

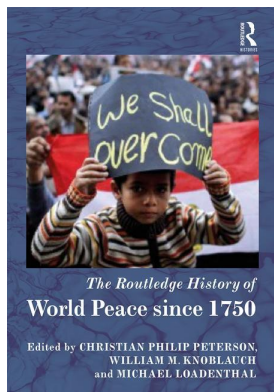
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“SANE IDEAS WHICH MAY YET
SAVE THE WORLD FROM
FURTHER CONFLICT”

Bertrand Russell’s and Julian Huxley’s lecture
tours in early Cold War Australia

Jo Grant

British public intellectuals and friends Bertrand Russell (1872–1970) and Julian Huxley (1887–1975) were two significant peace advocates of the twentieth century. Russell is arguably best known for his peace activism during World War I and the nuclear disarmament campaign of the Cold War. Huxley is often remembered as a conservationist and also as the first Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Yet their peace advocacy extended far beyond these roles. As intellectuals, both regarded lecturing as an important and valuable means of public education for social change. In the early years of the Cold War, in 1950 and 1953 respectively, Russell and Huxley undertook lengthy lecture tours for the Australian Institute of International Affairs (AIIA). These tours were intended to raise awareness of international relations among the Australian public, but Norman Cowper, the AIIA president of 1950 and a Sydney solicitor, also hoped that the speakers would generate “sane ideas which may yet save the world from further conflict.”¹ Russell and Huxley used these opportunities to share their liberal visions of world peace that concerned individual fulfillment and happiness as much as cooperation between nation states. While both men undertook well-received lecture tours in other countries after World War II, analysis of their often-forgotten Australian tours proves instructive. Their tours represent key tenets of liberal internationalism as a major strand of peace thinking and the extent of its popularity mid-century in Western countries in particular. These events also demonstrate how the lecture hall was a central site in the global circulation of ideas of world peace throughout the twentieth century.

Touring in the early 1950s, Russell and Huxley drew substantial media interest, admiration from local politicians, correspondence from the public, and vast crowds both in major metropolitan centers such as New York and London, as well as “peripheral” cities such as Canberra and Karachi. Russell and Huxley embarked on several lecture tours in Europe, America, southern Asia, and Oceania to speak on what they believed were unprecedented challenges of the early Cold War, namely the new destructive potential of nuclear weapons, and the decolonization movements gaining momentum around the world. They proffered an alternative vision to the tense political situation of the 1950s: That a lasting peace was

possible, but that it should be founded upon Western values, especially democracy, individual liberty, and the “scientific method” that underpinned a high standard of living. Russell and Huxley rejected war as a viable means of conducting politics; ultimately, they suggested that a global polity or world government was the only secure means of realizing peace. In the context of the Cold War’s highly nationalistic politics, this ideal was undoubtedly aspirational and utopian, even as it was given respectability by these two popular intellectuals.

Russell’s and Huxley’s celebrity, combined with their anti-communism, allowed a liberal idea of international cooperation to remain publicly visible around the non-communist, and also non-aligned world during the early 1950s.² Liberal internationalism in the twentieth century was a broad ideology with many variations that shared an optimism, often described as an “idealism,” about change in international affairs. As identified by G. John Ikenberry, mid-century liberal internationalists advocated peace between nations founded upon Western-oriented democracy, liberty, rule of law, and economic growth.³ Russell and Huxley also drew upon the long intellectual tradition of cosmopolitanism, namely the goal of a world government that should be imposed over the system of nation states to enforce global law.⁴ Certain iterations of liberal internationalism, including Russell’s and Huxley’s, also emphasized moral improvement and the development of individual personality through education and cultural exchange.⁵ Despite the basic liberal claim of the universality of such political and civic values, and the idea of equality that was encapsulated in such notions as human rights, Russell’s and Huxley’s Dyason Lectures demonstrate that their analyses of global politics often employed a racialized language of civilizational difference and portrayed an anxiety over decolonization.⁶

