campaign was to win clemency for the Rosenbergs, but after the couple’s execution in June 1953 the focus was shifted to the incarcerated Sobell. As well as the national organization based in New York, there were a number of city and state committees, all of which engaged in a variety of propaganda and fund-raising activities. As Sobell’s plight attracted international attention, similar, if

unaffiliated, bodies were established overseas—including the small British committee through which Russell became involved with the case.

155:13–14 **a pamphlet...** *William Langer... Morton Sobell* Langer 1955, an abridgement of the speech which this maverick Republican senator for North Dakota (1886–1959) had delivered on 29 September 1955 at an Assembly for Justice for Morton Sobell in Carnegie Hall, New York. In wondering what steps might be taken in Britain to publicize Sobell's plight, Russell had advised his cousin Margaret Lloyd against reprinting this "panegyric of himself by the Senator" (14 March 1956).

155:14–15 **pamphlet...** *Harold Urey... Morton Sobell* Urey 1955 comprises the text of the distinguished American chemist's address to the Chicago Sobell Committee on 12 February 1955. Harold Clayton Urey (1893–1981) had been awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1934 for his discovery of the hydrogen isotope deuterium. He later worked on the Manhattan Project and had actually been listed as a prosecution witness at the Rosenberg-Sobell trial, although he was never called. By his letter to *The New York Times* in January 1953, he became one of the first prominent Americans to move beyond merely pleading clemency for the Rosenbergs to questioning the verdict against them. The doubts in his own mind had been sown by the specialist scientific knowledge which Julius Rosenberg and his co-conspirator David Greenglass—another engineer of limited training—were presumed to possess. After the couple were executed in June 1953, Urey shifted his campaigning focus to Morton Sobell.

155:16–17 **a Nobel Prize-man of by no means Left-wing opinion** Urey was typical of many American scientists on account of "his abandonment of the progressive left for liberal anticommunism" (Wang 1999, 277). His political transformation in the late 1940s did not protect him from McCarthyite smears, however. No doubt Russell mentioned Urey's political sympathies in order to heighten the effect of the quotation. But perhaps he also had in mind the scientist's refusal to sign the Russell-Einstein manifesto, in part, he had told Russell, because of "dislike for some of the people on your list. I do not object to the Communists from communistic countries, but I dislike Communists from the democratic countries" (7 July 1955).

155:17–19 **"The integrity...not justified."** This statement was made by Urey during the Chicago speech referred to above (A155:14–15) and was probably quoted by Russell from Alman and Alman 1956, 5.

155:19 **Judge Patrick H.O'Brien** Patrick Henry O'Brien (1868–1959) had enjoyed a long legal and political career in Michigan. He was the state's Attorney General (1933–34) and a probate judge in Wayne County from 1939 until his retirement seventeen years later. He was the keynote speaker at the Carnegie Hall meeting to which Paper 32c was sent by Russell as a message of support in May 1956.

155:20–1 **"In accordance...Sobell."** Quoted in Alman and Alman 1956, 5.

### 32c Morton Sobell

No annotations.

## 32d Message to the Rosenberg-Sobell Committee Commemoration Meeting

156:7 **as the judge himself stated** See A153:37–9.

### 33 Symptoms of George Orwell's 1984

160:3–4 **Orwell was very ill** Orwell worked on his last novel between periods of hospitalization for the tuberculosis from which he had suffered for many years and to

which illness he finally succumbed, aged forty-seven, in January 1950, less than a year after publication of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

160:27 **accounts of exile in Siberia under the Czar** Tolstoy's *Resurrection* (1900) may be one of the works that Russell had in mind.

160:36 **early life of Trotsky...by Deutscher** Deutscher 1954.

161:5–7 **Aristotle was protected...to fly.** See Russell 1945, 160–1. Born in Stagira, northern Greece, Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) had strong ties to the Macedonian court and even became tutor to the adolescent Alexander (see also A14:8). He subsequently moved to Athens and established his famous lyceum there in 335 B.C., three years after the city-state had been conquered by Alexander the Great's father, Philip II. Aristotle's Macedonian connections made him vulnerable when, following Alexander's death, an Athenian revolt triggered the Lamian War (323–322 B.C.). Indicted for impiety, Aristotle escaped punishment by opting for exile in Chalcis. According to legend he did not wish the Athenians—who had already disposed of Socrates—"to sin twice against philosophy".

161:7–10 **In the seventeenth century...flee to Holland.** See Russell 1945, 559. Benedict de Spinoza (1634–1677) was born into the community of Dutch Jews that formed after their flight from the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal. Descartes (1596–1650) moved to Holland from his native France in 1629, "probably to escape the risk of persecution" (*ibid.*); he lived there for the next twenty years. John Locke (1632–1704) took refuge there in 1683 after his patron Lord Shaftesbury fell from political favour, and he remained in Holland until the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

161:11 **a Dutch King** Russell had written of William III (1650–1702, ruled from 1689), Prince of Orange, that he brought to the English throne which he occupied with his wife Mary, "the commercial and theological wisdom for which his country was noted" (1945, 603).

161:12–13 **except during...and Napoleon** Russell provides here a familiar echo of his Whig forebears' contempt for Pitt the Younger's Conservative Government of the 1790s, which used such enactments as the Treasonable Practices Act and Seditious Meetings Act to curb freedom of association and the public discussion of politics and otherwise to suppress domestic radicalism.

161:24–5 **purges of the Civil Service** On 15 March 1948 Prime Minister Attlee told the Commons that the British Government would henceforth "ensure that no one who is known to be a member of the Communist Party, or to be associated with it in such a way as to raise legitimate doubts about his or her reliability, is employed in connection with work, the nature of which is vital to the security of the State" (United Kingdom 1948, 1,704). This policy was proclaimed almost a year after six workers investigated by M15 had been dismissed from the civil service. Reflecting the intensity of labour opposition to Communists in their midst, the annual conference of the Trades Union Congress in September even rejected a motion which merely requested proper union representation for those targeted by the purge. The civil service unions, however, continued to voice their objections to the appeals procedure. Despite the contentious nature of the policy and the divisions among trades unionists which it exposed at a time of rising Cold War tensions, few civil servants, as it turned out, were dismissed.

161:26–35 **The Home Office...Polish friend...agitation.** This passage is marked in pencil on a photocopy from *Portraits from Memory* among the papers (RA REC. ACQ. 867) of Russell's "Polish friend" Stefan Themerson (1910–1988), an essayist, novelist, children's author and avant-garde filmmaker. Moving to Paris from Poland with his wife

Franciszka (also a filmmaker and illustrator) in 1937, Themerson volunteered for service in the Polish Army at the outbreak of the Second World War and then escaped to London from France in 1942. The Themersons' immigration difficulties began in 1950 when their naturalization papers were refused by the Home Office. In October 1952 Themerson asked Russell to supply character references in support of their renewed application. The two men had started to correspond about their fictional writing and the publication of *The Good Citizen's Alphabet* (1953) by the Themersons' Gaberbocchus Press. On 23 March 1954 Russell expressed satisfaction that Themerson had at last obtained citizenship, "not only on your account but because it diminishes the lowness of my opinion of the British authorities".

162:19–22 **"couldn't conceive...know about"** *The New York Times*, 6 Nov. 1953, p. 13. The senator had made these comments after the Harvard physicist Wendell H. Furry refused to testify before McCarthy's Senate Subcommittee on Investigations. Notwithstanding Harvard's standing, McCarthy's insinuation that the institution provided sanctuary to so-called fifth amendment Communists persuaded the Harvard Corporation (the university's executive governing board) to affirm the following May that "We will not shut our eyes to the inferences of guilt which the use of the Fifth Amendment creates as a matter of common sense" (quoted in Cauter 1978, 412).

163:23–5 **Chinese intellectuals... "brain-washing"**. The term "brainwashing" had been coined by foreign correspondent and contract CIA operative Edward Hunter in an article for the *Miami Daily News* published in September 1950. Writing from hospital early in 1954, Russell had told Gilbert Murray that he had "taken a good deal of trouble to find out what the Communists are doing to Chinese scholars and persons of learning generally. The process which is called 'brain washing' seems to me unspeakably horrible" (18 Feb. 1954; 2001, 480). His source was probably Hunter's book-length study of *Brainwashing in Red China*, based on interviews with refugees from the Communist regime in Hong Kong and which claimed, *inter alia*, that "tens of thousands of men, women and children had their brains washed. They ranged from students to instructors and professors, and from criminals to church deacons" (1951, 4). Hunter was a strident cold warrior whose sensational treatment of the subject fanned popular fears of Communist mind-control and legitimated the experimental employment of psychological warfare techniques by the US military.

163:34–5 **Those who reported...evils of Chiang Kai-shek's régime** Strict censorship was in effect in most areas of Kuomintang (Nationalist) rule during the four years of Chinese civil war after 1945. Independent newspapers were closed down, intimidated, or starved of newsprint, while publishing houses were placed under government control. These and other methods of suppression were intended to inhibit the reporting of increasingly vocal student demonstrations against the war policy of Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) and the economic havoc wreaked by his perpetuation of a conflict which commanded only limited popular support. Condemned by Russell as a "totalitarian ruffian" (1952a), Chiang tended to see all protest as Communist-inspired; his critics were routinely harassed and sometimes more viciously repressed. Assured of American financial, diplomatic and military support against Communist China, the Kuomintang leader subjected his island stronghold of Formosa to the same iron rule after evacuating the mainland in 1949.

163:42–164:1 **In 1899, General Butler...subdue the Boers.** Major-General Sir William Butler (1838–1910) had been given this command in October 1899, some nine months before he sent to the War Office the report which precipitated his resignation.

Butler not only anticipated protracted struggle with the Boers, but he also questioned the wisdom of Britain's uncritical support for the "uitlanders" (immigrants) in the Transvaal. Indeed, during a brief term as acting High Commissioner immediately after his military appointment, Butler revealed his indifference to "uitlander" grievances and blocked as too provocative the creation of a British volunteer force in South Africa.

**164:6 The purging of United States libraries in Europe** In the course of his Senate Subcommittee's investigation of the Voice of America, Senator McCarthy protested on national television the prevalence of subversive literature in the overseas libraries of the International Information Administration (11A). The following day, 19 February 1953, the State Department ordered the removal of all politically questionable material from its information centres. Despite the swift implementation of this directive—which soon affected many avowedly anti-Communist authors and works of fiction such as *The Naked and the Dead* and *From Here to Eternity*—Roy Cohn (see A154:2–3 and A169:19–21) and McCarthy's other henchman, G. David Schine ("chief consultant" to the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations), undertook a much publicized tour of 11A facilities in Europe's capitals. The closure of several libraries followed; about thirty 11A employees were eventually dismissed and the office itself was superseded in August 1953 by the new United States Information Agency (see H6).

**164:6–7 and of school libraries in America** For example, after 1952 all UNESCO material was banned from school libraries in the jurisdiction of the Los Angeles Board of Education, while *The Nation*, a liberal weekly which had often published Russell, was purged from schools in New York City and Newark, New Jersey (see Cauter 1978, 454).

**164:8 Index Expurgatorius** A list of books from which condemned passages must be removed before they could be read by Catholics.

### 34 Foreword to *Freedom Is as Freedom Does*

**168:12 France had such a wave in 1793** The infamous Reign of Terror lasted from about May 1793 until July 1794 and was instituted after the Jacobins secured political ascendancy over their Girondin rivals in the National Convention. Its principal mechanism in Paris was the special tribunal created to expedite the trial of counter-revolutionary suspects, while in the provinces special watch committees were equipped with draconian powers of summary execution. Perhaps 30,000 people in all were either executed (with or without trial) or else died in prison. Norman Thomas derided Russell's comparison of the French Terror with the worst outbreaks of political hysteria in United States as "terribly far fetched" (1957, 16).

**168:13 Dreyfus case** Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935), the first Jew to hold a commission in the French Army, was found guilty in 1894 of selling military secrets to Germany and transported to the notorious penal colony of Devil's Island. The Catholic press and Catholic and royalist army officers strenuously defended the verdict and sentence against allegations of an anti-Semitic conspiracy in the military. Support for Dreyfus, meanwhile, tended to be staunchly republican and anti-clerical. Dreyfus was again convicted by court-martial in 1898 but obtained a presidential pardon the following year. Not until 1906, however, was either his innocence affirmed or his commission restored. The Dreyfus affair completely polarized French politics: after the "Dreyfusards" won control of government at the turn of the century, the officer corps was purged and secular legislation enacted.

**168:15 America has had it three times** Alarmed by the prospect of war with revolutionary France and by the Jacobin tendencies of the Jeffersonian opposition at home, the Federalist leadership of the United States enacted three repressive measures in

1798: the Alien, Alien Enemies and Sedition Acts. This draconian legislation also reflected nativist suspicions of Irish and French immigrants as the foremost subversive elements. During the 1919–20 “red scare” American political and business leaders engaged in the often brutal suppression of civil liberties. Russell had been much alarmed by this anti-Bolshevik frenzy, which culminated in the notorious “Palmer raids” of 2 January 1920 and the arrest by order of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer of some four thousand suspected radicals in thirty-three American cities. Throughout the latest wave of anti-radical hysteria to sweep the United States, Russell had been vigorously opposed to McCarthyism and the attendant erosion of civil liberties.

168:18–19 **hysteria of all kinds...was rife** The most noteworthy example of such hysteria in Russell family lore was the Rye House Plot (see A90:14–15)—a possibly bogus plan to assassinate Charles II—which resulted in the execution of Lord William Russell (see A90:14–15), a leader of the “Protestant” party in Parliament which had sought legislation to exclude Charles’s brother James (a Catholic convert) from the succession.

168:21 **Star Chamber** This court of law gained its name from the painted stars on the ceiling of the room in the Palace of Westminster where it convened from the fifteenth century until its abolition in 1641. Its jurisdiction was progressively widened by Tudor monarchs and their ministers from the hearing of subjects’ petitions to cover a broad range of equity and criminal matters. In the last decades of its existence the Stuarts exercised their royal prerogative through the Star Chamber, and the court was resolutely opposed by common lawyers in Parliament as a symbol of despotism and judicial bias.

168:22–3 **Titus Oates who invented the Popish Plot** Titus Oates (1649–1705) was an unscrupulous anti-Catholic agitator who, feigning conversion, was admitted to a Jesuit seminary in France. On returning to England in 1678, he claimed knowledge of a plot to murder Charles II, burn London and reestablish Roman Catholicism. However fanciful his tales, they certainly resonated with popular fears and suspicions of “popery”, French power and resurgent arbitrary rule.

168:24 **when the mob sacked Dr. Priestley’s house** The scientist, dissenting theologian and political reformer Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) sympathized openly with the aims of the French Revolution, having published a critical riposte to Burke’s *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). He was among several prominent dissenters whose property was attacked during four days of “patriotic” rioting in Birmingham from 14–17 July 1791. Local authorities were suspected of collusion in the disorder, which was triggered by a provocative commemoration of Bastille Day staged in a local tavern.

168:24–5 **Government employed spies and agents provocateurs** Although political surveillance in the 1790s was by no means all pervasive, the British Home Office, often with the assistance of local magistrates, utilized a great many informers and spies. Some of them successfully infiltrated the London Corresponding Society and other radical organizations and probably did coax “foolish men into mouthing seditious words or engaging in subversive activity, before betraying them to the authorities” (Dickinson 1985, 38).

168:26–8 **The younger Pitt...quite at home.** On Russell’s low regard for William Pitt the Younger (1759–1806), Prime Minister 1783–1801 and 1804–06, and his objections to the repressive measures directed at British radicalism in the 1790s, see A161:12–13.

168:36–41 **Girl Scouts Handbook...United Nations...offending matter** This furore was provoked by the allegation of Florida newscaster Robert Le Fevre that the *Handbook* advocated “socialized medicine”. The condemnation from which Russell quotes was made by a commander of the American Legion (see Lament 1956, 203). Of this passage, Norman Thomas complained that, even as edited by the McCarthyists, the *Handbook* still featured “accurate and favourable information about the UN...” (1957, 16).

169:4–12 **Members of the FBI...obtain absolution.** Norman Thomas would publicly accuse Russell of overstatement in this passage “so great as to approach falsehood” (1957, 15). In private correspondence with Thomas on 25 February, Russell admitted that he had been “guilty of exaggeration as regards the FBI in relation to the colour question” (see H35, p. 173). “On all other points”, however, Russell saw “no reason to modify anything that I have said”.

169:19–21 **Matusow...and recanted** Harvey Matusow (1926–2002) had joined a New York City branch of the Communist Party in 1946. Four years later, on discovering that he was the subject of an FBI file, he began working undercover for the bureau until exposed by the party in January 1951. He then became a star ex-Communist witness for the Justice Department and helped convict, amongst others, Clifford E. Jencks, leader of the left-wing Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, as well as thirteen Communists charged in New York with sedition under the Smith Act (see H30). But early in 1955 a supposedly guilt-ridden Matusow signed affidavits claiming that he had testified falsely at these and other trials and that, in the latter case, he had been instructed to perjure himself by prosecutor Roy Cohn (see A154:2–3, A164:6). In a federal court in Texas, however, Judge Robert E. Thomason dismissed Matusow’s affidavit on behalf of Jencks, and in February 1955 he imposed the three-year sentence for contempt to which Russell makes reference below. The next month Matusow’s dramatic *mea culpa*, *False Witness* (1955), appeared in a blaze of publicity, followed in July by his indictment on six counts of perjury. His retractions were dismissed by United States Attorney General Herbert Brownell as a Communist plot to discredit *all* government witnesses, probably because of approaches to Matusow that had been made by radical lawyers and the imprint on his book of the left-wing publishers Cameron and Kahn.

169:22–4 **Although Matusow...recantation.** Russell originally wrote: “Matusow appealed, and the appeal has not yet been heard, so the ultimate issue, in this case, is still in doubt” (see T169:22–4). The revised reading was suggested by Lament in light of developments in the Matusow case since the American edition of the book had gone to press. On 27 January 1956 Matusow had actually been acquitted of the contempt charge in a federal court of appeals. Russell wrote “I agree change” in the upper-right corner of Lamont’s letter of 7 September 1956—presumably for the telegram by which Lamont had requested that Russell reply. Matusow was convicted of perjury later in September and began serving a five-year sentence in June 1957.

169:26 **Federal policeman** The adjective was inserted at the suggestion of Lamont, who felt that it “would bring out your meaning more clearly”, given that Russell “probably meant to refer to the *Federal* police, that is, the FBI, rather than to the American municipal police who have once in a while been prosecuted for breaking the law” (30 Aug. 1956).

169:32–8 **Federal Court of Appeals...“system of...meetings he attends.”** Lamont 1956, 119. This ruling in the case of *Parker v. Lester* from October 1955 had struck at the vetting procedures of the United States Coast Guard.

170:13–14 **some reason...Russia is past the worst** See A175:41–176:1.

170:14–15 **When McCarthy fell into disfavour** Senator McCarthy's credibility had been dealt a fatal blow in May and June 1954 by the televised broadcasts of testimony to his Senate Subcommittee's investigation of alleged Communist infiltration of the United States Army. The military was completely exonerated, and McCarthy's political career never recovered from his formal censure by the Senate six months later.

### 35 An Open Letter to Mr. Norman Thomas

175:10–12 **Gustav Herling, a Norwegian...still on their side** These biographical details contain two errors which the writer, literary critic and journalist Gustav Herling-Grudziński (1919–2000) felt compelled to rectify in a letter to *The New Leader* circulated to Russell as well: "I am not a Norwegian but a Pole. And while it is true that I was originally as a young boy a Communist, it is not true that I was still on the Communist side when imprisoned by the Russians in 1940. I ceased to be a Communist in 1937 and in fact immediately after my country's defeat in 1939 I founded with my friends one of the first under-ground organizations in Warsaw which was alike anti-Nazi and anti-Communist" (21 March 1957). Herling had been imprisoned in Soviet labour camps until 1942; in 1957 he was living in Italy.

175:13–25 **Communists and Nazis...be prevented.** Russell *1951b*, ix. Russell had originally quoted the preceding paragraph as well, but he then deleted it on the typescript copy-text (see T175:13–25). The following marginal note had been written by Edith Russell in pencil adjacent to the concluding sentence of the deleted portion of the quotation: "then why take up with C.L. {Corliss Lament}, a fellow traveller? Is he to be trusted?"

175:26–7 **the above quotation won...approval of Gustav Herling** "I cannot thank you enough for your kindness in writing a preface which has in a few words expressed all that I tried to say in my book. Your conclusions are ones that I myself drew from my experiences, and show that it is not perhaps necessary to go through these experiences to understand them as fully and sympathetically as you have done" (Herling to Russell, 30 May 1951).

175:36 **Max Lowenthal's book *The Federal Bureau of Investigation*** Lowenthal 1950, which Russell had read in May 1956 (Appendix III, p. 369). Max Lowenthal (1888–1971) was a congressional lawyer who had also worked in occupied Germany as a legal adviser to General Lucius D. Clay. His Washington career, however, was abruptly ended by the publication of his civil libertarian's critique of the FBI. Author and publisher were both roundly condemned as pro-Communist by members of Congress and in the press, and Lowenthal was subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee to answer charges that he had previously aided and abetted Communists in government service (one of his assistants had defected to the Soviet Union). Even Lowenthal's friendship with President Truman could not protect him from the effects of such damaging allegations. Far from accepting Russell's commendation of *The Federal Bureau of Investigation*, Norman Thomas validated the political indictment of an author whose book "was weakened because he had a personal grievance against the FBI for showing up certain of his associates as men with provable Communist party records" (1957a, 18).

175:37 **fall of McCarthy** See A170:14–15.

175:41–176:1 **after the death of Stalin...Soviet regime was improving** A steady trickle of political prisoners had been rehabilitated since Stalin's death in March 1953, and a modest cultural thaw had been instituted as well. Russell had been especially

encouraged by Premier Malenkov's guarded (and politically fatal) support for a policy of coexistence with the capitalist West (see *Papers* 28:499–500). In May 1955, however, Russell still hesitated to accept Isaac Deutscher's "optimistic forecast" of impending liberalization by the Soviet regime (1955*b*; *Papers* 28:140). This scepticism was undermined, though, by Khrushchev's attack on Stalin the following February (A130:3–4)—as can be gauged from certain revisions to "Why I Am Not a Communist" (see **H12**, pp. 55–6). Concerning Soviet political hysteria and repression, in Paper **34** (written in June 1956) Russell had again detected "reason to hope that the Russia is past the worst in this respect" (170:13–14). In light of the Red Army's brutal suppression of the Hungarian uprising, however, Norman Thomas had dismissed such "optimism about the degree of change for the better in Russia" as hopelessly unrealistic (1957, 16).

176:3 **preface for a book by Mr. Corliss Lament** Paper **34**.

176:5 **I had some correspondence with him** See **H34**.

176:9–11 **I was led...American malpractices**. Edith Russell's pencil note in the adjacent left-margin reads: "and because his evidence was supported by outside evidence?"

176:13 **Dr. Harold Urey** See A155:14–15, A155:16–17.

176:13–14 **Professor Malcolm Sharp** See **H36**.

176:20–7 **For example, Bolshevik...power of Wall Street**. Pomogayeva 1952, 73. Russell's dictation files contain the undated draft of a letter thanking a Mr. Hare for his translation of this article from *Bolshevik*, a fortnightly Russian-language publication based in Moscow. He jokingly described the piece as "really better than I could have hoped" (c.1 July 1952).

176:28–30 **"perhaps...American scene"** Thomas 1957, 16.

176:32 **I wrote to the Manchester Guardian (December 4, 1956)** Paper **27**.

177:21–2 **This body...the early days of the New Deal**. See Lowenthal 1950 (especially Chap. 35) for a hostile critique of this progressive widening of the FBI's jurisdictional competence. The process had been accelerated after J. Edgar Hoover's appointment as director in 1924 and does not really seem to have been interrupted in "the early days of the New Deal", when the investigative authority of the rapidly expanding bureau was further enhanced by a rash of new federal criminal statutes.

177:27–8 **"in statements...properly support"** Thomas 1957, 15.

177:36–9 **"Of course...the Communist line."** Lament 1956, 132.

177:40 **Cedric Belfrage's The Frightened Giant** Belfrage 1957. The author's interview with Russell appears as Appendix III in this volume. Norman Thomas clearly tried to discredit Belfrage (1904–1990) in his response to Russell's open letter: "There is no question at all about Belfrage's Communist connections. Sworn and uncontradicted testimony exists that he was a member of the Soviet espionage group headed by (Julius Rosenberg's contact) Jacob Golos and that he was a secret party member with a party alias. He did not contradict this testimony but pleaded the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination" (Thomas 1957*a*, 18). In 1984 Belfrage obtained damages and an apology from the London *Sunday Times* after the newspaper repeated the charge made by Thomas to Russell almost thirty years previously. Yet, support for this allegation—which centred upon Belfrage's wartime work for British intelligence in New York—has been provided by the release of Soviet cables intercepted and deciphered by the American "Venona" project (see Haynes and Klehr 1999, 109–11). Although he denied being a Communist (to Russell, 11 April 1956), in *The Frightened Giant* (an account of his political and legal

travails which he had asked Russell to read in manuscript) Belfrage was quite candid about the persistence of his fellow-travelling. This had continued, he wrote, “because communist parties are moving in the direction of history...” (1957, 112).

178:6–12 **The results...was a “red”**. Anon. 1954.

178:27–8 **It is no true service...in its name**. In the adjacent left-margin Edith Russell wrote in pencil, “this is what he says you do”. Her notation was subsequently deleted in ink.

### 36 Justice or Injustice?

182:10–11 **He was concerned in the last stages of the Rosenberg case** See Headnote.

182:25 **Popish Plot** See A168:22–3.

182:25–6 **early months of 1918** With the Italians reeling after the Battle of Caporetto, the French Army possibly mutinous, American military might not yet fully deployed, and Bolshevik Russia negotiating a separate peace, the strategic outlook for Britain was bleak early in 1918. Signs of collapsing civilian morale and labour strife in the munitions industries provided additional cause for concern to the authorities. Russell, however, was momentarily encouraged into thinking that his hoped for but hitherto elusive peace-by-negotiation might now ensue (see *Papers* 14:385).

182:26–7 **France had two...1793...Dreyfus case** See A168:12, A168:13.

182:32 **Japanese punished Koreans for the Tokyo earthquake** The Great Kan to Earthquake of 1 September 1923 destroyed two-thirds of Tokyo and four-fifths of the neighbouring city of Yokohama. In the chaotic aftermath of the quake, which left two million homeless and led to the imposition of martial law, nationalist vigilantes started rumours that Korean immigrants had poisoned the drinking water and were engaged in arson and looting. Some 4,000 Koreans were murdered in the ensuing atrocities, which were abetted by the police and were also visited upon Japanese socialists, trade unionists and, indeed, anyone deemed “unpatriotic” by the mob. Russell had commented briefly on this episode of “mass hysteria” thirty years previously in an essay for *Foreign Affairs* (Russell 1924a).

183:10–11 **conviction of the Rosenbergs...Greenglasses** See A155:6–10.

183:12 **one critic quoted** These words were inserted by Dallin H.Oaks, the editor of *The University of Chicago Law Review*, “as Professor Sharp”, he told Russell, “does not necessarily endorse Mr. Love’s statement, but rather sets it forth as the view of another critic” (1 March 1957). Earlier in the book Sharp noted the suspicion with which “accomplice testimony” was regarded by the Chicago lawyer Stephen Love (1956, 9).

183:26–7 **Kaufman injected prejudice...misfortunes of the Korean War** In passing sentence on the Rosenbergs on 5 April 1951, Judge Kaufman (A153: 37–9) had considered their crimes “worse than murder... I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason” (quoted in Wexley 1955, 600).

183:34–5 **There was...secret about the atom bomb...supposed**. Here Russell employs the thesis of *The Atom Spy Hoax* (Reuben 1955, especially Chap. 1), which had been recommended to him in a letter from Sharp dated 2 May 1956 (see also Appendix III, p. 369). As applied to the most purely theoretical aspects of the science behind the atomic bomb, Russell’s point undoubtedly holds. But archival disclosures from the former Soviet Union (see Haynes and Klehr 1999, 332–3) have intimated that the

espionage of Fuchs and others *did* hasten the production of a Soviet atomic bomb, albeit not quite so rapidly as claimed by Judge Kaufman in sentencing the Rosenbergs.

183:38–9 **Communist spy...seldom give his real name** Russell accepted the editorial emendation of “never” to “seldom”, because Elizabeth Bentley, the confessed espionage courier and ubiquitous government witness, “testified that she did (*Sharp 1956*) p. 87) use her name., though ‘rarely’...” (Dallin H.Oaks to Russell, 1 March 1957).

184:6 **testimony of Elitcher** See A152:15–16.

184:13–14 **The Supreme Court was asked to review the case, but refused.** The Supreme Court made only one substantive pronouncement on the Rosenberg-Sobell case, and that was to reject an argument that the Rosenbergs should have been sentenced under the provisions of the Atomic Energy Act rather than the more stringent Espionage Act. This ruling was issued on 19 June 1953, the day that the Rosenbergs were executed. Four times previously the Supreme Court had simply voted against hearing any arguments from the defence, although on the last of these occasions (15 June 1953) four of the nine justices had issued a dissenting judgment.

184:24 **what final consideration was given to the case by the President** As drafted by Russell, this passage had read: “whether their appeal for clemency reached him before the execution”. He later approved the editor’s suggested alteration of it to “before finally being assured that it had been placed before the President”. But a further change was introduced before the article appeared in print. Although Russell probably did not sanction this second revision, it has been retained in the present volume because he had accepted some other editorial changes and because it restored the thrust of his original statement. Eisenhower had, in fact, considered the matter very closely. He had decided not to exercise his powers of executive clemency but had some second thoughts as the execution date loomed and as the worldwide campaign to save the Rosenbergs gathered momentum. At a crucial meeting of his Cabinet on 19 June 1953, the President admitted that he was “impressed by all the honest doubt” voiced by those urging commutation of the death sentences or even a retrial. He overcame any lingering hesitation, however, and assured the American public in a statement issued just prior to the executions that the Rosenbergs had “received the benefit of every safeguard which American justice can provide” (quoted in Ambrose 1984, 84–5).

184:41 **Professor Urey** See A155:14–15, A155:16–17.

185:5–6 **Sacco-Vanzetti case** The fate of Nicola Sacco (1891–1927) and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (1888–1927) had attracted worldwide attention after they were found guilty of a payroll robbery murder in July 1921. Their supporters believed that the two men had been condemned more by their social status as Italian immigrants and by the professed anarchism of their political views than by the quality of the (rather flimsy) evidence against them. The political hysteria of the post-war “red scare” had barely subsided as they were brought to trial (see A168:15). Notwithstanding the doubts raised over their convictions, the Massachusetts Supreme Court refused a retrial, and Sacco and Vanzetti were eventually executed on 23 August 1927. Russell had “no doubt in my own mind that they were wholly innocent. I am forced to conclude that they were condemned on account of their political opinions...” (to Gardner Jackson, 28 May 1929; Russell 1968, 177).

185:13–14 **case of Matusow** See A169:19–21.

186:17–19 **bomb outrages...none of the perpetrators were caught** The post-war “red scare” in the United States had been punctuated by a number of such “bomb outrages”—perpetrated, it was usually alleged, by foreign-born anarchist or Bolshevik

revolutionaries. One of the most infamous incidents took place on 2 June 1919 and targeted the Washington home of United States Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, the foremost scourge of “alien subversion” (see A168:15). But the raid was botched: Palmer and his family escaped unscathed, while the bomber perished in the blast. Although reprisals for such attacks came in the form of mass deportations and other repressive measures enacted at the federal and state levels, the investigating authorities (despite a congressional appropriation of \$500,000 for the Justice Department) were singularly unsuccessful in apprehending the perpetrators—leading the left-wing press to speculate about the possible involvement of *agents provocateurs* (see Murray 1955, 80–1).

186:19 **two innocent men were put to death** Just as he had done in the 19208 (see A185:5–6), Russell presents Sacco and Vanzetti as victims of exaggerated nativist and anti-radical fears of left-wing political violence. The two hapless immigrant anarchists were already in custody on robbery charges when the most deadly bombing—claiming thirty-three lives—was carried out on Wall St. on 16 September 1920.

186:19–20 **another innocent man...punishment commuted** In February 1917 (over two years before the height of the “red scare”) radical labour organizer Thomas J. Mooney (1883–1942) had been convicted of first degree murder in connection with ten deaths caused by the bombing of a San Francisco “Preparedness Day” parade in July 1916. A lynch-mob atmosphere surrounded the trials of Mooney and his associate Warren K. Billings, and soon afterwards doubts were raised over the veracity of testimony used against them. The presiding judge in Mooney’s case urged a retrial, and the same recommendation was made by a special presidential commission appointed by Woodrow Wilson. In November 1918, however, the Governor of California agreed only to commute Mooney’s death sentence to life imprisonment. Despite repeated political protests on his behalf and a series of legal challenges over many years, Mooney languished in jail until being pardoned unconditionally in 1939—the same year in which Billings was also released, but without the vindication of a gubernatorial pardon. “With interest and deepest sympathy I have followed your case from the very beginning”, Russell told the imprisoned Mooney on 22 December 1931, “and have mentioned it as an outside example of injustice in some of my books {e.g. Russell 1923, 130 n. 3}... I earnestly hope that your liberation is at hand” (quoted in Feinberg and Kasrils 1973, 88).

### 37 Anti-American Feeling in Britain

189:31 **Anthony Trollope’s mother** Frances Trollope (née Milton, 1780–1863) published her sneering account of *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832) after returning from four years in the United States with her husband, who had accumulated heavy financial losses from investments in a series of failed business ventures. Her book elicited an indignant response in the United States, leading to the publication in pamphlet-form the following year of a compilation of *American Criticisms*. Subsequently, Mrs. Trollope gained additional recognition as a prolific and successful novelist.

189:32 **Martin Chuzzlewit** In Dickens’s 1844 novel the nephew of Martin Chuzzlewit, of the same name, is coaxed by an unscrupulous property speculator into purchasing a worthless plot of swampland in the desolate, fever-ridden frontier settlement of Eden. The “American” section of the novel abounds with barbed commentary on the corruption and vulgarity of American life, beginning with the younger Chuzzlewit’s arrival in New York to a chorus of newspaper vendors loudly hawking such gossip-mongering or

patriotically swaggering publications as the *Sewer*, *Stabber*, *Peeper*, *Plunderer* and *Rowdy Journal*.

189:34–8 **My mother...Duchess of Cambridge...“Now...dirty.”** From a letter by Kate, Viscountess Amberley (1842–1874), Russell’s mother, to Lady Henrietta Stanley, his maternal grandmother (Russell and Russell, eds. 1937, 2:499). Princess Augusta of Hesse-Cassel (1797–1889) became the Duchess of Cambridge on marrying the 1st Duke, Prince Adolphus, the seventh son of George III. The Duchess’s granddaughter Mary (1867–1953) became Queen Consort to George V.

189:42–3 **Emerson found himself among the business men in Manchester** The American essayist, poet and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803– 1882) spent much of his time in Manchester while undertaking a lecture tour of northern England and Scotland between December 1847 and March 1848. Not surprisingly perhaps, at these public engagements Emerson had nothing but praise for his provincial hosts and for the character of the British people generally. In a letter to his wife, he did lament “the tragic spectacles which these streets show, these Manchester and those Liverpool streets...” (1 Dec. 1847; Emerson 1939, 3:441–2). But Emerson’s sympathy for the labouring poor was not matched, as Russell implies, by a corresponding level of scorn for the philistinism of their industrial employers.

190:36 **Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse** Dionysius the Elder (c.430–367 B.C.) consolidated the power of the city-state which he ruled as tyrant of Syracuse from 405 B.C. by a series of military campaigns directed at Carthaginian Sicily and the Greek cities of southern Italy. Although an authoritarian ruler, Dionysius also projected himself as a patron of the arts and even wrote a number of tragedies himself. His literary aspirations were scorned by the Athenians, who also deplored the brutality of his Italian conquests and his support for Sparta’s challenge to the naval supremacy of Athens.

191:5 **Bessarion** In 1437 John Bessarion (1403–1472), a Byzantine scholar and Archbishop of Nicaea, travelled from Constantinople to Italy with Emperor John VIII Palaeologus to negotiate an end to the schism between the Catholic and Orthodox churches. A strong supporter of such a union because of the threat posed to both branches of Christianity by the Turks, Bessarion remained in Italy after other Orthodox religious leaders blocked this radical reform. He was made a cardinal in 1439 and three years later co-founded an academy in Florence for the study of Greek literature and Platonic philosophy. He continued to promote Greek learning in Italy by supporting individual scholars and assembling an impressive collection of Greek manuscripts.

191:14–15 **had to import...Whistler, Henry James and T.S.Eliot** The American painter James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834–1903) moved permanently to Europe in 1855, spending most of his time thereafter either in London or Paris—where he met Russell in September 1894, during the latter’s threemonth stint as honorary attaché at the British Embassy. A student of Russell’s at Harvard in 1914, the American-born poet, critic and literary editor Thomas Stearns Eliot (1888–1965) settled in England after the outbreak of the First World War and eventually (in 1927) became a British subject. A frequent traveller between Europe and the United States, the novelist and critic Henry James (1843–1916) moved to England in 1876, living first in London and then Rye, Sussex. He was adept at portraying Americans abroad and at comparing the manners and mores of the Old World with those of the New. In 1915 James relinquished his American citizenship in protest of his native country’s neutrality in the First World War.

191:22 **Fuller's Worthies** Thomas Fuller (1608–1661) was a clergyman, humorist and historian whose posthumously published *History of the Worthies of England* (1662) was akin to the modern *Dictionary of National Biography*.

191:33 **British trade with China is almost extinct** The United States had imposed a strict trade embargo on Communist China during the Korean War and had pressured its allies under threat of sanctions into observing this boycott. The extent of the embargo was especially resented by British commercial interests in Hong Kong, and the British Government gradually came to share this view as bi-lateral trade with the Chinese mainland was drastically curtailed. In January 1956 Sir Anthony Eden had urged President Eisenhower to bring the Chinese boycott into line with the less stringent Western policy on trade with the Soviet bloc. In April 1957 the State Department announced that it was willing to allow Britain and other countries to trade more freely with China, while reiterating (for domestic political reasons primarily) American determination to maintain a unilateral embargo. Britain was the first country (in June 1957) to announce a relaxation of strategic controls over trade with China.

191:33–4 **British oil interests in the Middle East are in a parlous state** The Suez crisis had dramatically exposed the vulnerability of British and American holdings of oil in the Middle East (see A132:3–4). The most direct attack on “British oil interests” to this point had come five years before, however, when the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was nationalized by Iran’s incoming Prime Minister, Mohammed Mossadegh. After Mossadegh was ousted in a coup backed by Britain and the CIA in 1954, the new British Petroleum Company was granted concessions in Iranian oil on the old basis of “fifty-fifty” profit sharing between the resource developer and the host government. Western companies operated on similar terms throughout the Middle East, but by 1957 even such friendly regimes as the Iranian Shah’s were pressing for a larger slice of these oil revenues. British companies also faced stiff competition from other outside interests. As Russell was writing Paper 37, for example, the state-owned Italian oil company AGIP was finalizing a deal with Iran which undercut the hallowed fifty-fifty principle. A Japanese consortium, meanwhile, was negotiating similar terms for the exploitation of Saudi and Kuwaiti oil. A longer term threat to British oil interests was raised by a conference of Arab oil experts in Baghdad in November 1957, where delegates discussed the possibility of an Arab consortium managing the production and supply of oil.

192:13–14 **our dislike of the American tariff** British opposition to American trade policy had manifested itself most recently in a failed attempt at persuading the Eisenhower administration to raise the quota of woollen textiles imported from Britain. After the allotted amount was reached late in July, the *ad valorem* duty rose from an already high twenty to twenty-five per cent to a punitive forty-five per cent (see *The Times*, 30 July 1957, p. 6). The persistence of such blatantly discriminatory practices was largely the result of congressional interference with liberal trade policies favoured by the executive branch of the United States Government ever since the first Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act had become law in 1934. Import duties had since fallen from an average of about fifty per cent to between eleven and thirteen per cent. The most dramatic cuts in the tariff had been made before the late 1940s, but since then many domestic producers (not only of woollen textiles) had proven adept at lobbying for protection against foreign competition. Notwithstanding “our dislike of the American tariff”, British industrial interests had presented a strongly protectionist case against the favourable trade terms which the United States had granted Japan in 1955 (see Eckes 1995, 169).

192:16–17 **when tenders are invited...lower than any American** In tendering contracts for government work, federal agencies were subject to the Buy America Act (1933)—New Deal legislation which provided a cushion of protection to domestic suppliers. The legislation was applied with particular rigour to defence contracting.

192:32–3 **a man was dismissed from the Civil Service by mistake** This is possibly a reference to the plight of C.S.Bull, a government scientist at the Harwell Atomic Energy Research Establishment who had been suspended from duty in 1948 because of his past membership in the Communist Party of Great Britain. When the Labour Government’s “purge” of civil servants was subsequently debated by the Trades Union Congress (see A161:24–5), a delegate of the Civil Service Clerical Association complained that Bull had not been able to seek redress even though “there was a suggestion that the case might have been one of mistaken identity...” (*The Times*, 11 Sept. 1948, p. 4). No such questionable dismissals seem to have occurred just prior to Russell’s writing of Paper 37, but the broader issue was still current because of civil service union lobbying for stronger safeguards for members brought before the special advisory committee which adjudicated security cases.

### 38 Has the Left Been Right or Wrong?

203:40 **Burke versus Paine** Edmund Burke (1729–1797) and Thomas Paine (1737–1809) were rival spokesmen for the creeds of conservatism and radicalism in 1790s Britain. Paine’s *The Rights of Man* (1791), an impassioned plea for liberty, equality and republican democracy, was a response to Burke’s highly critical *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). In this founding document of modern conservative thinking, Burke categorically rejected the very abstract principles so lauded by his radical opponent. He also staunchly defended Britain’s hierarchical social order and oligarchical political system.

203:40–1 **Jefferson versus Hamilton** Although Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), the third President of the United States, and Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton (1755–1804) had held office together under George Washington, they were at odds on the major political and economic issues of the republic’s formative years. Broadly speaking, as Russell had characterized their ideological rivalry in *Freedom and Organization*, “Jefferson stood for democracy and agriculture, Hamilton for aristocracy and urban wealth” (1934, 271). These competing conceptions of state and constitution generated a spirit of factionalism from which an inchoate party system had emerged by the turn of the nineteenth century.

204:3–4 **former Conservative Member...doctrines of Conservatism** See, for example, Hailsham 1947 and 1955. From 1938 to 1950, when he inherited the title of Viscount (which he relinquished in 1963 in order to mount an unsuccessful bid for the Conservative Party leadership), Hailsham, as Quintin Hogg, represented the constituency of Oxford City.

204:42–205:1 **Public Health Act...epidemic in the slums...Members** Over 53,000 people died of cholera in Britain in 1849, a year after the Public Health Act became law—with the disease, as Russell had written in *Freedom and Organization*, “raging within a stone’s throw of the House of Commons” (1934) 133). The advocates of centralized control over urban sanitation had been vehemently opposed by a disparate coalition of *laissez-faire* interests and ideologues: municipal corporations, private water companies, local ratepayers, and influential organs of opinion such as *The Economist*.

205:3–4 **The Economist...wrote passionate articles** “Suffering and evil... are nature’s admonitions; they cannot be got rid of; and the impatient attempts of

benevolence to banish them from the world by legislation, before benevolence has learned their object and their end, have always been more productive of evil than good” (quoted in Russell 1934, 133).

205:31–5 **Public Health Act...1875...derided...as a policy of sewage** The centralized Board of Health established by Lord John Russell’s Whig Government in 1848 was actually disbanded only six years later. Yet, local authorities could themselves regulate the water supply and oversee sewage-disposal, refuse-collection and street-cleaning, and in 1875 the exercise of these discretionary powers was made less permissive by the consolidating statute to which Hailsham draws attention. Out of deference to the localist concerns voiced by Liberals and Conservatives alike, however, the new legislation did not seek to create a centralized public health administration.

207:35 **Herbert Morrison** In the course of a long career in London and national politics, which included a short term as Foreign Secretary in 1951, the veteran Labour Party organizer and politician Herbert Stanley Morrison (1888–1965) moved gradually towards the right-wing of a party in which he had exercised considerable influence until losing his bid to succeed Clement Attlee as leader in 1955. As the Suez crisis deepened during the summer of 1956, for example, Morrison urged Eden’s Conservative Government to act firmly and decisively against Colonel Nasser—a position that was distinctly at odds with majority opinion inside his own party.

208:4–5 **minority report of the Poor Law** United Kingdom 1909, 719–1,238. A Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress had been appointed by Arthur Balfour’s Conservative Government in 1905. Its exhaustive deliberations stimulated a much broader political and intellectual debate about the role of the state and the ends of social policy, culminating in the passage between 1908 and 1911 of groundbreaking pension, unemployment and health legislation. Both the majority and minority reports urged the state to assume a larger burden of responsibility for alleviating poverty and rejected the notion—embedded in the workhouse system of relief—that the provision of welfare should deter people from relying upon it and punish those who did. That of the minority, however, written by Beatrice Webb and signed by three other dissenting commissioners, went much further in distancing itself from the Victorian equation of poverty with moral shortcomings and included a radical proposal for a “national minimum” standard of well-being, below which no citizen must fall.

209:39–41 **If John Stuart Mill...ideals of liberty.** Russell is probably thinking of *On Liberty*, where Mill (see also A95:13–21) expounded the principle that “the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection” (1859; 1963–91, 18:223). Yet, Mill subsequently made a number of favourable references to socialism, most notably in later editions of the *Principles of Political Economy* (for example, Bk. II, Chap. 1 of the 1871 ed.).

210:30–1 **“We are all Socialists now”** This phrase was supposedly coined by the prominent Liberal statesman (he held high office in all four of Gladstone’s administrations) Sir William Harcourt (1827–1904) during the Commons debate of the Conservative budget in 1888. But *Hansard* does not support this attribution, and Harcourt himself cast doubt on it when as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1893 he brought down his own budget—which proposed to offset an accumulated deficit in spending by an increase in the rate of income taxation from six pence to seven pence in the pound: “The saying has been attributed to me that everyone is a Socialist now. I do not know whether I ever said that, but this I will say—there are no economists now. Financial economy has

gone the way of political economy, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer preaching against extravagance is ‘the voice of one crying in the wilderness’” (United Kingdom 1893, 1,044).

211:17–21 **traditional Athenian conception...theory as put in Aristotle** Despite the restrictive conception of citizenship in ancient Athens (which Aristotle stoutly defended), free Athenian males participated much more directly in the political life of the community than voters in democratic societies of the mid-twentieth century. In the absence of professional politicians and bureaucrats, many offices of state were periodically allocated to ordinary citizens—who were paid for their services—by the drawing of lots. In the *Politics* (§1,279a and §1,292a, for example), Aristotle expressed concern that democratic government tended to diminish the influence of the “best men” (the *aristoi* or *agathoi*)—i.e. citizens whose superior virtue made them especially suited to rule.

