

## THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INTELLECTUAL INTERNATIONALISM AFTER THE WAR

BERTRAND RUSSELL  
EDITED BY KENNETH BLACKWELL

Occasionally new writings by Bertrand Russell come to light too late to be edited in their proper place in *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell* and, if they were published, recorded in *A Bibliography of Bertrand Russell*. Such was the case with his memorandum circulated to the Council of Newnham College in 1909, which was discovered after the publication of Volume 12, *Contemplation and Action, 1902–14*.<sup>1</sup> Such is also the case with a manuscript with which he answered a request of the Stockholm newspaper, *Svenska Dagbladet*, and which was published on 18 July 1915. There was no clue in the Russell Archives that Russell was asked to make the contribution. The manuscript turned up only in 1997 and was acquired too late for inclusion in Volume 13, *Prophecy and Dissent, 1914–16*. Inserted at the last moment in that volume it might have been numbered 26a, or perhaps 29a, and C15.18a in the *Bibliography*. In any case, it is the next writing to be composed after Russell's well-known essay, "On Justice in War-Time: an Appeal to the Intellectuals of Europe" (C15.18).

That essay decried the lack of that very internationalism among intellectuals which Russell looks to in the newly found manuscript. "There is no reason to expect an unusual degree of humane feeling from professors; but some pride of rationality, some unwillingness to let judgment be enslaved by brutal passions, we might have hoped to find. But we should have hoped in vain" (*Papers* 13: 176). International progress was not discernible in that direction during a war that was to become much fiercer before it was over. However, Russell's friend, C. K. Ogden, editor of *The Cambridge Magazine*, instituted a section in his journal devoted to quoting or otherwise reporting

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Sheila Turcon, it is published in "Russell at Newnham: an Unpublished Paper on Staff Remuneration", *Russell*, n.s. 7 (1987): 141–6.

extracts from foreign newspapers of all the belligerents. This was a step in Russell's direction, though not precisely what he had in mind. No neutral country is known to have taken up his suggestion. A later attempt at intellectual internationalism was Romain Rolland's undertaking to unify European intellectuals after the war. Russell signed this document, the *Déclaration d'indépendance de l'esprit*, in 1919. It became widely known and is appended in Volume 15, *Uncertain Paths to Freedom: Russia and China, 1919-22*.

As an attempt on its own at intellectual co-operation, the newspaper series had begun on 25 April 1915 under the title "The World War and Culture. An Inquiry in *Svenska Dagbladet*". The introduction to the series has been translated by Dr. Stefan Andersson:

In today's B-number of *Svenska Dagbladet* publication begins of the responses received to an inquiry which the newspaper sent to a number of the most prominent men involved in intellectual work in both belligerent and neutral countries concerning the possibilities of re-establishing the international cultural cooperation interrupted by the war.

*Svenska Dagbladet* asked English writers, including Shaw and Wells, and German, French, Swedish, and Italian writers, to make contributions. Printed with Russell's is a hitherto unknown contribution from George Santayana and one from Josef Strzygowski, the Austrian historian of art, who was then teaching at Graz.<sup>2</sup>

The initial paragraph below is the introduction to Russell's contribution. The translation is again by Stefan Andersson, who kindly located Russell's contribution in the newspaper holdings of Lund University. He reports that the paper's translation of Russell's manuscript was faithful to the original.

*"In the spiritual life of England Bertrand Russell has, in spite of his relatively young age, an important position. A prominent mathematician, he has devoted himself to philosophical investigations, and in a number of brilliant books (Our Knowledge of the External World, The Problems of Philosophy) he has put forward a new rational idealism in the spirit of Plato and Leibniz, maintaining the objectivity of the external world and the external indestructibility of the soul. Mr. Russell is professor at Trinity College at Cambridge. He answers Svenska Dagbladet's inquiry."*

<sup>2</sup> Strzygowski was not an internationalist of the same stripe as the other two. According to *The Dictionary of Art* (New York: Grove, 1996), Josef Strzygowski (1862-1941) espoused a "Nordic myth" view of art as a struggle between the South and the North. His later works "are marked by an explicitly racist, Nazi ideology" (29: 795-6).

Trinity College Cambridge. 3 May 1915

The reconstruction of intellectual internationalism after the war will not, I think, be so difficult as many now believe. In England, at any rate, I feel sure the vast majority of men of learning would wish to do their utmost to restore the unity of the world of *Wissenschaft*. The passions roused by war subside with extraordinary rapidity when they are no longer useful in promoting slaughter, partly because their biological purpose has been served, partly because the long continuance of one emotion produces bodily weariness. For this reason it is likely that, when the war stops, all the nations will decide that their enemies are brave men, who after all do not deserve hatred. Probably the only irreconcilables will be a few old men, who mistake disappointment and dyspepsia for love of country.

The lead in reconstruction will have to be taken by Holland and Scandinavia, which have preserved the respect of both sides as genuine neutrals and peace-lovers. One thing which might already be done with profit is to endeavour to bring to the notice of men in belligerent countries any utterances, in enemy countries, of a sort calculated to allay hatred or promote a return to a rational frame of mind.

Bertrand Russell.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The article was published in *Svenska Dagbladet*, Stockholm, no. 191, Sunday, 18 July 1915, sec. B., p. 5, under the general heading "Det kulturella samarbetets återupptagande efter kriget" [The re-establishment of cultural co-operation after the war]. There is a sub-heading: "Tre nya svar på *Svenska Dagbladets* världsenquête" [Three new responses to *Svenska Dagbladets*'s world inquiry].

The untitled manuscript was offered to McMaster in 1997, obviously because of University's reputation in Russell Studies. The manuscript is a single grey sheet, written in ink and measuring 174 x 227 mm., accompanied by a *Svenska Dagbladet* envelope; there are no alterations in the manuscript. The documents are filed in RA REC. ACQ. 1,325. The sheet contains some biographical data on Russell in another hand, including information that wasn't used in introducing the article, e.g. the fact that Russell was on the General Council of the Union of Democratic Control.