Historians including Charles Chatfield, Robert Kleidman, and Glenda Sluga have documented how popular support for the internationalist strands of the peace movement that peaked around the foundation of the United Nations (UN) fell away by 1950 and the start of the Korean War.⁷ Much of the remainder of the peace movement became associated with communism due to the Soviet “peace offensive” that was largely focused upon the World Peace Council and its affiliated national organizations around the Western world, including Australia. Even the UN and UNESCO at times came under suspicion on both sides of the Iron Curtain, as potentially anti-nationalist, or as a vehicle for American imperialism.⁸ At a moment when “peace” was a highly contested idea, respected public intellectuals sustained discussion about world peace in Western countries by largely avoiding communist association. Russell and Huxley were two intellectuals of this period who, in the decade following World War II, enjoyed great prestige and celebrity not only in Britain but across the English-speaking world.⁹ This celebrity provided a large audience for their white, Western liberal ideas of peace. Yet their popularity did not equate to a significant influence upon peacebuilding in the early Cold War.

While frequent visitors to the European continent and America, Russell and Huxley only visited Australia once each during their lives. The AIIA is not recognized as a peace organization, but nevertheless it encouraged debate on the problem of international war. The AIIA had several purposes: To be a clearinghouse for publications and news, facilitate original research and public education campaigns, and to provide a platform for public intellectuals to lecture on aspects of international relations. Prominent AIIA member Edward C. Dyason, a pacifist and stockbroker from Melbourne, established a lecture series in 1949 featuring notable foreign intellectuals who could share their insights into the “crises” of the twentieth century with a supposedly apathetic public.¹⁰ The “Dyason Lectures” required

Russell and Huxley to travel vast distances across the country, giving at least two lectures of an hour's length in most of the state and territory capitals, where assembly halls filled to capacity to hear these foreign intellectuals speak on aspects of global geopolitics. They sought nothing less than to understand and abolish war. This proved an overly ambitious hope that, in Russell's case, was immediately disrupted with the outbreak of the Korean War at the very start of his tour.

“Obstacles to world government”: Russell in Australia

Bertrand Russell, Third Earl Russell (Viscount Amberley) and Nobel Prize Laureate in Literature (1950), began his career as a mathematician and logical philosopher and turned to peace activism during World War I. He was imprisoned twice in Britain, first in 1918 for his anti-war writing, and again in 1961 for civil disobedience in his protests against nuclear weapons. Later that decade, Russell also established the “Russell Tribunal” to investigate American war crimes in the Vietnam War. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Russell was less an activist and more an informal spokesperson for “Western civilization.” During this strong anti-communist phase, Russell often defended the idea of Western “values,” most notably individual liberty, but also scientific method and “technique,” and challenged Soviet ideology that he overwhelmingly associated with authoritarianism.¹¹ In numerous forums, he championed the West's leadership of global world order arguing that its science and technological expertise had reduced poverty, mortality rates, and increased economic prosperity.

Russell arrived in Australia on June 22, 1950. His earlier warnings predicting the destruction of Europe in a possible Third World War were strengthened when the Korean War broke out three days after his arrival. Russell's press interviews rapidly became bleak, yet his lectures, written before the start of the war, remained hopeful. In Australia, he spoke on three topics in fifteen lectures across the country, including at the national capital, Canberra, and all state capitals, excluding Hobart in Tasmania. The lectures covered numerous suggestions for social change but focused largely on the prospects of nuclear war and the challenges of decolonization. They were titled, respectively, “Obstacles to World Government,” “Living in the Atomic Age,” and “Ferment in Asia.”

Sydney was the first stop on Russell's tour, where he spoke on one of his longest-standing ideas, the need for a world government, but shaped by a newer concern about how nuclear war would assure greater destruction of both life and civilization. The three lectures of “Obstacles to World Government” covered the challenges of “Population,” “Race,” and “Creeds” that Russell said threatened the “liberal democratic system” and prevented world peace. His “Population” talk examined the possible political unrest and exhaustion of natural resources that could result from overpopulation; “Race” and “Creed” examined how the psychological and cultural mechanisms of prejudice and intolerance inspired anti-communist hysteria in the West, as well as racial fear and hatred between whites and others.¹² Creating a world government with a monopoly of armaments was Russell's main, albeit vague and unspecified, hope, and was a common cosmopolitan position at the time.¹³ Yet he also expanded on the role of individuals in peacebuilding, telling his audience, “we must cleanse our own hearts of the poisons that make war seem reasonable: Pride, fear, greed, envy, and contempt.”¹⁴ In Melbourne's two lectures on “Living in the Atomic Age,” Russell followed this message with a warning to politicians: Avoid international “drama,” meaning a horrific nuclear war. To do so, he pleaded that they tolerate communism, in a distinct shift from his

suggestion several years previously of a pre-emptive nuclear war on the USSR to ensure their cooperation with the international community.¹⁵