211:32 **the important thing is not property but power** In his most ambitious foray into political sociology, Russell had endeavoured “to prove that the fundamental concept in social science is Power, in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics... In our day, it is common to treat economic power as the source from which all other kinds are derived; this, I shall contend, is just as great an error as that of the purely military historians whom it has caused to seem out of date” (1938, 10–11).

### 39 The Importance of Nationality

212:9 **Council of Europe** The Council of Europe was established in May 1949 by the Treaty of London, which was signed by representatives of nine other European states besides Britain. This inter-governmental organization based in Strasbourg was mandated to foster European unity and to promote human rights and democracy. In Rome in November 1950 the member states signed a European Cultural Convention and a Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

212:13–15 **“Some maybe Russians...thinks different.”** Dickens 1971, 317. Sarah (or “Sairey”) Gamp is the disreputable, drunken nurse and midwife in *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1844); she always carries a large umbrella and is prone to invoking the authority of an imaginary Mrs. Harris.

213:31 **Now, Francis Drake has always been an English hero** The maritime adventurer Sir Francis Drake (1540–1596) gained wealth and notoriety from the plunder of Spanish treasure ships sailing from the Americas. Knighted after completing a three-year circumnavigation of the globe in 1580, Drake also commanded the English fleet which attacked Spanish ships moored in Cadiz in 1587 and, in his most celebrated act of heroism, helped defeat the Spanish Armada in 1588—although not, according to modern historical accounts, after first nonchalantly finishing a game of bowls on Plymouth Hoe.

214:6 **Galsworthy** The literary success and reputation of the 1932 Nobel laureate, John Galsworthy (1867–1933), rested primarily on his fictional portrayal of the Forsyte family and its upper-middle-class milieu.

214:28–9 **corner of Marble Arch where the speakers are** “Speakers Corner” is located at the Marble Arch entrance to London’s Hyde Park.

215:23 **Michael Arlen** The novelist and playwright Michael Arlen (1895–1956) was born in Bulgaria to Armenian parents who emigrated to England when he was a child. He changed his name from Dikran Kouyoumdjian on becoming a naturalized British subject in 1922.

216:40–1 **a novel...Military Cross** Unidentified.

217:9 **Dead Souls** The hero of this famous novel by the Russian writer Nikolay Gogol (1809–1852) travels to a provincial town where he purchases the names of dead serfs from local landowners with a view to reselling this “property” at great profit.

217:23–4 **when I was very young I lived...in south India** After graduating from Selwyn College, Cambridge in 1924, Muggerridge spent most of 1925 and 1926 teaching at Union Christian College in Alwaye, south-west India.

218:25–6 **Princess of Babylon** Voltaire *1768*. In order to marry the Princess of Babylon, the shepherd Amazan was obliged to pass a number of tests. He succeeded admirably, but the object of his affections was then abducted by the loathsome King of Egypt. Although the shepherd’s resolve to remain faithful to the princess was finally broken, the couple were ultimately reconciled.

218:42 **De Valera** Eamon De Valera (1882–1975), the former Irish rebel leader and the dominant political figure during the republic’s first fifty years, had been born in New York but moved to Ireland with his Irish-immigrant mother when he was two, after the death of his father, a Spanish musician. De Valera’s American citizenship saved him from military execution by the British Army in the bloody reprisals that followed the Easter rising of 1916.

218:44 **Carson** The unfounded suspicion that Sir Edward Carson (1854–1935), leader of the Irish Protestant opposition to Home Rule, was actually of Italian extraction possibly derived from his Scottish grandfather’s business contacts with Italian merchants who likely addressed him as “Signor Carson”.

219:1 **Costello** John Aloysius Costello (1891–1976) was leader of Ireland’s Coalition Government, which joined his Fine Gael party with the small Labour Party. He had governed in this capacity from 1948 to 1951 and did so again from 1954 to 1957—the only two occasions between 1932 and 1973 when the political dominance of De Valera’s Fianna Fáil was temporarily broken. The name “Costello” is of Norman derivation and thus quite commonplace in Ireland. There are no indications that Costello’s immediate ancestry was other than Irish.

219:26 **Krokodil** This cartoon supplement to *Pravda* usually appeared three times per month.

220:4–5 **Emerson’s account of his visit to Manchester** See A189:42–3.

221:26–7 **“foreign nations I’m sorry to say do as they do do”** John Podsnap is the pompous, self-satisfied and thoughtless upper-class English gentleman portrayed in Dicken’s last complete novel, *Our Mutual Friend* (1865): “No Other Country is so Favoured as This Country.” “‘And *other* countries’, said the foreign gentleman. ‘They do how?’ ‘They do, Sir’, returned Mr. Podsnap, gravely shaking his head; ‘they do—I am sorry to be obliged to say it—as they do’” (Dickens *1970*, 133).

## 40 The Role of Great Men in History

221:39–222:2 **“That they...history.”** Churchill *1956–58*, 1:81.

222:32 **Toynbee, Plato, Augustine** In his twelve-volume *A Study of History* (Toynbee *1934–61*), the British diplomat turned historian Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889–1975) expounded a cyclical view of the past in which historical change was conditioned by two fundamental axioms: “challenge and response” and “withdrawal and return”. All such theories of culture cycles owed something to the argument of Plato (c.428–348/347 B.C.) that repetitive astronomical patterns determined the rise, apex and fall of civilizations—although the process of decline was certainly affected by worldly vices as well. In his eschatological *The City of God*, Aurelius Augustinus (354–430) judged all human history as a providential prelude either to eternal life in the heavenly place of the title or

banishment to a city of the damned. The work was directed at those who blamed the rise of Christianity for the decline of Rome.

223:4–5 **He died while the Vandals were besieging Hippo** St. Augustine became bishop of this port-city in Rome's North African colony in 396, only ten years after his conversion to Christianity from Manichaeism. Launched in 429, the assault on Hippo was led by Genseric (Gaiseric) king of the Germanic tribe then settled in Baetica (Andalusia). After Augustine's death the following year, the Vandals gradually gained control over the whole of Carthage and much of the western Mediterranean besides.

223:36 **Stilicho and Belisarius** Flavius Stilicho (c.365–408), a Vandal, was the last great military commander of Rome's western empire. After serving with distinction under Theodosius I, in 395 he became regent for the late Emperor's son, Honorius, and for the next thirteen years he waged a series of successful, if largely defensive, campaigns in Greece, Italy and North Africa. In 408, however, he fell foul of a court intrigue which led to his arrest and execution on trumped-up charges of high treason. After the fall of Rome, the Byzantine military commander Belisarius (c.505–565) helped strengthen the position of the eastern empire under Justinian I by reconquering Carthage, establishing a strategic foothold in Italy and holding the Persians in check. Belisarius too became an object of the Emperor's political suspicion and jealousy and was out of favour for most of the last fifteen years of his life.

224:31–3 **Pythagoras...very existence...Greek civilization** Russell echoes his judgment in *A History of Western Philosophy* that Pythagoras was “intellectually one of the most important men that ever lived...Mathematics, in the sense of demonstrative deductive argument, begins with him...” (1945, 29). In addition to the doubts about the “very existence” of the pre-Socratic philosopher who supposedly flourished in Samos and Crotona in the sixth century B.C., it is likely that some of the teachings and insights attributed to Pythagoras were actually those of his dedicated band of followers.

224:44–225:2 **Theaetetus...five regular solids...Plato's Timaeus** The theory of the five regular solids—cube, tetrahedron, octahedron, dodecahedron and icosahedron—is more commonly associated with Euclid than with the Pythagorean mathematician Theaetetus, a contemporary of Plato. It was applied by Plato to his exposition of the elements in his imaginary dialogue with the fourth-century philosopher and astronomer Timaeus. The proofs to which Russell refer can be found in *Timaeus*, §53c–55c.

226:6 **Cadmus** In Greek mythology Cadmus was the founder of Thebes who reputedly introduced the Phoenician alphabet to the Greeks. This story is attested to by Herodotus, for example.

226:10–11 **Plato and Aristotle, Augustine and Boethius** See A92:18–20, A161:5–7, A211:17–21, A222:32, A223:4–5, A242:17–25.

226:26–7 **I do not think him as great a man as Einstein** Russell's profound respect for the life and achievements of Einstein is recounted in *Papers* 11, Pt. x. Although forthrightly opposed to policies espoused by Churchill at an earlier stage of the latter's long and controversial political career—especially his advocacy of armed intervention against Bolshevik Russia after the First World War—Russell nevertheless regarded Britain's wartime Prime Minister as “A great man. I had the misfortune to be in America in 1940, but I know the sort of profound gratitude I felt for Churchill. He was saying the things that wanted saying, and I shall never cease to be grateful for that” (1958d).

228:18–20 **Abraham Lincoln...very great man...same of Leonardo** Contrary to Russell's presumption of Lincoln's inner stability, the sixteenth President of the United States is known to have experienced bouts of acute depression. Russell possibly admired

Lincoln (1809–1865) more than he did any other statesman, and *Freedom and Organization* contains this brief eulogy to his wisdom and character: “To conduct a great war, through years of difficulty and ill success, resolutely, to a victorious conclusion, and to remain throughout conciliatory and calm and large-minded, is a feat which was accomplished by Lincoln, but, so far as I know, by no other historical character” (1934, 335). In *A History of Western Philosophy* Russell had briefly acknowledged the brilliant Florentine artist and inventor Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) as one of the “very great men” of the Renaissance (1945, 503).

### 41 Is an Élite Necessary?

229:34–5 **I said in 1920 that Russia was exactly Plato’s Republic** “The Communist Party corresponds to the guardians; the soldiers have the same status in both; there is in Russia an attempt to deal with family life more or less as Plato suggested” (Russell 1920, 30). Around the same time, Russell also claimed that there could be “no doubt that the Britain’s public schools turn out the modern equivalent of Plato’s guardians” (1920a; *Papers* 15:133).

229:39–40 **the only people...ordinary seamen** See Russell 1920, 83. By these means and others the Bolsheviks hastily gained control over Russia’s banks, whose immediate response to the October Revolution had been “an attempt to paralyse the new authority by a financial boycott”. See Carr 1952, 132–8 (quotation at 134).

231:14–15 **real secondary education...Fifty-four years** Before the Education Act of 1902 the British state was responsible only for elementary schooling, and barely one child in ten was still in the classroom by the age of fourteen. The new legislation created a network of local education authorities—controlled by elected county or borough councils and financed by locally raised property taxes—with the power and means to establish secondary and technical schools. Bitterly resented by Nonconformists, who opposed the perpetuation of public funding for (mainly Anglican) religious denominational schools, the 1902 Act more than doubled the number of secondary students by 1914.

231:20–1 **we still attach too much importance to a classical education** Although he had knowledge of both languages from his own childhood education, Russell had long exhibited a scant regard for the premium attached to Latin and Greek in Britain’s elite secondary schools: “There is a powerful literary tradition...backed by social prestige: a ‘gentleman’ should know some Latin, but need not know how a steam-engine is made. The survival of this tradition, however, tends only to make ‘gentlemen’ less useful than other men” (Russell 1927a).

232:8 **Manchester Grammar School exam** This famously challenging test of verbal and numerical reasoning had been introduced as the competitive entrance examination to Manchester Grammar by Eric James in 1946—shortly after his appointment the previous year as the school’s high master.

232:9 **Napoleon was quite a good mathematician** Napoleon’s mathematical prowess was praised by his teachers at the Royal Military College of Brienne and noted by the inspector of military schools who in 1784 recommended that his education and training be continued at the elite Military College in Paris (see Bourrienne 1830, 1:10).

232:22–3 **Lincoln said, “Grant...drunkards”.** Lincoln reputedly made this comment to a committee of prohibitionists shortly after Grant’s victory in the Battle of Pittsburgh Landing of 6–7 April 1862. The anecdote has been attributed to Major Thomas T.Eckert, an officer in the Union army.

## 42 Is the Notion of Progress an Illusion?

234:29–31 **Gandhi...industrializing India** Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) Gandhi (1869–1948) associated advanced industrial capitalism with the corrupting materialism of the West. He also argued that large-scale mechanized production would hand excessive power to an urban elite and never absorb India's abundance of overwhelmingly rural labour. Gandhi wanted instead to foster the development and dispersal of industry on a smaller scale by reviving traditional hand-powered technologies. Self-sufficient village communities and harmonious labour-capital relations would be forged, he believed, by such a decentralized model of economic organization. For all that Russell supported the struggle against British rule and admired the moral example of Gandhian non-violence, he judged Gandhi's anti-modernism as completely inimical to India's social and economic needs.

235:13–14 **Franciscan order...recruiting sergeants...wars in history** St. Francis of Assisi (c.1182–1226) died during a period of internecine struggle for control of Italy waged by rival factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines. The former pressed the claims of the Holy Roman Emperor, while the latter asserted the temporal authority of the Pope. The Franciscan order offered indulgences and other privileges to those who fought or gave money to the (ultimately victorious) papal party.

235:15 **Ford has not done anything like that.** Russell had no special regard for the pioneering automobile manufacturer Henry Ford (1863–1947), although he had commended him on one occasion as a magnate “who owes his wealth to skill, not to monopoly” (1930a; Feinberg and Kasrils 1973, 269). During the 1930s, however, Russell came to deplore the strident anti-unionism of Ford and like-minded industrial oligarchs who, he complained, “control most State governments, and can invoke the aid of the police and the militia in labour disputes” even as they “openly boast of being law-breakers” (1939; *ibid.*, 290).

236:36–7 **I have lived in two societies...systematically destroyed.** Muggeridge travelled to the Soviet Union in 1932 as a correspondent for *The Manchester Guardian*. Although he had been well-disposed towards the Soviet regime, this visit was a disillusioning experience and his contact with Ukrainian famine victims in particular turned him into a hostile critic of the Communist system. Four years later the London *Evening Standard* sent Muggeridge on a three-week assignment to Nazi Germany.

237:24–7 **when the question of euthanasia...God sends cancer** Speaking against Lord Chorley's motion in this debate on 28 November 1950, Lord Iddesleigh had said: “The Christian believes not merely that pain has a natural value, in that it may in some cases improve the character; the Christian also believes that it has a supernatural value” (United Kingdom 1950, 572). At this stage Chorley and his supporters wished only to call attention to the need for euthanasia in some form. No legislation was being introduced, although a Voluntary Euthanasia Legalisation Bill had been defeated on second reading in the Lords in 1936.

238:17 **Giordano Bruno was burnt alive** The philosopher, astronomer and mathematician Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) was persecuted by the Venetian Inquisition for espousing a heterodox cosmology which went beyond the heliocentric theory of Copernicus in positing the existence of an infinite universe containing a multiplicity of different worlds. He was burnt at the stake after a seven-year trial in which he refused to retract these controversial opinions, which Bruno, a Dominican friar, believed were perfectly compatible with Christian theology. He was viewed by Russell as a victim in the “long fight of the Church against science” (1917; *Papers* 14:260).

### 43 The Immortality of the Soul

239:35–6 **Jews...believed in God without believing in immortality** The doctrine of immortality first surfaced in Judaism in the second century B.C. during a phase of coercive Hellenization pursued by the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV. The history of this persecution and of the successful resistance to it is recounted in the first Book of Maccabees; the new emphasis on the afterlife is evident from the Book of Daniel (e.g. 12:2–3), which was contemporaneous with the Maccabean Revolt. Ironically, the concept of an immortal soul was heavily influenced by the very Greek philosophy that Judaism was rejecting. Jews had previously believed that all spiritual life ended with the death of the body. “It had been thought that virtue would be rewarded here on earth; but persecution, which fell upon the most virtuous, made it evident that this was not the case. In order to safeguard divine justice, therefore, it was necessary to believe in rewards and punishments hereafter” (Russell 1945, 315). In earlier apocalyptic literature—of the Babylonian captivity, for example—the sins of the Jewish people were blamed for their suffering in this life, and there was no other-worldly realm of “rewards and punishments”.

241:14–16 **read St. Thomas...beatific vision** St. Thomas Aquinas (c.1224–1274) had reflected at length—in the first article of the ninety-eighth question of the supplement to the *Summa Theologiae* (1265–73)—on the intellect’s capacity to achieve this direct apprehension of God’s essence.

242:17–25 **Phaedo of Plato...intelligible realities** In this dialogue about knowledge and the afterlife, set on the day before Socrates was put to death, Plato presents his mentor’s argument that a true philosopher must be liberated from the world of sensory experience. Knowledge derived from sensation is unreliable and is an impediment to knowledge of “the forms”—abstract and universal entities like justice, beauty and goodness—which can be apprehended during one’s lifetime only by exercise of the intellect or, after death, by the immortal soul (§§77c–80a)

245:6 **categorical imperative** This a priori moral law, based on the presumption that the moral worth of an act must not be judged in terms of its ultimate ends, was a foundation of the ethical system expounded by Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) in the *Metaphysic of Morals* (1797). Here, the categorical imperative is contrasted with the hypothetical imperative, whose morality is determined by conditions or circumstances external to the act. For Kant there was but one categorical imperative—namely, that one must “Act only according to a maxim by which you can at the same time will that it should become a general law” (quoted in Russell 1945, 711).

### 44 How Can We Achieve World Peace?

247:25–6 **Sir Charles Webster...professorial chair of history...1914** Already a Fellow of King’s College, Webster became Professor of Modern History at Liverpool University in 1914. He returned to this academic post after wartime service in military intelligence, but in 1922 he moved to the University of Aberystwyth as Professor of International Relations. He remained there until his appointment to a professorial chair in the same subject at the London School of Economics in 1931.

247:28–9 **He played...setting up...United Nations.** See A251:26–7.

248:8 **veto interferes with the Security Council** See A20:38–9, A129:8–9.

248:10–11 **Assembly of the United Nations...all-embracing** See A20:38–9, A25:43–26:2, A26:3.

248:40–1 **South-East Asia Pact** The South-East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) had been set up at the Manila Conference of 6–8 September 1954 in order to provide for collective security against the Communist threat posed by China and Indo-China. The United States, Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand were all parties to the agreement, but it was viewed with a certain suspicion by most newly independent states in the region, and only Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand adhered.

248:41 **Baghdad Pact** The Baghdad Pact was conceived in part as a regional defence and security pact against Soviet expansionism. It was engineered by Britain, which was seeking desperately to reinforce its strategic position in the Middle East in light of deteriorating Anglo-Egyptian relations. The pact was originally struck between the strongly pro-Western states of Iraq and Turkey in February 1955. Britain was tied to the agreement by a new treaty with Iraq signed in April, and Pakistan and Iran joined later the same year. Like SEATO, the Baghdad Pact was subjected to criticism by other regional powers, notably Egypt, and even the United States stood aloof at first. On 19 April 1957 the Soviet Union reiterated a call made earlier in the year for a moratorium on armament sales to the Middle East and for the pact to be disbanded. Iraq departed unilaterally in 1959 after its monarchy had been overthrown the previous year. At this point the United States entered into military agreements with the remaining members of the renamed Central Treaty Organization.

249:15 **the court** The International Court of Justice in the Hague had received a mandate from the UN Charter in 1946 to pass judgment on disputes brought before it by member states and to offer advice on questions referred to it by other UN-recognized bodies.

249:23–4 **decisions of the Assembly about...Suez Canal** See A129:6. Two similar resolutions—again calling for the immediate withdrawal of Franco-British and Israeli forces from Egyptian territory—had carried by large majorities in the UN General Assembly on 7 and 24 November 1956.

249:24–5 **decision of the Security Council about Kashmir** The UN Security Council had long been trying to resolve this festering border dispute between India and Pakistan. Its second resolution on the question, adopted on 20 January 1948, created a UN Commission on India and Pakistan. This body brokered a cease-fire in the undeclared war that had been waged by the rival states since their independence was gained in August 1947. UN military observers were dispatched to Kashmir in January 1949, and from July of that year their mandate was extended to supervising the cease-fire line agreed to by India and Pakistan. Subsequent Security Council resolutions approved the continuation of this arrangement as a temporary expedient and urged that a permanent settlement be reached by a plebiscite across the contested territory. India, fearing it would lose, refused to hold such a vote in this predominantly Muslim region and lasting agreement proved elusive. Although Russell did not respond to Webster on this point, he had recently told an interviewer that the Kashmir dispute should be resolved by a plebiscite (see Appendix IV, p. 375). But no settlement was reached, and as the crisis escalated towards full-scale war eight years later, Russell condemned the “naked aggression and reckless folly of Indian policy” (1965).

249:29–30 **decision of the Assembly on the Hungarian question** On 4 November 1956 the Soviet Union vetoed a UN Security Council resolution calling for military intervention in Hungary to cease. That same day the matter came before the General Assembly, which approved by a margin of fifty to eight votes (with fifteen abstentions) a resolution drafted by the United States which deplored the use of force and called for the

immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Similar resolutions were carried to equal lack of effect on 9 and 21 November and 12 December. Soviet bloc delegates were predictably hostile to the majority view of the General Assembly, while János Kádár's reconstructed Communist Government even obstructed efforts to send UN political observers to Hungary.

250:8 **the world should be divided into regions—say about six** In “The Road to Peace” Russell had devised a structure of regional federations (he chose eight in all) from which, he felt, a workable system of world government might be forged (*1955h; Papers* 28:366). It was unusual for him to supply such detailed blue prints. As he had told Ely Culbertson (the promoter of a somewhat similar plan), “I feel...that my job is to advocate the principle of international government, not this or that special scheme” (12 Jan. 1942).

250:28 **Warsaw Pact** Soviet security arrangements in Eastern Europe had been formalized by a “Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance” signed in Warsaw on 1 May 1955 by Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union. A response in part to the remilitarization of West Germany, the Warsaw Pact placed the military forces of each signatory state under a unified command structure headquartered in Moscow.

251:26–7 **when we first made the Charter at Dumbarton Oaks** Webster had been Britain's third-highest-ranking official at this international conference in Washington D.C. from 21 August until 7 October 1944. Although nothing definitive was settled by these talks, American, Soviet, Chinese and British representatives established a basis for the United Nations Charter that was signed at the San Francisco Conference the following June. Most importantly, it was determined at Dumbarton Oaks that authority in the new organization would be divided between a broad representative assembly and a small council dominated by the great powers and entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security.

252:32 **unification of Germany** See A4:8–9.

## 45 The Limits of Tolerance

253:36 **his study of Hitler and his circle** Trevor-Roper *1947*.

254:34–5 **England and Holland...a little earlier...seventeenth century** The example of Dutch and English tolerance was attributed by Russell in part to the ascendancy of Protestantism, something which became even more firmly entrenched in England after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. “Early liberalism was a product of England and Holland... It stood for religious toleration; it was Protestant, but of a latitudinarian rather than of a fanatical kind... It valued commerce and industry, and favoured the rising middle class rather than the monarchy and aristocracy...” (Russell *1945*, 597). On Holland as a haven for the persecuted in the seventeenth century, see A161:7–10.

256:13 **fifth century in Greece** See A107:9.

259:21–6 **Britain...Communists...France...Italy** There were approximately 27,000 members of the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1957 out of a total population of 49 million. In the most recent General Election (May 1955) the Communists had won no parliamentary seats and only 0.1% of the popular vote. In France, by contrast, membership of the Communist Party in 1956 stood at 430,000 out of a total population of just under 44 million. In January of that year Communist deputies had been elected in 147 of the 544 seats in the National Assembly, and the party had attracted 25.9% of the popular vote. The Italian Communist Party had performed almost as effectively in the June 1953 elections to the Chamber of Deputies, winning 22.6% of the popular vote and

sending 140 of its candidates to the 596 member assembly in Rome. Out of Italy's total population of about 48 million in 1957, there were 1.8 million members of the Communist Party, although enrolment had dipped by over 200,000 from the previous year—possibly on account of the twin shocks of Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin to the Twentieth Party Congress and of the Soviet invasion of Hungary.

260:3–4 **Galileo was quite right...end anyhow** The Church first demanded that Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) retract his public advocacy of a Copernican heliocentric solar system in 1616. He refused and subsequently restated his arguments in layman's terms in a *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems* (1632). The following year he was summoned by the Inquisition and forced under threat of torture to abjure his controversial astronomical theories. As a quietly defiant Galileo spent his final years under house arrest, knowledge of his work began to spread through Europe.

## 46 Science and Survival

262:9 **his novels** In *Strangers and Brothers*, a cycle of quasi-autobiographical novels that was still in progress in 1957, Snow followed Lewis Eliot from boyhood in provincial England, through life at Cambridge University to work as a senior civil servant.

262:22–7 **This country produces...West put together.** The previous year Snow had anonymously published a short comparative study of scientific education in Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. See General Headnote, pp. 201–2.

263:31–2 **second law of thermo-dynamics...entropy tends to a maximum** The second law of thermodynamics is concerned with the dissipation of energy and was first formulated by William Thompson, 1st Baron Kelvin, in 1850–51. Entropy is a concept for examining the process in mathematical terms as a ratio of heat exchanged to temperature. A standard demonstration of how entropy “tends to a maximum” is the hot stone dropped in cold water: the entropy increases as the temperature of the stone and the water changes.

264:18–19 **psychological theories which we associate with Spearman** A German-trained British psychologist, Charles Edward Spearman (1863–1945) pioneered the use of factor analysis in intelligence testing (through experimental work conducted at the University of London from 1907 until 1931). From the application of this statistical technique, Spearman hypothesized (1904) that mental ability was comprised both of general *and* specific (but variable) attributes. Yet, he also concluded that the general ability factor was the more revealing indicator of intelligence and, more controversially, that general intelligence could be measured. Heavily influenced by Francis Galton's conception of mental ability as a unitary entity, Spearman gained a strong hold over the British psychological profession in particular.

264:41 **E.W.Hobson** Ernest William Hobson (1856–1933) was Sadlerian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge University from 1910 to 1931. His criticisms of Russell's treatment of classes and ordinal series greatly influenced the latter's thinking about the foundations of mathematics between 1905 and 1907 and were especially helpful to the construction of his “no classes theory”.

264:42–3 **Wallis Budge** Sir E.A.Wallis Budge (1857–1934, knighted 1920) was curator of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities at the British Museum from 1894 to 1924 and an occasional lecturer at Christ's College, Cambridge. Well known for his translations of hieroglyphic texts. Budge was also a distinguished scholar of Egyptian culture, religion and mythology.

265:15 **he was totally incapable of mathematics** “Oh for words”, Macaulay (see A61:6–7) had reportedly told his mother after failing to win a Trinity College Fellowship

in 1818, “to express my abomination of that science, if a name sacred to the useful and embellishing arts may be applied to the perception and recollection of certain properties of numbers and figures” (quoted in Beatty 1938, 48).

265:25 **mathematics in Russia** In keeping with the strong scientific and technical orientation of Soviet education, instruction in mathematics was a high priority in schooling at all levels and of all types. Since the Second World War, emphasis had been placed on modernizing the syllabus, reducing the formal elements of instruction in rules and theorems, and improving the training of mathematics teachers (see Vere-Jones 1968). Although reforms in all three areas had achieved only mixed results, the Soviet Union’s triumphant launch of an earth-orbiting satellite on 4 October 1957 (three days before this broadcast—see H64) generated a wave of introspection and anxiety—both popular and official—about the presumed inadequacies of Western education in science and mathematics and, indeed, about the disturbing possibility of defeat in “The Cold War of the Classrooms” (Benton 1958, Chap. 1).

265:33 **I have made my views rather boringly public** Snow 1956. See also General Headnote, p. 202.

266:1–3 **a kind of snobbery...Greek and Latin languages** See A231:20–1.

269:15–16 **Meiji regime...alter their educational pattern** Four years after the onset of the Meiji Restoration in 1867 (see A101:6–7), a Japanese education department was established on the French model of administrative centralization. This institutional reform was a dramatic departure from the elitism of previous educational practice and was intended to generate economic progress by eradicating illiteracy and promoting technical knowledge. In 1872 compulsory schooling for eight years was mandated for all Japanese children.

269:30 **“Hark, Hark the Lark”** Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, II.iii. 18–27. The line opens a song sung by a group of musicians.

## 47 China., No Place for Tyrants

274:3 **“First Emperor”** Known as Cheng (d. 210 B.C.), the founder of the autocratic but short-lived Ch’in dynasty (221–206 B.C.) was hereditary ruler of one of the many feudal states into which China had been divided for several centuries. He proclaimed himself First Sovereign Emperor of Ch’in (Ch’in Shih Huang Ti) after a series of conquests consolidated his authoritarian and centralized control over a large swathe of Chinese territory.

274:3–4 **reminiscent...Communists of the present day** In *The Problem of China* Russell had made a similar analogy, comparing the regimes of Shih Huang Ti and Lenin: “It will be seen that the First Emperor was something of a Bolshevik” (1922, 25).

274:9–10 **He prosecuted...burning of all books** One of Shih Huang Ti’s most notorious acts was to order the burial alive of some 460 scholars who had dared to criticize his rule. Historical accounts have suggested that the bookburning was motivated by the First Emperor’s wish for recorded history to begin with his reign.

274:12–13 **transform his country...Confucius’ followers** The advent of the Ch’in dynasty is traditionally seen as terminating a three-century-long “classical age” which was defined by the vitality of Chinese thought generally—not only of Confucianism. The most important of “Confucius’ followers” was probably Mencius (c.371–289 B.C.), who was himself revered as the “Second Sage”.

274:16 **his son’s court** Shih Huang Ti’s successor was his younger son, Erh Shih, who had usurped the throne from the legitimate heir. In addition to the destabilizing effects of court intrigue, Erh Shih’s authority was being undermined from without by a rebellious

backlash against his father's harsh methods. After Erh Shih's murder in 206 B.C. the Ch'in dynasty was supplanted by the Han dynasty, which lasted for the next four hundred years.

274:17–27 **At a large...he was mad.** This story was again recounted by Russell on a tape recording of historical anecdotes which he made in July and August 1959, a transcription of which was published posthumously in his *Collected Stories* (1972, 303–4).

274:33–5 **The Manchu dynasty...overthrown in 1911.** The early rulers of the Manchu or Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty (1644–1911) gradually increased the territorial scope of their empire into Outer Mongolia, Tibet, Nepal and Turkestan. Trade, handicraft industries and the traditional Chinese arts continued to flourish until the late-eighteenth century, but Manchu rule was slowly undermined thereafter by a combination of demographic pressures, popular unrest, military weakness and governmental inefficiency and corruption. The dynasty's final collapse was precipitated on 10 October 1911 by a military mutiny in Wuchang which acted as a trigger for revolutionary outbreaks in other Chinese provinces. A Chinese republic had already been proclaimed before the boy Emperor Puyi formally abdicated in February 1912.

275:2 **Boxer rising of 1900** This uprising was the culmination of an anti-foreign movement that was tacitly encouraged by the imperial court and centred around a quasi-military secret society founded in 1898 and called I Ho Chuan (Fists of Righteous Harmony). Its members were known as Boxers to the Westerners whose steadily expanding spheres of territorial, religious and commercial influence these patriotic Chinese wanted to curb. The rebellion began with isolated attacks in rural areas on foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians. Then, in June 1900, a 140,000-strong Boxer force besieged the foreign legations in Beijing. An international contingent assembled by the great powers lifted this siege two months later and then engaged in violent reprisals in the imperial capital. Further trading concessions were extracted from the Chinese Government in retaliation for the deaths of foreigners and damage to their property, and a crippling \$333 million indemnity was imposed. In the early 1920s Russell urged Britain to emulate the United States by returning its outstanding share of these damages to China for the purpose of educational reform.

275:12 **On both occasions, the conquerors were quickly assimilated** Russell had written of the Mongols in *The Problem of China*: “After Kublai, the Mongol emperors more and more adopted Chinese ways, and lost their tyrannical vigour” (1922, 30). Having defeated the Sung dynasty, Mongol rule was gradually normalized, especially under the first Yüan Emperor, Kublai Khan, grandson of the infamous warrior Genghis. Kublai (ruled 1260–94) moved the seat of imperial government to Beijing, surrounded himself with a Chinese entourage and sinicized the structures of central bureaucracy and local administration. The degree of assimilation to which the Manchu conquerors were prepared to accede after 1644 was even greater and helped to placate the ethnic Chinese majority.

275:30 **Ivan the Terrible** By terror and other ruthless means, the notorious Muscovite ruler Ivan IV (1530–1584, known as the Terrible, ruled from 1546) consolidated Tsarist autocracy at the expense of the hitherto powerful and independent class of elite noblemen known as the boyars. In a series of military campaigns beginning in the 1550s, he also initiated the eastward expansion of the Russian state.

## 48 Letter to the Representative of IHUD

No annotations.

### 49 The Story of Colonization

278:10 **art of writing** See Russell 1945, 8–10 for a brief disquisition on the origins of the written word in Western civilizations.

278:19–22 **As late as 1807...“it would...Christianity”**. See Trevelyan 1922, 162 n. 2 for a lengthier excerpt from this Commons speech by the anti-reform Tory Davies Giddy (1767–1839), delivered in opposition to a successfully thwarted Education Bill introduced in 1807 by the Radical M.P. Samuel Whitbread. Although Giddy (after changing his name to Gilbert) would serve as president of the Royal Society from 1827 to 1830, the holder of this office in 1807 was the wealthy scientific patron and distinguished naturalist Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820).

278:23–4 **Education Act of 1870** See A99:9–10.

278:33 **Such cities...Greek history** “It was in these maritime cities that the Greeks first made qualitatively new contributions to civilization; the supremacy of Athens came later...” (Russell 1945, 8).

278:38–9 **proverbial...epithet “sybarite”** The city of Sybaris on the Gulf of Tarentum in southern Italy was founded by Achaean and Troezenian settlers *c.*720 B.C. and became renowned for the prosperity and luxury enjoyed by its inhabitants.

278:43 **rivalry of Carthage and Syracuse** The conflict between Carthage and Syracuse was rooted in the North African power’s expansion into the western Mediterranean in the fifth century B.C. Settlements were established in western Sicily, but the conquests of Carthage were halted by Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, at the Battle of Himera in 480 B.C. Although the Carthaginian threat to the island again increased during the next century, the embattled Syracusans managed to resist until, late in the fourth century B.C., the tyrant Agathocles even managed to establish a foothold in North Africa. After the latter’s death in 289 B.C., however, Carthage strengthened its hold over both Sicily in particular and the western Mediterranean in general—a dominion which lasted until defeat by the Romans in the Punic Wars (see A279:1).

279:1 **Roman victory** After the First Punic War (264–241 B.C.), Carthage was forced by Rome into ceding its Sicilian possessions. Notwithstanding the triumphs of Hannibal in northern Italy, the prolonged strains of the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.) further eroded Carthage’s commercial preeminence and strategic position in the western Mediterranean. The Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.) was more blatantly provoked by the Romans than either of those preceding and completed the subjugation of the Carthaginians, who resisted desperately before their blockaded city was razed and its surviving inhabitants sold into slavery.

279:3–4 **Alexander the Great** See A14:8.

279:6–7 **Where Macedonian or Roman...Hellenic culture**. See A92:1 and Russell 1945, Chaps. 25, 29.

279:11 **its influence on early Buddhist art** See A92:4–5.

279:14–15 **conversion of the Saxons by Charlemagne** In retaliation for Saxon incursions into the lower Rhine region of his Frankish kingdom, in 772 the future (after 800) Holy Roman Emperor Charlemagne (*c.*742–814) initiated a successful policy of conquest and conversion which was intended to subject the pagan tribesmen to his Christian rule. The pacification of the latter was confirmed by a Diet convened in

Paderborn in 777; the Saxon elite had already declared its allegiance to Charlemagne and mass baptisms had been proceeding apace since 775.

279:16–19 **China...Buddhism from India...saintly pilgrims** According to legend, Buddhism took root in China after the Han Emperor Ming Ti (ruled c.58–76) had a vision of the Buddha and sent a mission to India which returned with the creed's holiest book, the Sutra. The most noteworthy of the "saintly pilgrims" who assisted in the propagation of Chinese Buddhism from the fifth to eighth centuries were Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang, who returned from India with Buddhist artifacts and texts and undertook important translations from Sanskrit into Chinese.

279:27 **barbarians who invaded the Western Roman Empire** The incursion of various Germanic tribes into Britain, Gaul, northern Italy and the Iberian peninsula began in the first decade of the fifth century and culminated in the fall of Rome to a mixed band of tribesmen led by Odoacer in 476.

279:28–30 **Arabs...assimilated...the West regained** The Aristotelian and Platonic influence on Islamic philosophy remained strong from the seventh to twelfth centuries, when Arab scholars produced many works of astronomy and mathematics influenced by the Greeks and later translated into Latin. According to Russell, during the Middle Ages the Islamic world, "while lacking the intellectual energy required for innovation, preserved the apparatus of civilization—education, books, and learned leisure" (1945, 427). Western contact with this culture in Spain and Sicily, he argued, nurtured the growth of scholasticism from the twelfth century onwards.

279:33–4 **Greeks overthrew the Cretans** See A92:24.

279:36 **Mongols in Persia did irreparable damage** In 1256 Mongol warriors under Hulagu Khan, grandson of Genghis, destroyed the powerful Assassin sect which controlled much of Persia and, two years later, razed the city of Baghdad. These destructive conflicts led to the establishment of a Persian Khanate which survived until 1335.

279:36–8 **in China...they learnt...Chinese had to teach** See A275:12.

279:38–9 **The Danes...wiped out the civilization of Ireland** See A92:6–7.

279:39–42 **impaired...Yorkshire monasteries...Normans...in the West** Saxon Northumbria was a vibrant centre of Christian learning and worship centred around monasteries in such places as Whitby, Ripon and Lastingham. Devastated in the ninth century by Viking raiders, the religious life of northern England revived after the Norman Conquest with the arrival of many new monastic orders, among whom the Cistercians obtained the strongest foothold in what is now Yorkshire.

280:17–19 **These principles...Cromwell's army...Restoration.** During the famous Putney debates before the general council of Cromwell's New Model Army (28 October–1 November 1647), the elected representatives of regiments influenced by the democratic Levellers opposed the council's apparent willingness to reconcile with Charles I. Instead, they put forward a radical Agreement of the People which called for the entrenchment of representative government and popular sovereignty. The agreement as drafted was opposed by Cromwell and then rejected by Parliament. Its supporters were later ruthlessly crushed for inciting the army to mutiny against the newly established Commonwealth. The militant religion and politics of the Levellers and likeminded groups of the Civil War era was even more out of step with the backlash against Puritanism after 1660 and with the absolutist tendencies of the two Restoration monarchs, Charles II and James II.

280:34–6 **conquest compelled Gaul...fifth century** Julius Caesar subjected Gaul to Roman rule in a series of military campaigns conducted from 58 to 50 B.C. But the Celtic inhabitants of this ancient territory were treated generously by their conquerors and its old aristocracy was gradually co-opted. As a result, the four Gallic provinces developed a strong (if periodically strained) imperial loyalty and proved highly receptive to Roman cultural influences. The residual effects of this Romanization remained strong even after the Roman Empire's authority was displaced by Germanic invaders in the fifth century.

281:9–10 **I do not wish...present occasion** See Paper 48 for a brief statement of Russell's interest in a UN-brokered mediation of the Arab-Israeli conflict, an approach which he continued to advocate in the 1960s even as he grew more critical of Israeli policy. During the Second War Russell (1943) had declared himself in favour of a Jewish state, albeit with restrictions placed on its sovereignty in the conduct of foreign affairs.

## 50 Pros and Cons of Nationalism

284:10–13 **France...Joan of Arc's resistance...England...Shakespeare** An abiding symbol of France's national unity and strength, the Catholic martyr Joan of Arc (1412–1431) helped secure the French crown for the Valois claimant, Charles VII, in a decisive phase of the Hundred Years' War which culminated in her lifting the Siege of Orléans in 1429. The rival contender for the throne was England's infant King Henry VI, whose claim had been recognized in the Treaty of Troyes, signed by Henry's father and France's Charles VI five years after the Battle of Agincourt (1420)—a famous English victory which was celebrated anew in the Elizabethan era by Shakespeare's *Henry V*. Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1596) was perhaps the most overt "literary expression" of a nascent English nationalism which was bolstered by a series of dramatic naval victories over Philip II's Spain.

284:13 **It began in Germany with resistance to Napoleon** See A291:14.

284:13–14 **and in Italy with resistance to Austria** See A62:29–40.

284:14–21 **early nineteenth...Metternich...inaugurated by Bismarck** *Freedom and Organization* (1934, Chaps. 28–9) contains Russell's lengthiest disquisition on the principle of nationality and its transformation from a doctrine of liberation during the era of Prince Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859), Austria's foreign minister from 1809 until 1848, into an ideological prop for the conservative-authoritarian policies of Otto von Bismarck (see A100:21–2), Prussian statesman and Imperial Germany's first Chancellor.

284:22 **three successful wars of aggression** In 1864 Austrian and Prussian forces jointly invaded the German-Danish duchies of Schleswig and Holstein after Denmark's King Christian IX attempted to annex Schleswig. Habsburg administration of Holstein was then fashioned by Bismarck into a pretext for the seven-week Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Prussian victory precipitated the dissolution of the post-Napoleonic German Confederation (dominated by Austria) and the formation in its place of a Prussian-led North German Confederation. The process of unification was completed by the military defeat of France in 1870. During this conflict the still independent south German states rallied to the side of Prussia before being absorbed into the German Empire that was proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles on 18 January 1871.

284:29–31 **Stalin...made Communism nationalistic** Russell had detected this tendency—which reached its apogee during the Second World War—long before the dictator's rise to power. After visiting Bolshevik Russia in 1920, he lamented that "Trotsky and the Red Army now have behind them a great body of nationalist sentiment. The reconquest of Asiatic Russia has even revived what is essentially an imperialist way of feeling..." (1920, 34–5).

284:40 **Stalin subdued them all except Turkey and Greece** In March 1947 President Truman had obtained congressional approval for a massive programme of military and economic assistance to the right-wing governments of Greece, which was combatting a Communist insurgency, and of Turkey, which was under acute diplomatic pressure from the Soviet Union. The famous Truman Doctrine—a touchstone of American diplomacy throughout the Cold War—had been enunciated in the process, committing the United States to a policy of support for all anti-Communist regimes worldwide.

284:40–1 **and, after a certain interval, Yugoslavia** In his early years as Yugoslavia's Communist leader, the former partisan fighter Joseph Broz (alias Tito) had seemed every bit the Moscow loyalist. Increasingly resentful of Soviet interference in Yugoslavian affairs, however, Tito began to distance himself from the international Communist movement. Tito retained a one-party state after Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Soviet-led Cominform in 1948, but he also revived parts of the private sector and pursued a policy of non-alignment in foreign affairs.

285:30 **irrigation of the Punjab** This ambitious hydrographic project, centred on the plains of the five rivers of the Punjab, had been conceived in the 1860s as an attempt to increase the supply of food to British India. The elaborate system of canals, dams and head-works was not fully completed until the 1930s and was disrupted only eighteen years later by the partition of the sub-continent into India and Pakistan. The boundary between the two newly independent states bisected the irrigation network in such a way as to leave in Indian hands control over the supply of water to many canals in eastern Pakistan. The ensuing political dispute created much rancour, especially in Pakistan, until a resolution of sorts was brokered by the World Bank in 1960. This agreement essentially recognized as *faits accomplis* the self-sufficient (but complex and hugely expensive) hydrographic schemes that had been initiated by the governments of both countries shortly after the schism of 1948.

286:3 **The British had control of Suez** Britain had actually opposed construction of a canal when this Franco-Egyptian enterprise was launched in 1859. In 1875, however, only six years after the project's completion, the British Government became the largest shareholder in the concern as Egypt's bankrupt ruler, Khedive Ismail, was forced to sell his holdings. Britain's control of the canal—a vital conduit for its maritime trade—was tightened by its occupation of Egypt in 1882 and by the Suez Canal Convention of the Constantinople Treaty (1888), which made Britain the sole guarantor of free passage through the waterway for all vessels at all times. This authority, as well as the commercial rights of the Suez Canal Company, were reserved by Britain after Egypt became more or less independent in 1936 and lay at the root of the discord over Suez in the 1950s which peaked in the crisis examined in Part III.

286:3–4 **and in some degree of Gibraltar** Gibraltar had been captured by British forces in 1704 during the War of the Spanish Succession and was formally ceded by Spain in the Treaty of Utrecht (see A132:9–10). Situated at the southern tip of the Iberian peninsula, where the Mediterranean Sea joins the North Atlantic Ocean, Gibraltar became an abiding symbol of British naval supremacy during the eighteenth century, and its strategic importance only increased with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. In the 1960s, however, the Franco regime would revive Spain's dormant territorial claim to Britain's crown colony.

286:4 **Americans have control of Panama** Canal-building rights and exclusive control of a special Canal Zone were vested in the United States by the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (1903). The negotiation of this agreement was one of the first acts of the

newly independent Republic of Panama. Indeed, the uprising against Colombian rule had been engineered by American and local promoters of the canal scheme after a similar treaty with Colombia had been blocked in its Senate. The United States had earlier purchased the French company that had started a failed canal project in 1881. American jurisdiction over the canal, which finally opened in 1914, was dogged by financial and political disagreements with the host nation. In 1955 the Panamanian annuity—recompense in the original agreement for the continuation in perpetuity of American control—was renegotiated to \$1,930,000. Ten years later the United States agreed that sovereignty over the Canal Zone should revert to Panama, but a treaty to this effect was not struck until 1977 and another twenty-three years elapsed before its implementation.

286:7 **Colonel Nasser** The Egyptian military and political leader Gamel Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) was a founder of the anti-British Society of Free Officers, which staged a coup against King Farouk in 1952. The new republican regime was nominally led by General Mohammed Naguib, but real power was wielded by Colonel Nasser’s Revolutionary Command Committee. After an assassination attempt against him in 1954, Nasser ousted Naguib from the premiership and was elected unopposed as President two years later. His nationalization of the Suez Canal was part of a broader programme of “Arab Socialism”, through which the anti-monarchical and pan-Arabist Nasser hoped to provide a model for the economic and social development of all Arab states.

286:25–6 **veto exists in the Security Council** See A20:39.

286:29–30 **extremely unlikely that that body will reach a solution** This forecast was entirely correct. See A129:8–9.

287:17 **A World Government will have to be Federal** See A250:8.

287:30 **Nelson gave his midshipmen three precepts** Russell seems to have bowdlerized the exhortation which Horatio Nelson (1758–1805) purportedly issued on assuming command of the *Agamemnon* in 1793 for service in the Mediterranean against the fleet of revolutionary France: “First, you must always implicitly obey orders...secondly, you must consider every man your enemy who speaks ill of your king; and, thirdly, you must hate a Frenchman as you do the devil” (Southey 1909, 59).

288:17–20 **When I lived in China...ignorant of perspective.** See Russell 1927; *Papers* 15:310: “The modernized Chinese, unfortunately, have mostly lost the power to appreciate native art; when I praised Chinese pictures, they invariably retorted that the perspective is wrong.”

## 51 Nations, Empires and the World

290:17–18 **Imperialism...existed in Babylonia and Assyria...Persia** On the first wave of Babylonian imperialism, under Hammurabi, see A328:16–17. Babylonia revived as a dependency of the Assyrian Empire and successfully asserted its independence after the death c.627 B.C. of the last great Assyrian ruler, Ashurbanipal. In alliance with Persia and Medes, the Babylonians captured Nineveh and hastened the collapse of the Assyrian Empire. A new Babylonian Empire reached its zenith under Nebuchadnezzar early in the sixth century but was gradually undermined by the expansion of Persia and ultimately fell to Persian King Cyrus the Great in 538 B.C.