Audiences in the four smaller state capitals heard “Ferment in Asia.” In this talk, Russell expanded on his anti-imperial analysis of Cold War politics and modernization in Asia’s decolonizing countries. He expressed less concern over communist China, but in Australia and elsewhere he frequently lambasted the Soviet Union, calling it “the greatest menace ever to threaten mankind” because of its apparent designs towards world conquest.¹⁶ Whereas later in the decade Russell shifted his attention almost exclusively onto nuclear disarmament, in Australia in 1950 he was also concerned with culture and “ways of living.” He spoke of how Soviet propaganda exploited social conditions in Asia that had been created by the legacy of Western imperialism, and constructed an image of Russia, led by Stalin, as the defender of the economically oppressed. Russell argued this situation could easily arouse jealousy and resentment towards the more affluent West, and make Asian countries liable to be “duped” into accepting communism. He supported both independence for decolonizing countries and the continuation of Western global leadership, although reworked into the language of a “friendship” that undoubtedly prioritized Western values over political contributions of the former and existing colonies.¹⁷

In the short-term, Russell advocated maintaining strict Western immigration policies, especially for Australia as a “white man’s country” that was apparently vulnerable to invasion because of its small population of approximately eight million in 1950. In the long term, he spoke of Asian modernization (along Western lines) as necessary to relieve the material causes of suffering and to overcome resentment of colonial rule. Russell argued that the “undecided” of the world who lived in poverty would be convinced that the West stood for the happiness of the whole of mankind through programs of technical aid, including birth control and more efficient agricultural techniques.¹⁸ One such program that Russell praised was Australia’s Colombo Plan which transferred aid and expertise to Asia, originally between Commonwealth countries, with the goal of preventing communism through modernization.¹⁹ Until such time as there existed global equality in standards of living, Russell suggested mankind should be intellectually and morally united but the physical movement of people between the white West and modernizing countries should be carefully managed, with white countries, such as Australia, still retaining control of their own immigration policies. Russell utilized a then-common argument that “cheap” Asian labor would “destroy the superior standards of life at present enjoyed in the West. The best would be pulled down to the level of the worst, not the worst raised up to the level of the best.”²⁰ This racial view, interwoven with the language of civilizational difference, resonated strongly with his white settler audience, even though the country’s strict “White Australia” policy, introduced in 1901, had long faced criticism from a number of Asian politicians and thinkers.²¹

Metropolitan and rural newspaper reports on Russell’s lectures and press interviews numbered in the hundreds. Reviews of his speeches were largely positive, although some criticisms remained from Catholic and communist communities. The former had long opposed Russell’s controversial views on birth control, and the latter were unsurprisingly critical of his anti-communism.²² Still, regarding his suggestions for world government, overall the response from a broad cross-section of Australian society was overwhelmingly positive.²³ Despite the anti-communist policies of the conservative Australian government under Prime Minister Robert G. Menzies, there appeared to be no concern over Russell’s suggestion of tolerating communism.²⁴ Clearly, his version of internationalism had broad Australian support.

Every public lecture Russell gave was crowded to capacity, with over a thousand attendees in almost every city, and extra halls were wired up in Melbourne, Adelaide, and Perth to relay his addresses through a loudspeaker system. The AIIA estimated that Russell was heard by 12,000 people, although some individuals undoubtedly attended on multiple evenings.²⁵ Russell's racial analysis of the Cold War also gained approval from Percy Spender, the federal Minister for External (Foreign) Affairs and a key architect of the Colombo Plan, who attended one of his Sydney lectures.²⁶ Russell was undoubtedly an engaging celebrity who delivered a pro-peace message, but there is little evidence that suggests his tour had any broader impact in Australia. Menzies was quick to pledge military support in the Korean War, and soon after he agreed to the testing of British nuclear weapons on Australian soil. As Russell returned home to London, the distance between his ideal and historical reality had in fact widened significantly within those two short months because of the first "hot" war in the global ideological contest of the Cold War.