290:24–5 **Macedonian imperialism spread Hellenic civilization...to India** The conquests of Alexander the Great (see A14:8) included parts of the Punjab. After his death the Greek influence in northern India was maintained until the second century B.C. by a succession of powerful and Hellenized rulers of the Central Asian region of Bactria (see A92:1).

290:26 **Roman imperialism...same service...Western Europe** See, for example, A280:33–6.

290:28 **earlier civilization of Crete** See A92:24.

291:4–5 **it had the sympathy of liberal thinkers everywhere** See Russell *1934*, Chap. 28.

291:14 **Mazzini** Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872), the romantic prophet of modern nationalism and a leader of the *Risorgimento*, saw devotion to one's nation as below only that to God and family. Although he had been a youthful admirer of Mazzini, Russell later argued that in practical terms the latter's belief in the justice of armed intervention to help oppressed nationalities became "nothing better than the rule of the big battalions" (*1934*, 402).

291:14 **Fichte** Following Prussia's humiliating loss to Napoleonic France in the Battle of Jena in October 1806, Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) delivered a series of *Addresses to the German Nation* (1808) which appealed to a mystical, "volkish" sense of patriotism and became, in Russell's opinion, "the Bible of German nationalism". Although Fichte's credo was comparatively benign in an era when "Germany" remained a patchwork of mainly petty states, from the vantage point of the Second World War Russell was persuaded to place this idealist philosopher alongside Hegel and Nietzsche in a troika of "Thinkers behind Germany's Sins" (Russell *1944b; Papers* 11:368).

291:24–5 **Greece, Serbia, Rumania, and Bulgaria...emancipated.** On the Greek struggle for independence, see A80:15–16. Serbia was granted autonomy in 1829 by the Treaty of Adrianople between Russia and Turkey. After the Crimean War the European powers resolved to uphold this status collectively, but twenty years later, in 1876, Serbia made a bid for complete independence by declaring war on the Sultanate and supporting an uprising against Turkish rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although the Serbs were defeated, their independence was recognized at the Congress of Berlin (1878), with Bosnia and Herzegovina (to the chagrin of Serbia) being placed under Austro-Hungarian jurisdiction. A *de facto* Rumanian state (subject to Ottoman suzerainty) emerged in 1859 after the legislative assemblies of Moldavia and Wallachia both elected Colonel Alexander Cuza as their Prince. Three years later the Sultan acceded to the union of the two principalities, and Rumania gained full independence after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78—albeit at a price of territorial concessions to Russia. This Russian military action also led to the promulgation of Bulgarian autonomy. Britain and Austria-Hungary, however, looked askance at the creation by the Treaty of San Stefano of a large Russian client-state in the Balkans, and they insisted upon a tripartite division of Bulgaria at the subsequent Congress of Berlin. The unfulfilled aspirations of Bulgarian nationalists remained one of many sources of political instability in the region prior to the First World War.

291:26–8 **Britain and France took advantage...freedom of the Arabs** While encouraging Arab revolts against Turkish rule in the Middle East, Britain and France were at the same time planning to dismember the Ottoman Empire in their own imperial interests. Post-war arrangements were anticipated by the Sykes-Picot Agreement of May 1916 and fulfilled by the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), which placed the newly demarcated territories of Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq under British-administered League of Nations "mandates". Likewise, Syria (including Lebanon) became a French "mandate", while Saudi Arabia was designated a British protectorate.

292:14–17 **I once owned a freehold house in London...either side.** Russell is probably thinking of 31 Sydney Street, a terraced house in Chelsea where he and Dora lived between 1921 and 1927.

292:40–1 **United States...radio-active rain...in Japan?** See A312:7–9.

293:29–30 **admit China into the United Nations** See A25:43–26:2.

293:30–1 **problem of Formosa** The “problem of Formosa” (Taiwan) had receded somewhat since the first Quemoy-Matsu crisis had peaked early in 1955 (see A4:15). In August 1958, however, Communist China would recommence the bombardment and blockade of these two Nationalist-controlled offshore islands. With the United States threatening to counter any Chinese invasion with the strongest possible backing for Chiang Kai-shek’s regime, the stand-off escalated rapidly—as it had three years previously.

## 52 World Government

No annotations.

## 53 India, Pakistan and the Commonwealth

No annotations.

## 54 The Reasoning of Europeans

300:3–5 **A Western man...Greek and Latin literature** Russell frequently lamented the purchase of classical learning over British academic culture but not, as a rule, because of the ignorance about non-Western civilizations which its inflated prestige permitted. He tended to object more to the correspondingly low value placed on scientific knowledge (see A231:20–1).

300:17–19 **Christian heretics...kindly treated...Byzantine Emperors.** According to Islam, both Jews and Christians were to be recognized for their adherence to scripture as “people of the Book” whose religions were not false but merely incomplete. Their freedom of worship was to be upheld so long as they accepted the rule of the Caliphate and paid taxes to its political administration. The latitude extended to Christians declined with the ascendancy of the Fatimid Caliphate during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Beginning with the reign of Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (ruled 527–565), heretics and unbelievers had been subject to severe civil disabilities imposed by the Christian imperial state.

300:19–20 **Anti-Semitism...shocking examples...by non-Christians** During and after the Suez crisis, for example, Colonel Nasser’s aggressive programme of “Egyptianization” progressively eroded the citizenship rights of the country’s 50,000-strong Jewish community. Assets were sequestered and mass deportations followed a wave of summary arrests. Less “official” manifestations of anti-Semitism were also becoming commonplace across much of the Islamic world during the 1950s, when Arabic translations of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the notorious Russian fabrication of a global Jewish conspiracy, appeared in the Middle East. Perhaps Russell was also thinking of the restriction of Jewish religious and cultural life by the officially atheist Soviet state. This had peaked in an ugly crescendo of anti-Semitism after the exposure early in 1953 of a bogus Jewish “doctors’ plot” against senior Communists, but had persisted after Stalin’s death as “Jewish nationalism” and “cosmopolitanism” remained subject to vigorous official censure.

300:29–30 **The Greeks invented mathematics...deductive reasoning.** Russell 1945, 16.

300:33–4 **His mystical philosophy...belief in transmigration** See A70:3.

300:38 **The Babylonians and Egyptians could predict eclipses** See A328:17 and Russell 1945, 6, 25.

300:39 **Pythagoreans who discovered their cause** According to Russell, the Greek philosophers Anaxagoras and Empedocles (who both flourished in the middle of the fifth century B.C.) were the first to postulate that solar eclipses occurred due to the moon coming between the earth and the sun (1945, 54, 63).

301:22 **Comets foretold the death of Princes.** Most notably in the case of Julius Caesar. The appearance of a second comet after Caesar's murder was interpreted by the Romans as a sign of his divinity. Comets were also regarded as ominous portents by other ancient cultures influenced by astrology.

301:28–9 **Kepler discovered...planets moved in ellipses** Kepler's discovery, published in 1609, constituted the first of his three laws of planetary motion. The second law (published with the first) calculated how the speed of a planet increased as it moved in orbit closer to the sun. The third law (published in 1619) related the duration of one orbit to planetary distance from the sun. Kepler's laws challenged the deeply ingrained belief that all celestial motion was necessarily circular. This presumption reflected "the aesthetic bias which had governed astronomy ever since Pythagoras. The circle was a perfect figure, and the celestial orbs were perfect bodies... It seemed obvious that a perfect body must move in a perfect figure" (Russell 1945, 530–1).

303:7 **St. Lawrence waterway** The "issues of the utmost delicacy" (307:9) raised by making the Great Lakes navigable to ocean-going vessels were less territorial than commercial and had generated opposition to the project on both sides of the Canadian-American border. Railway companies in Canada, along with eastern and gulf coast shipping interests in the United States, were especially hostile to the seaway, which finally opened in 1959. In addition, the responsible Canadian and American authorities disagreed over the precise division of the building and operating costs and of the toll revenues to be levied on the international section of the waterway near the entrance to Lake Ontario.

303:7–8 **the irrigation of the Punjab** See A285:30.

303:8 **high dam at Aswan** The Aswan high dam was conceived and promoted by Colonel Nasser (see A286:7) as a way of fostering Egyptian economic development. Such a large-scale hydrographic project required massive international aid—the sudden withdrawal of which by Britain and the United States had precipitated the Suez crisis. Construction was further delayed by disputes over water rights with neighbouring Sudan. Before completion of the dam in 1970—with extensive financial and technical assistance from the Soviet Union—some 90,000 people, most of them Sudanese, had been forcibly relocated.

## 55a Britain's Bomb (1)

309:4–5 **nuclear test at Christmas Island** Although a base for some 6,000 servicemen was hastily improvised on this atoll in the Line Island chain in the central Pacific, the three hydrogen-bomb tests in Operation "Grapple" were actually carried out offshore from Maiden, an uninhabited island four hundred miles further south. For the experimental explosion of four more British hydrogen bombs in 1957 and 1958 (see Headnote to Appendix XI, p. 402), ground zero was shifted to Christmas Island itself—a decision which necessitated the temporary evacuation of the islanders and exposed British servicemen to a much higher risk of radiation contamination. Christmas and Maiden Island were claimed both by Britain and the United States in a minor but

lingering territorial dispute that was definitively resolved only when both islands were incorporated into the new Republic of Kiribati in 1979.

309:8 **anger of the Japanese** Early in March 1957 Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi had lodged a formal protest with London about Britain's proposed hydrogen-bomb tests. He complained of the radiation dangers to Japan's people and possible harm to the country's fishing industry. On 16 January Japanese delegates to the United Nations had called upon the General Assembly to restrict or prohibit nuclear testing in the Pacific. In February some 350 Japanese scientists attempted through a public appeal to persuade their British counterparts to prevail on the Macmillan Government to cancel the tests, and Japanese pacifists, meanwhile, were planning to dispatch a "suicide sitdown fleet" to the central Pacific (Divine 1978, 120).

## 55b Britain's Bomb (2)

309:20–2 **R.R.Stokes...“independent...our own shores”** Stokes 1957.

309:26–8 **Mr. Aubrey Jones...nuclear war without...America** In a speech at Whitley Bay on 22 March, Minister of Supply Aubrey Jones (1911–2003) had argued that a British hydrogen bomb was essential because "the lengthening range of weapons might not always make us an indispensable forward area to the defence of the Americas, and if that day ever came we should be at a grave disadvantage if we did not possess a deterrent ourselves" (*The Manchester Guardian*, 23 March 1957, p. 2). Jones held this ministerial office (an administrative creation of the Second World War) from January 1957 (when Macmillan replaced Eden as Prime Minister) until it was wound up after the General Election of October 1959. He never sat in Cabinet again. Resolutely interventionist in economic affairs, he exemplified the Conservative Party's adjustment to the post-1945 realities of a large public sector and welfare state. Eventually Jones left the party, and in 1983 he unsuccessfully ran for Parliament as a candidate for the Liberal and Social Democratic Alliance.

309:29–30 **Colonel Blimps** Created in 1934 and subsequently immortalized by David Low, the political cartoonist of the London *Evening Standard*, the retired Colonel Blimp personified a rather dim-witted military pomposity and the unthinking, diehard conservatism with which the British officer class was frequently identified. A toned-down version of Low's creation appeared in the 1943 film *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp*, but this wartime satire of military mores was still sufficiently biting for Winston Churchill personally to insist on extensive cutting by the censor.

## 56 Should H-bomb Tests Be Continued?

312:4 **dealt with by Professor Rotblat** Rotblat 1957.

312:7–9 **Japan...Bikini explosion...cessation of tests.** The fifteen megaton hydrogen bomb detonated on Bikini atoll on 1 March 1954 (see also A20:1–2) remains the largest test explosion ever conducted by the United States. In addition to the awesome power of the blast, radioactive fallout was spread over a broad expanse of the Pacific east of Bikini. Some 200 Marshall Islanders were exposed to this radiation, as were a Japanese fishing boat's crew and their catch of fish. The plight of the *Lucky Dragon* triggered an anti-American outcry in Japan against the poisoning of its people once more by the "ashes of death". There was also a serious "tuna scare" which resulted in the destruction of tons of fish. A broadly based campaign for the cessation of nuclear testing took shape, and the Japanese Government increasingly followed its lead (see also A309:8)—protesting, for example, the experimental explosions carried out by the United States in

Operation “Redwing” from May to July 1956, as well as Britain’s projected series of tests on Christmas Island.

312:9–10 **This same attitude is nearly universal in India.** On 2 April 1954—barely a month after the fifteen megaton Bikini test and only a week after another high-yield (eleven megaton) thermonuclear device was exploded on the same Pacific atoll—Prime Minister Nehru had spoken to India’s Parliament of the “deep and widespread concern in the world about these weapons and their dreadful consequences” (*The New York Times*, 3 April 1954, p. 1). He proposed a moratorium on all nuclear testing, and over the next three years the Indian delegation to the United Nations repeatedly pressed for a cessation.

312:11 **Mr. Attlee (as he then was) on behalf of the Labour Party** Clement Richard Attlee (1883–1967) had received an earldom on retiring in December 1955 as leader of the Opposition—in which capacity he had earlier expressed misgivings about the continuation of nuclear testing. On that occasion Attlee was actually speaking to a much broader Labour Party motion, which urged the Conservative Government to press more vigorously for disarmament and detente. In moving this resolution, Attlee had wondered whether, as a first step, “a halt (might) be called to further experiments on either side of the Iron Curtain...it seems to me that here would be a chance of getting something like the beginning of some kind of international agreement” (United Kingdom 1955, 953). British Labour could unite around such calls for international action on disarmament or nuclear testing. However, a serious and politically damaging breach had opened between those on the party’s left-wing who wanted Britain to act alone if necessary, and those such as Attlee—he had, after all, initiated the British atomic bomb programme in January 1947—who, ultimately, could not contemplate Britain’s renunciation of nuclear weapons unilaterally.

312:17 **argument that tests cannot be concealed** See A34:4–5, A339:13–14.

313:13–14 **pronouncement of the Federation of American Scientists** This statement called for a UN-mandated moratorium on nuclear testing, pending the determination by a proper scientific inquiry of strict threshold limits for any future experimental explosions. The 2,000-strong Federation of American Scientists (FAS) believed that such an agreement would “shift one facet of the atomic-armaments race and the threat of war into the spotlight of human morality, where we can hope that nations and peoples can find a common understanding” (*The Manchester Guardian*, 8 March 1955, p. 7). The organization had been responding to the fallout report released in February by the United States Atomic Energy Commission. Although this document was the most comprehensive official statement to date on nuclear testing, many disquieting facts were suppressed as the USAEC tried to assuage the American public’s apprehension about radiation hazards. The FAS had been formed in December 1945 as the Federation of Atomic Scientists by scientists formerly employed on the Manhattan Project.

313:41 **policy of the British Government** In reply to a series of questions asked by Labour M.P.’s on 5 March, Prime Minister Macmillan had repeatedly emphasized that the British Government’s preferred policy was pursuit of a comprehensive disarmament agreement covering both nuclear and conventional weapons. Even without such a treaty, he said, Britain might still consider a “limitation” of the tests, although not an outright ban. At the same time, Macmillan was definitely not willing “to postpone the tests which we are about to make and which put us as a nation in the position in which we have a right and a duty to be” (United Kingdom 1957, 179).

314:16–19 **“I should have thought...[America and Russia].”** United Kingdom 1957, 181.

314:32–3 **statement of the U.S. General Gavin** Testifying before the Symington Senate Committee on Defence, Lieutenant-General James M. Gavin (1907–1990), chief of research and development at the Defence Department, had responded thus to a question about the likely impact of an airborne nuclear assault on the Soviet Union: “Current planning estimates run on the order of several hundred million deaths. That would be either way depending on which way the wind blew. If the wind blew to the south-east they would be mostly in the U.S.S.R., although they would extend into the Japanese and perhaps down into the Philippine area. If the wind blew back the other way they would extend well back into Western Europe” (*The Manchester Guardian*, 30 June 1956, p. 5). Both the us AEC and Gavin’s own department had tried to block publication of this testimony. Gavin had become a critic of American defence planning’s strategic over-reliance on nuclear weapons, which he felt was ill-suited to the deterrence of limited or regional conflicts. Losing the internal battle over policy, Gavin resigned in January 1958 and made public his case for a more adaptable American strategy in *War and Peace in the Space Age* (1958).

314:36–42 **Mr. Liddell Hart...The Times of January 5...nuclear war.** Liddell Hart 1955a, which actually appeared in *The Times* on 25 January 1955. Basil Henry Liddell Hart (1895–1970) was eminent both as a strategic analyst and as a military historian. He was part of a coterie of professional strategists whose very respectability was useful to Russell when he wanted authoritative backing for his own gloomy predictions about nuclear war (see *Papers* 28:xxi). Notwithstanding the apocalyptic comments quoted here, Liddell Hart approved Britain’s acquisition of thermonuclear weapons. At the same time, he profoundly disliked the strategy of “graduated” deterrence and the related concept of limited nuclear war. In an earlier letter to *The Times*, Liddell Hart doubted whether tactical nuclear weapons ever “could be used without precipitating all-out war with hydrogen bombs”. He preferred hydrogen-bomb deterrence supplemented by “‘fire-brigade’ forces of high efficiency and mobility” for deployment in counter-insurgency situations (1955).

314:42–3 **We know...from Mr. Dulles...several times in recent years.** The reputation of John Foster Dulles (1888–1959) as a reckless and confrontational diplomatist derived in part from comments made in December 1955 to the chief of *Time-Life’s* Washington bureau, although the Secretary of State never actually described his policy as one of “brinkmanship”. Reviewing American policy on Korea, Indo-China and Formosa, Dulles had said: “You have to take chances for peace, just as you must take chances in war. Some say that we were brought to the verge of war. The ability to get to the verge without getting into the war is the necessary art. If you cannot master it, you inevitably get into war. If you try to run away from it, if you are scared to go to the brink, you are lost” (quoted in Hoopes 1973, 310). Dulles was widely censured after publication of the interview in January 1956—even by some supporters of the Eisenhower administration, who felt that its Secretary of State had committed an unconscionable public relations blunder in showing that the United States was casually prepared to contemplate war.

## 57a Next Step (Abstract)

319:22 **Repeated Disarmament Conferences** See A33:4, A347:27–30.

## 57b The Next Step in International Relations

321:10 **Assembly as opposed to the Security Council** According to Article 24 of the United Nations Charter, the settlement of disputes and the authorization of concerted

action to preserve peace did not fall inside the domain of the General Assembly, in which all member states were represented equally, but inside that of the much smaller Security Council. At the Dumbarton Oaks Conference near Washington D.C. (August-October 1944), it was determined that the “Big Five”—the Grand Alliance of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain, plus China and France—would enjoy permanent representation on this body, while six more seats would be occupied on a revolving basis by other member states for terms of two years.

321:11 **the Veto** See A20:39.

321:31–2 **United Nations...police the Israeli-Egyptian frontier** After supervising the withdrawal from Egypt of all British, French and Israeli troops—the evacuation of the latter was not completed until 8 March 1957—the United Nations Emergency Force (see also A133:1) remained on Egyptian soil to monitor the cease-fire and to patrol the border with Israel along the Sinai peninsula. The scope of this novel peacekeeping operation was extended subsequently to cover the 1948 armistice demarcation line around Gaza. UNEF remained active until the eve of the six-day Arab-Israeli War in 1967, when the Nasser Government rescinded permission for international troops to be stationed on Egyptian territory.

## 58 Earl Russell and the H-bomb

324:13–15 **marked passage...broadcast...December 1954** Probably this excerpt: “Whatever agreements not to use H-bombs had been reached in time of peace, they would no longer be considered binding in time of war, and both sides would set to work to manufacture H-bombs as soon as war broke out, for, if one side manufactured the bombs and the other did not, the side that manufactured them would inevitably be victorious” (Russell 1954*g*; *Papers* 28:87).

## 59a Population Pressure and War

328:13–15 **Four times...historians of antiquity...drought at home.** See Myres 1911, 104–19, an account cited by Russell in making the same observation on a previous occasion (1954*b*; *Papers* 28:110).

328:16 **Babylon and Nineveh** The ancient cities of Babylon and Nineveh were situated, respectively, on the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. Their growth was fuelled in part by migration from the older Sumerian civilization of Ur, which had flourished under three separate dynasties during the third millennium B.C. but experienced a steady decline after repeated conquests and a change of course in the Euphrates.

328:16–17 **Code of Hammurabi** As ruler of Babylon from 1792–1750 B.C., Hammurabi succeeded in unifying the rest of Babylonia through a series of conflicts waged with rival Mesopotamian kingdoms. Hammurabi endeavoured to govern his expanding empire according to a strict but just body of criminal, economic and family law, which was supposedly revealed to him by the God Marduk. The code survived in cuneiform script on a diorite column in a temple dedicated to Marduk and was unearthed by French archaeologists in 1901.

328:17 **art of predicting eclipses** During the second millennium B.C., Babylonian astronomers devised a fairly reliable system for predicting the cycle of lunar eclipses. A great deal of experimental observation had been devoted to this end, for the Babylonians believed that an inauspiciously occurring eclipse might portend famine, flood or war.

328:26 **Taiping Rebellion** See A101:34.

329:2 **Professor Huxley’s previous article** Huxley 1957, a short overview by region of world population and resources, written by the British biologist, humanist philosopher

and scientific educator Julian Sorrell Huxley (1887–1975), a close friend of Russell’s for more than twenty years.

330:8–9 **India, China and Japan...two-fifths...population of the world.** Russell’s statistics on Indian, Chinese and Japanese population growth are taken from PEP 1955, 133–9, 139–40 and 148–51, respectively.

330:18–19 **“We should...what it is.”** Quoted in PEP 1955, 214, from a speech delivered by the Indian Prime Minister to a convention of his Congress Party early in 1954. A policy of population control had been included in India’s first five-year plan (1951–56), which made provision for the funding of familyplanning education and clinics. The initiative was a pioneering example of a family-limitation policy backed by the state, although it was more of a propaganda than a public health success in its early years owing to limited resources and the withholding of official support from all forms of contraception other than the “rhythm method”.

330:24–8 **“If we think...the Imperial nation.”** Quoted in PEP 1955, 228.

330:31–3 **According to Dr. Yasuaki Koguchi...year 1953.** See Jackson 1956, 14, reporting comments addressed by a Japanese physician to the fifth International Conference on Planned Parenthood, held in Tokyo from 24–29 October 1954. Russell had accepted an invitation from the International Planned Parent Federation to act as a sponsor of this meeting.

330:34–6 **The Japanese Government...encourage it.** When the Japanese Government first publicly supported birth control in October 1951, its primary motivation was to reduce the number of abortions. Almost three years later, however, the Ministry of Welfare’s Advisory Council on Population Problems still felt compelled to issue a statement of warning about the potentially harmful effects of abortion. Yet, this communiqué of 24 August 1954 also reiterated the Japanese Government’s resolve to promote easier and cheaper access to birthcontrol information and devices (see PEP 1955, 231).

330:42–3 **In Russia abortion...decree of November 23, 1955.** This decree reversed a prohibition introduced in June 1936 and which had itself overturned the regime of legalized abortion instituted in November 1920. Although no detailed official explanation accompanied the ruling made by the Supreme Soviet in November 1955, it seems to have been a response to the large number of abortions that were being procured illegally from untrained and disreputable practitioners (see Mironenko 1955).

330:43–331:2 **China...contraception...general request of the masses** Quoted in “A Terrifying Sum”, *The Times*, 21 Nov. 1955, p. 9—an editorial which Russell retained for his clippings file. China remained somewhat diffident about birth control, with official pronouncements exhibiting a brash confidence in the Communist system’s capacity to support a rapidly growing population. As late as March 1956, *People’s China* boasted that the country “can provide room for another 600 million people at least” (quoted in *News of Population and Birth Control*, no. 47, Sept. 1956). Neo-Malthusian doctrines of overpopulation continued to be disavowed even as birth control methods obtained guarded state approval, with the protection of women and children’s health being proclaimed as the overriding objective of the new policy.

332:41–3 **In Ceylon, when DDT...Western death rates** See PEP 1955, 12.

333:2–3 **The figures of the death rate in Japan** PEP 1955, 227.

333:6–7 **A large part of this fall...American methods** Public health measures instituted during the American occupation helped reduce mortality from tuberculosis,

dysentery, typhoid and beri-beri—diseases which had accounted for some forty percent of all deaths in Japan between the wars.

## 59b Population Pressures and Family Planning

333:38 **Sir Alexander Carr Saunders** The biologist, sociologist and educational administrator Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders (1886–1966) had served as director of the London School of Economics from 1937 until 1956. Prior to this appointment, he had been the first holder of the Charles Booth Chair of Social Science at Liverpool University (1923–37). He had published an innovative biometric study of *The Population Problem* as early as 1922 and had chaired the statistics committee of the Royal Commission on Population (1944–49). His historical survey of *Population* (1925) had received a sympathetic acknowledgement from Russell in *Marriage and Morals* (1929, 189–90).

333:38 **Professor Nixon** William Charles Wallace Nixon (1903–1966) was a Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology at University College Hospital, London. In 1935 he resigned this post to take a professorship at Hong Kong University and to work in one of the British colony's maternity hospitals. A year later, with support from the local Chinese population and Britain's Family Planning Association, Nixon helped establish Hong Kong's first birth-control clinic. A fervent advocate of improved maternity care, he belonged to obstetric societies and committees in a number of countries.

333:40 **recent Governmental policy in China** See Headnote.

335:28–30 **In Japan...increase...abortions** See A330:31–3.

## 60a Message to Be Read at the Meeting on April 30, 1957, of the National Council for Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests

339:6–9 **The amount of injury...born idiots...die of bone-cancer.** The note of caution to Russell's otherwise bold assertion reflected lingering scientific uncertainty about gauging the long-term effects—both genetic and somatic—of nuclear testing. These doubts had been raised in nearly all official and independent inquiries into radiation hazards and would resurface in the discussion of the problem at the first Pugwash Conference (see Introduction, p. xlvii). Yet, the Pugwash conferees and other experts tended to regard the incomplete state of scientific knowledge as cause for caution not complacency. In a popular treatment of the wider subject published the following year, Linus Pauling would make an alarming projection of the congenital defects that would be directly attributable to nuclear tests carried out thus far (1958, 67–73). As for the increased incidence of bone-cancer, Britain's Atomic Scientists' Association (1957) had just (as Russell wrote Paper 60a) issued a disturbing if tentative estimate that the amount of strontium 90 released by a single test of the Bikini type (see A20:1–2) “may eventually produce bone cancers in 1,000 people for every million tons of TNT of equivalent explosive power”.

339:10–11 **“clean” bombs...scientific scrutiny** These doubts were stated even more plainly to Homer A. Jack in an unpublished interview conducted on 22 June 1957. On that occasion Russell reportedly said that “all talk of ‘clean’ bombs...was a pack of lies” (RA REC. ACQ. 1,432). The United States Atomic Energy Commission had been trying to give credence to the concept since July 1956 by claiming that very little radiation had been released by hydrogen bombs exploded in the recently concluded Operation “Redwing”. Likewise, after the first of the Christmas Island tests which the NCANWT was trying to stop, Prime Minister Macmillan stressed that fallout from the British bomb had been “almost negligible” (quoted in Divine 1978, 125). Radioactive fallout *could* be

reduced by substituting non-fissile bismuth for uranium 238 in the outer casing of a hydrogen bomb, thereby creating a two-stage fission-fusion device, as opposed to the “dirty” fission-fusion-fission bomb tested at Bikini on 1 March 1954. Russell’s scepticism was reinforced, however, by expert testimony to a congressional hearing on radiation in June 1957. One us AEC scientist argued that a truly “clean” hydrogen bomb would never be perfected because of the prerequisite of a fission trigger. The quest for a “clean” bomb was not only helpful to those who opposed the restriction of nuclear testing, it also had a definite tactical rationale—which us AEC chairman Lewis Strauss explained to the National Security Council on 5 December 1957: “For example, if the United States was preparing to land large forces in some foreign area, we would want to use ‘clean’ weapons of high yield...because if we used ‘dirty’ highyield weapons the area would be contaminated and could not be entered by our own forces” (United States 1990, 761).

339:13–14 **cannot be concealed...British Government’s...contrary** Russell may have been thinking back to a parliamentary answer given by the then Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, on 6 December 1955 (see A34:4–5). Yet, on 16 April 1957, only eight days before Russell dictated Paper 60a, a similar claim had been made in the Commons by Eden’s successor, Harold Macmillan: “if a deliberate attempt were made to run a test explosion in such a way as to avoid detection it would almost certainly be successful” (United Kingdom 1957b, 1,744). The Soviet Union, by contrast, was still adamant that control machinery was not needed to monitor a nuclear test-ban, although this position was modified in June 1957 by a proposal to the UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee for a two- or three-year moratorium supervised by an international commission of inspectors.

### 60b Letter from Bertrand Russell

339:27–8 **for reasons of health I am unable to be present** Russell had alluded to his painful and uncomfortable affliction of the throat in explaining to his co-organizers of the scientists’ conference his decision not to travel to Pugwash, Nova Scotia (see Introduction, p. xviii). Yet, health considerations would not ordinarily have deterred him from making the short journey from Plas Penrhyn to Bala. It seems far more likely that concern for Edith Russell, who had suffered a serious heart attack on 6 June, prevented him from attending the political gathering to which Paper 60b was read *in absentia*.

33 9:30–1 **cancer of the bone...genetic damage** See A339:6–9.

### 60c Statement for Meeting at Stanford University

340:8–9 **difficulties connected with inspection** See A39:10–11.

340:14–15 **deaths from cancer...congenital mental disorders** A339:6–9.

### 61 Message to First Pugwash Conference

343:1 **the statement** Russell 1955e.

343:20–1 **Cyrus S.Eaton...made the present meeting possible** See Headnote and Introduction, p. xliii.

343:24–5 **Indian Science Congress...offer of hospitality** See Introduction, pp. xxvi–xxviii. The Indian Science Congress Association had been established on the initiative of two British chemists in 1914 with a view to stimulating scientific research and spreading popular awareness of science in India. The prestige of the organization had increased since independence thanks to Nehru’s support for its goals. Close ties with similar associations overseas had been maintained for some years, and the participation of

foreign scientists at its annual meetings had commenced with the silver jubilee congress of 1938.

345:4–5 **advice of Professors Powell and Rotblat** See Introduction, Secs. IV and VII *passim*.

## 62 The Future of International Politics

347:27–30 **successive armament conferences...other side** On the previous failure of negotiations in the five-power UN Disarmament Commission Subcommittee, see A33:4. At the time of Russell's writing (4 September 1957), the current and longest (18 March–6 September 1957) round of talks was ending in London on an acrimonious note, with Soviet representative V.A.Zorin having accused his Western counterparts of negotiating in bad faith and suggested that the subcommittee be wound up (which it was, effectively, in November after the Soviets notified the UN General Assembly that they would henceforth refrain from working on the Disarmament Commission or its subcommittee). The discussions had ranged widely—over troop levels, a nuclear test-ban, control of fissile materials and special zones of aerial and ground inspection. As before, however, the tortuous progress towards a general agreement was eventually stalled completely by irreconcilable arguments about the timing, sequence, scope and enforcement of its constituent parts. The struggle for propaganda points nevertheless continued, and the Soviet bloc quickly gained an advantage when Poland's foreign minister, Adam Rapacki, announced to the UN General Assembly on 2 October 1957 that much of Central Europe should be transformed into a nuclear-free demilitarized zone.

347:43 **Russian action in Hungary** See Paper 25.

348:1 **Guatemala** In June 1954 the CIA had orchestrated a coup in Guatemala to replace radical President Jacob Arbenz Guzman with Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, leader of a group of anti-Communist exiles trained and supported by the United States. Soon after Arbenz's election in 1951 the United States had begun to use its economic leverage to destabilize his allegedly pro-Soviet administration. While Arbenz's reforms were certainly endorsed by Guatemala's Communists, evidence of direct backing from the Soviet Union was lacking—at least until the arrival of an arms shipment from Czechoslovakia in May 1954. Military action against Arbenz—which prompted his resignation and flight on 27 June—had already been precipitated by an earlier decision to expropriate land held by the American-owned United Fruit Company.

348:1–2 **British Guiana** The 1953 elections in British Guiana were held under a democratic constitution that had been promulgated the previous year as a step towards complete independence from British rule. After the left-wing People's Progressive Party (PPP) was returned to power, however, Britain suspended the new constitution and sent in troops—supposedly to safeguard its colony from a Communist takeover. Russell had expressed unease at this annulment of the popular vote in correspondence with *The Manchester Guardian*, but in a followup letter to the editor he accepted that “the British Government should reserve the right to intervene in the event of any serious threat to democracy” (1953c; 2001a, 176). Further elections were delayed until August 1957, when the PPP again prevailed, despite being weakened by a politically damaging schism between its East Indian and Afro-Caribbean bases of support. On this occasion the election results were not annulled, but the colonial power withheld economic aid from British Guiana and used its financial influence to prevent an increasingly moderate PPP from securing international loans.

348:20 **danger points—such as the Middle East** See A321:31–2.

## 63 Britain and the H-bomb

350:3 **article by Mr. Priestley** Priestley 1957 (see Headnote). A founding and executive committee member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, John Boynton Priestley (1894–1984) was also a prolific and versatile writer who published many works of fiction, drama, literary criticism and social commentary. Combining socialist idealism with English patriotism, Priestley had a lengthy record of involvement with progressive organizations and causes and, again not unlike Russell, had gained a still broader measure of public recognition as a broadcaster for the BBC.

350:6 **Mr. Bevan's capitulation to the Foreign Office** In a celebrated speech to the Labour Party Conference in Brighton on 3 October 1957, Aneurin Bevan (1897–1960), Shadow Foreign Secretary and the dominant figure on the party's left-wing, had denounced as irresponsible a resolution demanding Britain's unilateral repudiation of nuclear weapons. Such a policy, he said in the most quoted phrase of an astonishing address, would "send a British Foreign Secretary...naked into the conference chamber" (quoted in Campbell 1987, 337). Bevan's political allies were both shocked and dismayed, for he had long been a vocal critic of British nuclear weapons and as recently as March 1955 he had almost been expelled from the party for criticizing its defence policy. The speech was important in a wider sense: it hastened the formation of an antinuclear pressure group by chastening those who might hitherto have anticipated a radical adjustment of defence priorities from an incoming Labour Government. Russell's charge of a "capitulation to the Foreign Office" modified the more scurrilous allegation that Bevan had sacrificed principle because he coveted this senior ministerial portfolio.

350:7 **precedent of Ernest Bevin** The trade union leader and Labour Party politician Ernest Bevin (1881–1951) had served as Foreign Secretary in both of Clement Attlee's post-war administrations, until being compelled to resign on health grounds in March 1951. The working-class Bevin had previously advocated reform of the Foreign Office and diplomatic corps in order to broaden their predominantly upper-class social base, but he established a close rapport with his senior officials. Although there was little serious disagreement between Bevin and his advisors on matters of policy, it is seldom suggested that Labour's post-war foreign policy was unduly shaped by the permanent bureaucracy. In fact, it has even been claimed that Bevin "played as decisive a part in shaping policy as any Foreign Minister in modern times..." (Bullock 1983, 102).

350:7 **and Ramsay MacDonald** James Ramsay MacDonald (1866–1937), Prime Minister of Britain's first Labour Government, served also as Foreign Secretary in the minority administration which he formed in January 1924. In an interview published a few months after Paper 63, Russell remembered MacDonald as "an unmitigated humbug" (1958*d*). At the time, however, he had praised his stewardship of foreign affairs, especially the "extraordinary tact and adroitness" with which, Russell believed (1924), MacDonald had moderated the anti-German policy of the French. As members of the Union of Democratic Control during the First World War, both men had been resolutely committed to obtaining a peace-by-negotiation.

## 64 Scientific Power: To What End?

353:1 **The two Sputniks** The Soviet Union had launched the world's first space satellite, *Sputnik I*, on 4 October 1957; a dog, Laika, was sent into orbit aboard *Sputnik II* on 3 November.



## Textual Notes

## Textual Principles and Methods

RUSSELL'S WRITINGS VARY greatly, not only in subject matter but also in respect to the form in which the text survives. Some items survive only in print; others only in manuscript. A large number are preserved in both forms, sometimes in more than one of each; in certain cases dictated manuscripts, typescripts or proofs are also available. In addition, Russell emended his own copies of some of his publications. Thus the preparation of this edition has involved a wide variety of editorial decisions. The general principles used in the edition to produce a text as authentic as possible are described in the "Textual Principles and Methods" of the first volume, Russell 1983. Here we indicate the results of applying the principles to this volume. A separate "Guide to the Textual Notes" begins on p. 575.

### I. COPY-TEXTS

For each paper, the first and most important editorial decision is the choice of the copy-text, that is, the text (among the one or more extant versions of the paper) which is the basis for that printed in the present volume. This choice may well affect both the "accidental" features of the text (such as spelling, capitalization, punctuation, word division, paragraphing) and the "substantive" features (the words and their order). Since most publishers introduce changes in accidentals as part of their "house style", the accidentals in a previously published text seldom agree completely with those in an author's manuscript. By contrast, changes in substantives rarely occur without an author's knowledge and consent.

Classical textual theory designates as copy-text the version whose accidentals are closest to the author's. This procedure has been followed in the present edition. Caution has been exhibited in emending the accidental features of the copy-text from other versions of a paper, although such editorial intervention has been carried out selectively since Russell was an author who sometimes revised a small number of accidentals throughout the publication process. Consequently, some changes in accidentals from earlier versions of a text are not editorial corruptions but Russell's own revisions to typescripts or galleys. Whenever possible, a manuscript has been chosen as copy-text in preference to a printed text. Where two or more printed versions survive but no manuscript or typescript, the printed version over which Russell exercised the most control has been taken as copy-text. Hence, a version appearing in one of his own collections of articles is preferred to an earlier version of the same article in, say, a newspaper or periodical. Also following standard practice for critical editions, copy-texts have been emended by incorporating into them substantive changes that are authorial. This is necessary because although the copy-text is the source of most accidental features, it is rarely the most authoritative version substantively.

The application of these copy-text rules to *Collected Papers* 29 has been complicated, however, by the fact that nearly all papers were dictated initially to Edith Russell. Notwithstanding the lack of holograph documents, detailed pre-publication records exist in most cases, usually in the form of typescript or typescript carbon copies as well as a dictated manuscript. Many of these typed documents show emendations by Russell, if not to the substantives then usually at the very least to the punctuation and other accidental

features. Thus, typed documents have been preferred as copy-texts over dictated manuscripts and also over most printed versions. If there is a dictated manuscript and one or more versions in print, but no extant typescript, a printed version has usually been designated copytext—given Russell’s practice of emending typescripts and the likelihood (sometimes confirmed by correspondence) that a typed copy was sent to the publisher.

Of the eighty-six papers and twenty-seven appendixes in this volume, twentyseven have not previously been published in print media, although at least sixteen of these items were broadcast on radio or television. Eleven of these broadcasts were discussion programmes on which Russell appeared with a variety of other participants. A further thirteen texts from among the ninety-five which *have* appeared in print before, originated as radio broadcasts, including three of the *London Forum* discussions (40, 41, 42). The other papers in Part V are all based on transcriptions made from the BBC mimeographs located on microfilm at the BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading (with the exception of Paper 43, for which a photocopy of the BBC mimeograph served as copy-text). Another four papers and two appendixes have appeared heretofore only in foreign-language publications. Paper 47 and Appendixes I and VI are extant only in translation. Eleven of the hitherto unpublished items are extant both in dictated manuscript and typescript or typescript carbon form, and in all these instances a typed document has been designated the copy-text. A typescript carbon is the only version of Paper 57a, although this abstract is essentially a longer version of the holograph notes that are included in the Headnote and printed as Plate VI. For Paper 59b the BBC mimeograph was chosen as copy-text in preference to the only other extant version, an error-strewn typescript carbon. Paper 53 and Appendix XIII are the only texts in the volume for which there are manuscripts in Russell’s hand. The choices of copy-text for all these aforementioned items, as well as for the previously published material, are described and explained in the Headnotes and the Textual Notes.

## II. REGULARIZATION

Where Russell’s habits are invariable, as they are in a great number of cases, it has been the edition’s policy to regularize printed copy-texts to conform with them. When necessary, the same textual principle has been applied in this volume to dictated and typed copy-texts as well, with the following results. The order of punctuation and closing quotation marks has been made consistent with Russell’s usual style, i.e. terminal punctuation is set before the quotation marks if it is judged to be part of the quoted material, otherwise after the quotation marks. Dashes are removed after colons, commas, and periods. Terminal “ize” is generally preferred to “ise”, but otherwise British spellings (as found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*) have been imposed on their American equivalents.

Given the dearth of contemporary manuscripts, it is difficult to establish accurately for this volume all Russell’s accidental preferences. For purposes of regularization, it is problematical that most papers were in the first instance dictated to Edith Russell, for the manuscripts in her hand are not a reliable source of accidentals. Russell clearly altered the substantives of his text as he dictated, as the Textual Notes reveal. He was not unduly fastidious about punctuation until he revised the typed copies prepared for him by Edith. In addition, the dictated manuscripts show many American spellings—not surprisingly, since Edith was an American. Some of her other accidental preferences (the accented

“rôle”, for example) seem to have survived Russell’s scrutiny to appear in print. If any of Russell’s habitual practices are judged to have been disregarded, the text has been regularized. But if Russell’s accidental preference is in doubt, a textual note has been made instead.

### III. HOUSE-STYLING

In addition to the regularization which is intended to restore Russellian accidentals, certain other silent modifications have been made to all copy-texts. Wherever possible, single quotation marks are changed to double. Titles of Russell’s papers are given a consistent capitalization and any terminal period is removed. Terminal periods have also been removed from section headings and numbers, both of which are centred in small capitals. Sub-section headings are set against the leftmargin in italics. The number of dots in ellipses is modernized. Numerals below 100 are generally spelled out. Titles of books are italicized; titles of articles are put inside double quotation marks. For English titles each word except articles and prepositions is capitalized. Footnote indicators have been replaced by sequential numeration throughout each paper. Foreign words and phrases are italicized unless they are enclosed in quotation marks in the copy-text.

Quotations in Russell’s text have been checked for accuracy. Errors are not corrected in his text but, in the case of substantive errors, the correct text is found in the Annotation. The quotations which are displayed in the copy-text are set off uniformly and the parenthetical references which sometimes follow are given a standard format. Bibliographical details of books under review are moved from footnotes to the beginning of the paper and emended to a common format. But rather than intervene substantially in Russell’s references, we have relied on the Bibliographical Index to provide the reader with full bibliographical information.

The salutations and closings of letters to newspapers have been made uniform in wording and punctuation, and if an address and date were supplied these are placed in a standard arrangement against the left margin below Russell’s name.

#### Guide to the Textual Notes

THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE of the Textual Notes is to record the evidence of the progression of Russell’s thought. The Textual Notes record all substantive variants between different versions of the papers, substantive emendations made by Russell in revising manuscripts, typescripts, galleys and dictated manuscripts, and any emendations made by the editors not covered by the regularization and house-styling rules discussed above. Accidental variants unaffected by these rules are not ordinarily noted unless they are part of a substantive variant, or the source of the reading in this volume is other than the copy-text.

The compilation of an integrated list of emendations and variants enables the reader to find in one place all the textual material bearing on the substantives of a given passage.

#### *Format*

For each paper a brief physical description of the copy-text and other pertinent textual documents precedes any textual notes. Bibliographical details and the archival references for unpublished or pre-publication documents are usually supplied only in the Headnote. (RA numbers are given only when the pre-publication material includes more than one version of the same document-type and if the different typed copies—the most usual

example of this occurrence—do not share the same archival location.) In the case of holograph and typed documents the description offers an exact statement of their foliation (the numbering of the leaves), the paper size, and whether they are written or emended in pencil or ink. Italic numbers in the foliation refer to unnumbered leaves, and a number in brackets refers to a leaf's initial numbering if this has been changed. Other features of interest, such as the presence of unusual markings, are also described. Also included in the description is an identification of the symbols used in the textual notes to denote the various versions of the paper being described. The most common symbol is "CT", the abbreviation for "copy-text".

*Record of Authorial Alterations*

For manuscript copy-texts the most frequent kind of note concerns authorial alterations. Insertions are normally indicated by the single word "*inserted*", written to the right of the square bracket following the reading from the text. The expressions "*above deleted*", "*before deleted*" and "*after deleted*" are used to indicate that the accepted reading (on the left of the square bracket) is found, respectively, above, before, or after the reading which follows. Occasionally, compound terms are used such as "*inserted above deleted*". The expression "*written over*" is self-explanatory. The terms "*replaced*" or (occasionally) "*altered from*" are used when the emendation is not easily or economically explained by any combination of the above terms. Misspellings which seem to have resulted from typographical corrections have not been noted, nor have emendations to typed documents which merely bring them into conformity with an earlier version of the text. Where variants between a typed copy-text and a dictated manuscript are created by emendation of the former, the dictated manuscript reading is not noted unless it differs from the prior reading on the typed copy or further collations reveal either 1) additional variant readings of the same passage, or 2) other sources of the dictated manuscript reading. The numerous substantive emendations in Edith Russell's hand on the manuscripts dictated to her by Russell have been recorded if they are deemed authorial but not if they appear only to correct something misheard. Cancelled illegible words, letters written over the same letters and incomplete words are not recorded unless they are part of a larger alteration or are otherwise thought to be of interest.

Each note consists of a number of distinct components, as in the following example:

175:1–2 thought it necessary CT] *above deleted* seen fit

The page/line reference to the present volume is followed by the reading at that location in the text. "CT" indicates that this reading coincides with the final reading in the copy-text. A right-hand square bracket completes this component of the note. The next component, "*above deleted*", is a phrase describing the nature and location of the alteration in the copy-text. Editorial comments, which are found to the right of the square bracket, are always in italics. The final component is the prior reading. The complete note is to be understood as follows: "At 175:1–2, the reading 'thought it necessary' is from the copy-text (the typescript), where it appears above the deleted words 'seen fit'".

*Record of Variants*

Another kind of note records variant readings from different versions of a paper:

101:2–3 Russian population CT, MSe] population EW

The note indicates that at 101:2–3 the reading shared by the copy-text (a typescript carbon) and the dictated manuscript (denoted by the abbreviation “MSe”) differs from that of the printed version in *Everybody’s Weekly* (denoted by the symbol “EW”). In this example, the copy-text has not been emended because the editor of *Everybody’s Weekly* is deemed to have altered Russell’s text.

The preceding note also shows how a variant is presented when more than two versions of a paper have been collated. If more than one variant reading is revealed by such a series of collations, additional square brackets are required, as in the following record of variation to the title of Paper **12**:

*title* Why I Am Not a Communist 56b] *replaced* Why I Am an Anti-Communist CT] *as for unemended* CT MSe] The Philosopher 56a] The Marxist Fraud NC

The following example from **37** illustrates how a recurrence of the same variant at different places in the paper is recorded:

189:2 towards CT] toward NYT *Also at 189:19, 191:18.*

*Record of Editorial Emendations*

The source of an editorial emendation may be another version of the paper being described:

16:18 Poles 55] Russians, Chinese, Indians CT, MSe

In this example, at 16:18 the reading “Poles” from *What Is Science?* (denoted by the abbreviation “55”) has been preferred to the reading “Russians, Chinese, Indians”, shared by the copy-text (the typescript carbon) and the dictated manuscript (“MSe”), because of the external evidence (correspondence with the editor of the book in which the paper was published) that Russell made this correction on some page proofs that are now missing (see **H3**).