"Evolutionary humanism": Huxley in Australia

The Dyason Lectures continued annually in the tense historical conditions of the early 1950s. Julian Huxley, the speaker of 1953, trained as a zoologist, and was Secretary of the London Zoological Society during the 1930s. He had an integral role in the establishment of the International Union for Protection (now Conservation) of Nature in 1948, and the World Wildlife Fund in 1961. He travelled widely throughout his life, for the British Colonial Office on two African educational surveys in 1929 and 1944, and for UNESCO through South America and Eastern Europe after World War II. Into the 1950s and 1960s Huxley continued to think of himself as an unofficial ambassador for UNESCO, defending the organization against critics, and advocating for its ideal of creating an "intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."²⁷

Despite the development of the more powerful hydrogen bomb that was first tested by the United States in 1952, global affairs appeared to calm slightly in the three years that passed between Russell's and Huxley's tours to Australia. Stalin had died in March 1953 and the hostilities of the Korean War ended that July. A cautious optimism followed, as well as expectations on both sides of the Iron Curtain of new opportunities to discuss peacebuilding.²⁸ Thus keeping the public informed about international relations remained an urgent task when Huxley arrived in Australia on September 16. Local journalists were as keen to gauge his opinion of current affairs as they had been with Russell. Huxley obliged their curiosity at a press conference in Brisbane two days after arriving in the country, observing that war was not inevitable and that it could eventually be eliminated through "cultural evolution."²⁹

Over the next nine weeks in Australia, Huxley used his lectures to outline how to bring about this "cultural evolution," although such a goal remained as ambitious and ambiguous as Russell's "World Government" ideal. Huxley's twenty-one lectures, delivered across all the state and territory capitals, revolved around the value of the idea of evolution to society, and how it could prompt a revolution in political thinking. His three public lecture topics were "Man's Place in Nature," "Science and Modern Ideology," and "The Humanist's Adventure of Thought and Belief." His Australian talks brought many of his long-standing interests, themes, and material together into a neat, comprehensive concept of "evolutionary humanism."

Audiences across the country heard Huxley's scientifically grounded arguments for peace, based upon the evolutionary narrative of increasing complexity, specialization, and efficiency. While mankind, he said, had evolved to reach its highest point of organic evolution, there remained "undreamt" possibilities within social and psychological evolution.³⁰ The key "improvement" Huxley imagined in mankind's social evolution was a cosmopolitan goal: "Man cannot avoid the process of convergence which makes for the integration of divergent or hostile human groups in a single organic world society and culture."³¹ National identities and cultures would continue to provide a valuable source of cultural variety in Huxley's, and Russell's, models of liberal internationalism, as it did for many thinkers dating back to the nineteenth century, such as Italian Giuseppe Mazzini.³² Yet the nation state would be superseded by a cosmopolitan global polity in Huxley's utopian alternative to the principle of national sovereignty that had been enshrined in the UN less than a decade earlier.³³

Similar to Russell, Huxley viewed mankind's psychology and ignorance as ultimately the main obstacles to realizing this shared destiny.³⁴ Nuclear fears had hindered East-West dialogue in his analysis, and Huxley criticized communists for a fanatical and overly materialistic view of history, as well as for the politicization of science and culture in Soviet Russia.³⁵ Yet Huxley also identified Western prejudices inspired by fear and ignorance "as one of the greatest obstacles in the way of international understanding," and warned that America in particular risked becoming totalitarian under the influence of Joseph McCarthy, the Wisconsin Senator who campaigned prominently against politicians and other individuals accused of communist sympathies during the early 1950s.³⁶

As Russell had done, Huxley considered the decolonizing world in his Dyason Lectures, and his idea of world peace was also shaped by an awareness of racial difference. He offered the critique that the West had no "positive philosophy" with which to galvanize its global leadership, nor to offer the "sitters on the fence," suggesting instead that his evolutionary humanism was a productive ideology that could unite mankind.³⁷ In the 1930s, Huxley had written scientific deconstructions of "race" as a biological category to critique Nazism; in the 1950s he, and many other Western intellectual elites in UNESCO, used the language of modernization to describe a global hierarchy of social and cultural difference, substituting terms such as "backward" and "under-privileged" to stand in place of the more obviously racialized terms of "primitive" and "barbaric."³⁸ Drawing on his work as Director-General of UNESCO on the "Fundamental Education" program, he spoke in Australia about how the West should intervene to help the "world's under-privileged, uneducated masses." His goals were similar to Russell's, such as literacy, birth control, and improvements in agricultural technology, but Huxley also emphasized the importance of literacy and education so that every individual might participate fully in the "great adventure" of mankind.³⁹ Huxley termed this Western-led intervention a "partnership," one built, in theory, upon the cooperation of political elites in newly independent or non-Western countries, to be coordinated through UNESCO and other international organizations.⁴⁰