Most other editorial emendations are undertaken silently, as in the case of misspellings in typed copy-texts which seem to be the result of typographical error. But if the regularization and house-styling rules outlined in the “Textual Principles and Methods” do not apply then a textual note is made, as in the following example:

240:4 I think] I mean—I think CT

This textual note records the fact that at 240:4 the reading “I think” has been substituted for the reading “I mean—I think” in the copy-text. That no text is cited to the left of the square bracket as the source of the preferred reading indicates that the reading was editorially supplied. This type of editorial intervention is not usual, but the copy-text for the paper in question (**43**) is by no means a typical pre-publication document. Rather, it is the typed transcript of a radio broadcast and, like the copy-texts for the other papers in Part V, shows many such “false starts” made by Russell and the other speakers in these debates. There are also many incorrect or suspect readings in Part V that were introduced by the BBC staff who prepared the typed transcripts from the sound recordings. Most of

the obviously erroneous readings in these nine papers (and in Appendix XVI) have been emended silently.

### *Compound Textual Notes*

A few complex situations in the documents require an explanation that is tailored to the unusual nature of the circumstances—such as the need for a textual note to record substantive emendation *and* substantive variation. Sometimes, however, a compound textual note will suffice, as in the following example, which records two different stages of revision to the dictated manuscript of Paper 51. The first emendation is described after the second square bracket.

290:36 the West MSe] *after deleted* Western Christian] *above deleted*  
White men

## 1 Failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva

The typescript letter ("CT") is on both the recto and verso of a single unfoliated leaf measuring 133×177 mm. The underlined note "Copy" was typed in the upper-left corner of the recto side. No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of CT with the single-leaf dictated manuscript ("MSe") written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand. The textual notes record the emendations to MSe.

*title* Failure of...at Geneva] *editorially supplied*

4:7–10 Germany may...adopted MSe] *inserted after deleted* If a unified Germany joined Nato, or, on the other hand, were neutralized and disarmed, {a unified Germany...and disarmed *above deleted* the Russians lost Eastern Germany}, if we lost Cyprus, or if the Americans lost Formosa

4:10 Whichever of these MSe] *after deleted* Then I think

4:12–15 The whole problem...Formosa. MSe] *inserted*

4:13–14 apparently believe MSe] *inserted above deleted* consider

4:17 become less difficult MSe] *above deleted* be easy. I hope therefore that the American and Soviet Governments will both take steps to acquaint themselves with the facts of modern strategy

## 2 The Dilemma of the West

The typescript ("CT") is foliated 1, 2 and measures 203×254 mm. Typed above the date (6 Dec. 1955) which Edith Russell wrote in pencil in the upper-left corner of fol. 1 is the following note: "Not for publication". There is also an identical carbon of CT, as well as a three-leaf dictated manuscript ("MSe") written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand. No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of the latter version with CT; the textual notes record the emendations to MSe.

6:2 which MSe] *inserted*

6:5 hoped MSe] *after deleted* in the West

6:6 Others MSe] *above deleted* The East

6:7 they saw MSe] *above deleted* the Soviet Government decided that there was

6:7 to the MSe] *above deleted* to Western

6:8 of the other side MSe] *inserted*

6:8 no limit MSe] *after deleted* that there used to

6:8 aggression MSe] *after deleted* Communism

6:9 one side but not by the other MSe] *above deleted* the Western Powers

6:11 the more peaceful side MSe] *above deleted* the West

6:11 one side MSe] *above deleted* the Communist Powers

6:11 other's MSe] *above deleted* Western

6:12 that side must MSe] *above deleted* the West must

6:15 The threat MSe] *after deleted* The Communist position is that disputes can always be avoided by deciding them as the Communists wish. If the West does not submit to this view, it must, for the time being, keep the possibility of war as a deterrent to Communist aggression.

6:17 decided MSe] *above deleted* settled

6:19–20 A third MSe] *above deleted* Another

6:23–4, however concealed...the back-ground, MSe] *inserted*

6:25 either side. MSe] *after deleted* the West.

6:30 it is likely that they will MSe] *inserted above deleted* they will

6:31 will MSe] *inserted*

6:33 not only...of themselves, MSe] *inserted above deleted comma after inserted then deleted* and extermination

6:36 ill advised MSe] ill-advised CT

6:39–40 as well as of Eastern MSe] *inserted*

6:40 is MSe] *inserted*

7:3 nuclear MSe] *after deleted* thermo

7:3–4 Russians...be renounced MSe] *replaced* Russian demand that we should renounce them

7:5–6 owing to...propinquity to Europe MSe] *inserted from bottom of fol 3 to replace* owing to Russian numerical superiority and propinquity to Europe

7:9–10 the existence...both sides MSe] *replaced* thermo-nuclear weapons

### 3 Science and Human Life

The fifteen-leaf typescript carbon ("CT") is foliated 1, 2–11 and 1, 2–4. Both components of CT measure 203×254 mm. and were emended by Russell in ink. The fourleaf addition was produced on a different typewriter and consists of the sentence which appears also as an emendation at T12:12, and the long insertion recorded at T15:21–18:2. This lengthier passage was typed from a six-leaf dictated addition to the eleven-leaf dictated manuscript ("MSe") written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe and the published version in *What Is Science?* ("55").

11:5 Gentlemen MSe] gentlemen CT, 55

11:11 intelligence MSe] *inserted above deleted* integrity

11:31 usually MSe] *above deleted* always

12:7 that MSe] *inserted above deleted* how any agreement to forgo modern weapons

12:9 that MSe] *inserted*

12:11 serious MSe] *above deleted* large

12:12 I shall return to it presently. CT, MSe] *inserted*

12:15 Revolution, 55] Revolution CT, MSe

12:16 handicraftsmen, 55] handicraftsmen CT, MSe

12:27–8 if such...extermination MSe] *inserted with first word written over* supposing

12:41 inflict vital damage upon MSe] *above deleted* kill

12:43 inter-dependence CT, MSe] interdependence 55

13:4 Take MSe] *replaced* To take

13:11 State MSe] *replaced* States

13:18 a MSe] *inserted above deleted* the

13:27 Northern Canada MSe] *inserted above deleted* the antarctic

- 14:6 call MSe] *replaced* called  
 14:25–6 towards CT, MSe] toward 55 *Also at 15:21.*  
 14:31 can MSe] *inserted above deleted* and  
 15:4–20 I will not maintain...behaviour. MSe] *inserted*  
 15:21–18:3 Apart from...or that propaganda. CT, MSe] *inserted*  
 15:42 power, 55] power CT, MSe  
 16:15 have been glad 55] should wish CT, MSe  
 16:16–17 of the highest eminence MSe] *inserted*  
 16:17 many countries 55] all countries CT, MSe  
 16:18 Poles 55] Russians, Chinese, Indians CT, MSe  
 16:18 have rejoiced...issue 55] should wish these men to issue CT, MSe  
 16:22 will MSe] *after deleted* would  
 16:23 sacrifice. 55] sacrifice. In America, it may involve disgrace; in Russia, something much worse. CT, MSe  
 16:26 them MSe] *inserted*  
 17:1 other people MSe] *above deleted* of the rest of us  
 17:9–10 treachery, since... I am 55] *replaced* treachery. I am CT] treachery: I am MSe  
 17:12–13 and in...its prevention CT, 55] and devising methods for its prevention *inserted* MSe  
 17:15 penalties for MSe] *replaced* much suffering to  
 17:42 statesmen 55] Statesmen CT, MSe  
 18:4 ¶[Scientific knowledge CT, 55] Scientific knowledge *inserted above deleted* It MSe  
 18:16 if MSe] *above deleted* that  
 18:17 correlative MSe] *after deleted* and  
 18:22 an MSe] *above deleted* and  
 18:34 good MSe] *inserted*  
 18:35 that will lie MSe] *inserted above deleted* which has  
 18:36 in CT] *inserted*  
 18:41 problems MSe] *above deleted* issues

#### 4 Nuclear Weapons and World Peace

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2–4, measures 203×254 mm. and shows the insertion of a comma as well as the one substantive emendation that is reported in the collation of CT with the five-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand.

- 21:3 in MSe] *after deleted* of  
 21:4 net advantage MSe] advantage CT  
 21:13 reflection] reflexion CT, MSe  
 22:4 armaments CT] *replaced* armament

#### 5 How to Avoid Nuclear Warfare

Each leaf of the combination typescript and typescript carbon (“CT”) measures 203× 254 mm. The single-leaf typescript is unfoliated, but the four typescript carbon leaves are foliated 2–5. There is also a complete typescript carbon, substantively the same as CT except that the pencil emendations in Russell’s hand at T26:3 are not present. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the seven-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand, and the published versions in *Everybody’s Weekly* (“EW”) and *The Times of India* (“TI”).

*title* How to... Warfare CT, MSe] How to Avoid a Nuclear War EW] Bertrand Russell Challenges the Great Powers *before subtitle*...to renounce war on threat of war to settle issues by negotiation and compromise—or face destruction TI

24:3 It used to be MSe] *replaced* It has hitherto been

24:10 There CT, MSe] ¶[There EW] ¶[There *after subheading* Great Folly TI

24:10 may MSe] *above deleted* might

24:16 large-scale EW, TI] large scale CT, MSe

24:29 ¶[Although TI] *after subheading* New Angle

24:32 rational CT, MSe, EW] national TI

24:33 each side MSe] *replaced both* sides

25:1 imperative MSe] *above deleted* important

25:30–1 frontiers...need be CT, MSe, EW] frontiers TI

25:34 negotiation CT, MSe, EW] negotiations TI

25:35 negotiation CT, EW, TI] negotiations MSe

25:36 One CT, MSe] ¶[One EW] ¶[One *after subheading* World Body

25:40 long EW, TI] very long CT, MSe

26:3 there is Japan...of Japan EW, TI] there are eighteen other nations which, if Chiang Kai-shek had been (had been] *inserted in pencil in another hand above deleted with pencil* can be CT] can be MSe] brought to heel, would have been (would have been] *in pencil above deleted with pencil* are likely to be CT] are likely to be MSe] admitted to membership (membership] *before deleted* very soon CT] membership very soon MSe\*\*\*  
The admission of these CT, MSe

26:20 ¶[The hydrogen TI] *after subheading* Fear of War

## 6 Prospects for the Next Half Century

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2–3 and measures 203×254 mm. In addition to the two substantive emendations that are recorded below, CT shows the insertion, also in ink, of a number of commas. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the six-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand.

29:17 twenty-five MSe] *above deleted* a quarter of a

29:18 for CT] *above deleted* of

29:29–39 Asia and...former masters. MSe] *inserted*

29:34 owing to MSe] *above deleted* while

29:40–30:7 If Asia...population. MSe] *inserted from fol. 5*

29:42 births and deaths CT] *replaced* birth and death

29:43 about MSe] *inserted*

29:43 second MSe] *below deleted* minute

30:1 that MSe] *written over* of

30:9 statesmen] Statesmen CT, MSe *Also at 30:24.*

30:13 achieve MSe] *inserted above deleted* secure

30:16 enabled MSe] *after deleted* allow

30:18 forms MSe] *replaced* formed

30:21 *the MSe] inserted*

30:23 legitimate prospects MSe] *inserted above deleted* its hopes

30:31–8 Communists...obsolete. MSe] *inserted from fol 6*

## 7 Prospects of Disarmament

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2–3 and measures 203×254 mm. In addition to the one substantive emendation in ink that is recorded below, CT shows the insertion of

several commas. A second typescript carbon incorporated these emendations to CT but does not substantively differ from the earlier version. CT has been collated with the four-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand.

- 33:4 prove MSe] *after deleted* have better justification
- 33:13 promotion MSe] *above deleted* creation
- 33:14 from MSe] *inserted above deleted* of
- 33:36 desirable MSe] *above deleted* important
- 33:43 U.S., the U.K. MSe] *replaced* United States, the United Kingdom
- 34:2 abandon] abandoned CT, MSe
- 34:6 Save MSe] *above deleted* Except
- 34: II pacific CT] *replaced* specific
- 34:32 statesmen] Statesmen CT, MSe

## 8 Statement for Polish Radio

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2 and measures 204×255 mm. There is also a dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on parts of two separate leaves. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe and the published version in *Polish Radio International Free Forum of the Air* (“56”).

*title* Statement for Polish Radio] *no title* CT, MSe] Polish Radio International Free Forum of the Air 56

- 36:2–4 Sirs,—I could...or *no*. CT, MSe] *not present* 56
- 36:8 afraid that CT, MSe] afraid 56
- 36:18 a genetic MSe] *replaced* an unknown genetic
- 36:22 So CT, MSe] As 56
- 36:29 a collective CT, MSe] the collective 56
- 36:30 only way CT, MSe] way 56

## 9 Nuclear Weapons

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2–3 and measures 203×254 mm. The first paragraph was inserted from a leaf of Russell’s dictation for 28 July 1956, where it is preceded by the following instruction: “Add to piece for Moscow *New Times* at beginning:”. Also in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand is the dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written on two leaves of blue paper (and on both the recto and verso of fol. 1). Neither this document nor the publication in *New Times* (“NT”) contain the dictated insertion described above. But, aside from the different title of NT, there was no other substantive variation between either of these versions and CT. The textual notes record the emendations to MSe and an accidental variant from NT that has been preferred to that from CT.

- title* Nuclear Weapons CT, MSe] Nuclear Weapons Must Not Be Used NT
- 39:1–2 I send...and Nagasaki.] *not present* CT, MSe, NT
- 39:5 general MSe] *after deleted* a
- 39:24 war...war CT, MSe] *war* is to prevent *war* NT
- 39:39 think MSe] *before deleted* that
- 40:21 statesmen NT] Statesmen CT, MSe

## 10a Message for a Meeting at the Stoll Theatre

The dictated manuscript (“CT”) is written in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on part of a single leaf that is foliated 2. The textual notes record the substantive variation between this version and the published excerpt in the *Daily Worker* (“DW”).

- title* Message for...Stoll Theatre] *editorially supplied*

44:2–3 I am...November 6. CT] *not present* DW

44:3–5 and will...at Geneva CT] *not present* DW

### 10b *British-Soviet Friendship*

The typescript carbon copy-text is on the verso of the letter from John Goss discussed in the Headnote. No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on a single leaf of manifold paper.

*title British-Soviet Friendship] editorially supplied*

### 10c Welcome to Bulganin and Khrushchev

The single-leaf typescript carbon is unfoliated and measures 203×254 mm. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on part of a single leaf of manifold paper that is foliated 2, and the published version in *Soviet Weekly* ("SW").

*title Welcome to Bulganin and Khrushchev] editorially supplied*

44:13 Khrushchev SW] Krushchev CT, MSe

44:19 that ideology SW] that CT, MSe

### 10d Britain and Russia: What Now?

The single-leaf typescript carbon ("CT") is marked "copy" in the upper-left corner. It is unfoliated and measures 203×254 mm. Immediately below CT is Russell's letter to John Goss that is discussed in the Headnote. CT was compared with the single-leaf dictated manuscript written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand, but there were no substantive differences. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the published version in *British-Soviet Friendship* ("B-SF").

*title Britain and Russia: What Now? B-SF] no title CT*

44:24 Government CT] Union B-SF

44:26–45:5 1. Russia...armaments. BSF] *run on as part of single sentence with semicolons before last four enumerated points* CT

## 11 Faith without Illusion

The typescript carbon ("CT") is foliated 1, 2–4, measures 203×254 mm. and shows some ink emendations. These were probably made by Russell, although this cannot be stated with complete authority as only the punctuation was affected. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the four-leaf dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand, and the published version in *The Sunday Times* ("ST").

51:4–5 time...and impersonal CT, MSe] time. ST

51:7 throughout these pages is CT, MSe] is ST

51:12–13 France...Hotspur CT, MSe] France. ST

51:13–14 twenty-five million pounds CT] £25 million ST] 20 million pounds MSe

51:19 anti-Semitic ST] anti-semitic CT, MSe

51:23 Karolyi's MSe] *inserted above deleted* His

51:24 a day MSe] *inserted*

51:30 Throughout...those CT, MSe] Those ST

51:33–4 consoling to an English reader CT, MSe] consoling ST

51:40–52:19 figures. He...exile. CT, MSe] figures ST

52:9–10 both by...and MSe] *inserted*

52:14 the lie CT] this lie MSe] *not present* ST

52:18 Mindszenty] Midszenty CT, MSe] *not present* ST

- 52:19–20 (or almost ends) MSe] *inserted*  
 52:29–31 Europe. I...respect. CT, MSe] Europe. ST  
 52:33 has CT, MSe] had ST  
 53:2–3 utters. In...alive. CT, MSe] utters. ST  
 53:3 his MSe] *inserted*

## 12 Why I Am Not a Communist

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2–4, measures 204×255 mm. and shows some unrecorded ink emendations which were probably made by Russell, although this cannot be stated with complete authority as only the punctuation was affected. The additional foliation in an unidentified hand probably relates to the reprinted version in *Portraits from Memory* (“56b”), with whose other pre-publication papers CT is filed. There is also a dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on both the recto and verso of the first three of four leaves. The fourth leaf consists only of the insertion recorded at T58:6–16. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe and the published versions in the pamphlet, *Why I Oppose Communism* (“56a”), the *News Chronicle* (“NC”) and 56b. The readings from 56b at T57:7, T58:3, T58:4, and T58:17 are consistent with the emendations by Russell that are marked on the page proofs of the book at RAI 210.006888–FI.

*title* Why I Am Not a Communist 56b] *replaced* Why I Am an Anti-Communist CT]  
*as for unemended* CT MSe] The Philosopher 56a] The Marxist Fraud NC

- 57:7 one, 56b] One, CT, MSe, 56a, NC  
 57:13 wages MSe] *after deleted* the  
 57:14 He is CT, MSe, 56a, 56b] ¶He is *after subheading* a goad NC  
 57:15 facts or because it is logically CT, MSe, 56a, 56b] facts, or logically NC  
 57:19 a hundred MSe] *after deleted* during the’ 40’s  
 57:21 volitions MSe] *above deleted* traditions  
 57:22 but MSe] *after deleted* if he had not  
 57:35 In the CT, MSe, 56a, 56b] ¶In the *after subheading* one man NC  
 58:3 came 56b] comes CT, MSe, 56a, NC  
 58:4 could 56b] can CT, MSe, 56a, NC  
 58:6–16 I have always disagreed...vanguard of progress. MSe] *inserted*  
 58:11 The dangers CT, MSe, 56a, 56b] ¶The dangers *after subheading* they forget NC  
 58:17 There are signs 56b] It is possible CT, MSe, 56a] There are some signs NC  
 58:17 will 56b] may CT, MSe, 56a, NC  
 58:30 This forecast CT, MSe, 56a, 56b] ¶This forecast *after subheading* tact, plus—  
 NC  
 58:42 White CT, MSe, NC] white 56a, 56b

## 13 My Recollections of George Trevelyan

The five-leaf typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2, 2a, 3–4 and measures 203× 254 mm. The emendation at T61:18 was made by Russell in ink. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the six-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand, and the version in *London Calling* (“LC”).

- title* My Recollections of George Trevelyan CT, MSe] A Great English Historian LC  
 61:6 Macaulay CT, MSe] ¶Macaulay *after subheading* Macaulay’s Great-Nephew LC  
 61:6 poet, MSe, LC] poet CT  
 61:10–16 I was attracted...seriousness. CT] *inserted from fol. 6* MSe] *not present* LC

- 61:13 nor he...Elizabethan lyrics; CT] *inserted without punctuation within insertion at T61:10–16* MSe
- 61:17 prowess MSe] powers CT, LC
- 61:18 walk more than CT] *inserted above deleted* exceed
- 61:21 He kept CT, MSe] ¶He kept LC
- 61:27–36 He considered...the march. CT] *inserted from fol. 6* MSe] *first sentence only present* LC
- 61:30 modern adventitious CT, MSe] modern LC
- 61:32 of villages MSe] of *inserted*
- 61:36–41 This long...the way. CT, MSe] *not present*
- 61:36 We MSe] *inserted above deleted* I *Also at 61:38, 61:39, 61:41.*
- 61:42–62:23 I found...to sleep. CT] *inserted from pp. 3–4* MSe] *not present* LC
- 62:21 brother CT] brother Charles MSe
- 62:27 full recognized CT, MSe] recognized LC
- 62:27–8 My review...the words: MSe] *inserted*
- 63:1 recapture LC] re-capture CT, MSe
- 63:2 almost MSe] *inserted*
- 63:7–18 Speaking after...the past. CT, MSe] *not present* LC
- 63:9 from saying MSe] *after deleted* to say
- 63:20–1 were much...but found CT, LC] found MSe
- 63:24 I think CT] Whatever view one may take as to the justice of their respective opinions, I think MSe] ¶I think LC
- 63:25–7 scrupulous...his writing CT, LC] more scrupulous adherence to fact than was shown by Strachey who not infrequently allowed himself to be carried away by love of drama, and as a consequence of this merit, Trevelyan's work has an abiding value which I do not think can be accorded to Strachey's. MSe
- 63:28–36 My relations...to them. CT, MSe] *not present* LC

## 14 Cranks

The typescript carbon ("CT") is foliated 1, 2–5 and measures 203×254 mm. The additional foliation in an unidentified hand probably relates to the reprinted version in *Fact and Fiction* ("61"), with whose other pre publication papers CT is filed. The emendations in ink include some unrecorded inserted commas as well as two substantive changes in Russell's hand (see T66:24, T68:9). In the upper-left corner of the first leaf of the typed document—below Edith Russell's customary pencil note of the date (9 December 1954), intended place of publication and word count—is the following reference (in blue biro) to a tape recording of Paper 14 (now missing) that was made by Russell several years later: "Recorded tape 11B Aug. 10, '59". The textual notes provide a collation of CT with 61, the seven-leaf dictated manuscript ("MSe") written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand, and the first published version, in *The Saturday Review* ("SR").

- title* Cranks 61] *inserted* CT] *no title* MSe] In the Company of Cranks SR
- 66:1–19 I have...arithmetic. MSe] *inserted from fos. 4–5*
- 66:7 its wisdom CT, MSe, 61] the wisdom of the Pyramid SR
- 66:16 always...different CT, MSe, 61] different SR
- 66:18 he found CT, MSe, 61] found SR
- 66:19 application MSe] *above deleted* metaphysics
- 66:19–67:1 Then...alarming. MSe] *inserted from fos. 5–6*
- 66:23 the True CT, MSe, 61] True SR

66:24 I must confess CT] *above deleted* regret to say

66:26 on SR, 61] On CT, MSe

66:28 grave and reverend CT, 61] grave and reverent SR] *after deleted* very MSe

66:34 them as I had to CT, MSe, 61] until SR

66:35 gradually taught CT, MSe, 61] taught SR

66:41 devotees CT, MSe, 61] devotee SR

67:7–11 “I have...replies. CT, 61] *inserted from fol. 4 MSe*] *begins new paragraph*  
SR

67:25–7 For a...read it. MSe] *inserted from fol. 7*

67:28 therefore MSe] *inserted*

67:32–5 Again...insubstantial. MSe] *inserted from fol. 5*

67:33 his ease CT, MSe, 61] ease SR

67:35 “have SR, 61] “Have CT, MSe

68:3–6 At this...leapt up. MSe] *inserted from fol. 7*

68:9 dawned CT] *above deleted* flashed

68:11 toppled CT, MSe, 61] been toppled SR

68:16 What CT, MSe, 61] Whatever SR

68:16 Mr. Balfour thought of him MSe] *above deleted* happened

## 15 Do Human Beings Survive Death?

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated *I*, 2–3, measures 203×254 mm. and shows one substantive emendation made by Russell in ink. There is also a dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil by Edith Russell on both the recto and verso of the first two of its three leaves. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe, the first published version, in *The Sunday Times* (“ST”), and the reprint in *The Great Mystery of Life Hereafter* (“57”).

*title* Do Human Beings Survive Death? CT, MSe] Do Men Survive Death? ST, 57

70:11 diversely MSe] *inserted*

70:16 philosophers CT] *inserted*

71:1 experience MSe] *above deleted* view

71:11 suffers dissolution MSe] *above deleted* is dissolved

71:29 only used CT, MSe] used only ST, 57

71:35 as though MSe] *after deleted* of

71:35 know CT] *typed alteration* from knew

## 16 Books that Influenced Me in Youth

The copy-texts (“CT”) for the papers in this series (**16a–f**) are the typescripts, each of whose leaves measures 203×254 mm. Each CT is labelled “please return” in Edith Russell’s hand in the upper-left corner of its fol. *I*. Edith also corrected a number of typographical errors on each document, but only the first two and **16e** have any substantive emendations in Russell’s hand. Both sets of revisions were made in ink and copied onto an identical set of typescript carbons. The copy-texts for **16a**, **16b** and **16f** are foliated *I*, 2–6, while the other three typescript carbons have one less foliated leaf. There are also six dictated manuscripts (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil by Edith Russell—for **16a**, **16b** and **16c**, on both the recto and verso of, respectively, three, four and four leaves; for **16d**, on both the recto and verso of the first three of five leaves; and for **16e** and **16f**, on the recto only of, respectively, nine and seven leaves. Fol. 4 verso of MSe for **16c** contains only the insertion recorded at T83:41; fol. 5 of MSe for **16d** contains only the insertion recorded at T88:4–10; and fos. 6, 7 and 8 of MSe for **16e**

contain only the insertions recorded at, respectively, T90:12–29, T90:39–91:7 and T91:24. The first published versions, in *London Calling* (“LC”), were used as the printers’ copies for the reprint of the series in *Fact and Fiction* (“61”). Although it does not seem likely that the excisions and revisions for LC were authorial, they have been retained in the present volume since Russell let them stand in 61, one of his own collection of essays. Each set of textual notes provides a collation of CT with MSe, LC and 61.

## 16a The Importance of Shelley

*title* The Importance of Shelley LC] Books that Influenced me in Youth I *Poetry* {I Poetry CT] *inserted*} MSe

75:2 a series LC, 61] today a series CT, MSe

75:7 adventure, LC, 61] adventure CT, MSe

75:10–17 But...endeavour.] I shall speak in these talks of those books which did most for me in this respect. CT] *as for CT but inserted before MSe*] *starts new paragraph* LC, 61

75:18 ¶In my LC, 61] *after subheading* Desire to Understand the World

75:22 feelings LC, 61] feeling CT, MSe

75:25 manacles”. LC, 61] manacles”. Until I went to Cambridge, most of my contemporaries whom I knew filled me with disgust, {disgust, *comma inserted* CT] disgust MSe} so that my love of the human species was tempered by loathing of most of the examples I came across. CT, MSe

75:29 Here LC, 61] Today CT, MSe

75:30 time. LC, 61] time. I had been made to read aloud long poems which are now quite forgotten such as Cowper’s “Task” and Thomson’s “Castle of Indolence”. Shakespeare and Milton were, of course, duly recognized, but I never heard Wordsworth mentioned. Byron was accorded a kind of rueful acknowledgement because he had been a friend of my grandfather {he had been a friend of my grandfather’s MSe *replaced* my grandfather had known him}. Tennyson’s existence was admitted, though he was considered regrettably obscure. CT, MSe

75:33 day CT, LC, 61] day, by chance, MSe

75:37 entranced LC, 61], completely entranced CT, MSe

75:42 longed to experience MSe] *replaced* envied

76:4–5 My friend CT, MSe] ¶My friend *after subheading* Complete Outlook of a Romantic LC, 61

76:32–77:3 Unfathomable...Sea? CT, LC,61] [Vol III P. 90] MSe

77:4 I shuddered LC, 61] And I liked:/ “That time is dead for ever, child,/ Drowned, frozen, dead for ever!/We look on the past;/And stare aghast/At the spectres, wailing, pale and ghast,/Of hopes which thou and I beguiled/To death on life’s dark river./The steam we gazed on then rolled by;/Its waves are unreturning;/But we yet stand/In a lone land,/Like tombs to mark the memory/ Of hopes and fears which fade and fly/In the light of life’s dim morning.” I shuddered CT] And I liked, [“Lines”. Vol III P. 29] I shuddered MSe

77:5–18 Lift not...it not. CT, LC, 61] [Vol in P. 34] MSe

77:21 say only LC, 61] *replaced* only CT] only say MSe

77:27 gay MSe] *above deleted* cheerful

77:31 as for CT, MSe] for LC, 61

77:35 *Hellas*, LC, 61] *Hellas* CT, MSe

77:35 first stanza LC, 61] first and last stanzas CT, MSe

77:36–78:2 The world’s...dream LC, 61] *before* “Oh cease! must hate and death return?/Cease! must men kill and die?/ Cease! drain not to its dregs the urn/Of bitter prophecy!/The world is weary of the past,—/Oh might it die or rest at last!” CT] [Vol III P. 415] MSe

78:6 heart. LC, 61] heart in which men beat their swords into ploughshares and in a sudden vision perceive the folly and madness {madness MSe] *replaced* sadness} of strife. CT, MSe

78:9 months CT] *above deleted* years

78:13 eastern LC, 61] the Eastern {Eastern] MSe *inserted*} CT, MSe

78:14 Connemara, LC, 61] Connemara CT, MSe

78:14–15 and sometimes in North Wales MSe] *inserted*

78:17 poetry that CT, LC] poetry MSe

78:19 ¶[Although MSe] *after deleted* ¶[Something of what I loved in Shelley I could have found in Blake, but I knew nothing of Blake until I reached the age of twenty and then I only knew “Tiger, Tiger burning bright”. Blake became important to me when I learnt to know him, but that time was outside the range {range *above deleted* scope} of this talk.

## 16b The Romance of Revolt

*title* The Romance of Revolt LC, 61] 11 Turgenyev: The Romance of Revolt CT, MSe

78:26 subject, LC, 61] subject in this broadcast, CT, MSe

78:37 Mrs. Garnett’s MSe] *replaced* the Garnett’s

78:37 his novels CT] *above deleted* they

78:38 literature LC, 61] pure literature CT, MSe

79:6 wrote. LC, 61] wrote. It was, in fact, as I afterwards discovered, about the worst of his books, a book of pro-Bulgarian propaganda which, I suppose, he thought would please her because of Mr. {Mr. MSe] *inserted*} Gladstone’s campaign about Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria. It was not, however, until a much later date that I read this book. CT, MSe

79:7 ¶[I found LC, 61] *after subheading* Eager and Hopeful Young People

79:9 sympathetic to me LC, 61] *replaced* sympathetic CT] sympathetic *above deleted* congenial MSe

79:11 cynical MSe] *after deleted* the

79:29 and, more] and more *replaced* more CT] *replaced* somewhat more MSe] and more LC, 61

79:34 Tom Paine CT, MSe] ¶[Tom Paine *after subheading* America—A Land of Promise LC, 61

79:39 Washington, LC, 61] Washington CT, MSe

80:4 at MSe] *above deleted* had

80:4 with CT] *above deleted* by

80:6–7 the greater part MSe] *above deleted* most

80:13 when I went to America. LC, 61] when I went to America sixty years ago CT] *as for CT but above deleted* in America on my first visit there in 1896 MSe

80:14 New World LC, 61] new world CT, MSe

80:19 abomination LC, 61] abominations CT, MSe

80:28 disillusioning MSe] *above deleted* disgusting

80:42 affected MSe] *above deleted* moved

81:11 delightfully LC, 61] breath-taking and delightfully CT, MSe

81:11 When I CT, MSe] ¶When I *after subheading* Did Turgenev Betray the Liberals?  
LC, 61

81:23–9 There are no...penetrate CT, LC, 61] “There are no general principles P. 226  
{P. 226 superscript} men will never penetrate” MSe

81:30 When LC, 61] (Hume said almost the same thing, but quietly and urbanely and  
without passion. Hume was rational {rational CT} rational, MSe) without particularly  
wishing to be so; Bazarov passionately wished to be so, but did not succeed as well as  
Hume.) When CT] *as for CT but text in parenthesis inserted after deleted* It’s curious to  
observe that MSe

81:39 *them* CT, MSe] them LC, 61

82:1 a CT, MSe] of a LC, 61

82:3–8 What, you...to protest CT, LC, 61] “What, you too say P. xi {P. xi *above*  
*ellipsis*} me to protest” MSe

82:6 Katkoff] Karkoff CT, MSe, LC, 61

82:9 No one CT, MSe] ¶No one LC, 61

82:11–12 Perhaps, nevertheless, MSe] *above deleted* I wonder whether

## 16c Revolt in the Abstract

*title* Revolt in the Abstract LC, 61] III Ibsen: Revolt in the Abstract CT, MSe

82:14 talk LC, 61] broadcast CT, MSe *Also at T83:31.*

82:18 time. LC, 61] time. To make this intelligible, I must say something about the  
circumstances of his original impact upon me. CT, MSe

82:20 economics LC] mathematical economics CT, MSe

82:24 then MSe] *inserted*

82:26 from it MSe] *inserted*

82:27 Given MSe] *above deleted* With

82:29 moment MSe] *above deleted* circumstances

82:29 helped MSe] *above deleted* contributed

82:30 deepen the MSe] *above deleted* the

82:36 when I saw them LC, 61], when I saw them, CT, MSe

82:37 I think CT, MSe] ¶I think *after subheading* When the Pillars of Society Raved  
LC, 61

83:1 time: LC, 61] time, CT, MSe

83:4 unreflective CT, MSe, LC] unreflected 61

83:8 not easy MSe] *above deleted* difficult

83:9 inspired. LC, 61] inspired. It was exactly of the same kind as the feelings inspired  
first by the Impressionists and then by the post-Impressionists. CT, MSe

83:10 society LC, 61] society CT, MSe

83:10 subversive, LC, 61] subversive CT, MSe

83:18 and-So MSe, LC, 61] and-so CT

83:19 he LC, 61] Mr. So-and-so {-so CT] -So MSe} CT, MSe

83:19 This, CT, MSe] ¶This, *after subheading* Ibsen’s Women—‘Brawny and  
Arrogant’ LC, 61

83:20 that MSe] *inserted*

83:30 widespread. LC, 61] widespread. A well-known literary lady took her *nom de plume* from one {one MSe] *above deleted* another} of Ibsen's heroines. CT, MSe {MSe *inserted*}

83:30–1 some of...them MSe] *inserted*

83:32–3 a heartless...over-sexed snob MSe] *inserted*

83:36–40 Before she...the herd. MSe] *inserted*

83:39 feeling, LC, 61] feeling CT, MSe

83:41 ¶Ibsen CT, LC, 61] All this now seems somewhat strange. It was part of the search for adventure in the {the *above deleted* an} orderly and peaceful world of that day {of that day *inserted*}. Nowadays, since order and peace have disappeared, the lure of adventure has grown less. I do not know what the young seek now, but it is certainly not what they sought sixty years ago. ¶Ibsen MSe

84:1 way LC, 61] own way CT, MSe

84:6 with the romantics MSe] *above deleted* both

84:7 outlook MSe] *after deleted* romantic

84:12 until MSe] *after deleted* by

84:17 drives MSe] *above deleted* describes

84:22–5 Hilda...over him. MSe] *inserted from fol. 4 verso*

84:22–3 master builder LC, 61] Master-builder CT] Master-Builder MSe

84:24 persuades him by taunts MSe] *above deleted* makes him

84:25 this proof MSe] *inserted*

84:27 is, as in Shaw, CT, LC] is MSe

84:34 ¶All this LC, 61] *after subheading* Contempt for Weil-Conducted Persons

84:34 dissatisfied MSe] *above deleted* not content

84:40–1 Most people have not MSe] *above deleted* Or

84:42 Most people MSe] *above deleted* They Also at 85:1.

85:5 influential MSe] *above deleted* greater

85:7 everyday LC, 61] every-day CT, MSe

85:11 rising MSe] *above deleted* right

85:12 whether MSe] *after deleted* the

85:12 feelings are MSe] *replaced* feeling is

85:14 do not...admire him MSe] *inserted*

85:14 *love* CT, MSe] love LC, 61

85:15 *hate* CT, MSe] hate LC, 61

85:15 less bad MSe] *above deleted* better

85:16 merely CT] *above deleted* usual

85:22–3 irrelevant MSe] *inserted*

85:23 real people MSe] *above deleted* them

85:24 dry MSe] *after deleted* dried

85:25–6 portrayed by MSe] *above deleted* of

85:27 his MSe] *inserted*

85:30 howling MSe] *inserted*

85:30 Arctic LC, 61] arctic CT, MSe

85:31 *Brand*] *Brandt* LC, 61] *Brandt*, though perhaps as nearly forgotten as his prose plays, {as nearly...plays MSe] *replaced* equally forgotten,} CT, MSe

## 16d Disgust and Its Antidote

*title* Disgust and Its Antidote LC, 61] IV Disgust and Its Antidote CT, MSe

85:39 the MSe] *after deleted* Ibsen's

85:39–40 in their various ways LC, 61], in their various ways, CT, MSe

85:39 various MSe] *above deleted* different

85:41 hatred, LC, 61] hatred CT, MSe

86:1 moods, CT, MSe] moods LC, 61

86:3 I read CT, MSe] 1)1 read LC, 61

86:7 shot!" LC, 61] shot!" I enjoyed his denunciations of Rousseau's "rose-water sentimentalism", and I was not repelled by the excuses that he makes for the Jacobins in his *History of the French Revolution*. CT, MSe

86:10 At that CT, MSe] ¶[At that *after subheading* Early Preference for 'King Lear' LC, 61

86:12 liked it. MSe] *before deleted* When Lear exclaims

86:24 exulted MSe] *above deleted* revelled

86:25–34 storm: ...man! CT, LC, 61] storm: (Act in, Sc. 2, 1–9) MSe

86:36 thin MSe] *above deleted* poor

86:36–7 more fundamental MSe] *inserted*

87:1 On a CT, MSe] ¶[On a *after subheading* Then For 'Gulliver's Travels' LC, 61

87:5 bureaucracy MSe] *before deleted* a dog's obey'd in office./Thou rascal bridle, hold thy bloody hand!/Why dost thou lash that whore? Strip thine own back;/Thou hotly lust'st to use her in that kind/For which thou whipp'st her. The userer

87:11 scene, CT] *below deleted vein] above deleted* scene MSe] scene LC, 61

87:21 expression CT, MSe] the expression LC, 61

87:22 that CT, LC, 61] which MSe

87:32–3 embittered MSe] *replaced bitter*

87:36–7 our generation MSe] *above deleted* us

88:3 fifteen, and...imagination MSe] *replaced* fifteen and left my mind

88:4–10 I realized...contrive them. MSe] *inserted from fol. 5*

88:6 to feeling MSe] *replaced* feeling

88:18 human...called Yahoos, MSe] *inserted*

88:25 find MSe] *above deleted* see

88:26 in spite...shape, MSe] *inserted*

88:28 his disgusted MSe] *above deleted the*

88:28 This MSe] *after deleted* Of the

88:31 ¶[I found LC, 61] *after subheading* And So the Antidote

89:2 Secretary LC, 61] Secretary, CT, MSe

89:4–5 I treasured such sentences as: MSe] *inserted*

89:16 censorship LC, 61] censorship, CT, MSe

89:20 they are MSe] *inserted*

89:21 two MSe] *after deleted* some

89:28 For...his hopes MSe] *transposed from* His hopes, for the time,

## 16e An Education in History

*title* An Education in History LC, 61] V History CT, MSe

90:12–29 ¶[From the...is possible. MSe] *inserted from fol 6*

90:12 ¶[From the time LC, 61] *after subheading* Charles II Beheads the Family Hero

90:19 nineteenth century LC, 61] Nineteenth Century CT, MSe *Also at T90:21–2.*

90:22 these events...knew MSe] *replaced* they were matters in which people I knew were intimately concerned

90:31 account, LC, 61] account CT, MSe

90:35 Coxe's] Cox's CT, MSe, LC, 61

90:35 Pelham, I thought, LC, 61] *altered by Edith Russell from I thought, CT] I thought Pelham MSe*

90:39–91:7 There were...the book. MSe] *inserted from fol. 7*

90:41–2 cataclysm MSe] *above deleted catastrophe*

90:42 genealogy MSe] *after deleted pedigree*

91:2 a prop to self-importance MSe] *inserted*

91:5 big MSe] *above deleted large*

91:8 though MSe] *above deleted but*

91:11 scientific LC, 61] a scientific CT, MSe

91:12 sixteenth-century LC, 61] Sixteenth Century CT] sixteenth century MSe

91:17 *Christianity*. LC, 61] *Christianity* and was particularly fascinated by what he had to say about the Gnostics. CT, MSe

91:23 sixth century LC, 61] Sixth Century, CT, MSe

91:24 were. LC, 61] were. I thought of them as cynical old men, with completely bald and shining heads. I cannot imagine what made him think that they were “polished” as they were, in fact, drunken, sottish Vandals. CT] *as for CT but inserted from fol. 8 MSe*

91:27 seemed MSe] *after deleted then*

91:27 then MSe] *inserted*

91:36 eighteenth century LC, 61] Eighteenth Century CT, MSe

92:5 sculpture CT] *above deleted culture*

92:8 fifth and sixth centuries LC, 61] Fifth and Sixth Centuries CT, MSe

92:9 the Greek MSe] *replaced Greek*

92:20 heretic, Theodoric. LC, 61] heretic Theodoric. I liked to think of Copernicus reforming the currency and fighting the Teutonic Knights while amusing his scanty leisure hours in producing the Copernican system of astronomy. CT, MSe

92:21 ¶[From such LC, 61] *after subheading Indestructibility of Cultural Values*

92:26 city-states LC, 61] City-States CT] city states MSe

92:30 acquiring CT, MSe] acquired LC, 61

92:33–4 always roused LC, 61] roused, always, CT, MSe

92:36 revived. Although LC, 61] revived and, although CT, MSe

92:38–9 devoting themselves to MSe] *inserted*

92:41 me, MSe] *inserted*

92:43 a more CT, MSe] *replaced the more*

93:6 this road CT] *replaced the road*

## 16f The Pursuit of Truth

*title* The Pursuit of Truth LC, 61] VII Mathematics and the World CT, MSe

93:8 life almost LC, 61] life, with which these broadcasts have been dealing, the subjects that I have hitherto (hitherto MSe] *inserted*) discussed, such as literature and history, occupied only my leisure hours; almost CT, MSe

93:15 à priori] *a priori* CT, MSe, LC, 61 *Also at 95:19.*

93:21 read MSe] *above deleted study*

93:30 ¶[What delighted LC, 61] *after subheading The Stimulus of Mathematics*

93:30 *proved* CT, MSe] proved LC, 61

93:32 Euclid MSe] *after deleted the study of*

93:35 slipshod LC, 61] slip-shod CT, MSe

93:38 When I was fourteen, MSe] *inserted*

93:39 eight MSe] *above deleted* seven

94:7 of 1760, was on LC, 61] of 1760 {of 1760 MSe] *inserted*} (which I still possess), was in CT, MSe

94:10 backbone MSe, LC, 61] back-bone CT

94:13 eighteenth LC, 61] Eighteenth CT, MSe. *Also at T94:25.*

94:16 that MSe] *above deleted* which

94:17 doctrine MSe] *above deleted* theory

94:22 touching LC, 61] having to touch CT, MSe

94:22 which MSe] *inserted*

94:30 *living* CT, MSe] living LC, 61

94:33 free will LC, 61] free-will CT, MSe

94:36–8 and this...dynamics MSe] *inserted*

94:39 apparently MSe] *inserted*

94:43 when I read Spinoza's *Ethics* MSe] *above deleted* in the philosophy of Spinoza

95:5 all MSe] *after deleted* of

95:13 derived, MSe] *above deleted* imbibed

95:14 a view (not exactly like his) MSe] *replaced* the view

95:16 Schoolmen LC, 61] Schools CT, MSe

95:23 endeavour MSe] *above deleted* attempt

95:29 suggested, LC, 61] suggested a moment ago, CT, MSe

95:30 severe MSe] *above deleted* profound

95:32 entirely MSe] *above deleted* profoundly

95:33 science. What MSe] *replaced* science, and what

95:39 But as CT, MSe] ¶But as *after subheading* Claims Upon My Allegiance LC, 61

95:41 talks LC, 61] broadcasts CT, MSe

95:42–96:1 I had...nowadays. MSe] *inserted*

96:2 two MSe] *inserted*

96:5 *quite* CT, MSe] quite LC, 61

96:7 evidence. LC, 61] evidence. Nor did I think that sentiments could, in themselves, be evidence of anything in the outer world. Tennyson repudiated doubts in the words, "Like a man in wrath, the heart/Stood up and answered, 'I have felt'" Such statements seemed to me to deserve profound moral reprobation. And {And MSe] *before inserted then deleted* Most of the authors {authors *above deleted* books} that I came across, such as Tennyson, Wordsworth and Carlyle, shocked me by their sentimentalism. Mill was almost the only author I came across at that time who seemed to me to possess intell MSe} what I thought then, in this respect, as a result of my reading at that time, {as a result...time, MSe] *inserted*} I still think. CT, MSe

96:14 This way LC, 61] This whole way CT, MSe

96:15 seemed in LC, 61] seemed to me, in CT, MSe

96:21 doubt MSe] *replaced* doubts

96:29 unswerving courage in MSe] *replaced* the unswerving devotion to

## 17 Some Changes in My Lifetime: Good and Bad

The six-leaf typescript carbon ("CT") is foliated 1, 2–6 and measures 203×254 mm. There are no emendations. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the five-leaf dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on

both the recto and verso of the first four of five leaves, and the published version in *Everybody's Weekly* ("EW").

- title* Some Changes in My Lifetime: Good and Bad CT, MSe] Hope and Fear EW  
 99:6 caused changes...as those MSe] *replaced* was as world-wide as the changes  
 99:7 great MSe] *inserted*  
 99:11 could MSe] *after deleted only*  
 99:30 two of them in CT, MSe] two in EW  
 99:30 I had CT, MSe] ¶I had EW  
 99:43–100:4 One of...chimneys CT] *inserted* MSe] *first sentence not present* EW  
 100:4 decorative MSe] *before deleted* to the eye  
 100:4 as MSe] *above deleted* like  
 100:12 less painful MSe] *above deleted* more painless  
 100:37 nowadays EW, MSe] now-a-days CT  
 100:39 agricultural...industry. CT, MSe] agricultural. EW  
 101:2–3 Russian population CT, MSe] population EW  
 101:15 the changes CT, MSe] changes EW  
 101:20 its MSe] *above deleted* the  
 101:26 sixteenth MSe] *after deleted* fifteenth  
 101:29 lifetime, EW] lifetime CT, MSe  
 101:36 polity CT, MSe] policy EW  
 102:19–20 that China CT, MSe] China EW  
 102:23–9 One of...curable. MSe] *inserted from fol. 5*  
 102:29 other kinds of progress MSe] *above deleted* other ways  
 102:41 should MSe] *above deleted* shall

## 18 Gilbert Murray

The typescript carbon ("CT") is foliated 1, 2, measures 203×254 mm. and was emended by Russell in ink. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the single-leaf dictated manuscript ("MSe") written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand.