Not all of Huxley's Australian audiences appreciated his evolutionary argument, and he faced criticisms from the same sections of the public as Russell, specifically for his atheism. Christian clergy, particularly Catholics, wrote critiques in newspaper letters and columns of Huxley's explanation of evolution with varying degrees of vehemence, describing his ideas as incorrect, outdated, "absurd," and even "embarrassing." Other Christians considered Huxley's view of God's obsolescence to be "depressing," and "nonsense."⁴¹ However, much of the public and media responses to his lectures remained favorable and his political statements on the Cold War and international relations appear to have been uncontroversial.⁴²

Attendance figures were almost as high as for Russell's Dyason Lectures, and once again halls were full to capacity in all locations. The secretary of the New South Wales AIIA branch was grateful for the Christian-led controversy that had been generated as Huxley's tour progressed, calling it "very helpful" for publicity and attracting people to the lectures.⁴³ Attendees around the country also included politicians, diplomats, and state Governors in many cities, as well as employees of the federal Department of External Affairs in Canberra. Reporting back to the funding trust after the tour was over, the then AIIA President, Tristan Buesst, regarded Huxley's tour as an "enormous success."⁴⁴ As with Russell, if "success" can be understood in terms of public popularity, then Huxley's tour did achieve this goal, but, it appears to have had few other outcomes.

Conclusion

Russell's and Huxley's advocacy for world government and abolishing war was rarely questioned in Australia. The lack of argument or protest over their political ideas demonstrates the willingness of the public to listen to alternative propositions for negotiating global affairs when suggested by anti-communist intellectuals. Undoubtedly some individuals were drawn to the lectures by both men's celebrity, but this allowed them to engage a wider audience across a broad cross-section of society that included regional farmers, the suburban middle class and those in high office. This popularity, however, did not necessarily equate to a significant acceptance of their ideas of world peace, especially the more cosmopolitan and atheist elements that rejected the political primacy of the nation state and the place of religion in public affairs.

Russell and Huxley continued to lecture on international relations after Australia. Russell spoke on "The Impact of Science on Society" in New York in late 1950, where he once more advocated for world peace in front of an admiring crowd at Columbia University.⁴⁵ But after his ongoing criticisms that anti-communism in America threatened to erode civil liberties, his popularity began to wane the following year during his last American tour that encompassed the east and Midwest.⁴⁶ Huxley's mid-century popularity also followed him around the world, including on his two-month tour of southern Asia immediately after leaving Australia. Similarly large and sympathetic audiences in Thailand, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) heard adapted versions of his Dyason Lectures on evolutionary humanism, although at a private meeting Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru disagreed with Huxley's assessment that overpopulation was a serious problem for the region.⁴⁷

By providing a platform for intellectuals to speak to the public, the AIIA and other societies and universities around the world facilitated discussions about peace and the problem of war. However, such aspirational discussions did not mobilize public action at this time.⁴⁸ The limited membership of the AIIA doubled within the first decade of the Dyason Lectures, but this figure remained less than 2,000.⁴⁹ Russell and Huxley also met with several government ministers, yet made no discernible impact upon policy. To some extent, Russell's and Huxley's positions reflected Western anti-communist sentiment of the era. They espoused a liberal internationalist approach to the Cold War that rejected communism and retained European colonial understandings of the world's peoples and their place in global politics. Their Dyason Lectures clearly show the limits of their ideals of world peace that fell short of global political equality. The notions of "friendship" and "partnership" between the West and former (and current) colonies were shaped by a strong awareness, and anxiety, of cultural and racial difference. Both men called for self-government as a

means of preventing the spread of communism, but at the same time argued that the West should continue to lead the world politically, and morally. They expected the decolonizing and communist world to contribute to the task of realizing global prosperity and peace, but on Western terms. Russell's and Huxley's more radical suggestions for world government and the dismantling of the nation state were arguably non-threatening to governments and the broader public in Western countries because they remained fundamentally vague.