- 104:6–8 After...constantly. MSe] *inserted*  
 104:8 remained MSe] *above deleted* was  
 104:11 an agreement CT] *replaced* agreement  
 104:11–12 and a sympathetic understanding] *replaced* and sympathetic understanding  
 CT] *as for unemended CT but inserted* MSe  
 104:13 person MSe] *after deleted* human being  
 104:16 what MSe] *inserted*  
 104:21 without bitterness MSe] *inserted*  
 104:22–4 He...unkind. MSe] *inserted*  
 104:25–6 recipients CT] *replaced* recipient

## 19a This Is My Philosophy

The dictated manuscript copy-text was written in pencil by Edith Russell on a single leaf that is foliated 1. The three questions were simply copied by Edith from the questionnaire supplied by Whit Burnett (see Headnote). No substantive variation was revealed by collating the dictation taken by Edith with the letter as quoted by Burnett in his introduction to the chapter on Russell in the anthology from whose title that of the present paper has been taken. The printed text contains an additional paragraph break (at "I suppose") and placed Burnett's last two questions in italics. The same version also includes three short interpolations from Burnett which also have not been recorded here.

## 19b Philosophy

The typescript carbon (“CT”) was made on the recto and verso of a single unfoliated leaf that measures 203×254 mm. The word “copy” was typed in the upper-left corner. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript (“MSe”), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on a portion of both sides of a single leaf that is foliated 1. The salutation and closing of Russell’s letter have been silently dropped.

*title* Philosophy] *editorially supplied* 107:24 1) What] Some of the questions that you ask me can only be answered at considerable length. When this is the case, I shall refer you to published articles. ¶[CT, MSe

107:27 and mitigate MSe] *after deleted* of

107:30 theory, MSe] theory CT

107:34 at] *typed above with* CT] with MSe

108:3 by MSe] *above deleted* of

## 20 Mr. Alan Wood

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2, measures 203×254 mm. and shows no emendations. A substantively identical copy was typed single-spaced on a single leaf. No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript (“MSe”), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on both the recto and verso sides of its only leaf, and the obituary notice in *The Times* (“TIM”). The textual notes record the emendations to MSe.

*title* Mr. Alan Wood TIM] *no title* CT] Alan Wood MSe

110:4 kindly MSe] *after deleted* humane and

110:4–5 and lovable MSe] *inserted*

110:12 His MSe] *inserted*

110:15–16 He...work. MSe] *inserted*

110:18–19 an academic MSe] *above deleted* a philosophical

110:22 a time MSe] *replaced* the time

110:22 relegated MSe] *after deleted* being

110:26–9 There...made.” MSe] *inserted*

110:34–6 He...subject. MSe] *inserted*

110:36–7 Mary...a journalist, MSe] *inserted*

110:38 called MSe] *inserted*

110:40–2 His...family. MSe] *inserted*

111:1 many others MSe] *above deleted* all who knew him

## 21a Christian Ethics (1)

The single-leaf typescript carbon (“CT”) measures 203×254 mm. There are no emendations but a typed notation indicates that this version is a copy and that, contrary to the Plas Penrhyn address supplied to *The Observer*, it was mailed from 29 Millbank. Page references to the citations from *Why I Am Not a Christian* and *The Scientific Outlook* (see Annotations) were also supplied. No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript (“MSe”), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on both the recto and verso of a single leaf, and the letter as published in *The Observer* (“OBS”).

*title* Christian Ethics OBS] *no title* CT, MSe

114:8 am to blame MSe] *after deleted* failed to make this

## 21b Christian Ethics (2)

The single-leaf typescript carbon ("CT") measures 203×254 mm. There are no emendations, but two typed notes at the top of CT indicate that this version is a copy and that, contrary to the address provided, it was mailed from 29 Millbank. No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on part of a single leaf, and the letter as published in *The Observer* ("OBS").

*title* Christian Ethics OBS] *no title* CT, MSe

### 21c Why I Am Not a Christian (1)

The single-leaf typescript carbon ("CT") measures 203×254 mm. There are no emendations but two typed notes at the top of CT indicate that this version is a copy and that, contrary to the address provided, it was mailed from 29 Millbank. No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on part of a single leaf, and the letter as published in *The Times* ("TIM").

*title* Why I Am Not a Christian TIM] *no title* CT, MSe

115:26–7 what are called MSe] what are called *inserted*

115:30 Episcopalian MSe] *inserted above deleted* Anglican

115:32 libels MSe] *inserted*

116:1 Christians MSe] *after deleted the*

### 21d Why I Am Not a Christian (2)

The textual notes provide a collation of the letter as published in *The Times* ("CT") with the single-leaf dictated manuscript ("MSe") written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand. Although there are no other extant pre-publication versions, it has been deemed that Russell himself was responsible for the variant readings that appeared in the printed text. There was neither any substantive nor accidental variation between CT and its reprint in Russell's *Autobiography*.

*title* Why I Am Not a Christian CT] *no title* MSe

116:9 which CT] which, if written in good faith, MSe

116:19–20 This opportunity...suit. CT] *not present* MSe

116:20–2 The charges...bigots. MSe] *inserted*

116:20–1 (which had...in court) CT] which had been made by Mrs. Kay's counsel in Court] *inserted within previous insertion* MSe

116:29–32 time. The...moral fiber". CT] time, which was illustrated by the general acceptance of Mr. Goldstein's description of me in Court {in Court *inserted*} as: "lecherous p. 190 {p. 190 *above ellipsis*} moral fiber". *replaced* time. MSe

## 21e Earl Russell Replies

The single-leaf typescript carbon ("CT") measures 203×254 mm. There are no emendations, but the word "copy" was typed in the upper-left corner. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on part of a single-leaf, and the published version in *Time and Tide* ("TT").

*title* Earl Russell Replies TT] *no title* CT, MSe

117:10 many MSe] *inserted*

117:13–14 For...me, MSe] *inserted*

117:16 that MSe] *inserted*

117:19 *thought* CT, MSe] *thought* TT

117:20–3 His...documents. MSe] *inserted*

## 22 The Suez Canal

The typescript letter (“CT”) has “copy” typed in the upper-left corner of a single unfoliated leaf of blue writing paper that measures 203×254 mm. and shows Russell’s Plas Penrhyn address embossed on the upper-centre in red. The only emendation (T128:9) was made by Russell in ink. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the single leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”), written in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand, and the published version in *The Manchester Guardian* (“MG”).

*title* The Suez Canal MG] *no title* CT, MSe

128:3–4 statement by a number of MSe] *inserted*

128:4 in your issue of August 9 MSe] *inserted*

128:9, or ask UNO to appoint, an] *replaced* an CT] an MSe], or ask the United Nations to appoint, an MG

128:9 Communist CT, MSe] the Communist MG

128:10 States MSe] *above deleted* Powers

128:11 uncommitted MG] un-committed CT, MSe

128:15 enforceable] enforceable CT, MSe, MG

## 23 Britain’s Act of War

The single-leaf typescript carbon (“CT”) is unfoliated and measures 203×254 mm. CT has been collated with two dictated manuscripts (“MSe”: RA2 750, and “MSe2”: RAI 220.022083), both written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand, and the published version in *The Manchester Guardian* (“MG”).

*title* Britain’s Act of War MG] *no title* CT, MSe, MSe2

128:24–6 I endorse...November 1. MSe] *inserted*

128:27 to stop the fighting and so CT, MG] to MSe] *inserted above deleted* to MSe2

## 24 This Act of Criminal Folly

The copy-text (“CT”) is the single-leaf typescript (RA2 320.181846), which measures 203×254 mm. and contains one ink emendation. There is also a three-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand. Its second leaf consists only of the insertion recorded at T129:10–11; a third MSe leaf contains an insertion (T129:2) and a deletion (T129:11–15) that were incorporated into a fresh typescript carbon (“TSC”) prepared for the Penrhyndeudraeth meeting mentioned in the Headnote (RA2 320.181847). CT has been collated with MSe, TSC and two published versions of the statement, in *Reynolds News and Sunday Citizen* (“RN”) and in *The Indian Rationalist* (“IR”). In the latter publication Paper 23 appears below the text of Paper 26.

*title* This Act of Criminal Folly RN] (Statement by Bertrand Russell:) CT] Message to the Meeting to be held at Penrhyndeudraeth on 3 November, 1956: TSC] *no title* MSe, IR

129:2 The attack CT, MSe, RN, IR] I am very glad that a meeting is being organized at Penrhyndeudraeth to protest against the Government’s action in Egypt. I hope it will be a thoroughly successful meeting and one of many throughout the country. TSC

129:3 We MSe] *after deleted* It is criminal because

129:4 The questions CT, MSe, TSC, IR] ¶The questions RN

129:5–8 The whole...unwise. CT, TSC] *after deleted* Unfortunately, Sir Anthony has been captured by the lunatic fringe of his party, the Colonel Blimps who have learnt nothing since 1914. ¶1914. *before deleted* and remember the “glorious days” when the

British Lion could roar wherever he chose. } MSe] *first two commas not present* IR] *not present* RN

129:7 which MSe] *above deleted*. This aggression

129:7 but MSe] *above deleted* it is

129:8 To CT, TSC, IR] ¶To RN] *replaced* To quarrel with America and MSe

129:10–11 is surprising,...unwelcome. TSC, IR] *transposed from* at the cost of disrupting the Commonwealth is surprising, but unwelcome. CT] To have produced unity between America and Russia is surprising, but {is surprising, but *inserted*} at the cost of disrupting the Commonwealth, unwelcome, {unwelcome, *after deleted* is surprising but] *above deleted* however extraordinary an achievement, is hardly is not is an achievement which, however extraordinary is not to be welcomed. ¶The Commonwealth has been disrupted and America and Russ } *inserted* MSe] *not present* RN

129:11–15 To have lost...their senses. CT, MSe] *final sentence enclosed in parenthesis for omission from TSC* MSe] *final sentence not present* TSC, IR] *not present* RN

129:12 I hope MSe] *after deleted* We can only imag

129:14 to bring MSe] *inserted above deleted* in restraining the readiness of

## 25 British Opinion on Hungary

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2–3 and measures 203×254 mm. A second three-leaf typescript carbon (“TSC”) does not show the solitary emendation to CT (in ink at T130:4) but does show four cuts (they are enclosed in parentheses) suggested by the Central Office of Information and accepted by Russell (see General Headnote). The alterations in question are indicated by the readings from TSC at T130:36, 130:38, T130:43 and T131:5. In each instance the adjacent left margin (the top margin in the case of T130:38) shows a note, “cut by off of Inf.”, written by Edith Russell. Also in pencil and in the same hand is the dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written on both recto and verso of the first two of its three leaves. The third leaf contains only the insertions recorded at T129:31–8 and T130:41–2. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with TSC and MSe.

129:18 among MSe] *inserted above deleted* of

129:30 neither more degraded nor more MSe] *replaced* less degraded and less

129:31–8 Two instances...safe-conduct MSe] *inserted*

130:4 had CT] *replaced has*

130:7 Cold War] cold war CT, MSe, TSC

130:13 even MSe] *inserted*

130:28 strong MSe] *after deleted* very

130:36 a disaster TSC] an immense disaster CT, MSe

130:38 chose TSC] have chosen CT, MSe

130:41–2 The feeling...past. CT, TSC] This feeling is rendered more vivid by recollections of a not yet distant past. *inserted* MSe

130:43 Port Said, TSC] Port Said, and the Governments which sent them there are still in power, CT, MSe

131:5 greater. TSC] greater. Meanwhile those of us who rightly denounce Russian action, can be branded as hypocrites if we do not at the same time denounce the action of our own Governments. CT, MSe

## 26 Message to the Indian Rationalist Association

The typescript carbon ("CT") is on the blank portion of the air-mail form used by S. Ramanathan for his letter to Russell discussed in the Headnote. A typed note, "copy.", was made in the upper-right corner. There is also a dictated manuscript ("MSe") written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on part of a single leaf. The only substantive differences between CT, MSe and the published version in *The Indian Rationalist* ("IR") are recorded at T131:12. *title* Message to the Indian Rationalist

Association] *editorially supplied*

131:12 I regret IR] Thank you for your letter of November 14.1 regret the facts that you (you not present CT) mention: namely, CT, MSe

## 27 The Atlantic Alliance

The copy-text ("CT") is one of two identical typescript carbons that are foliated 1, 2 and measure 203×254 mm. Embossed in small capitals in red on the upper-centre of each leaf of blue writing paper is Russell's North Wales address. There is also a dictated manuscript ("MSe") written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on both the recto and verso of the first of its two leaves. The only substantive variation between CT and either MSe or the published version in *The Manchester Guardian* ("MG") is that affecting the title. The remaining textual notes record the emendations to MSe.

*title* The Atlantic Alliance MG] *no title* CT, MSe

131:24–7 I do not...of mankind MSe] *inserted*

131:30 of some things MSe] *inserted*

132:3 caused...closed MSe] *replaced* closed the Suez Canal

## 28 Message to *The Hindustan Times*

The single-leaf typescript ("CT") is unfoliated and measures 203×254 mm. Typed in the upper-left corner is the following note: "copy of message sent to *The Hindustan Times*". Neither the carbon of CT, nor the untitled dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand, nor a second typescript carbon made from a different original, vary substantively from the copy-text.

*title* Message to *The Hindustan Times*] *editorially supplied*

## 29 Message to Meeting on "Writers and the Hungarian Revolution"

No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of the single-leaf typescript carbon ("CT") with the dictated manuscript ("MSe") written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand. Neither pre-publication document shows any emendations. No substantive variation was revealed by a comparison of CT with the Hungarian version in *Irodalmi Ujság*.

*title* Message...Hungarian Revolution"] *in pencil in Edith Russell's hand* CT] *no title* MSe

133:15 Kun] Kuhn CT, MSe *Also at* 133:22.

## 30 Bertrand Russell Urges Parole for Jacob Mindel

The single-leaf typescript carbon ("CT") is unfoliated and measures 137×178 mm. Russell's closing "Yours faithfully" was typed on CT, as was the word "copy" (in the upper centre) and his formal title (in the signature block). The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand, and the excerpts from the letter as published in the *Daily Worker*,

New York (“DW”). The three reprinted versions mentioned in the Headnote were substantively the same as DW.

- title* Bertrand Russell...Jacob Mindel DW] *no title* CT, MSe  
 138:1–3 Dear Sir,—I...danger. CT, MSe] *not present* DW  
 138:2–3 for which he is eligible this month MSe] *inserted*  
 138:4 he is kept in prison he CT, MSe] kept in prison he (Mindel) DW  
 138:5 one CT, MSe] a DW  
 138:6–10 If you know...faithfully, CT, MSe] *not present* DW  
 138:8–9 necessitating MSe] *above deleted* justifying  
 138:10 a public MSe] *after deleted* an

### 31a Michael Wharton, *A Nation's Security*

The single-leaf typescript carbon (“CT”) is unfoliated and measures 203×254 mm. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript (“MSe”), written in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on both the recto and verso of a single leaf, and the publisher’s advertisement in *The Times Literary Supplement* (“TLS”).

- title* Michael Wharton, *A Nation's Security*] *editorially supplied*  
 141:4–27 *A Nation's*...of Dr. Oppenheimer CT, MSe] *not present* TLS  
 141:25 harry and MSe] *inserted*  
 141:30–3 And beneath...obscurantism? CT, MSe] *not present* TLS  
 141:32 learn to MSe] *inserted*

### 31b The Scientist in Society

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2–5 and measures 203×254 mm. CT shows the insertion in ink of several commas but no substantive emendations. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the eight-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand, and the published version in *The New Republic* (“NR”).

- title* The Scientist in Society CT, MSe] The Mind of Robert Oppenheimer NR  
 142:23 those whose...simpler men CT, NR] those whose orthodoxy is less impeccable than that of simpler men *above deleted* dogmatists MSe  
 142:23 more NR] *typed insertion* CT] less MSe  
 142:27–32 Investigation made...mental apparatus. He MSe] *replaced* he  
 142:27 had CT, MSe] has NR  
 142:30 judgment NR, MSe] judgement CT  
 143:2–3 Governments CT, MSe] governments NR  
 143:9 had, when young, MSe] had when young CT, NR  
 143:29 ultimate MSe] *inserted*  
 143:30 “Many have MSe] *after deleted* He says  
 144:20–1 is likely...war is possible. MSe] *replaced* will decay unless all civilized life collapses, not because men value science for what is valuable in it, but because it is necessary for success in war. Perhaps, if secure peace were achieved, men would revert to the humanities.  
 144:22 without actual war,...war persists. MSe] *replaced* there remains a danger of war without actual war.  
 144:22 We MSe] *after deleted* One  
 144:24 larger-scale CT, NR] large-scale MSe  
 144:39 under MSe] *after deleted* of  
 145:12 dreadful MSe] *above deleted* horrible

145:15 endures CT, NR] is preserved MSe

### 32a The Sobell Case

The copy-text (“CT”) is the draft typescript letter (RAI 841–F20), which is foliated *I*, 2–3 and measures 203×254 mm. CT and its two carbons show the insertion in ink of two commas but no substantive emendations. These minor alterations were then incorporated into a clean typescript which, without any further changes being made, was presumably dispatched for publication. Although this document is no longer extant, two identical carbon copies of it are present at RAI 220.022071, along with a three-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe and the first of several published versions (either abridged or complete)—i.e. that in *The Manchester Guardian* (“MG”). Three complete sentences and parts of two others (152:8–15, except for “and quite certain...are dead and”) were reprinted in Russell’s blurb (19560) for John Wexley’s *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*.

*title* The Sobell Case MG] *no title* CT, MSe

152:8 Rosenbergs’ CT, MG] Rosenberg MSe

152:11 if prejudice MSe] *after deleted* but for anti-Communist

152:16 Elitcher] Ellitcher CT, MSe] Elitcher, MG

152:20 treasonable MSe] *above deleted* espionage

152:35–6 his condemnation...evidence MSe] *inserted to replace inserted then deleted*

His counsel knew of course that when an accusation of this kind is brought condemnation is certain.

152:39 perjurer] perjurer CT, MSe, MG

152:41 express MSe] *replaced* expressed

153:5 have been made MSe] *above deleted* are

153:13 perjurers] perjurers CT, MSe, MG

153:19 if not...least MSe] *inserted*

### 32b The Case of Morton Sobell

The typescript carbon letter (“CT”) is foliated *I*, 2–3 and measures 203×254 mm. Fos. 2–3 were retyped so as to incorporate the additional material indicated by T154:33–43. (Amarginal note—“from Lamont”—was written in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand in the left margin of the earlier typescript fol. 2.) There are also two dictated manuscript leaves (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand. The first of these comprises the original, shorter version of the letter which was sent to *The Manchester Guardian* in typescript before the text beginning at 154:25 was added (see Headnote). The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe and the first published version, in *The Manchester Guardian* (“MG”). Part of a single sentence (155:3–6, from “There” to “Wexley”) was reprinted in Russell’s blurb (19560) for John Wexley’s *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*.

*title* The Case of Morton Sobell MG] *no title* CT, MSe

154:1–3 But the...Cohn. MSe] *inserted*

154:1–2 the interesting fact MSe] *inserted within previous insertion above deleted* it

154:5 United States MG] U.S. CT, MSe

154:7 at least MSe] *inserted*

154:8 Communists MSe] *before deleted* such as Chambers

154:9 torture MSe] *above deleted* the rack

154:10 perjurers MG] perjurers CT, MSe

154:18 authorized MSe] *above deleted* judicial

154:24 than most Americans realize MSe] *inserted*

154:25 ¶[Mr. Wade N.Mack MSe] *after centred heading* To be added to March 31st letter to the *Manchester Guardian*

154:30–2 Mr. Mack is...Sobell. MSe] *inserted*

154:32 action taken MSe] *second word probably inadvertently omitted in retyping of fol. 2 CT*] action MG

154:33–43 Mr. Corliss Lament...people. CT, MG] *not present* MSe

155:4 account MSe] *before deleted* of

155:7–10 “Assuming...Gold.” CT, MG] *quotation not present* MSe

155:13–15 There is...*Morton Sobell*. CT, MG] There is also an informative pamphlet published by the same Committee called *Atomic Scientist Harold Urey Asks Justice for Morton Sobell* and a pamphlet called *U.S. Senator William Langer Asks Justice for Morton Sobell*. MSe

155:16–17 opinion, said CT, MG] opinion says MSe

155:19–20 Michigan, said: CT, MG] Michigan: MSe

155:26 zeal, MG] zeal CT, MSe

### 32c Morton Sobell

The typescript carbon (“CT”) was made on an unfoliated leaf that measures 203×254 mm. and contains also a typed copy of the covering letter to Helen Sobell mentioned in the Headnote. The designation “copy” was typed in the upper-left corner of CT. The dictated manuscript (“MSe”) was written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on part of the recto and on the verso of a single leaf of blue writing paper. MSe is preceded by a dictated version of the letter to Helen Sobell dated 17 April 1956. There is no substantive variation between CT, MSe and the leaflet (“56”) advertising the programme of the Carnegie Hall meeting mentioned in the Headnote. The other textual notes record the emendations to MSe.

*title* Morton Sobell] Message: CT, MSe] Message from Lord Bertrand Russell 56

155:36–9 What is...espionage. MSe] *inserted*

155:39 admitted acts of MSe] *transposed from* acts of admitted

156:1 ardently MSe] *inserted*

### 32d Message to the Rosenberg-Sobell Committee Commemoration Meeting

The copy-text is a typescript copy made on the verso of Eve Rosenbaum’s letter to Russell dated 14 May 1956 (RAI 841–F21). Three instances of accidental variation, but no substantive differences, were revealed by a collation of this document with a photocopy taken from the microfilm negative of a single-leaf typescript copy in the papers of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell (RA REC. ACQ. 90), and with the dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand. The one substantive emendation to MSe is recorded below.

*title* Message to the Rosenberg-Sobell Committee Commemoration Meeting] *editorially supplied*

156:10 secure the...lacking MSe] *inserted above deleted* get an innocent man condemned

### 33 Symptoms of George Orwell's 1984

The typescript carbon ("CT") is foliated 1, 2–9, measures 204×255 mm. and shows the insertion of several commas in ink as well as the two substantive emendations (also in ink) in Russell's hand that are recorded below. The additional foliation in an unidentified hand probably relates to the published version in *Portraits from Memory* ("56"), with whose other pre-publication papers CT is filed. The readings from 56 at T160:11, T161:39 and T163:22 are consistent with Russell's emendations on the page proofs of this book. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with 56, the six-leaf dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand, and the heavily abridged reprint in *Reynolds News and Sunday Citizen* ("RN").

*title* Symptoms of George Orwell's 1984 56] *inserted* CT] *no title* MSe] Big Brother Is Nearer than You Think! RN

160:6 except in Russia MSe] *inserted*

160:11 nightmares; but 56, RN] nightmares; but, CT] nightmare; but, *replaced* nightmare; and, MSe

160:14 In CT, MSe, 56] ¶*In after subheading* Happy age RN

160:23 tyranny...going. CT, MSe, 56] tyranny. RN

160:27 re-reads MSe] *replaced* reads

160:31 Educated CT, MSe, 56] ¶*Educated after subheading* Lost freedom RN

161:1 of most States MSe] *inserted*

161:3 such MSe] *above deleted* this

161:7 seventeenth century 56, RN] Seventeenth Century CT, MSe

161:8–15 everywhere...authority. CT, MSe, 56] everywhere. RN

161:10 flee MSe] *above deleted* fly

161:18 serve CT, MSe, 56] were RN

161:22 my own country CT, MSe, 56] Britain RN

161:24 There CT, MSe, 56] ¶*There after subheading* Two purposes RN

161:27–35 it. A Polish...agitation. CT, MSe, 56] it. RN

161:39 one MSe, 56] One CT

162:1 If CT, MSe, 56] ¶*If after subheading* False belief RN

162:6–23 unrealistic. Suppose...blast. CT, MSe, 56] unrealistic. RN

162:24–5 police, however... It CT, MSe, 56] police RN

162:34–41 believe. ¶*The...police.* CT, MSe, 56] believe. RN

162:38 sixteenth century 56, RN] Sixteenth Century CT, MSe

162:41 There CT, MSe, 56] ¶*There after subheading* Unjust system RN

163:3 all MSe] *above deleted* the whole of

163:5–9 innocence. If...it. CT, MSe, 56] innocence. RN

163:11 probably MSe] *inserted*

163:19–20 of the powers of the Author ities, CT] *replaced* Authority,

163:22 countries CT, MSe] countries, 56, RN

163:23 Chinese CT, MSe, 56] ¶*Chinese after subheading* Broken men RN

163:24 horrible MSe] *after deleted* gruesomely

163:32 the direst CT, MSe] direct *altered on page proofs from* the direct 56] the direct RN

163:39–40 unless his...prejudices, MSe] *inserted*

163:41–164:2 ignored. There...correct. CT, MSe, 56] ignored. RN

164:8–9 question. The...freedom. CT, MSe, 56] question. RN

164:15 but MSe] *above deleted* if

164:20 The result CT, MSe, 56] ¶The result *after subheading* The dangers  
 164:22 “double-think” MSe] *replaced* double-thinking  
 164:22–31 “double-think”. It...support. CT, MSe, 56] “double-think”. RN  
 164:23 free speech 56] free-speech CT, MSe  
 164:32 as MSe] *inserted*

### 34 Foreword to *Freedom Is as Freedom Does*

The copy-text (“CT”) is the typescript (RA2 220.148010a), which is foliated 1, 2–4, measures 203×254 mm. and has been folded twice as if to fit inside a standard envelope. Several commas were inserted on CT in ink. These accidental emendations, which have not been recorded, are also present on a second carbon copy (RA2 340. 184049) and were incorporated into a fiveleaf typescript (RA REC. ACQ. 17j) which is substantively the same as CT except for the three emendations in Corliss Lamont’s hand that were later approved by Russell. These emendations are indicated at T168:42, T169:7 and T169:26 by the readings from the published versions in *Freedom Is as Freedom Does* (“56”) and the *Daily Worker*, New York (“DW”). A fourth change recommended by Lamont is indicated by the reading from 56 and DW at T169:22–4. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with 56, DW and the dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on both the recto and verso of the first two of its four leaves. The last leaf of MSe consists only of the insertion recorded at T169:25–9.

*title* Foreword to *Freedom Is as Freedom Does*] Introduction (to *Freedom is as Freedom Does* by Corliss Lament) CT, MSe] State of Civil Liberties in U.S.A. DW]  
 Foreword to the English Edition 56

168:10 and Scandinavia MSe] *inserted*  
 168:11 waves CT, MSe, 56] wave DW  
 168:15 since MSe] *after deleted* in  
 168:19 In reading CT, MSe, 56] ¶In reading DW  
 168:23 so far DW, 56] quite so far CT, MSe  
 168:25 with MSe] *inserted above deleted* of  
 168:34 provisos CT, MSe, 56] provisions DW  
 168:37 their CT, MSe, 56] the DW  
 168:42 Mr. Lamont’s DW, 56] the CT, MSe  
 169:2 them MSe] *inserted*  
 169:7 UN DW, 56] UNO CT, MSe  
 169:8 consequent CT, MSe, 56] consequently DW  
 169:10 victim MSe] *inserted*

169:22–4 Although Matusow...recantation. DW, 56] Matusow appealed, {appealed, CT] appealed MSe} and the appeal has not yet been heard, {heard, CT] heard MSe} so the ultimate issue, in this case, is still in doubt. CT, MSe

169:25–9 The police...policemen. MSe] *inserted*  
 169:26 Federal policeman DW, 56] policeman CT, MSe  
 169:32 as Mr. Lament relates, MSe] *inserted*  
 169:43 juries MSe, DW, 56] Juries CT  
 170:3 fright MSe] *after deleted* abject  
 170:8 persecute CT, MSe, 56] prosecute DW  
 170:9 the MSe] *inserted Also at 170:11.*  
 170:19 humane MSe] *inserted above deleted* liberal

### 35 An Open Letter to Mr. Norman Thomas

The typescript (“CT”) is foliated 1–15, measures 202×253 mm. and, except for Edith Russell’s pencil alteration at T176:28, was emended by Russell in ink. A six-leaf typescript carbon incorporated these emendations but does not differ substantively from CT. There is also a dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on both the recto and verso of the first two of its four leaves. The last of these leaves consists only of the long insertion recorded at T178:20–39. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe and the published version in *The New Leader* (“NL”).

*title* An Open Letter to Mr. Norman Thomas CT, MSe] The State of U.S. Civil Liberties NL

175:1–2 thought it necessary CT] *above deleted* seen fit

175:8 Russian methods MSe] *replaced* Russia

175:11–12 Norwegian, originally...their side: NL] *replaced* Norwegian Communist whom the Russians imprisoned without cause: CT] *prior reading from CT replaced* Norwegian Communist: MSe

175:13–25 ¶[Communists...be prevented NL] *after deleted quotation from same source: ¶[In the years 1940–42 he was first in prison and then in a forced labour camp near Archangel. The bulk of the book relates what he saw and suffered in the camp. The book ends with letters from eminent Communists saying that no such camps exist. Those who write these letters and those fellow-travellers who allow themselves to believe them share responsibility for the almost unbelievable horrors which are being inflicted upon millions of wretched men and women, slowly done to death by hard labour and starvation in the Arctic cold. Fellow-travellers who refuse to believe the evidence of books such as Mr. Herling’s are neces-sarily people devoid of humanity, for if they had any humanity they would not merely dismiss the evidence, but would take some trouble to look into it* CT] “In the years...{...*below p. ix*} is to be prevented” MSe

175:26–40 I should...other. MSe] *inserted from fol. 1 verso*

175:29–30 them; but presumably you MSe] *replaced* them. You

175:32 I am MSe] *after deleted* of which most of you manage to remain ignorant

175:35 hope CT, MSe] hope that NL

175:36 Max Lowenthal’s NL] Lowenthal’s CT, MSe

176:1–2 hopes, events in Hungary have shattered CT, MSe] hopes have been shattered by events in Hungary NL

176:6 should CT, MSe] would NL

176:7–8 (This I did.) CT, NL] (this I did) *inserted* MSe

176:10 strong MSe] *inserted*

176:13 Harold Urey NL] Urey CT, MSe

176:13 scientist, CT, NL] scientist MSe

176:14 Malcolm Sharp NL] Sharp CT, MSe

176:14 Professor MSe] *after deleted* the

176:14 in CT, MSe] at NL

176:15–17 When I have...if false CT] *inserted*

176:16 would be CT] *inserted within previous insertion*

176:18–27 Whoever...Street. MSe] *inserted from fol. 3 recto*

176:20–1 the enumeration CT] *replaced* enumeration

176:28 on the other hand MSe] *inserted*

176:28 evincing a desire lately, and “CT] *altered in pencil from* “the desire you have lately evinced,

176:32 (December 4, 1956) CT, NL] (December 1, 1956) *inserted MSe*

176:35–177:2 It seems...in the wrong CT, NL] “It seems that...America is in the right.” MSe

177:10: Each]: each CT]; each MSe, NL

177:13 has CT] *replaced had*

177:31 especially, MSe] *inserted*

177:32–5, and renders...exaggerated MSe] *inserted*

177:36 saying: MSe] *replaced* saying to him

177:36–9 “Of course,...Communist line.” CT, NL] “Of course the fact... {...below p.

132 } Communist line MSe

177:39–40 (See also...*Giant.*) MSe] *inserted*

177:42 in illustration CT] *inserted*

178:2 professor NL] Professor CT, MSe

178:2 nor CT, MSe] or NL

178:20–39 ¶[In every violent...conceal them. MSe] *inserted from fol. 4*

178:23 English people MSe] *inserted*

178:25 Those MSe] *before deleted* Americans

178:40–179:2 I also...hypocrisy. MSe] *inserted*

178:40 matter: If NL] matter {*matter above deleted fact*}: if CT, MSe

178:41 in the West MSe] *inserted*

179:1 to Communists CT, MSe] Communists NL

179:6 make our divergence seem MSe] *replaced* cause our divergence to seem

### 36 Justice or Injustice?

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2–7, measures 222×273 mm. and was emended by Russell in ink. This document was prepared from the dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on both the recto and verso of the first four of its five leaves. At T183:12–15 and T183:38 the substantive readings from the initial publication in *The University of Chicago Law Review* (“UCL”) have been preferred, since Russell explicitly approved the changes suggested to him by the editor of this legal journal. He also authorized an interim version of the passage at T184:24: “before finally being assured that it had been placed before the President” (see A184:24). Although it is not clear whether Russell sanctioned the reading that appeared in print, it has been decided to incorporate it into the present volume in light of his acceptance of similar editorial advice. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe and UCL. A reprint issued as a leaflet by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell is substantively the same as the first published version.

182:15 on his part MSe] *inserted*

182:17 or questions MSe] *inserted*

182:19–20 His...praise. MSe] *inserted after opening sentence then moved*

182:22 Courts CT, UCL] courts MSe

182:26 two MSe] *inserted before deleted a*

182:26–7 the first...the second MSe] *inserted*

182:27–8 of the second MSe] *inserted*

182:33 disastrous MSe] *above deleted* unfortunate

182:40 perjurer] per juror CT, MSe, UCL

183:2 known...a crime MSe] *inserted*

- 183:12–15 As one critic quoted by... (p. 94).<sup>1</sup> UCL] *second to fifth words and footnote not present CT*] *as for CT but inserted from fol. 3 verso MSe*
- 183:23 basis of MSe] *replaced* basis for
- 183:23 rejected MSe] *above deleted* refused
- 183:24 refused MSe] *after deleted* said that it was not worth his while to examine the evidence
- 183:28 apparently MSe] *inserted*
- 183:29 something UCL, MSe] *some thing CT*
- 183:29 was MSe] *after deleted* apparently
- 183:34 There was MSe] *after deleted* A skilful nuclear physicist, such as Fuchs, could give useful help to the Russians.
- 183:38 Communist spy, in telephoning, would seldom] *commas not present UCL*] Communist or spy, in telephoning, would never CT, MSe
- 184:19 the new evidence MSe] *inserted above deleted* it
- 184:23 they do not CT, MSe] do not UCL
- 184:24 what final...the President UCL] whether their appeal for clemency reached him before the execution CT, MSe
- 184:31–2 though he...alive, and CT] *inserted*
- 184:34–5 as his...not committed CT] *inserted*
- 184:41 to the book an MSe] *replaced* a valuable
- 184:41 introduction MSe] *after deleted* valuable
- 185:4 as I...have been, MSe] *inserted*
- 185:6 the Dreyfus CT, UCL] to the Dreyfus case MSe
- 185:16–17 as repentance...perjury MSe] *inserted above deleted* he repented
- 185:22 not a UCL] *replaced not CT*] no MSe
- 185:29–30 by those...soothing platitudes MSe] *inserted*
- 185:32 favour MSe] *above deleted* ensure
- 186:1 power over MSe] *above deleted* control of
- 186:2 not MSe] *inserted*
- 186:5 ensure CT, MSe] insure UCL

### 37 Anti-American Feeling in Britain

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1–9 and measures 203×254 mm. Although the ink emendations are in an unidentified hand, they are probably authorial—revealing Russell’s reversion (temporarily, in the absence of Edith Russell) to his 1930s practice of asking typists to copy all holograph re-visions to the typescript original onto its carbon. The emendations were also written in the same hand on a second, identical carbon copy. As the ensuing collation re-veals, there is considerable substantive variation between CT and the published version in *The New York Times* (“NYT”). Certain of these variants may have been marked by Russell on some missing galley proofs, but it has been decided that his final intentions for the present paper are best conveyed by the substantives of CT. After all, he did explicitly veto three changes suggested by *The New York Times* (see Headnote). Yet, many accidental readings from NYT have been favoured over those from CT, which was most likely prepared from dictation taken by someone completely unfamiliar with Russell’s preferences. Although Russell did emend CT, a large number of erroneous or questionable accidental readings seem to have survived this scrutiny. The obvious errors have been corrected silently, but in other instances—especially of atypical usage of the upper- or lower-case in CT—a textual note records the choice of NYT as the source for the reading in this volume.

*title* Anti-American Feeling in Britain CT] Three Reasons Why They Dislike Us NYT

189:2 towards CT] toward NYT *Also at 189:19, 191:18.*

189:5 everyone NYT] every one CT

189:10 other two CT] two others NYT

189:14 First World War NYT] first world war CT

189:16 Imperialist] imperialists CT] imperialist NYT

189:28 became NYT] was CT

189:29 Doodle”, NYT] Doodle” CT

189:29 Redcoats NYT] Red-coats CT

189:32 unpardonably CT] unpardonable NYT

189:32 parents, NYT] parents CT

189:34 garden party NYT] Garden Party CT

189:35 grandmother NYT] Grandmother CT

189:35 3 who remarked to her, NYT] who remarked to her CT

189:37 clubs NYT] Clubs CT

189:39 in the South...“gentlemen” CT] there were “gentlemen” in the American South, NYT

189:40, I think, NYT] I think CT

189:40 reason why CT] reason NYT

189:43 criticisms NYT] criticism CT

190:1 were CT] *written over was*

190:2 make of CT] *above deleted* describe

190:2 Manchester NYT] Manchester, CT

190:3 money-grubbing, NYT] moneygrubbing CT

190:6 wage-earners NYT] wage earners CT

190:7 squirearchy NYT] Squirearchy CT

190:9 right-thinking NYT] right thinking CT

190:10 pheasant-shooting NYT] pheasant shooting CT

190:11–12 existence, NYT] existence CT

190:12 Americans] *replaced* America

190:14 aristocrats, CT] aristocrats, however, NYT

190:19 way CT] way there NYT

190:20 and, NYT] and CT

190:21 find CT] judge NYT

190:22 to CT] to those of NYT

190:22 universities NYT] Universities CT *Also at 191:19.*

190:26–191:16 against. ¶[The influence... barbarous. CT] against. NYT

190:36 Dionysus, the tyrant of Syracuse,] *commas not present* CT

190:41 throughout] through-out CT

191:2 West,] West CT

191:19 securing CT] obtaining NYT *Also at 191:26.*

191:20 somewhat NYT] some what CT

191:20 the purely NYT] purely CT

191:21 university NYT] University CT

191:22 Fuller’s NYT] Fullers’ CT *Also at 191:25.*

191:23 head of a college NYT] Head of a College CT

191:24 word NYT] word, CT

191:24 the most CT] *replaced most*

- 191:25 university president NYT] President CT  
 191:26 colleges NYT] Colleges CT  
 191:29–32 Imperialism. From...history. CT] imperialism. NYT  
 191:29 First World War] 1st world war CT  
 191:32 Commonwealth. It is CT] Commonwealth, and it is now NYT  
 191:36 retreat, halted, only CT] retreat, a movement halted only, NYT  
 191:38 Communism] communism CT, NYT  
 191:43 the defeat NYT] defeat CT  
 192:2 oil NYT] Oil CT  
 192:3 suffer, NYT] suffer CT  
 192:7 feelings CT] feelings, except for one point, NYT  
 192:14 tariff NYT] Tariff CT *both occurrences*  
 192:16 tenders CT] estimates NYT  
 192:17 American tender CT] submitted by American firms NYT  
 192:18 takes NYT] take CT  
 192:21 sovereign NYT] Sovereign CT  
 192:26 liberal NYT] Liberal CT  
 192:29 opinions CT] *replaced* opinion  
 192:32 example, NYT] example CT  
 192:32 a man was CT] we have seen a man NYT  
 192:33 Civil Service by mistake CT] British Civil Service NYT  
 192:33–4 man, but CT] man; and NYT  
 192:34–5 discovered. This...fuss. CT] discovered. NYT  
 192:35 that, NYT] that CT  
 192:36 authorities, NYT] Authorities, CT  
 192:37–8 The inroads CT] ¶The inroads NYT  
 192:38–9 Communist NYT] communist CT  
 192:39 pretend. But NYT] pretend, but CT  
 192:41 universal NYT] Universal CT *At both occurrences.*  
 192:41 cannot NYT] can best *replaced* can CT  
 192:43 Iron Curtain NYT] iron curtain CT

### 38 Has the Left Been Right or Wrong?

The copy-text (“CT”) is a transcription from a microfilm copy of the seventeen-leaf BBC mimeograph. As usual, typographical errors have been corrected silently, as have a few obvious errors made in transcribing from the original sound recording. Since the spoken word was the source for CT, it has been subjected to rather more editorial intervention than have any of the dictated, typed or printed copy-texts used in the volume. Contracted forms of speech have been expanded without recourse to the textual notes, and the punctuation and case usage have been revised quite liberally. The textual notes provide a record of the substantive editorial emendations to CT—usually where a speaker hesitated or repeated himself slightly—and of the extensive cuts and other substantive emendations made by the BBC. It is likely (as for other papers in Part V) that the lengthier excisions on the mimeograph were made to pare the recording down to the allotted broadcast time. Although CT seems also to have been marked up for use as a printer’s copy, no published version has been found (see General Headnote, p. 202).

- 203:3–4 journalist CT] *after deleted* the  
 203:5 *The New Statesman and Nation* CT] *after deleted* periodical  
 203:5 a quarter CT] *replaced* some quarter

203:6 Britain CT] *above deleted* this coun try

203:9 in democratic CT] *after deleted* in politics,

203:12 But CT] *after deleted* I am going to put to you gentlemen, several questions—  
First, would you agree that this is so, that there is an inexorable movement to the left? Do  
(Do *above deleted* whether) you think it's a good thing? Is the British example over the  
last century or so a suitable one to put before other countries? That's the sort of agenda.

203:12 we might CT] *after deleted* you'd agree that

203:13 "Left"? CT] *before deleted* Now Kingsley Martin, you've been for many years  
expounding at least one brand of left politics, what do you mean when you use the word?

203:14 Obviously CT] *after deleted* Well

203:14 very CT] *after deleted* and they

203:16 people] *people* CT

203:16 Left: CT] *inserted above deleted* that

203:17 probably CT] *after deleted* the

203:17 whether CT] *inserted*

203:19 that CT] *inserted*

203:20 change.] change it. CT

203:23 were CT] *replaced* was

203:23 Now CT] *after deleted* They think it is in the interests of the Establishment.

203:23 and we CT] *replaced* we

203:27 or greater CT] *replaced* greater

203:28 A lot CT] *after deleted* That is to say that

203:29 it CT] *inserted*

203:31 things. They believed CT] *replaced* things and

203:32 could CT] *replaced* would

203:35 with CT] *above deleted* to

203:38 who CT] *inserted*

203:39 should CT] *inserted above deleted* is to

203:41 There CT] *replaced* But there

203:41–2 the conflict is between CT] *replaced* the

204:1 better] *after deleted* we'd you had CT

204:3 Lord CT] *after deleted* Now

204:4 Conservatism] Conservatism CT

204:7 a much CT] *after deleted* I think

204:8 revolution CT] *inserted*

204:10 parties] party CT

204:15 said. There CT] *replaced* said, and there

204:17 The clash has been CT] *above deleted* Which is

204:20 RUSSELL: CT] *after deleted* ¶[MCKENZIE: Bertrand Russell.

204:20 I cannot CT] *after deleted* Well

204:21 with CT] *above deleted* in by

204:26 I suppose CT] *after deleted* well

204:32 state. CT] *before deleted* Then I'm told I'm not really of the left.

204:33 Bertrand CT] *after deleted* Now

204:36 I agree CT] *after deleted* Well

204:38 stood CT] *inserted*

204:39 There CT] *after deleted* Now

204:40 *laissez-faire*] *laissez faire* CT At both occurrences.

204:40 They CT] *replaced* and they

205:1 Then CT] *replaced* and then

205:1 an Act CT] *replaced* a public health Act

205:3 *The Economist*, who] the economist who *replaced* the economists which CT

205:4 That CT] *after deleted* Well

205:6 MARTIN: CT] *after deleted* ¶MARTIN: But may I... ¶MCKENZIE: Kingsley

Martin.

205:6 Russell has CT] *replaced* But Bertrand Russell said

205:6–7 and contradicted his own CT] *replaced* to...disarmament

205:10 withdrawal] withdrawals CT

205:10 a kind CT] *inserted*

205:11 that CT] *inserted*

205:19 there is CT] *after deleted* we've that

205:22 of CT] *inserted*

205:27 at CT] *replaced* to

205:27 I quite CT] *after deleted* because

205:29 that CT] *inserted*

205:30 under a] under CT

205:31 of authority CT] *replaced* authority

205:31 The Public CT] *after deleted* and

205:34 and CT] *inserted*

205:35 the fact CT] the *replaced* your

205:36 opposed CT] *after deleted* as

205:43 I am CT] *after deleted* but

205:43 arbitrarily to CT] *replaced* to arbitrarily

206:4 upon CT] *replaced* on

206:4 those CT] *replaced* these

206:5 am going CT] *replaced* want

206:13 the directions CT] *replaced* directions

206:21 and we...Britain and CT] *inserted*

206:27 peak] *indecipherable word written above ellipsis* CT

206:29 to the past CT] *replaced* the first

206:34 Now CT] *after deleted* Well

206:40 I think CT] *after deleted* and

207:1 The point CT] *after deleted* Well I see.

207:7 which CT] *inserted*

207:11 would CT] *inserted*

207:19 so CT] *replaced* as

207:21 MCKENZIE: I am not CT] *after deleted* MCKENZIE: Kingsley Martin.

¶MARTIN: Let me take an example. Gladstone was one of the very few politicians who moved steadily to the left all his life. He began as the stern unbending triumph of the conservative party and he ended up as everybody knows, with a quarrel with Chamberlain, disastrous to the Radical cause in this country. Now if Chamberlain had stayed in with Gladstone about Ireland, one of the most unhappy interludes of our history would have been avoided. What happened was, as in many other things, something had to be done about a bad situation. The left, which was Gladstone in those days, saw that a change had to be made and championed that change. The right opposed him bitterly tooth and nail. With the result that we had English politics confused and miserable, nearly a

civil war, before we gave freedom to others and finally a civil war afterwards and the whole English history muddled up and made completely miserable for many years because of the steady conservatism of people who couldn't understand the left was right.

¶MCKENZIE: Lord Hail sham.

¶HAILSHAM: Well that's only, to my view at any rate, again a superficial and partisan way of thinking things. I should be, if we were arguing on partisan lines, I should certainly be prepared to argue that in the last 50 years we've been singularly unfortunate in the left wing party with which we've been endowed by providence. They've pursued almost every false hare it is possible to pursue either intellectually or politically.

¶MARTIN: But mine was not a false hare but a particular example and you're running away from it. ¶HAILSHAM: You take a particular example chosen for your own purposes. I prefer on the whole to look at the general line of things. Take for instance the period in which I grew up, between the wars which I know a great deal better than Mr. Gladstone's day, Kingsley, if you'll forgive me saying so. I think that the last war was very largely brought about by the insane pacificism of the Left in this country. I don't think that proves anything, I think the fact is that both parties have made mistakes but on the whole the interplay of the two forces has been the secret of our success.

¶MCKENZIE: Bertrand Russell. ¶RUSSELL: I must say I'm awfully surprised at what I've just heard. To say that the insane pacificism of the left brought about the second world war, in view of the policy of Munich, does seem to me really distorting events almost beyond all conception. I can't understand how such a thing can be said, and I—as for the general policy, I think—now, take for instance Campbell-Bannerman's granting of self-government to South Africa. South Africa at the moment we don't much like but his policy caused South Africa to be on our side in the two world wars, and but for him it would not have been. ¶MCKENZIE: You're arguing then, that in fact, the whole story and external affairs especially has been one of left enlightenment, as far as....

¶RUSSELL: Left enlightenment, except in the sole case of Disraeli who stole the...of the Left—except in that sole case, I think the Tories were always wrong. ¶MCKENZIE: Well now, I think we might...back to the domestic thing because the Colonial and International thing is perhaps more confusing as an area in which to apply the idea of Left

and Right

207:26 Danegeld CT] *inserted*

207:30 polemical CT] *inserted*

207:36 the same CT] *after deleted* and

207:38 You can CT] *after deleted* I mean, to say as Russell said, for instance, in terms 'The Tories are always wrong.' Or Kingsley Martin tried to cheer him on when he found that he was unexpectedly in agreement with him about something ...LAUGHTER... That seems to me to bear no relation to fact.

207:40 look at] look upon CT

208:1 The main CT] *after deleted* Hailsham's got it remarkably wrong—his remark about my applause of Bertrand Russell. I may as well explain that I sat at his feet and learned most of my politics from Bertrand Russell who was the most radical person I knew when I was young ...TALKING TOGETHER... Very little on main things, I think.

208:3 What CT] *after deleted* Here is a case—one case after another—I took the particular case of Ireland, but take any case, you like.

208:4 the minority CT] *inserted*

208:5 for example, or cannibalism CT] *inserted above deleted* any of the things you like which happened over a hundred years had to be changed—sanitation, Bertrand Russell

208:7 often after CT] *after deleted* or long after the

208:16 But CT] *after deleted* I shall have one more word to say...LAUGHTER...

208:22–3 change. On...who are CT] *inserted above deleted* change, and people, on the other hand, who are

208:24 That CT] *after deleted* and

208:34 I agree CT] *after deleted* I think it's

208:37 Martin,] Martin, *before deleted* I mean just take two absolutely crucial examples, since I've been alive. Two of the very worst things that have happened have been the happening of the two wars, and two of the very best things, in my opinion, that have happened is that we happened to have won them both—and I mean best from the point of view of humanity at large. I don't think anything but disaster would have overtaken us if Hitler or even the Kaiser had won. ¶Well now, where could—how could we have hoped to win either of those wars if in fact we had not had India on our side, in the first and the second. Now what's absolutely certain is that that would not have been so if the Left had had its way; I'm not going back on the decision of the policy to give India her freedom in 1947 ... If we'd given India her freedom in 1937 both Japan and Hitler would have been victorious, CT

209:4 if] and if CT

209:4 want CT] *before inserted* pioneered

209:5 the Right CT] *after deleted* the way in which

209:7 Your CT] *after deleted* I mean

209:11 Right CT] *before deleted*, it

209:17 solution...difficulty. That CT] *replaced* solutions of the difficulty, and that

209:20 making is] making it is CT

209:23 reached] got CT

209:23 I think CT] *after deleted* But

209:26–7 with Lord Hailsham CT] *after deleted* with Quintin Hogg

209:27 because a] *inserted above deleted* the—that the probable CT

209:27 does not CT] *replaced* isn't

209:27 go] going CT

209:29 important. The CT] *replaced* important, and the

209:32 RUSSELL: It CT] *after deleted* I took an example of Ireland, which I thought was an effective one. But I take it about everything in the world. I take it, if you like, about China at the present moment. Why has China had a revolution? Because there were absolute obstruction to change and Chiang Kai-shek. ¶MCKENZIE: Lord Russell?

209:32 state CT] *replaced* speak

209:37 less. That is CT] *replaced* less and that's

209:38 on, CT] *inserted*

209:39 not.] gone. CT

210:1 absurd. Mill...feel CT] *inserted above deleted* absurd, and he would also have a feeling

210:5 that CT] *inserted*

210:6 namely,] namely *inserted* CT

210:7 the Parties have CT] *above deleted* they've

210:7 have CT] *after deleted* the Parties

- 210:11 Now CT] *after deleted* and  
 210:18 If CT] *after deleted* I mean it's always in my mind that the real issue is going on, and how if  
 210:21 within CT] *replaced* in  
 210:24 Often CT] *after deleted* and I—and  
 210:24 become CT] *after deleted* of course,  
 210:25 I do not CT] *after deleted* I don't understand—I think—I  
 210:27 MCKENZIE: Well, CT] *after deleted* I think we really don't...all of us, we all agree about this  
 210:31 a large CT] *replaced* the allied  
 210:32 Parties CT] *above deleted* Party CT  
 210:34 Martin notwithstanding, CT] *inserted before deleted* And the two statements, and  
 210:35 Hailsham's] the Hailsham's CT  
 210:36 and CT] *inserted*  
 210:38 that CT] *after deleted* you know  
 211:20 I was CT] *after deleted* This is a—this is a  
 211:21 I said CT] *after deleted* I agree entirely. But I didn't say that it did;  
 211:21 as put in Aristotle for instance. CT] *inserted*  
 211:22 of liberty CT] *inserted*  
 211:23–4 Socialism] socialism *after deleted* democracy and towards CT  
 211:24 to liberty CT] *above deleted* and liberties (?)  
 211:30 Socialism without CT] *replaced* Socialism. We have  
 211:36 least. CT] *before deleted*, no.  
 211:37 power. CT] *before deleted* No connection  
 211:39–40 being confused in thinking CT] *above deleted* making this confusion—thinking

### 39 The Importance of Nationality

The copy-text (“CT”) is a transcription from a microfilm copy of the sixteen-leaf BBC mimeograph. As usual, typographical errors have been corrected silently, as have a few obvious errors made in transcribing from the original sound recording. Since the spoken word was the source for CT, it has been subjected to rather more editorial intervention than have any of the dictated, typed or printed copy-texts used in the volume. Contracted forms of speech have been expanded without recourse to the textual notes, and the punctuation and case usage have been revised quite liberally. The textual notes provide a record of the substantive editorial emendations to CT—often where a speaker hesitated or repeated himself slightly—and of the extensive cuts and other substantive handwritten emendations made in-house by the BBC.

*title* The Importance of Nationality CT] *after deleted* “Across the Frontier”

212:12 argument. You] argument and you CT

212:19 secured] to secure CT

213:7 Of course CT] *after deleted* Well the only thing that travelling about this unhappy world's convinced me of—at least induced me to feel—is to be terribly sceptical about all generalisations about nationalism.

213:41 Take]...bearing on it's...take CT

213:42 whole] whole, isn't there, a whole CT

213:43 Texas.] Texas? CT

- 214:5 so. How] so. I think the Englishman particularly...how many people have been...how CT
- 214:17 part. The] part. When you're...the CT
- 214:18 did he not?] didn't he and said... CT
- 214:21 he said:]...he played...he said: CT
- 214:26-7 I think] I think he... I think CT
- 215:1 family] family, your mother your father your grandparents, CT
- 215:7 way? CT] *before deleted* that if they're a nation of murderers, as some nations are, which I will not name at the moment, you rush about abroad and say "We've always murdered people—we're the finest nation on earth." Now why should they take this curious attitude merely because it's nationality?
- 215:8 But CT] *after deleted* it is the main virtue of the nation to be good at murdering foreigners—that's the main thing that nation is admired for.
- 215:9 of being CT] *after deleted* equally
- 215:9 to running] running CT
- 215:13 were; they] were, that they CT
- 215:22 I remember CT] *after deleted* *If you ...* I would...going to Ustinov's Colonel, I...I'd like to know who he was, and you might very well find that he was in fact, sort of Australian or something who'd lived here. I mean, it very often happens that the most extreme expression of nationalism and of national characteristics comes precisely from someone who doesn't really belong.
- 215:23 good CT] *after deleted* terribly
- 215:27 his] my CT
- 215:38 people. It is] people—it really is Europe's...it's CT
- 216:1 It does] It does in a way. It does CT
- 216:2 you had] you'd got CT
- 216:12 might] might have...might CT
- 216:16 English] England is such...English CT
- 216:18 French. I mean] French, and Treaties—I mean CT
- 216:24 I think]...rather fascinates me. I think CT
- 216:26 behave] behave in a set...CT
- 216:41 A thundershower] And a thundershower CT
- 217:6 Take] (Yes) Just like...take CT
- 217:7 sorts] sort CT
- 217:19 That] I think... I mean that CT
- 217:21 clarity, with] clarity...and with CT
- 217:22 roll?] roll?...film which is spreading the popularity. CT
- 217:23 say that] say this that....personal extent, that CT
- 217:26 they] I...they CT
- 217:29 them]...CT
- 217:32 is—] is my...
- 217:33 human beings is] people...as it's me, as it's you...is being a CT
- 217:33 beings] being, CT
- 217:40 about] of CT
- 218:1 you become] you...CT
- 218:8 point,] point. I think it's... I think it's boosted beyond its...CT
- 218:9 Muggeridge; now,] Muggeridge,—the French. Now CT
- 218:15 that.] that—enormous lot. CT

218:16 become] been become CT

218:24–5 cosmopolitan. When] cosmopolitan; and when CT

218:33 foreigners...society.] foreigners absorbed into a society registering perhaps more as...CT

218:35–6 that three] that, I think, in that three CT

218:37 nation] nation to CT

218:37–8 really Corsican—I mean] really a ...of Italian—whatever you call him, Corsican—I mean CT

218:38 Stalin.] Stalin. (Absolutely) I think that's...that's...CT

218:44 Carsoni.] Carsoni. (Yes). So there you have...CT

219:1 Costello, which] Costello. ¶[MUGGERIDGE: Is Costello. ¶[USTINOV: Which CT

219:2 I think] I don't believe if you look into it—I mean, I think CT

219:7 probably] I think it's fairly true to say, isn't it, probably CT

219:12 that there is] there's CT

219:12 picture] sheet picture CT

219:16 possible. I] possible that, but I CT

219:26–7 is in many] is a very oldfashioned...in many CT

219:27–8 it is very] it's extremely...it's very CT

219:29 that national] that a nation...that national CT

219:31 I think] I don't... I think CT

220:2 I mean,] But—I mean CT

220:3–4 Another CT] *after deleted* LUSTGARTEN: Yes, yes. Don't you think that a certain amount of incoherence in everybody's attitude nowadays is due to the fact which can't be escaped, I think that historians make perhaps too much of attributing a certain feeling to a certain age; but that in point of fact all nations are at different stages of development at the same time, which is the really difficult thing. If one's going to be as objective as one can be...as one...can be, you still come back because you belong to a certain nation, to the ladies of the Opera in your own particular nation. But if you're going to be entirely objective it is very difficult not to understand even the Egyptian point of view at the moment. I think it's quite understandable, because Egypt is at a point of her development which we left behind long, long ago. But it's so difficult to blame her for being at an Oliver Cromwell period of her existence. ¶[RUSSELL: Yes,

220:9 really suggesting] suggesting really CT

220:10 that this idea] that this is...that... that this idea CT

220:15 if you] you CT

220:16 all the] all again for the CT

220:21 all] they...all CT

220:31 there is] there's *after deleted* yes Ustinov? USTINOV: I was just thinking, I still *(still inserted)* think one can't really assess other nations as being at the same stage of development as oneself, they may be behind, they may be ahead, that's something which never occurs to us, but in point of fact they may be ahead, that the thing that excited in the last war and was able to be fanned up into an enthusiasm against both Britain and France was the impression in countries which had come on the scene too late to acquire really valid colonial empires, that Britain and France had finished the game of football, blown the whistle and said "now it's unfair to go on playing". Then something which has never occurred to us, but in point of fact I think it's absolutely true.... TALKING TOGETHER... LUSTGARTEN: Before I finish, CT

220:43 Well with] Well I'll...to this that it's a completely un...CT

220:43 respect] respects CT

221:11 From] I think from CT

221:15 but that] that CT

221:18 way] way I think CT

221:20 other. CT] *before deleted* I think those are the outlets which get rid of all our natural and national urges which unfortunately sometimes can lie elsewhere, but I think it's quite right that frontiers are gradually disappearing and that is evidenced by the general lassitude of Customs Officers the world over, that can no longer keep up with this farce—that is true of *(of inserted)* everywhere I think except America and Britain and possibly some Iron Curtain countries where they still take their jobs very seriously because they feel there's something to be got out of the hinterland...

¶LUSTGARTEN: our own nation *(our own nation replaced indecipherable word)* nearly always and we don't like any others and the whole thing can be summarised by another Dickens character, Mr. Podsnap who said "foreign nations I am sorry to say do as they do do and apparently they are going to go on doing it".

## 40 The Role of Great Men in History

The textual notes provide a collation of the abridged publication in *London Calling* ("CT") with a transcription from a microfilm copy of the sixteen-leaf BBC mimeograph ("BBC"). There is a great deal of substantive variation between these two texts; not even all emendations to the mimeograph (which were done in-house by the BBC) were incorporated into the published version.

*title* The Role of Great Men in History BBC] London Forum CT

221:34 the British CT] our BBC

221:35 We are CT] Now we're BBC

221:35–6 history, and CT] history. *replaced* history, and BBC

221:36 text CT] test BBC

221:39 says: "That CT] says, and here I quote "that BBC

222:2 I am CT] Now I'm BBC

222:4 Do CT] Russell, do you agree with me and, what's much more to the point, do BBC

222:5 I do not BBC] *after deleted* Well

222:5 the extreme BBC] *replaced* extreme

222:5 views that CT] views as BBC

222:7 There CT] I think there BBC

222:10 point. CT] *before subheading* Impersonal Factors?

222:11 BERLIN:] LUSTGARTEN: Berlin? ¶BERLIN: BBC *Also at 23:3.*

222:11 entirely. Living CT] entirely *(entirely replaced entirely, yes)*. I think that *(that inserted)* living BBC

222:14 that if, CT] that for example, if, BBC

222:15 1917, BBC] 1917 CT

222:16 Revolution, the second Russian Revolution, BBC] revolution CT

222:17 in BBC] *inserted*

222:17 fate BBC] *replaced* state

222:18 there are...cases. BBC] *replaced* it was a great pity.

222:19 justice CT] justice, you know, BBC

222:20 said was that the fact CT] said was *after deleted* says BBC

- 222:23 It seems BBC] *replaced* Now I'm not quite sure where the argument is going  
but it
- 222:23 no BBC] *inserted*
- 222:26 I think CT] Well, I think BBC
- 222:27 say—CT] say I'm most—BBC
- 222:29 historical theorists CT] historic theorists {theorists *replaced* theories} BBC
- 222:30 Marxism CT] Marx, not that he was a great historic theorist, but Marxism BBC
- 222:30 of history BBC] *replaced* in history
- 222:36 men. It is delightful CT] men {men *replaced* man} and I must say delightfully  
BBC
- 222:40 Empire CT] Empire, to repeat, *replaced* Empire BBC
- 223:1 St. Augustine CT] Now I was agreed that St. Augustine BBC
- 223:2 on CT] upon *replaced* on BBC
- 223:3 to CT] till *replaced* to BBC
- 223:6 all. CT] *before subheading* Great Turning Points
- 223:7 I am CT] Berlin, I'm *replaced* Now then I'm BBC
- 223:7 either to CT] to either to BBC
- 223:8 Churchill's. Let us CT] Churchill. Now let's BBC
- 223:9 that CT] that if {that *inserted*} BBC
- 223:9 historical fortune BBC] *replaced* his-toric fortunes
- 223:13 I wish CT] Well now, I wish BBC
- 223:13 am,] am CT, BBC
- 223:15 Revolution CT] Revolution for example BBC
- 223:15–16 discern in the CT] maintain, for example, in the {in the *inserted*} BBC
- 223:16 the work BBC] *inserted*
- 223:17 Revolution BBC] revolution CT
- 223:19 February] February, CT] February of BBC
- 223:21 Berlin, do CT] Do BBC
- 223:21 on this CT] in this BBC
- 223:22 you CT] Russell, as I gather, BBC
- 223:22–3 in an earlier...Lenin CT] last time, in his last contribution, that, if there had  
not been Lenin, BBC
- 223:24 you still say CT] you say BBC
- 223:25 If BBC] replaced if there'd been... if
- 223:27–8 an immense...roots BBC] *inserted above deleted* of the turn
- 223:30 I think CT] Yes. {Yes. *replaced* yes, and} I think that BBC
- 223:31 middle CT] little BBC
- 223:33 people CT] I think people BBC
- 223:33 was due to the CT] was the BBC
- 223:37 overborne by CT] overborne, so {so *after deleted* and} one would argue, by  
BBC
- 223:40 expression CT] expression, BBC
- 223:41 those CT] these BBC
- 224:1 There BBC] *replaced* They
- 224:2 men, occupied CT] men and they were occupied BBC
- 224:3 politics. CT] *before subheading* Influence of Economics...
- 224:4 I certainly CT] Well I certainly BBC

- 224:4 with Russell in this: CT] with you, Russell, in this, whether it was the part of the great men in history or whether it's outside Winston Churchill's thesis or not, BBC
- 224:7 town in North Africa, CT] town of Bône in North Africa BBC
- 224:8 But I am CT] I'm BBC
- 224:8 Marxist CT] Marxist, if he were here, BBC
- 224:9 history such as the CT] history, the BBC
- 224:9–10 Empire were not due CT] Empire, even *(even inserted)* the rise of Alexander himself, wasn't in fact due BBC
- 224:10 mankind, perhaps, CT] mankind at the time, perhaps BBC
- 224:11 armies, CT] Army, BBC
- 224:13–14 Roman Empire CT] Empire BBC
- 224:14 the preoccupation] preoccupation CT] *replaced* preoccupation BBC
- 224:15 with questions CT] and questions BBC
- 224:17 child CT] child, I'm just old enough for this, BBC
- 224:18 and great BBC] *replaced* from great
- 224:18 villains. I CT] villains, and there were always pictures opposite, and I BBC
- 224:19 mind with CT] mind, first of the early stages of people with waving plumes, and then later they would have *(they would have replaced I would add)* bows and arrows and finally they shot off things with gunpowder and so forth, but there was never anything else but the BBC
- 224:19 Do CT] Now do BBC
- 224:22 It has CT] Yes, I think it's BBC
- 224:23 raised: the CT] raised, and which I should like to raise, and that is, that the BBC
- 224:25 The mariner's CT] Now the mariner's BBC
- 224:27 compass CT] mariner's compass BBC *Also at 224:28.*
- 224:28 important: we CT] important, and we BBC
- 224:30 about the Greeks: CT] that *replaced* about the Greeks BBC
- 224:32 this invention CT] the invention of mathematics BBC
- 224:33 civilization. CT] *before subheading* ...and of Mathematics
- 224:34 Is it BBC] *replaced* There is
- 224:34 coincidence CT] coincidence, Russell, BBC
- 224:35 doubtful and CT] doubtful, that BBC
- 224:35 compass? May CT] mariners compass, may BBC
- 224:37 that BBC] *inserted*
- 224:38 was BBC] *inserted*
- 224:39 coast of Europe? CT] north coast of wherever it was, Europe I suppose? BBC
- 224:40 tenable view; CT] feasible view, no, BBC
- 224:41–2 compass. Take CT] mariner's compass, but take BBC
- 224:43 man. If CT] man, and if BBC
- 225:1 This CT] Well this BBC
- 225:2 is at] is CT] *replaced* is BBC
- 225:3 history. CT] history, not only of mathematics but of philosophy. BBC
- 225:4 I would CT] Yes. I would BBC
- 225:4 We CT] I think we BBC
- 225:4 too CT] a little too *replaced* too BBC
- 225:5 not considered thinkers CT] not thinkers BBC
- 225:5 inventors. But CT] inventors but I think, BBC

225:6 Marxists CT] they BBC

225:8 say: “Great men are, of course, CT] say ‘yes, indeed, great men are of course  
BBC

225:10 it.” The CT] it,’ and the BBC

225:11 steam-engine,] steam-engine CT, BBC

225:12 was not CT] wasn’t *replaced* was BBC

225:12 it CT] he BBC

225:12 consequences. CT] consequences. I don’t know whether it was true that the steam engine was in fact invented.... ¶HAILSHAM: They only invented rather a primitive steam engine which knew how to shut a door rather like that thing which works by compressed air that you sometimes see on the doors of studios. BBC

225:15 it. I BBC] *replaced* it, and I

225:16 they are both wrong. To CT] they’re *they’re replaced their* both wrong, and so I hope I shall try to speak truthfully, but those who have a thesis whether the *whether the replaced for either* one or the other, will speak un*will speak unreplaced* was begun) truthfully, and to BBC

225:16 Churchill’s CT] Winston Churchill’s BBC

225:19 This CT] Well this BBC

225:19–20 point, because...primarily CT] point, Hailsham, doesn’t it, because the Marxists, which I suppose applied to primarily and above all BBC

225:20 time CT] time in BBC

225:23 That CT] Well that BBC

225:23 picture. It CT] picture, isn’t it but it BBC

225:25 believes CT] above all things believes *believes replaced believed* BBC

225:26 captured BBC] *before deleted* and

225:27 at whom CT] who now BBC

225:28 mud now. I, CT] mud at. Now I myself, BBC

225:30 man, BBC] man CT

225:32 But, CT] But now *replaced* Now BBC

225:33 atomic CT] importance of the atomic BBC

225:34 off. The physicists BBC] *replaced* off, they

225:36 scientists. CT] scientists, without that it wouldn’t have *without that it wouldn’t have replaced that it had* the importance. ¶LUSTGARTEN: Berlin, are you supporting what I would call Russell’s technological argument: that *that inserted* the great men are the technologists? ¶RUSSELL: Yes. Rather. BBC

225:37 would support that fully. BBC] *replaced* support it fully,

225:37–8 I do not know BBC] *before deleted* you see I don’t know

225:38 are to be CT] have been BBC

225:40 as even BBC] *replaced* and even

225:41 who can transform BBC] *replaced* you can really say formed

225:41–2 kill so BBC] *replaced* killed to

225:42 force BBC] *replaced* forced

225:42 radically CT] radically, BBC

225:44 earth-shaking theoretical inventions. BBC] *replaced* search seeking inventions and discoveries.

226:2 on, that BBC] on? That CT

226:6 always BBC] *replaced* who is

226:7 invented originally CT] invented, I believe, originally BBC

226:8–9 Arabs. This was another BBC] *replaced* Arabs with other

226:9–10 life. I would also like CT] life and I'd like also *{also inserted}* BBC

226:10–11 Aristotle, Augustine CT] Aristotle and Augustine BBC

226:13 these CT] he's *replaced* these BBC

226:14 say. CT] *before subheading* Greatest Man of our Time?

226:17 formulas? CT] formulas? and BBC

226:17 see that BBC] *replaced* see as

226:18 LUSTGARTEN: I think CT] LUSTGARTEN: Berlin, I would like to put a question to you because I know very well that the very phrase "historical inevitability" is what is called "in your *{your before inserted indecipherable word possibly 'corner'}*". Now if we take this pattern of history being influenced by events outside the influence of great men, how far does that impinge on the whole question of individual moral responsibility? ¶BERLIN: That's a very different matter *{That's a very different matter above ellipsis}* not altogether relevant to what we were talking about before. But I should have thought that the extreme determinists who really do believe that actions and volition are conditioned by irrevocable factors, physical or otherwise, cannot really believe that accusations against men of being guilty of this or that or praise of men for having done this or that can be other than something purely aesthetic, something analogous to the cases where you congratulate someone for being handsome or ugly, which they cannot help, or upon being stupid or intelligent, which they can't help, which is a very different sort of praise or blame from that which we give in moral matters. ¶HAILSHAM: But that is a very old and very remarkable paradox. It is the determinists who on the whole have been the most vigorous exponents of free will. It was the Calvinists in the 17th Century who held as a matter of faith and doctrine that everybody had his fate pre-determined by some process of election before their birth. They were the great individuals of the 17th century and of course great persecutors in one way; and we've *{we've after deleted now}* got the Communists and the Marxists who believe the same now. It's absolutely foreign to their philosophy that there should be such a thing as praise or blame because everything *{everything replaced everybody}* is determined, but does that stop them? Not a bit of it. ¶RUSSELL: I agree with Hailsham. *{I agree with Hailsham. inserted}* I think you have here a paradox. It's *{paradox. It's replaced paradox, and it's}* paradox which *{which replaced that}* somehow human nature doesn't seem able to cope with. And I try to just keep *{keep replaced live}* with it comfortably, although I see that it's a paradox, and I can't quite get an intellectual reconciliation of the two points of view. ¶LUSTGARTEN: Berlin? ¶BERLIN: Yes I agree with you, I ask myself sometimes what it is that produces Hailsham's *{Hailsham's inserted}* paradox, which *{which replaced that}* I accept. I suppose that if you think that stars in their courses *{that stars in their courses inserted}* are lighting for you and your victory's absolutely guaranteed that gives such immense confidence to what you do, such *{such replaced some}* contempt for danger, such *{such replaced that}* complete absence of fear, such total *{such total replaced that natural}* disregard of both *{both inserted}* arguments produced against you and force employed *{you and force employed replaced and fought}* and played against

you, that that in itself produces the results. ¶HAILSHAM: There's something fundamental in human nature which (which *replaced* that) demands to be on the winning side. (BERLIN—Yes, I'm afraid that's true.) You've got to believe in some enormous course of history which is on your side before you can really get going and lead your troops into battle. Either it's the family god or the tribal god or whatever it is, but there's (there's *replaced* it's) got to be something outside and above yourself leading you on the certain victory before you really do your best. Well, I think BBC

226:18 sufficient CT] a sufficient BBC

226:21 less. CT] less. I started off (off *inserted*) by saying that Sir Winston Churchill was himself perhaps the greatest man of our age, which was a purely personal opinion of mine and it doesn't necessarily mean that I support Sir Winston Churchill in everything he's said or done—it just happens to be my opinion. BBC

226:22 down to talking CT] down now, as I say, to this personal situation and talk BBC

226:22–3 we have CT] we may have BBC

226:23 generation? BBC] generation. CT

226:23–4 claim...time? CT] generalization for example? ¶RUSSELL: What was your generalization? ¶LUSTGARTEN: Well perhaps I shouldn't have called it generalization; my claim for Sir Winston Churchill that he was perhaps the greatest man of our time. BBC

226:25 I should CT] Well I should BBC

226:25 that. I CT] that, I mean I BBC

226:26 him BBC] *inserted*

226:28 Would CT] Well would BBC

226:28 further, because CT] further about it because BBC

226:29 slated BBC] stated CT

226:30 suggest...greater? CT] distinguish for us in generalizations, using the word correctly for this occasion, which I didn't on the last,—in generalizations why Einstein is greater than Churchill? BBC

226:32–3 phenomena. It BBC] *replaced* phenomena, and it

226:33 general BBC] *inserted*

226:37 world.] *before subheading* Human Spellbinders CT] world in the ordinary course of events. BBC

226:38 BERLIN: Far...me CT] LUSTGARTEN: Well in my cheap way I'm not balancing the credit of winning the second World War with having spacetime phenomena. What do you think, Berlin? ¶BERLIN: Well now, far be from it BBC

226:39 all time CT] any time at all BBC

226:39 not sure...not to BBC] *replaced* not...wasn't going

226:41 The great men are CT] The great men, I think, are BBC

226:42 means men CT] means, I think, men BBC

227:2 marvellous genius. But BBC] *replaced* remarkable genius, but

227:3 would CT] would, in some sense as we use it, BBC

227:4–5 and bound...them, BBC] *inserted before* as human beings,

227:6 HAILSHAM: CT] RUSSELL: I wouldn't admit the man who has a profound effect, although most people don't realize that it's he who's having the effect.

¶HAILSHAM: BBC

227:6 It is awfully difficult CT] I think it's awfully difficult, isn't it, BBC

227:11 For instance, I had CT] I mean for instance, I have *have inserted*) had BBC

227:14 remarkable CT] extraordinarily remarkable BBC

227:17 were. CT] were. Now, Russell, you named Einstein, will you add anybody to that list? BBC

227:19 but CT] but I think BBC

227:19–20 man...would be: CT] man. A very great man. ¶LUSTGARTEN: Not for the same reasons as Einstein, obviously? ¶RUSSELL: Oh no, quite different. But I should really think if I had to have a set criterion, *have a set criterion, replaced criterion, I should*) my criterion would be, BBC

227:22 Would CT] Well then, just *just inserted*) following that up for a moment *moment replaced minute*), how different would the world have been if Hitler had not existed? Would BBC

227:25 BERLIN: I would...Hitler. CT] LUSTGARTEN: Berlin, would you take Russell's view about either Lenin or Hitler? ¶BERLIN: I think I would disagree *disagree replaced agree*) with him on HitlerBBC

227:27 way. CT] way, but *but inserted*) he has altered it. BBC

227:28 decisive BBC] *replaced effective*

227:29 would CT] will BBC

227:29 included. CT] included in the list. ¶LUSTGARTEN: Hailsham? BBC

227:31 test CT] test, in one way or another, BBC

227:31 the great man CT] he BBC

227:32 May CT] Now may BBC

227:37 RUSSELL: CT] LUSTGARTEN: Agree with that Russell? ¶RUSSELL: BBC

227:37 That CT] Well that BBC

227:39 admire. CT] admire. Yes. He might be, BBC

227:42 men CT] men, if one can say that, BBC

227:43 span. This BBC] *replaced span, and this*

228:3 compensate this lack BBC] *replaced have gone...which they compensate*

228:4 life,) life CT, BBC

228:6 they CT] they which *replaced they* BBC

228:7 They CT] I think they BBC

228:8 talents. I CT] talents at the same time, I BBC

228:9 with BBC] *inserted*

228:11 fumbling BBC] *replaced stumbling*

228:13 a Macedonian CT] the Macedonian BBC

228:14 science, CT] or science or BBC

228:15 suddenly BBC] *inserted*

228:15–16 one does not know BBC] *inserted*

228:16 that is CT] that I think is BBC

228:16 greatness. CT] greatness to me. BBC

228:17 I should BBC] *after deleted* Well

228:17–18 not about the extremism. CT] I don't think I should agree about the other characteristic. ¶LUSTGARTEN: The unbalanced and extreme degree? ¶RUSSELL: Yes, I don't agree about that. I think that BBC

228:18 man, but I CT] man and I BBC

228:19 One CT] I think one BBC

228:20 all. CT] all, and he certainly was a very great man. BBC

228:22 you are BBC] *replaced* and are you

228:23 I would not agree. I CT] Well, I wouldn't, of course, agree I BBC

228:25 originality. CT] originality, which Hailsham spoke of. BBC

228:26 if BBC] *replaced* since

228:26 he was CT] he is *replaced* he was BBC

228:28 thinker. CT] *before inserted* Very derivative. BBC

228:31 historians. CT] historians, but I hope that listeners will have found the views expressed provocative and stimulating. And I now do close the discussion—not because—to quote Sir Winston's words, with which we started, "I am a great figure of history making a sudden apparition in an era of confusion and decay," but just because, being the Chairman of the *{the replaced this}* discussion, it is my duty. Thank you all for listening. BBC

## 41 Is an Élite Necessary?

The textual notes provide a collation of the abridged publication in *Muggeridge through the Microphone* ("CT") with a transcription from a microfilm copy of the fifteen-leaf BBC mimeograph ("BBC"). No contributions to the discussion by the chairman, Edgar Lustgarten, are present in the published version. In addition to these and other changes introduced to CT many years after the sound recording was made, BBC indicates that the mimeograph version was emended as well. These substantive emendations—most of which seem to have been made by the BBC to fit the recording into the allotted broadcast time—have been noted as well. The contracted forms of speech in CT have been expanded silently in order to bring this paper into conformity with the others in Part V of the present volume.

228:33 MUGGERIDGE: I am CT] CHAIRMAN: In "London Forum" today, Bertrand Russell, the famous Philosopher and Malcolm Muggeridge, the Editor of *Punch*, are joined by Sir Eric James, High Master of Manchester Grammar School, the largest school of its kind in this country and one with a record of academic success which is outstanding. Now we're going to consider the question, "Is an elite necessary?". That is, must any country but particularly Britain, take steps to set apart for special training and privileges certain people, either for what they are, or what they do. Sir Eric James, first of all, what exactly is an 'elite'? ¶JAMES: I think it's an awfully difficult question to answer in those terms. I'd rather put it in this sort of way as a question. Hitherto most societies have had a body of people who exercise power, who add influence over the standards of that society and that body of people has been chosen, sometimes self chosen, on a basis either of heredity or because they could seize power because of their strength or whatever it might be. Well now in our present tempo of opinion we believe that on the whole power should be open to merit and at the same time we've got an equalitarian cast of mind. What I want to hear discussed really is how far we think the whole idea of an elite is compatible with equalitarianism, and in the kind of society that we're developing, how such an elite should be chosen. Well that's the sort of thing that's in my mind, and I pass the question to you Russell: ¶RUSSELL: Well I'm entirely agreed that we do need an elite. I think we want political equality, that is to say that nobody should start with any special privilege that he *{that he inserted}* hasn't earned by his merits but I don't think that bureaucracy ought to go on the assumption that men are all equal. They are not and there are men who can do difficult jobs and there are men who can't, and if a society is to function it must get the men who can do the difficult jobs into those jobs and that is not

by any means an easy thing. ¶CHAIRMAN: Muggeridge. ¶MUGGERIDGE: Well I'm BBC

229:3 JAMES: It CT] CHAIRMAN: I think we're not very far apart on the question of what an elite is, because I think James you started off by saying that it was a sort of section of the community which will exercise the power. ¶JAMES: Yes. All sorts, it BBC

229:3 It is CT] It isn't—it is BBC

229:4 I disagree, I think, CT] Of course I disagree I think BBC

229:9 the positions BBC] *replaced* positions

229:11 RUSSELL: I think CT] CHAIRMAN: Well now that's an important thing, let's try and get this—let's try and get this definition settled. Could we agree on the definition of the elite in the way James has put it? That it is not merely the people who exercise power but people who get power without grabbing it. Would that explain? ¶RUSSELL: I think one can, I mean I think BBC

229:18 classical idea CT] sort of classical work BBC

229:21 MUGGERIDGE: Well CT] CHAIRMAN: Well now Muggeridge, you see what the situation is now between...TALKING TOGETHER...they are agreed on a definition of an elite. Now I don't know whether you agree on the definition but would you agree at all that what they call an elite is necessary to the public? ¶MUGGERIDGE: Well BBC

229:25 you have CT] you BBC

229:26 nothing. In CT] nothing, but that in BBC

229:31 RUSSELL: I agree CT] TALKING TOGETHER ¶CHAIRMAN: Yes Russell.

¶RusSELL: I want to say that I agree BBC

229:34 money. CT] money. Oh I think that's inevitable. BBC

229:35 *Republic*] republic CT, BBC

229:39 When CT] I do think—I do think that in executive jobs, there's something in it.

Now when BBC

230:1 What CT] Yes. Well look, what BBC

230:4 naked CT] sort of naked BBC

230:5 I myself CT] I—in other words I myself BBC

230:8 so, I CT] so, that there is this thing power and there must be people who exert that power, I BBC

230:10 it and BBC] *replaced* and

230:14 But I am CT] But look if I may say so, I'm BBC

230:19 further CT] further increasingly, BBC

230:24 But they...power. CT] But they're not—they don't call it...

230:26 RUSSELL: Take CT] ¶CHAIRMAN: Russell. ¶RUSSELL: Look I want to say, now take BBC

230:30 compel or induce them CT] compel them or induce them by great inducement, BBC

230:31 farmed and BBC] *replaced* farmed

230:33 Try CT] Well may be it ought not to be allowed not the point that I am trying to make is this, that try BBC

230:34 in fact CT] that in fact BBC

230:36 cupidity. CT] cupidity. Now that, I mean...been talking for instance about these great executives, these technicians, I quite agree that power today is not just a matter of becoming a Minister in a Government or something like that. It is a matter of

controlling the economy of the country. Now the people who do that and the people who do it successfully are the people who want to do it. BBC

230:39 of technologists CT] of people who are interested in the science of agriculture, who know about the scientific side of it. A new class of technologists BBC

230:40 were. CT] were, the technocracy if you like to call it. BBC

230:41 MUGGERIDGE: Well, CT] CHAIRMAN: Well now let's just try and sort this out. Muggeridge I've got you right if I harp back to a former phrase of yours that you believe in the naked operation of the market. Is that right? ¶MUGGERIDGE: BBC

230:42 JAMES: You CT] JAMES: I put it into Muggeridge's mouth. TALKING TOGETHER ¶MUGGERIDGE: He didn't put it in my mouth at all, but *(but inserted)* I believe in that naked operation of human passion. ¶CHAIRMAN: Right. Well now James, you believe in a new class of people who really want to do those things. Is that right? Now Russell you agree with James. ¶RUSSELL: I agree with him most profoundly and the idea that cupidity is going to lead people to be sensible in their dealings is contrary to all history. Now take for instance the great family of the Fuggers, who were leading bankers in Germany, immensely rich and they, although as bankers you would suppose they wanted money, much more than wanting money wanted to support the Hapsburgs and led themselves to bankruptcy through love of the Hapsburgs, and *(and inserted)* similarly any farmer in the world, if you let him alone will lead himself into bankruptcy from hatred of science. ¶CHAIRMAN: Well now James, what I would like to know is if you believe in a new class of people, first of all who is choosing that class? If they don't work as Muggeridge says in the phrase which you say you put into his mouth and which he's allocated to himself with great pride, is the naked operation of the market—if you don't believe in that, who chooses the new class? They don't choose themselves...the naked operation of the market. ¶JAMES: Oh the educational system chooses them. ¶CHAIRMAN: Ah. Well expound this a little. ¶JAMES: Well I mean it's doing it all the time. TALKING TOGETHER ¶JAMES: No you BBC

231:1 possible CT] possible—we've still got a long way to go—but you attempt as far as possible BBC

231:4 MUGGERIDGE: Well I CT] CHAIRMAN:...by examination? ¶JAMES: Yes... TALKING TOGETHER ¶CHAIRMAN: Muggeridge. ¶RUSSELL: Well...that. I mean I think Muggeridge if I may say so, you're ignoring the definiteness of the knowledge concerned. Now at one time I took a great interest in economic entomology and I discovered that although we at that time had large possessions in the tropics, we didn't devote ourselves to dealing with the pests with anything like the efficiency with which the Americans did. It was perfectly well known what to do but we didn't bother to do it, and that was a perfectly definite thing. ¶MUGGERIDGE: Well as I BBC

231:4 if the affairs CT] if for instance, ourselves, the affairs BBC

231:5 moment, CT] moment, everything was going well, BBC

231:10–11 this terrific process CT] this—in this terrific custom BBC

231:14 so. CT] so. I mean I've never known anything so simple minded from a journalist. You—we're passing through a tensional phase in which a greater part of our setup is still based on family background and on heredity. You've only tempered it in the last 40 years. BBC

231:16 up BBC] *inserted*

231:17 MUGGERIDGE: The CT] RUSSELL: Who do we consider fit to deal with our foreign affairs and our relations with foreign countries. People of good family and

independent income. That's what we want of them, and whether they know anything about foreign countries I think is quite irrelevant. ¶MUGGERIDGE: Russell I must only say to you, I mean it were true because were it true it would be so easy to switch over to this other arrangement, we'd hope to do better, but in point of fact it's not true at all. ¶MUGGERIDGE: The BBC

231:20 RUSSELL: It CT] JAMES: Look Muggeridge, I'm sorry but your argument defeats itself. The Foreign Service is the one service in which it hasn't operated for quite a time. Now if you take the Administrative Civil Service where it's operated for a long long time or comparatively long, I mean... ¶MUGGERIDGE: Do you mean the Treasury? ¶JAMES: Yes I do, I mean the Treasury. ¶MUGGERIDGE: You think that's a tremendously successful organization? ¶JAMES: I certainly do considering the difficulties of this country I think if you look at our Administrative Civil Service as *as inserted*) compared with the Civil Service of any other country that doesn't have a selected system, well I think you've got to hand it to this technique. Bearing in mind all the time as I tell you that the thing is much more complicated, you aren't starting people on a level run. You've got the family background, you've got the schools they've been to, the whole thing is far more complicated than the picture you give. You don't change over in 1870 and say now we're going to have a competitive technique. You don't talk for a century or more do you? ¶RUSSELL: I think that I might add a little codicil to what you've said. It BBC

231:20 Service is imperfect CT] Service in so far as it is imperfect, is imperfect BBC

231:22 science. CT] science, and that if we emphasized science more our Civil Service would be very much better. ¶MUGGERIDGE: Well I sincerely hope that may be so but I am myself very strongly of the opinion that this attempt which is being made as a perfectly honourable and serious attempt derives out of the material—human material in the schools, those who are capable of exercising authority by means of examinations and various tests, has been a total failure. ¶CHAIRMAN: I see, you think it was more difficult then in the 18th century when it was a naked struggle. ¶MUGGERIDGE: Well we did much better as a country and we couldn't have done worse. I mean as a country—as a country in our affairs we could not have done worse than we've done in the last three decades. TALKING TOGETHER ¶CHAIRMAN: Just a minute, Russell. ¶RUSSELL: In the 18th century we had to fight for our...revolution. It had its revolution and under its revolution it adopted this plan that we're advocating, and ever since then it was for some time very much more efficient. Circumstances of course interfered with its efficiency, but those are large circumstances in the world that we can't do anything about, and the same applies to us. If we haven't been successful it's the *the inserted*) part of the way of the world has gone, and *and inserted*) I don't think it's our fault. TALKING TOGETHER ¶CHAIRMAN: James it's your turn for the codicil. ¶JAMES: Well not a bit I'm just staggered to hear anyone say that we did better in the 18th century than we're doing today. After all we managed to lose the American colonies, we managed to have a Civil Service of almost inconceivable corruption...TALKING TOGETHER... ¶CHAIRMAN: Go on Muggeridge. ¶MUGGERIDGE: You're very interesting indeed. It's terribly interesting indeed. I find—for instance take the case of India which is a country I've always been very interested in having been there quite a lot, now the East India Company, the people who were recruited into the East India Company at all levels were people who by your system of selecting an elite would have been cast forth...TALKING TOGETHER... ¶JAMES: How do you know? ¶MUGGERIDGE: Well of the manner in

which—the manner in which—the manner in which they were recruited. ¶JAMES: Not a bit, they came from extremely intelligent parents. Their heredity was good. ¶MUGGERIDGE: What the East India Company? ¶JAMES: Warren Hastings I would have chosen on any...election.... TALKING TOGETHER After the House of Lords tried him for how many years? ¶CHAIRMAN: Seven I think. TALKING TOGETHER... ¶RUSSELL: Warren Hastings certainly would have been chosen on any level; he was thoroughly efficient from an academic point of view. TALKING TOGETHER ¶MUGGERIDGE: We all agree that he was a terribly able man but the point is that... ¶JAMES: Well that's the whole point. I want to choose terribly able men. BBC

231:23 Yes, but...we are CT] Yes you do but my point is that the methods that you're BBC

231:25 the right CT] these particular BBC

231:27 methods. You set up certain CT] methods. TALKING TOGETHER I've never conceded anything at all. I mean you set up and you say right, I will have certain BBC

231:28 tests, and you say, I CT] tests and I BBC

231:29 you that CT] you that you—I mean I don't know whether your tests are right or wrong—I only say that BBC

231:34 I want CT] I—yes I don't—in the first place I don't think you've got anything like enough evidence to say that they haven't done very well because it hasn't been running long enough and most of the people you're thinking of haven't been chosen on those systems, and in the second place I want BBC

231:35 What is CT] Well I think the method—I think—what's wrong with the methods is a perfectly simple thing and it's no—no reflection on you or your colleagues, but what's BBC

231:36 tests CT] tests and you must base them BBC

231:37 RUSSELL: All CT] CHAIRMAN: Russell, you're supporting the idea of an elite. Do you think that an elite can be reconciled with the idea of democracy—it's a much misused word—but can it be reconciled? ¶RUSSELL: Yes I think entirely. I don't see any... I don't understand democracy as meaning all men are equal. All BBC

231:38 I mean; CT] I mean I think BBC

231:39 Minister. CT] Minister, I won't say not even the Prime Minister, but I think that everybody would agree that not everybody is fit to be Prime Minister however democratic you may be and I think you've got to admit special talents for special things. ¶CHAIRMAN: How do you feel about that Muggeridge? ¶MUGGERIDGE: Well of course it's obvious that I—I—I said earlier on, I would very much like to live in a society, purely an artistic society in which no one exercises authority. I realize that that's a dream, that's impossible, it can't be, people must exercise authority. All I say is that those methods of deriving—of deciding on the people who must exercise authority are extremely fallacious. ¶CHAIRMAN: What methods would you use? BBC

231:40 simple CT] method—the simple BBC

231:42 But that gives us Hitler. CT]... TALKING TOGETHER...Hitler. BBC

232:1 Yes. CT] I would certainly, and. Hitler exercised power. BBC

232:4 You CT] Well look, shall we just look at those people one by one. First Roosevelt. Would you say that any of those people that you mentioned, if you think they're good. Roosevelt, certainly Lenin, certainly Napoleon, you BBC

232:7 whatever? CT] whatever? Many of them we know had high verbal ability because they wrote well. BBC

232:10 MUGGERIDGE: Where CT] TALKING TOGETHER ¶MUGGERIDGE: He wasn't very good at school. You see where I think... ¶JAMES: He was a brilliant student. TALKING TOGETHER ¶CHAIRMAN: There is a classic story isn't there of an Oxford Don who met Napoleon at St. Helena and said you could tell at once he wasn't an Oxford Don? TALKING TOGETHER ¶MUGGERIDGE: Where BBC

232:11 it is a dream. It is CT] it—and it's a dream and it's an agreeable dream. It's a dream—it's BBC

232:12 It CT] You see it isn't a platonic dream and it BBC

232:16 first CT] other BBC

232:18 IQ is good at his job? The CT] I.Q. is good in exercising—I've already wondered—the BBC

232:19 who CT] you know BBC

232:20 and Grant, CT] when Grant, you know BBC

232:20 drunkard. People CT] drunkard and people BBC

232:22–3 drunkards". This CT] drunkards", you know this BBC

232:25 College. CT] College. What you care is that they win the battle BBC

232:26 What CT] Excuse me but what BBC

232:28 lost CT] lost for every army BBC

232:29 Your CT] If I must say so the whole of this BBC

232:30 intelligence. CT] intelligence. What do you mean by a rather ordinary chap. You see you've never really met any ordinary chap if I may say so with an I.Q. of 100. When you talk about an ordinary chap what you mean is someone in the top two per cent of the population. TALKING TOGETHER BBC

232:31 war CT] war all the subalterns were drawn—BBC

232:32–3 But you CT] Well now you BBC

232:33 you? CT] you and yet you see in order to exercise the qualities of leadership even required of a subaltern, they had to be in the top 95 per cent of the population as regards intelligence. BBC

232:34 Speaking CT] Well anyway speaking BBC

232:35 of two CT] the two BBC

232:41 five CT] 95 BBC

232:43 college. CT] college or he couldn't have been a general. BBC

233:1 MUGGERIDGE: Minor CT] MUGGERIDGE: Do you—seriously saying that the General—actually three of the Generals from the last war haven't been through... TALKING TOGETHER... ¶MUGGERIDGE: Minor BBC

233:5 What I...high CT] Not a bit of course. We don't give tests for people who are governing their fellows. What we're saying is that an intelligence—the high BBC

233:6 a necessary prerequisite. CT] a *{a inserted}* necessary pre-requisite. ¶CHAIRMAN: Well ladies and gentlemen, there's been a certain amount of disagreement as you'll have observed in the last half hour, but on one thing everybody is agreed. The elite in this studio think they're necessary and that they ought to continue to exist. ¶MUGGERIDGE: I'm not at all sure that we agree with that. BBC

## 42 Is the Notion of Progress an Illusion?

The textual notes provide a collation of the abridged publication in *Muggeridge through the Microphone* ("CT") with a transcription from a microfilm copy of the fifteen-leaf BBC mimeograph ("BBC"). No contributions to the discussion by the chairman, Bruce Miller, are present in the published version. In addition to these and other changes

introduced to CT many years after the sound recording, some editorial emendations have been made for the present volume. Most of these changes, however, affect only the accidental features of the text and have not been recorded. For example, all contracted forms of speech have been expanded silently in order to bring this paper into conformity with the others in Part V.