These all-encompassing visions of peace that included such wide-ranging ideas as individual love and technical aid may have been popular in countries such as Australia, yet this popularity did not translate into significant change in domestic or international affairs. Their Australian tours demonstrate that positive change towards the abolition of war requires more than lecturing alone, especially in an historical context that was unfavorable for substantive activism. Russell and Huxley visited Australia too late to capitalize on the popularity of the internationalist movement of the 1940s that rapidly waned with the start of the Korean War. Their lingering optimism of the early 1950s stood out in sharp contrast to their historical conditions, making their grand ideals unrealistic. Their suggestions were also amorphous in comparison to their later successes of single-issue activism, seen in Russell's protest against nuclear weapons in the late 1950s and Huxley's efforts for conservation in Africa in the early 1960s.

Russell's and Huxley's public speaking, driven by a liberal belief in education as a form of social change, was just one of many forms of peace advocacy, if not a viable inspiration for activism, throughout the twentieth century. These lectures, in Australia and elsewhere, form a little-recognized part of popular culture of the era. But the "sane ideas" that Russell and Huxley hoped would prevent further war remained hopes only. During the early years of the Cold War, the possibility of realizing the peace that they spoke of disappeared against the divisions between capitalist democracies and communism, as well as those between empires and former colonies—a reality that would continue to define global politics for many years to come.

Notes

- 1 Norman Cowper to Geoffrey Crowther, 1950, Box 26, Folder "Dyason Lectures—1951," MS2821, Records of the Australian Institute of International Affairs (AIIA), 1933–1997, National Library of Australia. For a brief history of the Dyason Lectures, see chapter 5 of J. D. Legge, *Australian Outlook: A History of the Australian Institute of International Affairs* (Canberra: Allen & Unwin; Department of International Relations, Australian National University, 1999), 103–113.
- 2 Russell and Huxley collaborated with the Congress for Cultural Freedom in the early 1950s, an organization secretly funded by America's Central Intelligence Agency as a means of mobilizing philosophers, scientists, and artists as the intellectual champions of liberal democracy. On Russell's participation in the Congress see Sarah Miller Harris, *The CIA and the Congress for Cultural Freedom in the Early Cold War: The Limits of Making Common Cause* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 46–48, 67–76; Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 2013), 77–78, 194–195.
- 3 G. John Ikenberry, "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order," *Perspectives on Politics* 7, no. 1 (2009): 71, 74, 76.
- 4 James A. Yunker, *Beyond Global Governance: Prospects for Global Government* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2014), v.
- 5 Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley; Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 45–47, 83; Fiona Paisley, *Glamour in the Pacific: Cultural Internationalism and Race Politics in the Women's Pan-Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 3, 9, 12; Caspar Sylvest, *British Liberal Internationalism, 1880–1930: Making Progress?* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2009), 10, 199.