233:8 MUGGERIDGE: ...this—I CT] MILLER: In this edition, of “London Forum”, Bertrand Russell, the famous philosopher, and Malcolm Muggeridge, the Editor of *Punch*, are going to discuss the question, “Is the Notion of Progress an Illusion?” ¶Now, I must confess that this is a question which Malcolm Muggeridge has raised. Muggeridge, what was in your mind, in formulating it in that way? ¶MUGGERIDGE: What I meant was this. That I BBC

233:18 RUSSELL: Well, CT] MILLER: Now, Russell, what do you think about that? ¶RUSSELL: Well, I want, first of all, to express high respect to Muggeridge, whose opinions always seem to me to be very worth well considering, and having said that, I should like to go on to say that BBC

233:18 the view CT] his view BBC

233:21 you really...you do not CT] he really takes, and he doesn't BBC

233:22 I must CT] Well I must BBC

233:30 is whether human CT] is, is there in fact this process going on whereby human BBC

233:32 RUSSELL: There CT] MILLER: Am I right, Muggeridge, in this—in thinking that you are prepared to agree that there are certain improvements and advances, say in scientific discovery, in the material surroundings of our lives, but you don't believe we are becoming, or have become, better men and women? ¶MUGGERIDGE: I think those, those—I wouldn't even call them advances. I think they're simply alteration, changes in our circumstances. ¶RUSSELL: Well now, may I intervene at this point? There BBC

233:38 MUGGERIDGE: Not...least CT] MILLER: Is that what you mean? ¶MUGGERIDGE: Not in the least. No, I think that's a complete—I hesitate to say it—but I think it's a complete, a complete fallacy. BBC

234:3 us tonight CT] us—what we're talking about tonight BBC

234:6 more...circumstances CT] more—understand better the circumstance BBC

234:7 RUSSELL: I do not CT] MILLER: Do you agree, Russell, that it makes no difference to whether we are good or bad people that we have these changes in scientific discovery, for example? ¶RUSSELL: Oh I don't know. I don't BBC

234:10 you CT] Muggeridge BBC

234:19 I think CT] Well, now, look, I think BBC

234:22 your attitude CT] what you're saying BBC

234:31 that by...for instance, CT] that, for instance, by industrialising India BBC

234:32 place was wrong. You CT] place. And he said, no, I don't think we would, and you BBC

234:34 this is CT] the truth that it contained was BBC

234:35 proposition. CT] proposition. But he said you can industrialise it, you can make people rich, you can have factories, you can have material things, but you will not—you may make—you must...more horrible. BBC

234:39 painful. If CT] painful, and if BBC

234:41 put...which CT] put these things at, you call spiritual values which BBC

234:42 material CT] all sort of material BBC

235:1 MUGGERIDGE: I think CT] MILLER: Would you in fact put those spiritual values above material welfare? ¶MUGGERIDGE: Above all others, above all others, above all others. And I think BBC

235:1 that CT] that this—that BBC

235:5 values. CT] values and that this idea of progress has got itself translated into terms of material values. BBC

235:5 ask you, Lord Russell, to CT] ask Lord Russell, let's BBC

235:6 Assisi BBC] Assisi CT *Also at 235:9, 235:16.*

235:11 recall CT] followed BBC

235:14 history. That CT] history and that BBC

235:15 run. Ford CT] run, and I think that Ford BBC

235:15 that. CT] that. Ford went on a peace ship. BBC

235:17 I would say that CT] Well, I would say, this, you see, that BBC

235:17–18 is the creation CT] and I'm trying to argue it is the creation BBC

235:20 conceive CT] conceive perfection and who can conceive BBC

235:21 Heaven, CT] Heaven. Now it might, or might not be true that that existed, but I think the idea of a kingdom of Heaven in Heaven is BBC

235:26 suffer. You CT] suffer, and I think if you mind when other people suffer, you BBC

235:28 Of course, CT] Well I would say of course that BBC

235:30 I should CT] Well I should BBC

235:31 hell. I CT] hell and I BBC

235:33 MUGGERIDGE: Dear...they CT] MUGGERIDGE: Oh! ¶MILLER: May I disagree? ¶MUGGERIDGE: Dear Lord Russell, they concentrated, of all people? They BBC

235:37 RUSSELL: If CT] MILLER: You, Russell I think have been suggesting that if one is compassionate, one must necessarily believe in progress. ¶RUSSELL: I don't say believe in progress. That means you think it will happen—but you must desire it. I mean if BBC

235:41 You are CT] I don't. You're BBC

236:3 So would I. CT] So would I. But do you think—¶MILLER: Do you really? ¶MUGGERIDGE: Oh yes. ¶MILLER: That would be progress—would it be something you approved of ¶MUGGERIDGE: That the average person should be happier than he is, is something that I would certainly believe in. But then you see ¶MILLER:...you approve of it? ¶MUGGERIDGE: Most certainly, but I think the only way that he can be happier is precisely by divorcing himself from this idea of progress which ultimately simply means as I've said—creating a more adequate material environment. ¶MILLER: Is this it, Muggerridge, that it's O.K. with you if man is happy because of what is coming to him beyond the grave, but... ¶MUGGERIDGE: That's a cheap and over simplification. ¶MILLER: No. I'm sorry. I didn't mean to put it in quite those terms, but it has suggested, but what you said before has suggested to me that you believe a state of mind is worthy when it is humble, and when it is ultimately referred to the after life, but that it is unworthy when it refers to either material or physical pleasures in this world. ¶MUGGERIDGE: Yes. BBC

236:5 present CT] present, if you read the statistical works of the Food and Agriculture Organization or any other body, you will find that the majority of mankind at this moment BBC

236:5 under-nourishment. Getting CT] under nourishment. Now, getting BBC

236:10 what CT] I hate the idea of any single human being, being cruel to any other human being. What BBC

236:13 earth, CT] earth, which is alas limited, BBC

236:13 idea CT] idea of progress, not through this idea BBC

236:16–17 see, if you are CT] see if Russell was BBC

236:22 And CT]...and BBC

236:23 There CT] And better? There BBC

236:26 morals. It is CT] morals, you see Russell it's BBC

236:26 do. CT] do. ¶MILLER: Am I right in this Muggeridge that you think, to desire and actively attempt to promote happiness, you prevent its achievement, but to believe in—as it were the generally unhappy condition of mankind, but in spite of this, to attempt people's happiness is a good thing? BBC

236:27 know, is that basically CT] know basically is that BBC

236:29–30 mankind. CT] mankind. ¶MILLER: A sin. ¶MUGGERIDGE: A sin, that alone does it. Now therefore the problem is how you do it. Now I do not think that you create that thing which for want of a better word I call love, by means of solving or seeking as an end in itself the solution of man's material problems. ¶MILLER: You don't make material advance, your criterion, ¶MUGGERIDGE: No. But I think that when you create love, precisely because out of love, must emerge this feeling that you don't want another human being to suffer. ¶MILLER: You make material advances a bi-product. ¶MUGGERIDGE: As a bi-product. BBC

236:43 bad. CT] bad. ¶MILLER: I think that's the point at which I ought to attempt to sum up. Muggeridge wishes material prosperity to emerge as a biproduct of human relationships. Russell, I think sees love as emerging as a bi-product of material well-being. Is that correct? ¶RUSSELL: No. Material well-being is a bi-product of love. ¶MILLER: In that case you both agree. ¶MUGGERIDGE: We don't really, you know. Because he believes you see that if for instance you feed hungry people, you make those people better. ¶MILLER: And you don't? ¶MUGGERIDGE: I think it entirely depends on the—on—the motives—motive—why it's done, and what you are seeking to achieve by doing it. ¶RUSSELL: Well what are you seeking to achieve, going to heaven? ¶MUGGERIDGE: Er, no, I think that the only thing that any human being, and I wish I'd sought it more—more consistently, BBC

237:1 could CT] could—could BBC

237:6 one. CT] one. ¶RUSSELL: Intolerable. What? ¶MUGGERIDGE:...only one. ¶RUSSELL: No, no (TOGETHER)—should not be centred in self. Being good is self centred. BBC

237:8 are. CT] are. I mean the point is the Christian religion says that the only way to be good...BBC

237:9 People CT] Your thing about progress, I can turn it against you: people BBC

237:11 MUGGERIDGE: It CT] MILLER: No, what you're doing now is destroying the whole original basis of the discussion. If the idea of progress means anything, it's a social idea, it means that groups of men, large groups of people, nations, communities, either are capable of improvement or are in a state of constant improvement, and that this doesn't depend particularly on the attitudes of individual persons, it's a—a condition of their being, it's a biproduct of the fact that they form a social group. And there is much argument, some of which you did have, in the question whether they can in fact improve, and if they do, whether it's a good thing. But what you are now considering is the attitude and the prospects and the condition of the individual soul. ¶MILLER: Or the individual

personality... ¶[RUSSELL: Yes, yes... ¶[MUGGERIDGE: Those two things are related. ¶[MILLER: They are, but... ¶[MUGGERIDGE: Closely. ¶[MILLER: They have been rather different discussions, haven't they? ¶[MUGGERIDGE: Not really, no. Not really. It BBC

237:11 to what it means CT] to that very point of what it is, what it means, BBC

237:12 you say CT] Russell says BBC

237:13 I said CT] No, no, I didn't... ¶[MILLER:...say that... ¶[RUSSELL: Say it was an abhorrent idea at all. I said BBC

237:15–17 that is... ¶[MUGGERIDGE: You CT] it's what—every every—every—every single Christian from the fount... ¶[MILLER:...quite different... ¶[RUSSELL: ...My objection is... ¶[MUGGERIDGE: Yes, but I mean therefore you're saying... ¶[RUSSELL:...religion... ¶[MUGGERIDGE: You BBC

237:17 religion. It is CT] religion, I think it's a wonderful religion. And—LAUGHTER—it's BBC

237:22 Then you CT] Then—they—you BBC

237:24 should. CT] should. ¶[MUGGERIDGE: Hm, then—then I can only say that I disagree... ¶[RUSSELL: Including Nazism and Communism... ¶[MUGGERIDGE: They're not religions at all ... ¶[RUSSELL: I call them religions because they said that human conduct should be guided by a belief in a lot of nonsense, and that's my definition of religion. LAUGHTER ¶[MILLER: Well it's a rather circular definition, isn't it... ¶[RUSSELL: What... ¶[MILLER: It assumes what is nonsense to start with. ¶[RUSSELL: Yes. ¶[MILLER: Well then. ¶[RUSSELL: Oh yes. ¶[MILLER: I mean you could say it was a religion if somebody believed the moon is made of green cheese, and went around saying... ¶[RUSSELL: ...actuated—if they governed their conduct by that belief, I should say they were religious people, yes, certainly. ¶[MUGGERIDGE: Then we're talking a different language. ¶[MILLER: Well you are talking a different language ... ¶[RUSSELL: ...well they're different you see owing to different beliefs, I mean Muggeridge believes certain propositions to be true, which I believe to be false, and those are extremely important propositions, important, and the fact that he believes them and I don't, is the root of the trouble... ¶[MILLER: Of course it is... ¶[RUSSELL: And unless we're going to argue as to whether they're true or false, we can't really get to grips. ¶[MUGGERIDGE: No. And you see the point is I know that he is a humane and kind and good man... ¶[RUSSELL: And I know you are, yes... ¶[MUGGERIDGE: And that we—but—but I think that you are, because I think that you've the sort of momentum of Christendom, you see, which you hate, ¶[RUSSELL: I think you are in spite of—LAUGHTER—Christendom. BBC

237:27 remarks) CT] remarks, they said BBC

237:28 them; and CT] them, and you mustn't balk Him of His pleasure, and if you—BBC

237:31 They CT] Well they BBC

237:32 euthanasia, CT] Euthanasia. ¶[RUSSELL: Yes, quite. ¶[MUGGERIDGE:... because I would say that I don't understand, you see, why these things are, BBC

237:36 here...BBC] here—CT

237:41 contortions...BBC] contortions—CT

237:42 do not...BBC] do not—CT

237:43...that BBC]—that CT

237:43 being. CT] being. ¶[MUGGERIDGE: Well I don't—why should I do, dear Russell, I don't... ¶[RUSSELL: You do do contortions, I see it... ¶[MUGGERIDGE: No.

No, I don't at all... ¶RUSSELL: Yes. ¶MUGGERIDGE: It's frightfully simple to me. ¶RUSSELL: You would admit, I suppose, that you only think that because it's pleasant... ¶MUGGERIDGE: No, No... ¶RUSSELL: To think it, not because you've any evidence... ¶MUGGERIDGE: No, because that is the conclusion, the genuine and truthful conclusion. ¶RUSSELL: Arrived at from observing people dying of cancer... ¶MUGGERIDGE: I observe people dying of cancer and it's a terrible and grievous thing, but I also... ¶RUSSELL: That's just the sort of thing you would do if you were omnipotent. ¶MUGGERIDGE: No, it—it—but I'm not omnipotent, you see, and therefore I can't ... ¶RUSSELL: If you were you would do it, otherwise you... ¶MUGGERIDGE: No, no, no, I—I can't—I can't put myself in the position of being omnipotent... ¶RUSSELL: Well you...BBC

238:1 I can CT] But I can see, I can BBC

238:1 that CT] that—that—that BBC

238:5 just CT] exactly BBC

238:13 Not at all, CT] No, no, but it's not that at all, BBC

238:14 to CT] to—to—to BBC

238:14 But everything that CT] But the—the fact is that it seems to me that everything that—that—that BBC

238:16 intended. CT] intended. ¶RUSSELL: Why do you believe it without evidence? ¶MUGGERIDGE: I believe it without evidence because—I—I—believe it without evidence that you would accept, the—the—the—the trivial evidence that—that—that you would accept, I believe it on—on two things, one is my own conviction; and the other is, that, as I said, that everything that I've read that has seemed to me to be great, everything that I've seen that seemed to me to be great, noble, wonderful, has been based on that assumption. That—that's what I believe it on. And everything that seemed to me to be cheap, common, tenth rate, obviously doomed, has been the opposite. BBC

238:19 No. CT] No, No...BBC

238:21 It CT] No, it isn't, it isn't, it isn't at all. It BBC

238:21 think CT] think that—that—that BBC

238:24 assent CT] be assent BBC

238:30 it. CT] it. May be that's it. But it does seem to me trivial. ¶RUSSELL: It seems to you trivial. ¶MUGGERIDGE: Yes, well I can only do what—exert such poor wits as I have and—and—express such convictions as I can arrive at. And I express them without any arrogance. Or without any desire to force anyone else to accept them. ¶RUSSELL: Yes, well BBC

238:34 all. CT] all...LAUGHTER ¶RUSSELL: I am being... ¶MUGGERIDGE: You're not being horrid at all. But it's not true, you're not being horrid...BBC

238:35 I have been CT] I'm being BBC

238:36 intolerant. CT] intolerant. You haven't been intolerant, you've said what you think. ¶MILLER: Well, there we must end this edition of "London Forum". BBC

### 43 The Immortality of the Soul

The copy-text ("CT") is the fifteen-leaf BBC mimeograph. As usual, typographical errors have been corrected silently, as have a few obvious errors made in transcribing from the original sound recording. Since the spoken word was the source for CT, it has been subjected to rather more editorial intervention than have any of the dictated, typed or printed copy-texts used in the volume. Contracted forms of speech have been expanded without recourse to the textual notes, and the punctuation and case usage have been revised quite liberally. The textual notes provide a record of the substantive editorial

emendations to CT—often where a speaker hesitated or repeated himself slightly—and of the extensive cuts and other substantive handwritten emendations made in-house by the BBC.

239:8 your] in your CT

239:14 all. So,] all, so that CT

239:17 believe—] believe and we shall discuss it CT

239:19 CHAIRMAN: Russell? CT] *after deleted* ¶CHAIRMAN: So your ground as a start, Abbot, is this—that you do believe in immortality? ¶BUTLER: Yes—I believe in immortality.

239:43 Yet CT] *after deleted* though I don't myself personally think that they disbelieved in a life after death, and I think there's plenty of evidence in the old Testament to show that they did believe in the life after death but were not interested in it.

240:1 They CT] *replaced* and of course, it was belief in the existence of a God who was the embodiment of justice—you may say the embodiment of the moral law, but by an intrinsic development they

240:4 I think] I mean—I think CT

240:7 deity. That] deity and that CT

240:10 You CT] *after deleted*, I tell you what I propose to do now

240:32 Yes CT] *inserted after deleted* Yes. You think that—well, it's rather difficult—...back again because however

240:32 ever CT] *inserted*

240:41 Well,] Well—would you—CT

240:43 I would agree to that. CT] *inserted*

241:6 still,] still that CT

241:7 authority—at any rate]—at any rate a certain—CT

241:9 him CT] *above deleted* it

241:10 that,] that—that CT

241:13 land,] land—*above deleted* then CT

241:21 deity,] deity—well, CT

241:24 in fact,] I see no reason—in fact—I mean—CT

241:29 CHAIRMAN: Russell, CT] *inserted after deleted* ¶BUTLER: Well, I think what you're really saying is that if you believe in a beneficent deity—it wouldn't be the sort of diety that Christians have in your view, commonly believed in. ¶RUSSELL: That's one thing I'm saying, yes.

241:37–8 the soul,...mind,...self. All] it's somehow is called the soul or the mind or the self—all CT

241:40 and that]...hung and that *after deleted*—a sort of pin point entity into which CT

241:41 thinkers. They] thinkers—and they *after deleted* very few of them now would believe that there is such a thing and they would say that the continuity which makes you call it one person is not a continuity of substance in the clear view—because they wouldn't have substance at all but a sense of continuity chiefly consisting—but solely consisting—but chiefly consisting in memory CT

241:43 cease at] ceases at *inserted* CT

242:10 CHAIRMAN: I think CT] *after deleted* ¶RUSSELL: Yes, that is the real point. ¶BUTLER: Yes, well, that of course, is—takes us back to a rather deeper stage in the argument, doesn't it. How, I don't know—I should like to push a little further this question of whether substances exist or not—does the argument go as far as to deny the

existence of any substances? ¶RUSSELL: Yes. ¶BUTLER: And we're—we're reduced then, to the existence of events? ¶RUSSELL: Yes, events primarily. You can carry it a little further than that, but we needn't go into that, events will do. ¶BUTLER: Well now, there—is where I find myself in a very great difficulty, philosophically because I find it extremely difficult to conceive of an event except as—a change in the relationship between things or between persons or between things and persons. I take it an event is to be described in slightly more medieval language perhaps, as a movement, could one—is that an accurate description, do you think? ¶RUSSELL: A movement is an event—I wouldn't say that all events are movements—no—movement is one class of events. ¶BUTLER: Yes—well—¶RUSSELL: Not even so, because movement itself is a thing bound up with substance and which no longer appears in modern physics. ¶CHAIRMAN: Is it possible, Russell, to give a handy definition of an event? ¶RUSSELL: You can't define an event—the only thing you can say about an event is that it's before some things and after others. The only thing about an event is it's temporal relations—there's nothing else that you can say definitely. ¶CHAIRMAN: Well I hope my intervention has been helpful. ¶BUTLER: Well, it's helpful to this extent that it seems to me that if that is the only thing that can be said about events—events differ from one another simply and solely by a question of dating. ¶RUSSELL: Well, I don't mean that's the only thing you can say about a particular event. That's the only thing that you can say about the concept—events. ¶BUTLER: Yes—yes. And time therefore is a stream in which events occur which we define as being things are some of them before others and others after others, but they're not things which happen to anybody or anything—they just happen. Well, I find that an extraordinary difficult philosophy and it seems to me that we're driven back ultimately to the question of human judgement and it seems to me that the—that human judgement takes us on to the whole question of the meaning of existence and of being, and I find it extremely difficult to—to think of events happening without some substratum of a more stable reality to which I should like to give the name of substance as—¶ RUSSELL: Well, I agree with you that it's a little difficult but I think with sufficient practice one can do it and—as to the word “being”—I don't think it means anything at all and as for the word “existence”—existence is a technical term and it applies to things described but not to things named. I can say for example, “my present sensation exists” and I can say—“this is my present sensation”, but if I go on to say “this exists” I talk nonsense. ¶CHAIRMAN: In your position, Abbot, I feel that I would say now that it is difficult perhaps, to believe in survival after death, but with a little practice you can do it. (LAUGHTER) ¶BUTLER: Yes, well, Russell was speaking about sensations just now and it reminds me of a quotation which he made recently from Hume in which Hume says that when he looks inside what he calls “himself” he can only observe particular perceptions and I think you rather put your—gave your assent to that proposition didn't you, Russell? ¶RUSSELL: I think that almost all of modern psychology would assent to it. There's hardly any who wouldn't. ¶BUTLER: Well, I think—perhaps I'm a minority of one on this point—but I think myself that when one examines perception one sees it not only as a perception in—so to speak—the first person singular—but what one sees is myself perceiving—or rather one sees the perception and concomitant to the perception one knows oneself as the subject of the perception. I take it you deny that? ¶RUSSELL: Yes, I did entirely to that until the year 1918 and in the year 1918 I suddenly saw, as I thought, how one could think in a different way and I've thought in a different way every since but I did think the way you speak of until then.

242:10–11 because,] because we've only CT

242:17 *Phaedo*] *Phaedre* CT

242:17 that,] that if the studies—CT

242:19 imagination. But] imagination, but *after deleted* which is a kind of reproduction of our sense experience, CT

242:21 with,...perceiving,...considering,] with—we are perceiving—we are considering—CT

242:24 sensation, but that] sensation—but CT

242:27 for the CT] *inserted above deleted* or sort of

242:28 I realize] I—if I realize *after deleted* if I'm allowed to talk about it in view of Russell's...on the existence of the soul—it's because CT

242:35 I am] I think—I'm CT

242:38 two plus two are four. CT] *inserted*

242:38 "dated"] dated *inserted* CT

242:39–40 which is true...Wednesdays CT] *inserted*

242:40 it.] it, but I don't think—and this is a thing—really, CT

242:41 because CT] *inserted*

243:1 thinking] the multiplication table is—thinking CT

243:2–3 intellectual CT] *after deleted* any

243:4 better. And] better and I—as CT

243:5 this world] world CT

243:6 life,] life—I mean—CT

243:9 It is CT] *above deleted* And

243:13 BUTLER: Well, CT] *after deleted* I didn't recognize that I've been following this as a layman in a stumbling sort of way—a great deal of difference in the premises that are being set out by Russell just now and the premises that you set out before, but you drew quite different conclusions from them.

243:14 agree] agree that we have an intellectual—CT

243:15 experience, but] experience and but—CT

243:16 he] to say that he—he CT

243:17 experience, my] experience and CT

243:20 purely] pure CT

243:22 Yes,] Yes I—CT

243:26 that]—that *after deleted* I know the word faculties is to some extent *{extent before two deleted indecipherable words}* but one must use some terms now—CT

243:32–3 that. But it] that, but it's not—it CT

243:34 is this:] is that—is this CT

243:35 that, although] that although we are—CT

243:36 time,] time, yet CT

243:36 intellectual] intellect—intellectual CT

243:39 timeless CT] *above deleted* timely

243:39 example] sample CT

243:43 world—] world—supposing we do, CT

244:2 what] the—what CT

244:2 ordinarily CT] *above deleted* normally

244:9 praise CT] *inserted*

244:10 And there] and there *after deleted* and I think to talk of scientific evidence is simply a *{a before deleted indecipherable word}* CT

244:23 totality. But] totality and—but CT

244:27 “scientific”] you would take... scientific CT

244:28 Take...can. CT] *inserted*

244:29 I should] we—I should CT

244:33 is something CT] *after deleted*, what I should call our sense of obligation as the fundamental nerve of moral experience

244:40 in it—] in—CT

244:42 psychology—] psychology, I don’t see CT

245:2 that CT] *after deleted* this in passing though perhaps not quite in passing

245:5 law—] law, fundamentally under the—CT

245:6 call it] call CT

245:7 existence. We] existence, that we CT

245:12 sins CT] *above deleted* things

245:14 believe] think—I don’t think that believe CT

245:22 especially] specially CT

245:26 for CT] *inserted*

245:26 space and] space CT

245:31 in] a CT

245:42 go] fall—go CT

246:6 is] there is CT

246:17 for] for the ordinary—for CT

246:18 but I was asked CT] *replaced* I asked

246:22 half] a half CT

246:22 sum up] sum CT

246:23 are] are any modifications as I haven’t been able quite to tack them as we’ve gone along, CT

246:23 feel justified] feel CT

#### 44 How Can We Achieve World Peace?

The copy-text (“CT”) is a transcription from a microfilm copy of the first eleven leaves of the BBC mimeograph. The remaining leaves are indecipherable. As usual, typographical errors have been corrected silently, as have a few obvious errors made in transcribing from the original sound recording. Since the spoken word was the source for CT, it has been subjected to rather more editorial intervention than have any of the dictated, typed or printed copy-texts used in the volume. Contracted forms of speech have been expanded without recourse to the textual notes, and the punctuation and case usage have been revised quite liberally. The textual notes provide a record of the substantive editorial emendations to CT—usually where a speaker hesitated or repeated himself slightly—and of the extensive cuts and other substantive emendations made by the BBC.

247:29 Now] ¶Now CT

248:2 desire,] desire, so that you’ve got to have, CT

248:3 war,] war. If that is not to happen CT

248:6 go] see—go CT

248:10 Assembly] Assembly of the League of Nations—CT

248:20 full grown] grown—full grown CT

248:22 a possible] possible CT

248:26 a politician is:] politician is—CT

248:27 end] and CT

248:37 that CT] *after deleted* and to our friends here tonight

248:43 think] think it may then—CT

249:12 Many] They—many CT

249:13 I do not] There are—I don't CT

249:13 arbitration CT] *before deleted* as it

249:21 but these] but CT

249:23 the decisions] the decisions of the Security—the decisions CT

249:25 Kashmir. Those are] Kashmir—those were—are CT

249:32 to make] to say—to make CT

249:41 so that] and so CT

250:15 mood. The] mood, and what I'm presupposing, the CT

250:28 but he] he CT

250:34 But CT] *replaced* But they do—but

250:42 end. CT] *before deleted* MCKENZIE: Well as I see it the point of difference so far really is that Lord Russell is relying upon mutual recognition by both sides that conflict of any kind is out of the question because it will lead to total destruction, whereas Lord Templewood's been insisting that the first step must be by building specific alliances in specific areas to prove that aggression will not work on any scale or in any form at all. ¶TEMPLE WOOD:

251:5–6 to strengthen] strengthening CT

251:25 our problem would indeed] indeed our problem would CT

251:31 those] those inequalities or the CT

251:34 there] that—there CT

251:34 you] so you CT

252:3 of the] of the—the CT

252:5 I agree] Well that I quite agree to and I mean, I agree CT

252:12 threaten. Therefore] threaten, but still—therefore CT

252:18 what] what would—what CT

252:27 it is] well it's CT

252:29 east] on the—east CT

252:31 To CT] *after deleted* I don't think it's true what has been said recently, that you can't detect an H-bomb explosion, I think that is just not true. I think you can and I think therefore that that is an easy thing to start with.

252:32 thing—] thing, take CT

252:36 united] united—united CT

252:39 settlement. CT] *before deleted* ¶MCKENZIE: Lord Russell suggested that two immediate steps that might be taken in an attempt to pacify as it were the East-West conflicting groups and we might look at them each in turn if you'd agree—first of all this business of agreeing now, and I presume he means before Britain herself attempts to test H-bombs, to agree to abolish these tests. ¶RUSSELL: Well it's a little late now for us—¶MCKENZIE: Well it could be done yet, I mean if you're prepared to propose it. ¶RUSSELL: Yes, I should like to see it done, but it could still be done again afterwards. ¶MCKENZIE: Yes, even unilaterally Britain might renounce H-bomb tests. Are you proposing that Lord Russell? ¶RUSSELL: Well I wasn't proposing that, that's a different question. Let's let that go. ¶MCKENZIE: Yes—Sir Charles? ¶WEBSTER: Well I think that would make very little difference. There are quite a number of H-bombs in existence and I don't think that Lord Russell has any right to say that he's quite certain that you can't do these things, because people who have had access to the latest scientific things say the opposite, but whether that is so or not, the mere abolition of the tests would

not make any very great difference as long as the H-bombs are in existence. We don't know how many Russia's got or how many America's got. The—I think the mere abolition of a weapon, especially the H-bomb—if the H-bomb was abolished at this moment and the atomic bomb we might be much nearer to war than we are now. ¶RUSSELL: I didn't advocate the abolition—¶WEBSTER: Oh no, I know, but it's not much use abolishing the tests, though it's a slight contribution—no great danger to the world, and I can't see that they contribute very—contribute to the cause of peace. ¶MCKENZIE: But is it a starting point do you think to try and reach an agreement between East and West not to continue with tests or not? ¶WEBSTER: I don't think it's a starting point in anything at all.

252:41 With CT] *above deleted* In

252:42 with] when CT

253:1 or] and CT

253:1 is to] is its chances to CT

253:7 disarm a] disarm—disarmed CT

253:7 one?] one—another starting point on ...CT

253:9 world.] world. I don't believe...CT

253:13 results. CT] *before deleted* That in itself, moreover, it's what kind of a Germany—is Germany, a neutral Germany to be allowed free institutions and to decide its own future, or is the world going to keep a neutral Germany down as a disarmed Germany? I suggest that that's an impossible solution and at this moment the East will not allow a democratic Germany, until the East and West is democratic, to come into existence, so I'm afraid that in itself is no great solution. ¶RUSSELL: May I say I don't agree with you at all about this question of Germany. I think in the first place that the East would allow a united democratic Germany if it were to abandon NATO and abandon armaments. I think it's pretty clear that the East would tolerate that, that's one point. The other point is, as to what the Germans wish—the German Social Democrats have been advocating just that and have a very considerable chance of getting a majority.

253:17–18 Sir Charles? CT] *after deleted* is there anything else that could be done to attempt to bring the world to a recognition of the necessity of making the United Nations Charter work?

253:19 increase] get—increase CT

253:22 we have] we did—have CT

253:22 and I CT] *after deleted* Unfortunately the Hungarian Revolution came and we shut down the Iron Curtain from this side. ¶MCKENZIE: Unfortunately it came? ¶WEBSTER: Unfortunately we shut down the Iron Curtain after it came. Naturally I have the same views, I'm sure we all have, on the Russian attitude then, but we shouldn't allow that to disturb our intellectual connections

253:24 their] they—their CT

253:27–8 existence.] existence. Everything that people CT

## 45 The Limits of Tolerance

The copy-text (“CT”) is a transcription from a microfilm copy of the thirteen-leaf BBC mimeograph. As usual, typographical errors have been corrected silently, as have a few obvious errors made in transcribing from the original sound recording. Since the spoken word was the source for CT, it has been subjected to rather more editorial intervention than have any of the dictated, typed or printed copy-texts used in the volume. Contracted forms of speech have been expanded without recourse to the textual notes, and the punctuation and case usage have been revised quite liberally as well. The textual notes

provide a record of the substantive editorial emendations to CT—usually where a speaker hesitated or repeated himself slightly—and of the cuts and other substantive emendations made by the BBC.

- 253:38 called CT] *inserted*  
 254:3 is CT] *inserted above deleted indecipherable word*  
 254:3 total] the total CT  
 254:4 highest CT] *inserted*  
 254:4–5 we as CT] *above deleted* those  
 254:13 yet] yes CT  
 254:16 things CT] *after deleted* to the  
 254:17 much more tolerant] more tolerant much—CT  
 254:31 Christian] a Christian CT  
 254:32 I think] ¶FISHER: Mm. ¶TREVORROPER: I think CT  
 254:35 it in the] it CT  
 254:37 and I CT] *replaced* but I  
 254:40 FISHER: So] So CT  
 255:1 Western] Western Civilisation—Western CT  
 255:4 as] as to the century as CT  
 255:5 how far CT] *above deleted* for  
 255:6 Asia and] Asia, CT  
 255:8 from] in CT  
 255:9 educated] the—educated CT  
 255:12 accept,] accept that CT  
 255:25 the] these CT  
 255:27 I do not] I should like, I don't CT  
 255:35 about CT] *above deleted indecipher-able word*  
 255:35 indifference, the] indifference—this CT  
 255:37 to the] the CT  
 255:43 as he] and he CT  
 256:2 or CT] *inserted*  
 256:4 is it] it is CT  
 256:7 is that] that CT  
 256:14 eighteenth] fifth century Greece, eighteenth CT  
 256:14 were] are CT *Also at* T256:15.  
 256:18. But CT] but—no CT  
 256:21 are] they are CT  
 256:27 amongst perfectly CT] *replaced* among  
 256:33 that CT] *inserted at second occurrence*  
 257:13 I mean,] I mean I think CT  
 257:15 if he] who CT  
 257:16 action CT] *replaced* act  
 257:20 actions CT] *replaced* action  
 257:21 do not CT] *inserted*  
 257:29 Well] ¶FISHER: Well CT  
 257:34 no society CT] *after deleted* one doesn't know  
 257:43 refrain CT] *inserted above deleted indecipherable word*  
 258:4 us.] us, and I think that's a mark of strength. CT  
 258:14 the militarists CT] *after deleted* his those and

- 258:15 a minority CT] *replaced* in the minority  
 258:17 fact CT] *before deleted* that  
 258:23 every] of every CT  
 258:27 to be] to carry—to be CT  
 258:39 of a per cent] per cent CT  
 259:1 Nazis] now CT  
 259:10 Well] Well I probably CT  
 259:20 matter. You] matter, but you CT  
 259:36 TREVOR-ROPER CT] *above deleted* FISHER  
 259:36 Lord Russell] you're Lord Russell you are CT  
 259:39 TREVOR-ROPER CT] *above deleted* FISHER  
 259:40 But I still] But I should still not, I still CT  
 260:1 a victory] get a victory CT  
 260:10 as a CT] *inserted at second occurrence*  
 260:12 As a CT] *inserted*  
 260:19 an absolute CT] *replaced* absolute  
 260:20 And] ¶FISHER: And CT  
 260:28 in] they, in CT  
 260:33 cannot] seems to me to be—cannot CT  
 260:36 do] “Be my brother or I will kill you”, do CT  
 261:5 the most] the greatest—the most CT  
 261:6 Have] Have we—have CT  
 261:14 not] for...not CT  
 261:18 dissemination...] dissemination. CT

## 46 Science and Survival

The copy-text (“CT”) is a transcription from a microfilm copy of the seventeen-leaf BBC mimeograph. As usual, typographical errors have been corrected silently, as have a few obvious errors made in transcribing from the original sound recording. Since the spoken word was the source for CT, it has been subjected to rather more editorial intervention than have any of the dictated, typed or printed copy-texts used in the volume. Contracted forms of speech have been expanded without recourse to the textual notes, and the punctuation and case usage have been revised quite liberally as well. The textual notes provide a record of the substantive editorial emendations to CT—usually where a speaker hesitated or repeated himself slightly—and of the extensive cuts and other substantive emendations made by the BBC.

262:23 which CT] *replaced* where

262:24 year.] year, ten thousand a year. CT

262:29 live—must] live, must—must CT

262:31 chance. CT] *before deleted* And now, if you'd like me to elaborate that argument I will, but I don't think there's the slightest doubt there. ¶FISHER: Well, clearly, Sir Charles, from the figures you give us, not only to increase but very drastically to multiply. ¶SNOW: Very drastically to multiply. ¶FISHER: Yes.

262:41 we] and we CT

262:41 to correct] to whoever—to correct CT

263:1 Snow?] Snow, would you like to say—CT

263:2 The second] Yes, well let me...till I—the second CT

263:2 it is] it, CT

263:3 sense, but] sense, CT

263:3 it seems to me to CT] *above deleted* since it be

263:6 I mean CT] *replaced* and

263:9 law of thermo- CT] *inserted*

263:11 me we] me,—we *before deleted* that if we are to get—bridge the CT

263:14 That] that *after deleted* That seems to CT

263:21 You] I mean, you CT

263:31 thermo- CT] *inserted*

263:36 Snow CT] *above deleted* Do you know

263:38 That] that *after deleted* I think it—and CT

263:43 empirically, CT] *above deleted* imperative

264:2 which CT] *after deleted* which is

264:6 would] would certainly be my first—that would CT

264:7 there.] there, that CT

264:7 there is a great deal CT] *above deleted* this could be

264:17 The educational] You see, the educational CT

264:29 way. CT] *before deleted* I mean, I remember reading a schoolboy's account of an arithmetic lesson and the governess said "If a horse costs three times as much as a pony and the pony cost twenty-two pounds, what does the horse cost?" And the boy said "Had he been down?" (LAUGHTER) And the governess said "That makes no difference." And the boy said "Oh, but George, the groom, says it makes a great difference." (LAUGHTER). Well, if you're dealing with that sort of mentality, it's very difficult to get people into the abstract frame of mind. ¶SNOW: Yes.

264:34 you] there you CT

264:38 May I CT] *after deleted* I mean, there are lots of people who are really mathematically blind to a dangerous and inhibiting degree. ¶ FISHER: Who may be quite intelligent—¶SNOW: Who may be quite intelligent and I—we've all known them—who've gone to high points in learned professions and who are able people and who, without further definition, we know to be intelligent.

264:41 A mathematician] *after deleted* There CT

265:1 world. He] world, and he CT

265:5 that is not CT] *after deleted* that is not—that is not

265:7 physicist—] physicist and—*before deleted* I'd—I've done some CT

265:11 possible.] possible, and, I mean, CT

265:12 Well CT] *after deleted indecipherable word followed by* yes, a great many, and

265:17 FISHER: What CT] *replaced* And, of course, I daresay you raised the question, Snow, about evidence of the lack of ability for mathematics on the part of girls, I daresay it might well be tradition, of course, rather than teaching. ¶SNOW: Yes, I mean, I would admit that, the tendency that the done thing, the keen thing in a girls' school may well come to be literature, you see, or biology, rather than mathematics. ¶FISHER: Yes, yes, but what

265:22 Lord CT] *after deleted* then

265:29 FISHER: Well, CT] *replaced* The whole thing is much more tight and I don't really think that people who are mathematically incompetent would become mathematically competent if they were threatened with, say, military action. (LAUGHTER) I don't know. ¶SNOW: Traditionally, of course, the Russians place—have placed a lot of value on semi-mathematical occupations like chess, which means that people with that kind of talent have been encouraged and applauded in all sorts of ways quite outside the ordinary utilitarian way, but I don't know whether Lord Russell

would agree with me, but I find it very hard to believe that one country has a serious statistical difference in the number of mathematical incompetents over another. What do you think of that, now? ¶[RUSSELL: No, I don't find that difficult. I mean, after all mathematics has been a product of Europe and I don't see why other continents shouldn't have done just as good work if it was not congenital. After all the Indians started a great deal; they did very well to begin with. So did the Babylonians; so did the Egyptians, but they stopped and I can't help thinking that that is a congenital difference. ¶[FISHER: You think there may well be a greater aptitude for mathematics in Russia than here... ¶[RUSSELL: I mean, in (in *before two indecipherable words*)... ¶[FISHER: Yes, you wouldn't just sweep away the possibility. ¶[SNOW: Now, that is very interesting. ¶[FISHER: Yes,...yes. ¶[SNOW: Surprising to me too. ¶[FISHER: Yes. Well

266:1 a kind CT] *replaced* kind

266:2 of Greek] Greek CT

266:4 do not.] don't, and if you ask any classical scholar what about such and such a passage: Oh, that was mis-translated (LAUGHTER). CT

266:5 and so CT] *replaced* so

266:7 cultural CT] *above deleted* classical

266:10 Yes. CT] *before deleted* ¶[FISHER: Well now, may I put two other—¶[SNOW: May I put a word in that, because

266:11 think] think—*before deleted* that the concentration CT

266:14 whose] who after all—whose CT

266:15 which is] which is—which is CT

266:17 Well CT] *after deleted* Yes.

266:31–2 there are more things that CT] *replaced* more things

266:37 Snow? CT] *inserted*

266:38 Yes.] Yes, Yes, CT

266:40 We tend CT] *after deleted* That is oddly enough, it is quite an important point.

266:41 nearly] nearly all continental, nearly CT

267:1–2 population. If you go] population you go {you go *above deleted* compared} CT

267:4 are. Somewhere] are, and that—somewhere CT

267:9 a high CT] *after deleted* a high—is a person who aspires to

267:20 obviously] obviously that, CT

267:22 very] very much—very CT

267:30–1 culture. ¶[SNOW] culture, *before deleted* ¶[FISHER: No. ¶[SNOW: This—I mean, to me again—I'm afraid this discussion is a little tedious because I am, after all, one of Lord Russell's children, brought up in his—under his intellectual umbrella, CT

267:31 The real] I mean—the real CT

267:32 taught]—the whole nature of the profession means that they're taught CT

267:33 what] that CT

267:37 who is CT] who's *above deleted* that's

267:39 us] as CT

267:41 scientifically-minded English] English scientifically-minded CT

267:43 Shakespearean CT] *replaced* Shakespeare

268:3 perhaps CT] *before deleted* or otherwise

268:9 to boys] boys *replaced* to boys CT

268:11 I find. CT] *before deleted* ¶RUSSELL: Very difficult and they think it's *it's before indecipherable word*) ¶FISHER: Yes, a waste of time, you see. It wasn't to do with calculus, or...(TALKING TOGETHER) ¶SNOW: That's one of the problems we've got to solve, isn't it? ¶RUSSELL: Oh yes, it is.

268:11 it will] will CT

268:15 America] I think in most—America CT

268:19 good] a good high—good CT

268:19 where they CT] *replaced* will

268:21 it is CT] *inserted*

268:23 make] bring—make CT

268:24 Russia?] Russia? I mean, how does—? CT

268:37 But] Mm, but, you know, CT

268:41 civilization—] civilization, you see, CT

269:10 within CT] *after deleted* without

269:11 agreement? Snow, what do] agreement, Snow, do CT

269:13 I hope CT] *after deleted* Well, I would have

269:14 after] after the break—after CT

269:18 FISHER: Can CT] *replaced* and I was thinking I don't know—Lord Russell knows this far better than I do—but I was thinking of Cambridge in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when it seemed to me, I must confess, more elastic than any English university does now, but in fact up to 1860 Cambridge was a university where you could do mathematics and classics and almost nothing else. Owing to the Cambridge Liberal movement between 1860 and 1900, it became, really quite surprisingly, like a modern university in a very short time, with a great deal of friction, but no bloodshed. (LAUGHTER) ¶FISHER: Much desired bloodshed I would say. ¶SNOW: That seems to me, in many ways, a more considerable revolution than any English university has taken upon itself since. What do you think of that? ¶RUSSELL: Yes, I think that was a very considerable revolution, because I went up to Cambridge in 1890 so I know what it was like, and certainly science was going strong—undoubtedly it was going strong in 1890. ¶SNOW: But the change was really very radical. You see I'm fiftytwo and I've sat at high table with some one who had to wait for a new statute to come through before he could get married. Well that is a surprising change in social manners in a couple of generations. ¶FISHER: Well, I find those observations and *and before indecipherable word*) encouraging. Can

269:20 that in letting] it's argued that let CT

269:23 society—] society, our civilization—CT

269:30 (LAUGHTER). I mean,] (LAUGHTER) and, I mean, well, CT

269:31 production of verses CT] *above deleted* present...

269:34 greater CT] *above deleted* lesser

269:38 is training] the best kind is training CT

270:1–2 intellectual development] intellectual...CT

270:4–5 intellectual challenges] intellectual...CT

270:7 by that] by that—by that CT

270:7–8 process. CT] *before deleted* ¶FISHER: Lord Russell. ¶RUSSELL: Yes, now, Dr. Keat (phon.) was a product of ...(LAUGHTER)...desirable one. ¶FISHER: Yes, Dr. Keat, looking at the corpse of a small boy slain in a fight, is supposed to have said "this is very deplorable, I am sure, but I do like an Eton boy to return a blow for a blow."

(LAUGHTER). We would think of him as an untutored technologist today. (LAUGHTER) ¶[SNOW: You know, I can see—really—that seems to me just a piece of trade union propaganda and I can say no more than you. ¶[FISHER: But you would neither of you feel depressed at the emerging pattern of the managerial society, wouldn't think that the industrial manager, with his scientific background, who perhaps is going to be the dominant person in society in the future is less capable of developing society, less speculative, less rebellious. ¶[SNOW: Oh, that's a very different problem. Now, all managers by their nature can be less speculative and less rebellious, however trained. That's the sort of thing which you can find in any managerial society, in ours and the American, just as much as in a technology society. That is different. That is why I laid some stress at the beginning on the necessity of having a very strong pure scientific element, because pure scientists—I mean, they have their weaknesses, they're on the whole a little weaker at personal relations than most of us would like, but on the other hand they have their own kind of values, their own kind of imagination, which have hopes and ideals and something very nonmaterial. I think that if you have that we shall make the best of what is to come.

270:10 To] Well, yes, I mean, I—to CT

270:15 begin CT] *above deleted* pretend

### 47 China, No Place for Tyrants

The copy-text (“CT”) is a translation of the only extant version, the Dutch-language publication in *Vrij Nederland*.

274:33 ¶[Exactly the CT] *after subheading* Strong man, watch out

275:9 ¶[It is true CT] *after subheading* When the harshness melts

275:25 ¶[I have CT] *after subheading* The day will come

### 48 Letter to the Representative of IHUD

The copy-text (“CT”) is the typescript copy that was made on the verso of the third and last folio of the letter from Hodes discussed in the Headnote. There is also a dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on part of a single leaf. A collation of the two untitled pre-publication documents with the version in *Ner* (“NER”) revealed no substantive variation.

*title* Letter to the Representative of IHUD NER] *no title* CT, MSe

276:7 wrongs MSe] *before deleted* of

### 49 The Story of Colonization

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2–5, measures 203×254 mm. and was emended by Russell in ink. As well as the substantive emendations noted below there are some inserted commas that have not been recorded. The additional foliation in an unidentified hand probably relates to the reprinted version in *Fact and Fiction* (“61”), with whose other pre-publication papers CT is filed. There is also a five-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on both the recto and verso of the first three of five leaves. The fifth leaf consists only of the insertions recorded at T279:13–15 and T280:15–21. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe, 61 and the first published version, in *London Calling* (“LC”).

278:5 and the use of metals MSe] *inserted*

278:9–10 slowness... The art CT, 61] slowness. The Iron Age in some countries began thousands (thousands *after deleted* some) of years earlier than it did in others (others *after deleted* some). The art MSe] slowness. ¶The art LC

- 278:13 Empire, LC, 61] Empire CT, MSe  
 278:19 and write MSe] *inserted*  
 278:19–25 As...culture. CT, 61] *As for CT except quotation inserted above deleted*  
 “they” and “English” MSe] *not present* LC  
 278:23 Millennium 61] Millenium CT, MSe] *not present* LC  
 278:26 been...civilization MSe] *above deleted* furthered the spread of culture  
 278:29 colonies, which...talks CT, MSe, 61] colonies. LC  
 278:34 Italy CT, MSe] Italy, LC, 61  
 278:39 epithet CT] *above deleted* adjective  
 279:1 victory CT, MSe, 61] victory over Carthage LC  
 279:4 Egypt MSe] *above deleted* Phoenicia  
 279:8 Afghanistan, LC, 61] Afghanistan CT, MSe  
 279:11 important traces CT, MSe, 61] traces LC  
 279:11–12 generally acknowledged CT, MSe, 61] acknowledged LC  
 279:13–15 Northern...Charlemagne. MSe] *inserted*  
 279:17 acquired Buddhism from India MSe] *after deleted* and Japan some five  
 centuries later, *and before inserted then deleted* (Japan acquired Buddhism from China  
 some five,  
 279:27 Empire CT, MSe, 61] Empire in the fifth century LC  
 279:29 the West CT, MSe, 61] western Europe LC  
 279:30 regained CT] *above deleted* learnt  
 279:38 eighth LC, 61] Eighth CT, MSe  
 279:40–1 Normans, at...time, CT, MSe, 61] Normans, LC  
 280:3 Indians CT, MSe, 61] American Indians LC  
 280:4–6 In one way... In tropical latitudes CT, 61] *As for CT except “latitudes” above*  
*deleted “countries”* MSe] ¶In tropical latitudes LC  
 280:9 Negro 61] negro CT, MSe, LC  
 280:13 religion, LC, 61] religion CT, MSe  
 280:15–21 ¶North...sequel. CT, LC, 61] *inserted and run on* MSe  
 280:18–20 principles, developed...persistence, CT, MSe, 61] principles were  
 developed in England by discussions in the army of Cromwell but were suppressed first  
 by Cromwell himself and then by the Restoration. After a somewhat obscure persistence,  
 however, LC  
 280:23 in world affairs MSe] *inserted*  
 280:27 In quite CT, MSe, 61] ¶In quite *after subheading* New Meaning of the Word  
 ‘Colonial’ LC  
 280:33–6 Although...century. National CT, MSe, 61] *As for 61 except “fifth century”*  
*in upper-case* CT, MSe] ¶National LC  
 280:42 autonomy CT] *replaced* economy,  
 281:1–2 Perhaps the...only one CT, MSe, 61] *not present* LC  
 281:5 problems CT] *above deleted* difficulties  
 281:7–9 controversies...opinion. CT, MSe, 61] controversies. LC  
 281:10 statesmen LC, 61] Statesmen CT, MSe  
 281:20 Those CT, MSe, 61] ¶Those LC

## 50 Pros and Cons of Nationalism

The copy-text (“CT”) is the typescript carbon (RAI 220.024400), which is foliated 1, 2–7, measures 203×254 mm. and, except for the insertion in another hand at T288:19, was emended by Russell in ink. A second typescript carbon (RAI 210.006986–F2)—the

printer's copy for the published version in *Fact and Fiction* ("61")—incorporated the emendations to CT but is substantively the same as the emended earlier version except that the reading from CT at T288:24–5 was probably omitted accidentally as the document was retyped. If so, this typographical error was not corrected for the appearance of 61. Likewise at T284:32–3 it has been decided that the variant reading was created in the first instance by the same inadvertency in the typing of CT. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with 61 and the dictated manuscript ("MSe") written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on both the recto and verso of the first four of its five leaves of blue paper.

284:12 resistance MSe] *before deleted* the

284:24 Western MSe, 61] western CT] *Also at 284:25, 284:28, 285:2, 285:3, 285:9.*

284:29–30, in a new way, MSe] *inserted*

284:32–3 Russia for which...than for Communism] Russia *above deleted* Communism CT] Russia 61] *replaced* Russia for which they had a much greater enthusiasm than for Communism MSe

284:36 France, 61] France CT, MSe

284:40 and Greece MSe] *inserted*

284:41 after a certain interval, Yugoslavia 61] *as for 61 except "Yugoslavia" replaced "Jugoslavia" CT] as for unemended CT but transposed from Yugoslavia after a certain interval MSe*

284:43 Eastern MSe, 61] eastern CT

285:18 domination, MSe] domination CT, 61

285:27 States CT] states MSe, 61 *Also at 285:31, 287:20, 287:21, 287:22, 287:23, 287:24, 287:25, 287:27, 288:2.*

285:36 proved MSe] *above deleted* grew

286:8 as MSe] *after deleted* which

286:10 managed by MSe] *inserted above deleted* in the hands of

286:15 on 61] in CT, MSe

286:16–22 But there...mankind. MSe] *inserted from fol 4 verso*

286:37 commended MSe] *after deleted* that

287:1 but MSe] *after deleted* that

287:10 The principle MSe] *replaced* But the principle

287:10 equally MSe] *above deleted* as

287:11 It MSe] *inserted*

287:15 dissolution MSe] *after deleted* complete

287:18–19 federations, MSe, 61] federations CT

287:19 Federal Government] federal government CT, MSe, 61

287:24–5 Each State...establish tariffs. MSe] *inserted*

288:2 and easy transport MSe] *inserted*

288:19 since their painters were 61] *in another hand above deleted* as being CT] as being *above deleted* because they did not understand pers MSe

288:24 Westernized 61] westernized CT, MSe

288:24–5 Perhaps the spread...inevitable. CT, MSe] *not present* 61

## 51 Nations, Empires and the World

The typescript carbon ("CT") is foliated 1, 2–7, measures 203×254 mm. and was emended by Russell in ink. There is also a dictated manuscript ("MSe") written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on both the recto and verso of four leaves that are foliated 2–5. (A separate fol. 1 contains the outline, also dictated, that is quoted in the

Headnote.) The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe and the version in *Maclean's Magazine* ("MM").

- title Nations, Empires and the World CT, MSe] Every Nation Is a Bully at Heart MM*  
 290:9 seek CT] *above deleted* find  
 290:17 ¶[Imperialism MM] *after subheading* Look What the Romans did  
 290:20–2 For a...great Empires. MSe] *inserted*  
 290:22 concerned, CT, MM] concerned MSe  
 290:25 and, in...India, MSe] *inserted*  
 290:36 the West MSe] *after deleted* Western Christian] *above deleted* White men  
 290:38 that MM] which CT, MSe  
 291:2–3 In...Napoleon, CT, MM] *inserted but without the two commas* MSe  
 291:9 A nation MSe] *above deleted* Nationalism  
 291:12 which CT, MSe] that MM  
 291:16 which it MSe] it CT, MM  
 291:20–1, without much delay, from CT, MSe] from MM  
 291:26 Britain CT] *above deleted* their  
 291:34 is still CT, MSe] is MM  
 292:10 not, MSe] not CT, MM  
 292:11 shall CT, MSe] will MM  
 292:12 shall be...dues CT] *above deleted* should be free MSe] *as for CT except "will" instead of "shall"* MM  
 292:14–15 I once...not the] *above deleted* If you own a house on a street, you have no MSe] *starts new paragraph* CT  
 292:16 since this...neighbouring MSe] *above deleted* because, if you do, you may destroy the security of the  
 292:21 of such CT, MSe] such MM  
 292:32–3 impartial International CT] *replaced* international and impartial international  
 292:41 in CT, MSe] on MM  
 293:18 should MSe] *above deleted* would  
 293:28 into CT, MM] to MSe  
 293:33 action MSe] *replaced* actions  
 294:7 disinterested CT] *replaced* the interested  
 294:13 waterways MSe, MM] water-ways CT  
 294:15 economy MSe] *above deleted* world  
 294:17 general respect CT, MSe] respect MM

## 52 World Government

The copy-text is the typescript carbon, which also contains a copy of a short covering letter to Patrick Armstrong, to whom Russell circulated a copy of his letter to *Le Soir*. This single-leaf document measures 202×254 mm. and shows no emendations. No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of the copy-text with the dictated manuscript written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on part of a single leaf that is foliated 1.

*title World Government] editorially supplied*

## 53 India, Pakistan and the Commonwealth

The manuscript ("CT") written in ink is foliated 1–3 and measures 202×253 mm. There are no emendations.

*title India, Pakistan and the Commonwealth] editorially supplied*

## 54 The Reasoning of Europeans

The typescript carbon ("CT") is foliated 1, 2–6, measures 203×254 mm. and shows one substantive emendation made by Russell in ink (T302:20). As usual the inserted commas and corrected typographical errors have not been reported. The pencil emendation in Edith Russell's hand at T302:21 was made after Russell decided to use the paragraph in which this insertion was made for his address of acceptance of the Kalinga Prize (see Headnote). Likewise, the sentence which begins at 302:24 is marked "cut" by Edith in the adjacent left margin on fol. 4 of CT. A second typescript carbon is identical to CT except that the alterations made for Russell's January 1958 speech are not present and, in the upper-left corner of fol. 1, there is a pencil note by Edith of the date, word count and for whom the text was prepared. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written and emended in pencil by Edith on both the recto and verso of the first four of its five leaves, and the initial publication in *The Listener* ("LIS"). The reprint in *Fact and Fiction* ("61") is substantively the same as the latter version. Indeed, a marked up newsprint copy of LIS in RA was used as the printer's copy for this chapter of Russell's book. Although it does not seem likely that the substantive variants in LIS were authorial, some have been preferred in the present volume to those of CT since Russell let them stand in 61, one of his own collection of essays.

*title* The Reasoning of Europeans LIS, 61] What is Distinctive in European Culture CT, MSe

300:8 well informed LIS, 61] wellinformed CT, MSe

300:15 nowadays LIS, 61] now-a-days CT, MSe

300:15 especially LIS, 61] specially CT, MSe

300:20 nowadays LIS, 61] now-a-days CT] now-a-days *above deleted* now MSe

300:21 nineteenth century LIS, 61] Nineteenth Century CT] nineteenth Century MSe

300:25 ¶But LIS, 61] *after subheading* Pythagoras and Galileo

300:27 This contribution CT, MSe] The contribution LIS, 61

300:28–9 Europe of...seventeenth centuries LIS, 61] Europe of the Sixteenth and

Europe of...and MSe] *inserted*) Seventeenth Centuries CT, MSe

300:32 as MSe] *inserted*

300:39 Pythagoreans LIS, 61] the Pythagoreans CT, MSe

301:3 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries LIS, 61] Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries CT, MSe

301:5 German MSe] *inserted*

301:5 and MSe] *inserted*

301:6 The Greeks MSe] *after deleted*; and Leibniz, a German

301:6–7 were only...scientifically CT, MSe] were able to deal scientifically only LIS,

61

301:8 chiefly MSe] *above deleted* in the main

301:11 ¶The men LIS, 61] *after subheading* Unconscious Nature

301:11–33 The men...existence. MSe] *inserted from fol 4 after deleted* What

301:11 seventeenth century LIS, 61] Seventeenth Century CT] 17th Century MSe

301:28 truth MSe] *above deleted* fact

301:34 the realization of this fact MSe] *replaced* this achievement

301:35 circumstance MSe] *above deleted* fact

302:11 ¶There LIS, 61] *after subheading* Different Scales of Importance

302:12 You may estimate it MSe] *inserted*

302:20 life,] *above deleted* lives CT] lives, *before deleted* of MSe] life LIS, 61

302:21 Russian MSe, LIS, 61] Indian *(Indian inserted in pencil by Edith Russell)*  
Russian CT

302:30–1 still in imagination LIS, 61] still living in imagination CT, MSe

302:32 Greece MSe] *before deleted* and the cloistered poets of modern times.

302:39 excellences LIS, 61] excellencies CT, MSe

303:1 ¶[From LIS, 61] *after subheading* Greater Independence

303:7 affect MSe] *after deleted* benefit

303:10 the issues they raise MSe] *above deleted* they

303:10 only be decided, if at all, CT, MSe] be decided, if at all, only LIS, 61

303:13 less room for MSe] *replaced* more need of

303:16 sphere MSe] *above deleted* fear

303:18 merely MSe] *above deleted* nearly

303:25–6 which has...solution MSe] *replaced* which has created this problem may also lead the way to its solution] *replaced* may lead the way to the solution of this problem as it has to

### 55a Britain's Bomb (1)

The single-leaf typescript carbon ("CT") is unfoliated, measures 203×254 mm. and shows "copy" typed in the upper-left corner. There are no emendations. No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on part of a single leaf that is foliated 1, and the letter as published by *The Manchester Guardian* ("MG").

*title* Britain's Bomb MG] *no title* CT, MSe

309:3 protests] *replaced* protest MSe

309:6 In addition to MSe] *above deleted* apart from

### 55b Britain's Bomb (2)

The single-leaf typescript carbon ("CT") is unfoliated, measures 203×254 mm. and shows "copy" typed in the upper-left corner. There are no emendations. No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on part of a single leaf that is foliated 1, and the letter as published by *The Manchester Guardian* ("MG"). The textual notes record the three emendations to MSe and the absence of a title on both pre-publication documents.

*title* Britain's Bomb MG] *no title* CT, MSe

309:20 a] *above deleted* the MSe

309:30 amazed] *above deleted* shocked MSe

309:32 well-informed] *above deleted* intelligent MSe

### 56 Should H-bomb Tests Be Continued?

The typescript carbon ("CT") is foliated 1, 2–5, shows some unrecorded ink emendations to the punctuation and measures 202×254 mm. There is also a dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on both the recto and verso of the first two of its four leaves. Fol. 4, written on a somewhat larger leaf of blue writing paper, contains only the insertions recorded at T313:13–14, T313:41–314:4, T314:15–19, T314:32–4 and T314:36–42. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe and the published versions in *The New Scientist* ("NS") and *Fall Out: Radiation Hazards from Nuclear Explosions* ("57").

*title* Should H-bomb Tests Be Continued? CT, MSe] The Tests Should Be Stopped NS] Foreword 57

312:1 article CT, NS, MSe] preface 57

312:3 It has been CT, NS, MSe] This is 57

312:4–5 by Professor...discussion CT, NS, MSe] in later chapters in this volume 57

312:13 the American CT, NS, MSe] American 57

312:18 bad faith NS, 57, MSe] bad-faith CT

312:18 largely MSe] *inserted*

312:26 Neutrals CT, NS, MSe] neutrals 57

312:34 diminish MSe] *above deleted* mini-

313:8 Its influence MSe] *replaced* Influence

313:13–14 [See...March 8,1955.] MSe] *inserted from fol. 4*

313:15 some MSe] *inserted above deleted the*

313:16 may MSe] *inserted above deleted do*

313:18–19 and perhaps...among technicians MSe] *inserted*

313:27 than CT, NS, MSe] then 57

313:30 calmly MSe] *inserted*

313:41–314:4 The policy...is any guide. MSe] *inserted from fol. 4*

314:12 Russia MSe] *above deleted it*

314:15–19 The Prime...[America and Russia].” MSe] *inserted from fol. 4*

314:22 statesmen NS, 57, MSe] Statesmen CT

314:22 would NS, 57] could CT, MSe

314:26 tests MSe] *after deleted the*

314:26 perpetrating MSe] *after deleted* inflicting upon mankind

314:27 human race MSe] *above deleted* mankind

314:32–4 [See the...June 30, 1956] MSe] *inserted from fol. 4*

314:36–42 Mr. Liddell...a nuclear war. MSe] *inserted (in part from fol. 4) above deleted* We know that if war were to break out, as things stand, Great Britain could be practically obliterated in thirty-two hours.

314:42 authoritatively, from Mr. Dulles, MSe] *inserted above deleted* because Mr. Dulles has told us so,

315:3 universal MSe] *replaced* universals

315:7 abandon, MSe] abandon CT, NS, 57

### 57a Next Step (Abstract)

The single-leaf typescript carbon (“CT”) measures 202×253 mm. and was emended by Russell in ink. The two insertions were incorporated into a retyped version that was sent to Gordon Mosley of the BBC, but a photocopy of this document shows that it is substantively the same as CT in its emended form.

*title* Next Step (Abstract)] (Abstract made by Bertrand Russell, 20 February, 1957)  
Next Step *underlined* CT

319:16–17 The body...arbitrate. CT] *inserted*

319:24 such CT] *inserted*

### 57b The Next Step in International Relations

The typescript (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2–5, measures 202×253 mm. and shows two ink emendations (T321:4, T322:35). CT was prepared from a six-leaf typescript carbon (“TSC”) which Russell emended in pencil. The cuts introduced to CT (see T320:9, T320:14, T321:29, T321:36) were provisionally marked up on this earlier version of the text which was typed from the dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on both the recto and verso of its five leaves. The textual

notes provide a collation of CT with TSC and MSe. No substantive variation was revealed by a comparison of CT with the five-leaf typescript carbon that incorporated the emendations to the copy-text and with the six-leaf BBC typescript. The variant reading at T319:27 originated as a single-leaf dictated manuscript addition (“MSe2”) to Russell’s BBC script. This was drafted especially for the Grotius Foundation (see Headnote) and was also written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand. The same text is also present in substantively identical form as the opening paragraph of a two-leaf typescript carbon (“TSC2”), which comprises, in addition to the text of MSe2, a retyped version of fol. 1 of CT. Where emendations to one of the typed documents have been recorded it can be presumed (as usual) that the prior reading matches the reading on any earlier version of the text.

319:27 The development CT, TSC, MSe] I am very glad to have this opportunity of expressing my admiration of Grotius and my sense of the continually growing importance of the aim which he put before the world. Never before has the importance of international law been so undeniable, and never before has it been so evident that international law is likely to remain a dead letter until it is backed by international force. Two attempts in this direction have been made: the League of Nations and the United Nations. The former came to grief; the latter still exists. I think it is the duty of every advocate of international law to aim at improving the constitution and increasing the powers of the United Nations. For this purpose there are two steps of paramount importance that must be taken: the first is that those States which are now excluded must be admitted; the second and more difficult step is that States must show a growing willingness to submit disputes to a decision (decision MSe2] *after deleted* majority) of the United Nations not subject to the veto. ¶The development ¶The development TSC2] *not present* MSe2 } MSe2, TSC2

319:37 first TSC] *inserted*

319:37 spirit TSC] *after deleted* purely intellectual

320:9 which. CT] which. ¶There are those who say that nuclear armaments may safely be preserved on each side since they will never be used, but will act only as deterrents. On this ground it is argued that little wars may continue; and the Korean War is given as an example. I think those who argue in this way attribute too much rationality to mankind. A little war may always grow into a big one, and when passions are sufficiently inflamed, it is likely that this will happen. It is likely to happen if, in the limited war, one side is being defeated but believes that by the use of nuclear weapons it could achieve victory. Such a belief would be irrational, but in war-time reason is in abeyance. Consider the folly of Hitler in attacking Russia and of Japan in attacking America. As these examples prove, the men who determine military strategy are just as liable as the man in the street to vast and disastrous errors. TSC, MSe

320:14 irresistible. CT] irresistible. ¶[Apart from these dangers, is there not something a little childish in the accumulation by both sides of vast and expensive weapons of universal disaster which are defended solely by the argument that they will never be used? If they are never going to be used, each side would gain by their abolition. TSC, MSe

320:15 isolation TSC] *above deleted* itself

320:20 dread MSe] *above deleted* fear

321:4 If this...possibility] If this {this replaced this, } as yet somewhat remote possibility CT] *reading from unemended CT replaced This*, however, is as yet a somewhat remote possibility. If it TSC] *as for unemended CT MSE*

321:21 who MSe] *after deleted* having

321:28 serious MSe] *inserted*

321:29 arbitration. CT] arbitration. ¶[Sometimes this will involve an enlargement of the question to be decided. Take, for example, the problem of German unification: Taken in isolation, the unifying of Germany would be a gain to the West. We cannot, therefore, expect Russia to acquiesce in unification, unless it is balanced by some equal gain to the Communist side, such as Germany's withdrawal from Nato. TSC, MSe

321:36 Nations. CT] Nations. ¶[Wherever possible, the United Nations should respect the wishes of inhabitants, but this cannot be made an absolute rule. In the first place, many regions contain mutually hostile groups and it would not be right to subject an important minority to tyranny by the majority. In the second place, the wishes of the inhabitants may conflict seriously with the interests of the rest of mankind. If (to take a purely hypothetical illustration) Egypt were to decide to close the Suez Canal, it could hardly be expected that the rest of the world would acquiesce. TSC, MSe

322:18 almost MSe] *inserted*

322:21 the most MSe] *replaced* most

322:35 persists CT] *replaced* persist

322:40 their TSC] *above deleted* its

## 58 Earl Russell and the H-bomb

The textual notes provide a collation of the dictated manuscript ("CT"), written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on a single leaf that is foliated I, with the excerpts from the letter as published in *Peace News* ("PN").

*title* Earl Russell and the H-bomb PN] *no title* CT

324:1 I am] Dear Miss Jones,—I was glad to see Mr. Konishi who has just left me. I am afraid he was disappointed because CT] "I am PN

324:2 I have CT] ¶[I have

324:4 ¶[(a) That, PN] a) that, CT

324:5–6 an agreement...nuclear weapons CT] *replaced* the agreement

324:7 ¶[(b) That PN] b) that CT

324:9 ¶[(c) That PN] c) that CT

324:11 ¶[(d) That, PN] d) that CT

324:13–15 This has...1954 CT] Earl Russell pointed out that he made his position clear in his broadcast in 1954 (reprinted by Friends Peace Committee, "Man's Peril from the Hydrogen Bomb", 1d).

324:16 ¶[I am]; but I am afraid that Mr. Konishi did not understand my position, partly because of the language difficulty. ¶[but I...difficulty. ¶ *inserted*] I am CT] ¶[He concluded his letter: "I am PN

324:17 concealed.] concealed, ¶[I have thought it worth while to write to you as {as above deleted, and} I do not wish again to cause a similar disappointment.—Yours sincerely CT] concealed." PN

## 59a Population Pressure and War

The typescript carbon ("CT") is foliated 1, 2–9 and measures 202×253 mm. Both the supplementary foliation and the footnote ("From *The Human Sum*, ed. C.H.Rolph,

London, Heinemann, 1957”) added to the title in another hand relate to the reprinted version in *Fact and Fiction* (“61”), with whose other pre-publication documents CT is filed. Another bibliographical citation (T329:2) was inserted by Russell in blue ink on CT, which shows only one other substantive emendation, in black ink (T332:29). There is also a thirteen-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand. Fol. 13 consists entirely of the long insertion recorded at T332:41–333:10. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe, 61 and the first published version, in *The Human Sum* (“57”).

328:2 The world 57] *after subheading* The Awakening of the West.

328:15 home. The MSe] *replaced* home and the

328:30 element MSe] *inserted above deleted* factor

328:33–4 means that war MSe] *inserted*

329:2 article 57, MSe] article<sup>1</sup> {*footnote: {{footnote: CT] inserted}}* “World Population” in *The Human Sum*} CT, 61

329:8 one CT, 61, MSe] one birth 57

329:16 during the thirties MSe] *after deleted* before the last war

329:23 yet MSe] *inserted*

329:34 ¶[All 57] *after subheading* The Next Twenty Years.

329:41 no good can come of war CT, 61, MSe] war can bring no good 57

330:16–17 pronouncement MSe] *after deleted* statement

330:35–6 contraception MSe] *after deleted* birth control

330:37 ¶[Both 57] *after subheading* Theory versus Practice in the West

330:37 hard MSe] *after deleted* the

330:40 does MSe] *after deleted* has and

330:42 made again CT, 61] again made 57] *after deleted* again made MSe

330:43 November 23, 1955 57, 61] the 23rd November 1955 CT, MSe

331:4–21 ¶[In...misery. CT, 61, MSe] *not present* 57

331:28 Western MSe] *after deleted* The evil tha

331:35–42 There...countries. CT, 61, MSe] *not present* 57

332:23 births MSe] *before deleted* of

332:29 armament CT] *replaced* armaments

332:38–9 matter, MSe] *replaced* matter

332:41–333:10 I will...than good. CT, 61] *all of passage except last sentence inserted from fol. 13* MSe] *not present* 57

333:2 2.7 per cent 57, 61] 2.7% CT, MSe

333:2 the death MSe] *replaced* death

333:4 World MSe] *inserted*

333:10–11 desirable MSe] *inserted*

333:17 by CT, 61, MSe] through 57

333:21 existence MSe] *above deleted* lives

333:23 ¶[During 57] *after subheading* The Alternatives

## 59b Population Pressures and Family Planning

There is some substantive variation between the two-leaf BBC mimeograph (“CT”) and the three-leaf typescript carbon (“TSC”), but most of these differences reflect clearly erroneous readings on the latter document (which shows no emendations) and have not been recorded. Russell probably dictated his text in the first instance, for several of the errors in TSC (“excepted” for “accepted”, for example) are consistent with his dictation

having been inaccurately taken. (Edith Russell, it must be recalled, was seriously ill when this paper was composed.) It is possible that Russell corrected the original of this carbon before sending it to the BBC, although his emendations usually show on all typed copies.

*title* Pressures CT] Pressure TSC

334:18 . Improvements CT] but improvements TSC

335:16 Chinese CT] Chinaman TSC

335:41 tradition had CT] traditions has TSC

336:10 makes] make CT, TSC

### **60a** Message to Be Read at the Meeting on April 30, 1957, of the National Council for Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests

The single-leaf typescript (“CT”) is unfoliated, measures 202×254 mm. and shows one ink emendation—the deletion of a comma after “tests” at 339:12. There is also a single-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand, on the verso of which is the dictation for Russell’s short covering note to Ianthe Carswell. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe and the published excerpts from Russell’s message in Peace News (“PN”).

*title* Message to Be Read at the Meeting on April 30, 1957, of the National Council for Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests CT] Message to Meeting on April 30 of National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests MSe] Russell’s Message PN

339:4–16 The purpose...suit. CT, MSe] *not present* PN

339:9–11 It is...scrutiny. MSe] *inserted*

339:16 number MSe] *after deleted* large

339:17 large-scale MSe] *inserted*

### **60b** Letter from Bertrand Russell

The textual notes provide a collation of the typescript (“CT”) that was prepared on a single unfoliated leaf that measures 202× 254 mm. with the published version in *The Friend* (“FRI”).

*title* Letter from Bertrand Russell FRI] Friday 28th June 1957 *underlined* CT

339:26 about CT] against FRI

339:29 tests FRI] test CT

339:35 many other CT] other FRI

339:37 possesses FRI] possess CT

### **60c** Statement for Meeting at Stanford University

The single-leaf typescript (“CT”) is unfoliated, measures 202×253 mm. and shows no emendations. There is also a dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on parts of two leaves that are foliated 1–2. Immediately below this version of the text is the dictation for Russell’s covering letter to Albert Baez mentioned in the Headnote.

*title* Statement for Meeting at Stanford University] *editorially supplied*

340:8 would MSe] *above deleted* does

### **61** Message to First Pugwash Conference

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2–5 and measures 203×254 mm. There are no emendations. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the unabridged publication that appeared over twenty years later in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (“BAS”). The tape recording of Russell’s message reveals that he departed from his prepared text in these three places: he said “still more difficult” instead of “more difficult still” at

343:16; “Finally” instead of “Fortunately” at 343:17; and “love” instead of “have liked” at 344:42.

*title* Message to the First Pugwash Conference] *no title* CT] Pugwash Beginnings BAS  
 343:1 Almost CT] Dear Pugwash Conferees,—Almost BAS  
 343:2 nine BAS] eight CT  
 343:20 Cyrus S.] Cyrus K. CT, BAS  
 343:22 towards CT] toward BAS *Also at 344:27, 344:33–4.*  
 343:37–8 proceedings BAS] proceeding CT  
 344:15 large-scale BAS] large scale CT  
 344:22 intellect, BAS] intellect CT

## 62 The Future of International Politics

The typescript carbon (“CT”) is foliated 1, 2–3, measures 203×254 mm. and shows one ink emendation—probably made by Russell although this cannot be stated with complete authority as the only marking is for the transposition noted at T347:39–40. There is also a second, identical typescript carbon. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the four-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand, and the published version in the *News Chronicle* (“NC”).

*title* The Future of International Politics CT, MSe] Now That the Big Stick Is Out ...NC

347:9 In CT, MSe] ¶In *after bold subheading* absurdity NC  
 347:23 We CT, MSe] ¶We *after bold subheading* our need NC  
 347:25 evident MSe] *above deleted* obvious  
 347:32 advantage CT, NC] advantages MSe  
 347:32 chance...in MSe] *replaced* ineptitude of

347:35–8 ¶I should...Neutral nations. CT, NC] *as for CT except passage ends with “Neutrals.” and was inserted on fol. 2 from fol. 3 after deleted* ¶I think that in this situation Neutrals might, if they had the courage play an important part. I should like to see the uncommitted nations of the world appoint a small commission consisting entirely of adherents of neither bloc to draw up what would seem to them an impartial solution of the international questions which divide the two blocs. MSe

347:36 which...excluded. MSe] *inserted above enclosed in parenthesis for deletion* to discuss the proposals of the uncommitted nations. MSe

347:38 It CT] *after deleted passage recorded at T347:35–8 and above deleted* They MSe] ¶It *after bold subheading* the division NC

347:39–40 consider simultaneously... blocs NC] *transposed from* consider the whole of the international questions that divide the two blocs simultaneously CT] *as for unemended CT except “the international” reads “these”* MSe

347:40 since, MSe] since CT, NC

347:41 It MSe] *above deleted* they

348:3 Nor CT, MSe] ¶Nor *after bold subheading* only hope NC

348:10 détente MSe] *before deleted* As I said before, I should like to see a suggested solution inaugurated by the uncommitted nations; and, when this work has been completed.

348:10 It would CT, MSe] ¶It would *after bold subheading* rally point NC

348:12 appointed...Nations MSe] *inserted*

348:18 Second CT, MSe] ¶Second *after bold subheading* hot spots NC

## 63 Britain and the H-bomb

The single-leaf typescript carbon (“CT”) measures 203×254 mm. and was made on the verso of a covering note (also typed) to Kingsley Martin. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript (“MSe”), written and emended in Edith Russell’s hand on both the recto and verso of a single leaf that is foliated 2, and the letter as published in *The New Statesman* (“NS”).

*title* Britain and the H-bomb NS] *no title* CT, MSe

350:3–4 Britain’s share in nuclear warfare NS] “Britain’s Share in Nuclear Warfare” CT, MSe

350:4–6 It has seemed...technically impossible. MSe] *inserted from verso to replace incomplete sentence* I thought until recently that Britain might make nuclear weapons but eschew tests; this, however, I understand is technically impossible and I have therefore become persuaded that Britain ought of nuclear weapons completely.

350:6 Office, NS] Office CT, MSe

350:16 these CT, NS] these three MSe

350:19 reached, NS] reached CT, MSe

350:20–1 (as will probably be the case) MSe] *inserted*

## 64 Scientific Power: To What End?

The typescript carbon is foliated 1, 2–4, measures 203×254 mm. and shows one ink emendation—the replacement at 353:32 of “volcano. But” with “volcano, but”. This alteration is such that it cannot be stated with complete authority that it was made by Russell. A second, substantively identical, typescript carbon is marked “discard” in an unidentified hand in the upper-right corner of its first leaf. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with the six-leaf dictated manuscript (“MSe”), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand, the initial publication, in *The Sunday Times* (“ST”), and the reprinted version in *The Saturday Review* (“SR”). Since Russell authorized the editor of *The Sunday Times* to “make cuts” in his text “if you think it necessary” (6 Nov. 1957), the substantive variants from ST have been introduced to the present volume. SR shows some additional substantive variation from CT, but these readings from the first American publication have simply been reported as variants. Two other American reprints—that in *The Challenge of the Sputniks* and the mimeograph issued by the Menninger School of Psychiatry—were found to be substantively the same, respectively, as ST and SR.

*title* Scientific Power: To What End? CT] *below deleted* Science Fiction Comes True MSe] Can Scientific Man Survive? ST, SR

353:6 supremacy. ST, SR] supremacy... consider. CT, MSe

353:14 fiction, ST, SR] fiction CT, MSe

353:17 statesmen ST, SR] Statesmen CT, MSe *Also at 354:4, 355:3.*

353:18 what ST, SR] What CT, MSe

353:23 it will MSe] *replaced* this will

353:30 on SR] in CT, ST, MSe

353:38 cold. ST, SR] cold...insuperable. CT, MSe

353:39 achieve, SR] achieve in times to come, CT, MSe] achieve ST

354:10 opinion...actions CT, ST, MSe] opinion SR

354:25 than CT, SR, MSe] that ST 354:26–7 whole...ancestors. CT, ST, MSe] whole. SR

354:28 power for CT, ST, MSe] is for SR

- 354:33 planet?] planet. CT, MSe] planet?" ST, SR  
 354:34 possible only CT, ST] only possible SR] *after deleted* only MSe  
 354:35 of this or CT, ST, MSe] of SR  
 354:36 the discoveries of nuclear CT, ST, MSe] nuclear SR  
 354:42 quartered, ST, SR] quartered CT, MSe  
 355:5–6 damage CT, ST, MSe] annihilating damage SR  
 355:6 group. This CT, MSe] group. ¶[This ST] group or state. ¶[This SR  
 355:6 only be new CT, ST, MSe] be new only SR

## Appendix I East-West Relations after the Geneva Conference

The typescript ("CT") is foliated 1, 2–3, measures 203×254 mm. and was prepared from Mark Winterton's four-leaf, handwritten translation ("MSw") of the interview as published in Russian in *Ogonek*. A collation of the two English-language versions revealed no substantive variation aside from that affecting the title.

*title* East-West Relations after the Geneva Conference] copy of translation of interview with Bertrand Russell published in 1955 in the Russian magazine "Ogonyek"  
 CT] Translation of interview with Bertrand Russell MSw

## Appendix II Talking to Bertrand Russell

No textual notes.

## Appendix III An Interview with Bertrand Russell

No textual notes.

## Appendix IV Frayed Temper May Endanger World

The copy-text ("CT") is the interview in *The Yorkshire Observer*.

- 373:11 limpid] limp CT  
 375:25 Khrushchev] Kruschev CT

## Appendix V Lord Russell Says Russia Fears China Far More Than West

The textual notes provide a collation of the reprint in the *Toronto Daily Star* ("CT") with the initial publication, in the *Daily Mail* ("DM").

*title* Lord Russell...West CT] From the Mountains of Wales, Bertrand Russell Talks about That War...DM

- 378:2–3 easy chair opposite his own CT] easy-chair DM  
 378:4 talking if you wish CT] talking DM  
 378:6 "Will CT] ¶[Will *in bold* DM  
 378:7 "ICT]IDM  
 378:8 Russia DM] Russian CT  
 378:8 The Russian CT] ¶[The Russian DM  
 378:9 communism CT] Communism DM *Also at 378:12, 378:37.*  
 378:9–10 China because...stronger. CT] China. DM  
 378:11 ¶["The Chinese CT] *after subheading* Industrious Race  
 378:13–15 the satellites...Russia. CT] the satellites. DM  
 378:17 peace...cupboard. There CT] peace. ¶[There DM  
 378:20 Reason CT] ¶[Reason DM  
 378:23 ¶["I'm CT] *after subheading* Against Abolition  
 378:23 Fear CT] ¶[Fear DM  
 378:27 an unprecedented and incalculable CT] a DM  
 378:34 I think CT] ¶[I think DM *Also at 378:36.*

- 378:34–5, including the oil, DM] including the oil CT  
 378:37 towards DM] toward CT  
 378:37–8 brand...Russians CT] brand. DM  
 378:42 ¶“I believed CT] *after subheading* Need Federated World  
 378:43–379:1 Pending CT] ¶Pending DM  
 379:2–3 safeguards of peace. CT] safe guards. DM  
 379:3 There CT] ¶There DM 379:3 is CT] *is* DM.  
 379:3 years perhaps CT] years’ time, perhaps DM  
 379:4 want CT] *want* DM  
 379:6–7 peace...Asia. CT] peace. DM  
 379:8 “It’s...politics. They CT] They DM  
 379:11 “Russians are whites!” CT] “Russians Are Whites!” DM  
 379:13 Moscow in the autumn?” CT] Moscow? *in bold* DM  
 379:14 will CT] *will* DM  
 379:14 ought CT] *ought* DM  
 379:15 which—we DM] which we CT  
 379:15–16 agreed—DM] agreed, CT  
 379:16 side. How DM] side, how CT

## Appendix VI Meeting with Russell

The textual notes provide a collation of the English translation of the Serbo-Croat version in *Vjesnik* (“CT”) with a translation of the interview as it appeared (also in Serbo-Croat) in *Oslobođenje* (“OSL”).

381:3–4 In that house...Russell. CT] It belongs to a village scattered along a peaceful shore called “Penrhyndraeth”, which in Welsh means “point with two sandy shores”. Many Englishmen do not know how to pronounce the word or what it means. Even the Welsh pronounce it variously: penin-die-right or penin-dee-drot. For myself, I always stammer when I try to say it. Perhaps that’s why the village doesn’t interest me nor the Welsh language—that branch of ancient Celtic which the people here still speak—as much as the lonely house in which lives the philosopher Bertrand Russell. OSL

381:8 snow-covered mountains. CT] snow-covered mountains. For a moment, as we climbed slowly up the wooded hill enjoying the scent of the sea and the flowers, and the lovely colours of this attractive landscape, abstract thoughts drifted off on their own and we almost forgot the real purpose of our journey. A lady with tireless cordiality was waiting for us at the gate and, before we could introduce ourselves (Gajo Petrović, a young philosopher from the University of Zagreb and A.T.), said: “Mr. Russell is expecting you”. OSL

381:15 eighty-five years. CT] eighty-five years. He offered us tea, sandwiches, cake, cigarettes and refused to be helped: he served us himself. He was as generous in his hospitality as he was unobtrusive in his conversation. OSL

383:1–7 ¶While... ¶As we CT] ¶As we OSL

383:9–18 desk.... One portrait...new books....CT] desk, but there wasn’t time to have a closer look at them OSL

## Appendix VII Voice of the Sages

The copy-text (“CT”) is the only extant version of this interview with Russell, that in the *New York Post*.

385:6 Penrhyndraeth] Penrhyndraeth CT

## Appendix VIII Geneva: A Message to the Foreign Ministers

No textual notes.

## Appendix IX Suez and World Government

The copy-text is the Parliamentary Group for World Government mimeograph printed on a single leaf.

*title Suez and World Government] editorially supplied*

## Appendix X Visiting Moscow

The textual notes provide a collation of the letter as published in *The Times* (“CT”) with the (substantively quite different) typescript draft (“TS”) that had been sent for Russell’s signature by Lord Chorley (see Headnote).

400:2–8 We...bench. 57] *not present TS*

400:14 both culturally and commercially 57] and in particular there has been a substantial growth of trading during the past year TS

400:15–17 These...found. 57] In this crisis we urge the new Prime Minister to carry through Sir Anthony Eden’s policy of going to Moscow this May in order that differences between our countries be further discussed at the highest level with a view to finding solutions acceptable to both. TS

## Appendix XI Two Protests against the Hydrogen Bomb

No textual notes.

## Appendix XII Hungarian Writers on Trial

No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of the copy-text, the version in *The Times*, with the untitled draft in the letter to Russell from David Carver that is discussed in the Headnote.

## Appendix XIII Steps to World Government

The manuscript written in ink (“CT”) is foliated 1–3(2) and measures 203×254 mm. The second leaf was probably an insertion, as indicated by the renumbering of fol. 3 and the fact that the title, “Steps to W-G”, was written and underlined in the upper-left corner of the first and third leaves only. Also, “continued” was enclosed in parenthesis after the section number “11” at the top of fol. 3. The three enumerated headings were written by Russell immediately below a horizontal line drawn across the bottom of fol. 1. They have been silently moved to the appropriate location as indicated on CT by Russell’s use of the numerals “II” and “III” without their associated headings.

411:3 *Warfare, The Manchester Guardian 7 November 1955.] Warfare M.G. 7.11.55*  
CT

411:22 ¶[Problems CT] *after deleted* Need of peace: not only H-bomb; U.S. chemical warfare. Prohibitions useless; only PEACE serves.

411:24 ¶[Must CT] *after deleted* If not settled by war or threat, how?

412:2 UN control] *after abbreviated heading ULT CT*

## Appendix XIV China, geen oord voor tyrannen

The copy-text (“CT”) is the only extant version, that in *Vrij Nederland*.

414:34 ¶[Precies CT] *after subheading* Sterke man, kijk uit

415:11 ¶[Het CT] *after subheading* Als hardheid smelt

415:27 ¶[Ik CT] *after subheading* De dag zal komen

## Appendix XV.1 What Earl Russell Says

No textual notes.

## Appendix XV.2 G.O.Jones, J.Rotblat, and G.J.Whitrow, *Atoms and the Universe*

The dictated manuscript copy-text was written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on a single leaf of flimsy paper that is foliated 2. This version was collated with the Eyre and Spottiswoode advertisement in *The Times Literary Supplement*, which reads as follows: "*Atoms and the Universe* is very interesting and admirably done".

*title G.O.Jones...the Universe] editorially supplied*

## Appendix XV.3 *The Humanist*

A typescript copy ("CT") of Russell's message was made on the verso of the letter from Hector Hawton quoted in the Headnote. It was subjoined to a short covering note to Hawton dated 16 July 1956. The entire document is labelled "copy", also in typescript, in the upper-left corner. One minor variant was revealed by a collation of CT with the dictated manuscript ("MSe"), written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand on part of a single leaf that is foliated 2, and the version in *The Humanist* ("HUM").

*title The Humanist] editorially supplied*

420:15 *Literary HUM]* "The Literary CT, MSe

420:18 may MSe] *after deleted will*

## Appendix XV.4 William Sargant, *Battle for the Mind*

The single-leaf typescript carbon ("CT") is unfoliated and measures 203×254 mm. The fifth and sixth sentences of CT ("Wide experience...lively interest."—420:27–9) were excerpted on the dust-jacket of the first British edition of Sargant's book and printed in full on that of the first American edition. No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of CT with the two-leaf dictated manuscript ("MSe") written in pencil by Edith Russell. The textual notes record the solitary emendation to MSe (also in Edith's hand) and two instances of editorial intervention.

*title William Sargant, Battle for the Mind] editorially supplied*

420:25, and Voodoo magic MSe] *inserted*

420:32 BERTRAND RUSSELL.] BERTRAND RUSSELL. ¶P.S.: ¶You are welcome to use any part of the above letter for publicity purposes if you so desire. I shall be grateful if you will forward the enclosed letter to Dr. Sargant. CT, MSe

## Appendix XV.5 Kurt Meyer, *By the Way*

The single-leaf dictated manuscript ("CT") is foliated 2 and was written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell's hand. Only the first two sentences of CT were printed on the green paper wraparound of Kurt Meyer's pamphlet.

*title Kurt Meyer, By the Way] editorially supplied*

421:4 well, pointedly...humour CT] *replaced well and with vigour*

## Appendix XV.6 Lancelot Hogben, *Man Must Measure: The Wonderful World of Mathematics*

The single-leaf typescript copy-text is unfoliated and measures 203×254 mm. Neither this version of the text nor the single-leaf dictated manuscript, written in pencil in Edith Russell's hand, show any emendations. The published excerpt on the dustjacket of Hogben's *Men, Missiles and Machines: The Wonderful World of Power* uses only the final sentence of CT.

*title Lancelot...of Mathematics] editorially supplied*

### Appendix XV.7 Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*

The single-leaf typescript carbon (“CT”) is unfoliated and measures 203×254 mm. There is also a dictated manuscript (“MSe”) written and emended in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on part of a single unfoliated leaf—above the opening of Russell’s letter to Norman Cohn that is mentioned in the Headnote. The textual notes provide a collation of CT with MSe and the abridged version on the dust-jacket of the first British edition of *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (“57”).

*title* Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*] editorially supplied

421:19–20 Dear...*Millennium*. CT, MSe] *not present* 57

421:22–4 The uniform... But, in CT, MSe] In 57

421:25 undigested MSe] *after deleted* the weight of

421:25 The book CT, MSe] This book 57

421:25–6 interesting, and...truly, CT, MSe] interesting. 57

421:27 BERTRAND RUSSELL. 57] BERTRAND RUSSELL. ¶P.S.: ¶You are welcome to use any part of the above letter for publicity purposes. I do not know anything about Mr. Cohn, whom I do not find in *Who’s Who*. I should be grateful for such information as I hope to find in *Who’s Who*. CT, MSe

### Appendix XV.8 Myra Buttle, *The Sweeniad*

No substantive variation was revealed by a collation of the dictated manuscript (“CT”), written in pencil in Edith Russell’s hand on a single leaf that is foliated 1, and the published version on the dust-jacket of Myra Buttle’s *The Bitches’ Brew* (“60”). The following (slightly abridged) version of Russell’s blurb had appeared already on the dust-jacket of the first American edition of *The Sweeniad*: “This work is a delight... rollicking, witty and full of gusto, as much so as *Hudibras*. And beneath the fun, it is wise and courageous as well as an admirable piece of literature.”

*title* Myra Buttle, *The Sweeniad*] *The Sweeniad* CT, 60

### Appendix XVI Excerpts from Five *Brains Trusts*

Transcriptions from microfilm copies of the BBC mimeographs have been used as the copy-texts (“CT”) for the excerpts from all five television programmes printed in this Appendix. As with the papers in Part V of the present volume, typographical errors and obvious errors made in transcribing from the original sound recording have been corrected silently. As well as being extensively abridged (see Headnote), the *Brains Trust* transcriptions have been subjected to the same level of additional editorial intervention as those for the *London Forum* series of broadcasts: contracted forms of speech have been expanded without recourse to the textual notes, and the punctuation and caseusage have been revised quite liberally. The textual notes provide a record of substantive editorial emendations made when the reading on CT is either uncertain, indecipherable or missing, or when Russell hesitated or repeated himself slightly.

424:36 Shakespeare’s] Shakespearean CT

425:12 I possess] and—well, I possess CT

426:22 crest,] *deleted words* CT

426:23 the stone will] will the stone CT

427:27 philosophically] philosophy CT

427:36 art] artist CT

428:29 I have] I know a great many—I have CT

428:34 they] you—they CT

428:37 Well] Well I think it is—CT

- 429:3 the middle] middle *at the first occurrence* CT  
430:11 would not] hardly—wouldn't CT  
431:8 sure.] sure—I might...prejudice. CT  
431:29 with that] that CT  
432:4 find] *not present* CT  
433:9–10 a recalcitrant] recalcitrant CT  
433:20 be some] become CT  
434:29 afflicts] affects CT  
435:21 to] difficult to CT  
435:23 because, perhaps, by] because it—perhaps CT  
435:25 a great] I think a great CT  
436:12 that] that—I do not think that CT  
436:14 young,] young and CT  
436:33 is to offer] is CT



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THE WORKS REFERRED to by Russell and by the author-date system in the editorial matter are cited here in full, along with some unattributed items from newspapers and journals. The italicized year following the author's name is that of the edition described. A record of the pages on which the work appears is provided after the citation. Page numbers in roman type indicate Russell's text in the papers or appendixes; page numbers in italic type indicate editorial matter.

Not every entry warranted complete bibliographical data. Such data is not usually given, for example, for pre-1800 editions.

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