- 6 Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 1–27; Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Philadelphia Press, 2013), 2–7; Sylvest, *British Liberal Internationalism*, 3–4.
- 7 Charles Chatfield and Robert Kleidman, *The American Peace Movement: Ideals and Activism* (New York: Twayne Publishers; Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada; New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1992), 84, 96–99; Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, 6, 79.
- 8 Melvyn P. Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2008), 101–111, 135–137; Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, 113–116; Ralph Summy, “The Australian Peace Council and the Anticommunist Milieu, 1949–1965,” in *Peace Movements and Political Cultures*, ed. Charles Chatfield and Peter van den Dungen (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1988), 234–245.
- 9 Stefan Collini, *Absent Minds: Intellectuals in Britain* (Oxford, UK and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Ron Eyerman, *Between Culture and Politics: Intellectuals in Modern Society* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press), 18.
- 10 “A.I.I.A. Notes,” March 1950, Box 46, Folder “President’s File (N. Cowper);” “Commonwealth Council Meeting,” August 29, 1953, Box 16, Folder 137, Records of the AIIA. Running from 1949 to 1981, the first ten “Dyason Lecturers” were exclusively white men that included several significant internationalists and peace advocates, such as Salvador de Madariaga, who had been Director of the League of Nations’ Disarmament Section in the 1920s, historian Arnold Toynbee, and economist Gunnar Myrdal.
- 11 Stephen Hayhurst, “Russell’s Anti-Communist Rhetoric Before and After Stalin’s Death,” *Russell: The Journal of Bertrand Russell Studies* 11, no. 1 (summer 1991), 67–82.
- 12 Bertrand Russell, “Obstacles to World Government,” in *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell*, vol. 26, ed. Andrew G. Bone (Routledge, forthcoming).
- 13 Yunker, *Beyond Global Governance*, vii.
- 14 Russell, “Obstacles to World Government.”
- 15 Bertrand Russell, “Living in the Atomic Age,” in *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell*, vol. 26, ed. Bone.
- 16 “Bertrand Russell Warns of Red ‘Menace,’” *The West Australian* (Perth), June 23, 1950; Ray Monk, *Bertrand Russell 1921–1970: The Ghost of Madness* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2000), 331; Bertrand Russell, “We and U.S. Can Lead and Help Asian People,” in *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell*, vol. 26., ed. Bone.
- 17 Bertrand Russell, “Ferment in Asia,” in *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell*, vol. 26, ed. Bone.
- 18 Douglas Brass, “A Philosopher’s Theme,” *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), May 31, 1950, 2; Bertrand Russell, “Ferment in Asia.”
- 19 David Lowe, *Australian between Empires: The Life of Percy Spender* (London; Brookfield, VT: Pickering & Chatto, 2010), 123–141.
- 20 Bertrand Russell, “Ferment in Asia.”
- 21 Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men’s Countries and the Question of Racial Equality* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2008), 145–148, 280–312; David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850–1939* (St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1999), 36–38, 41–42, 46, 71.
- 22 See, for example, “Bertrand Russell’s Views Challenged: To the Editor,” *The Advertiser*, August 2, 1950; “Bertrand Russell’s Views,” *The Advertiser*, August 4, 1950, 4; “Birth Rate Control: To the Editor,” *The Advertiser*, August 3, 1950, 4; Nicholas Griffin, “Russell in Australia,” *Russell: The Journal of Bertrand Russell Studies* 16 (Winter 1974–1975), 11; Bertrand Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, vol. 3 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969), 27.
- 23 Two of the very few comments critical of Russell’s internationalist suggestions can be seen at, “Letters,” *The Age* (Melbourne), July 13, 1950, 2; “Letters to the Editor,” *The Age*, July 19, 1950, 2.
- 24 On anti-communism in Australia during the early 1950s see Frank Cain and Frank Farrell, “Menzies’ War on the Communist Party, 1949–1951,” in *Australia’s First Cold War, 1945–1953*, vol. 1, ed. Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), 109–134; David Lowe, *Menzies and the “Great World Struggle”: Australia’s Cold War, 1948–1954* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1999), 65–70.

- 25 “Institute Notes,” *Australian Outlook* 4, no. 3 (1950): 203–204.
- 26 “Australia and Defence: Consequences of the Korean War,” *The Manchester Guardian*, August 21, 1950, 4; “Australia’s Pacific Dilemma,” *The Advertiser*, August 22, 1950, 2; “Lord Russell Defends Low Birth Rate,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 27, 1950, 2.
- 27 See, for example, Julian Huxley, “UNESCO: The First Phase: I—The Two Views,” *The Manchester Guardian*, August 10, 1950, 4; Julian Huxley, “UNESCO: The First Phase: II—An Appraisal of Its Success,” *The Manchester Guardian*, August 11, 1950, 6.
- 28 Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind*, 91, 101–107.
- 29 “Brisbane Right for Size, Says Huxley,” *Brisbane Telegraph*, September 19, 1953, 7; “Scientist Warns of Danger to Future Generations: Atomic Effect Could Continue on Humans,” *The Courier-Mail* (Brisbane), September 19, 1953, 3.
- 30 Julian Huxley, “The Humanist’s Adventure of Thought and Belief,” 1953, Box 28, Folder “Dyason Lectures—Transcripts—Huxley 1953,” Records of the AIIA, 7; Julian Huxley, “Man’s Place in Nature,” 1953, Box 28, Folder “Dyason Lectures—Transcripts—Huxley 1953,” Records of the AIIA, 2, 14.
- 31 Julian Huxley, “Evolutionary Humanism,” 1953, Box 28, Folder “Dyason Lectures—Transcripts—Huxley 1953,” Records of the AIIA, 28.
- 32 Liisa Malkki, “Citizens of Humanity: Internationalism and the Imagined Community of Nations,” *Diaspora* 3, no. 1 (spring 1994): 53–54, 58; Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (New York: Penguin Books, 2013), Kindle ed., ch. 2.
- 33 “Dr. Huxley Here on Lecture Tour,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, September 18, 1953, 2.
- 34 Huxley, “The Humanist’s Adventure,” 11.
- 35 Huxley, “The Humanist’s Adventure,” 16; Julian Huxley, “Science and Modern Ideology,” 1953, Box 28, Folder “Dyason Lectures—Transcripts—Huxley 1953,” Records of the AIIA, 8–10.
- 36 Huxley, “Science and Modern Ideology,” 1, 13.
- 37 “Power to Natives Advocated,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, November 2, 1953, 3.
- 38 Julian Huxley and A.C. Haddon, *We Europeans: A Survey of “Racial” Problems* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935). Two critical histories that highlight the centrality of racial thinking in liberal internationalism and especially the League of Nations and the UN are Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace* and Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*.
- 39 Huxley, “Science and Modern Ideology,” 12–13.
- 40 See Sluga for a brief overview of UNESCO’s “Fundamental Education” project in Haiti, and Macekura for Huxley’s and the World Wildlife Fund’s conservationist appeals to African political elites in early 1960s. Both authors discuss how these projects were contested by elites in decolonizing countries. Stephen J. Macekura, *Of Limits and Growth: The Rise of Global Sustainable Development in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 20–22, 52, 57–61; Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, 109–10.
- 41 For a brief selection see, “Fish and Fish-Heads,” *The Advocate* (Melbourne), October 15, 1953, 6; Leslie Rumble, “The Question Box: Unscientific Thinking by Dr. J. Huxley Ends in Him Talking Folly,” *Catholic Weekly* (Sydney), December 24, 1953, 12–13; Justin Simonds, “Dr. Julian Huxley and the ‘Religion of Science,’” *The Advocate*, November 5, 1953, 7.
- 42 “Will Sanity Win,” *Examiner* (Launceston), October 20 1953, 2; “Yearning to Create Peace,” *News* (Adelaide), October 5, 1953, 12.
- 43 “Institute News,” *Australian Outlook* 7:4 (1953), 249; Joyce Ritchie to Nance Dickens, October 22, 1953, Box 51, Folder “N.S.W. Branch 1/1/53-31/12/53,” Records of the AIIA.
- 44 Tristan Buesst to Leonard Feldman, December 7, 1953, Box 53, Folder “Dyason Lectures: Platus Trust,” Records of the AIIA.
- 45 Barry Feinberg and Ronald Kasrils, *Bertrand Russell’s America: A Documented Account*, vol. 2 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983), 16–17, 27–34; Monk, *Bertrand Russell*, 341; Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, vol. 3, 28–30; Bertrand Russell, *The Impact of Science on Society* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1952).
- 46 Feinberg and Kasrils, *Bertrand Russell’s America*, 28–30, 32, 34; Monk, *Bertrand Russell*, 341.
- 47 “Evolving Religion through Biology: Huxley on Purpose of Human Society,” *Dawn* (Karachi), January 20, 1954, in Box 104, Folder 8, MS50, Julian Sorell Huxley Papers, 1899–1980, Woodson Research Center, Rice University; Julian Huxley, *Memories*, vol. 2 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1973) 143, 159. Both Russell and Huxley spoke highly of Nehru as a spokesperson for Asia, and on

several occasions attempted to enlist his support for their ideas during the 1950s and 1960s. Russell particularly hoped India, being non-aligned, would take up an arbitration role between the East and West; Huxley, as discussed above, was concerned with overpopulation. Nehru came to support the Sixth International Conference on Planned Parenthood that was held in India in 1959 which Huxley attended. For Russell's mid-1950s appeals to Nehru, see "An Overture to Nehru [1955]," in *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell*, vol. 28, ed. Andrew G. Bone (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 462–469.

- 48 In regard to nuclear disarmament, Wittner argues that at this time, the numerous peace organizations around the world at this time had little impact on policies. Lawrence S. Wittner, *The Struggle against the Bomb*, vol. 1 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 337.
- 49 Legge, *Australian Outlook*, 194–195.