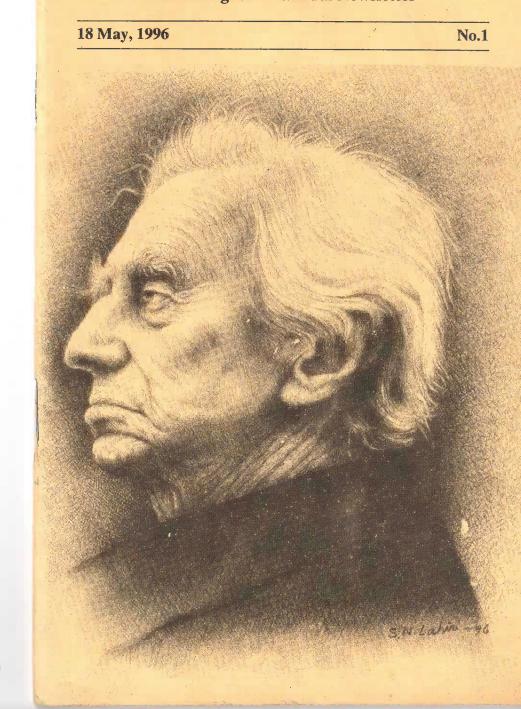
# THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY Banaras Chapter, India Hindi-English Bi-annual Newsletter



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All the best

THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY Banaras Chapter, India Hindi-English Bi-annual Newsletter

18 May, 1996

No.1

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# HOW TO JOIN BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY Banaras Chapter

People from every walk of life, whether academic or non-academic, can join the society. The only condition being their sincere interest in Russell's ideas ranging from his social philosophy to pure sciences, from literature to varied human activities.

	The annual membership fee for	Rs.
1.	Indivudual membership (within Varanasi)	150.00
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4.	Patron	500.00 and up
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Director Bartrand Russell Society Banaras Chapter New G 7, Hyderabad Colony B.H.U. Varanasi - 221 005, India. From the Director's Pen:

### Why I Adore Russell

#### - Dr. Chandrakala Padia\*

Bertrand Russell has been mostly celebrated as a great mathematician and philosopher of the 20th century. He has written more than 70 books, thousands of articles and volumes of unpublished papers which are still preserved in the Russell Archives, McMaster University, Canada. This is all very impressive and speaks highly of Russell's immense contribution to different fields of thought but there are several others who can be rated with Russell as far as scholarship and erudition are concerned.

But what makes me adore Russell is his commitment to human values and continuous suffering for translating his ideas into action; his indomitable courage and conviction are exemplary. What inspire me the most are : his opposition to World War I to the extent of distributing pamphlets against his own government, initiating his own people to work for No Conscription Fellowship, the courage to accept what he wrote against the government resulting in his imprisonment in the British jail, to speak in favour of India's freedom from the platform of the Indian league in the 30's, to organize a series of sit down demonstrations in Trafalgar square, outside the Ministry of Defence and at nuclear installations and air bases resulting in his getting imprisoned for the second time in 1961, to return the most coveted awards of the world for release of conscientious prisoners, to establish War Crimes Tribunal to put the politicians guilty of provoking war to trial and to openly criticize the American Government for her deep involvement in Vietnam War.

It is easy to sit in an ivory tower and pile up systems of thought but it is really difficult to come forward to actively participate in other's sufferings. In fact the spirit of  $\overline{agg}$   $\overline{gg}$   $\overline{gg}$ 

\* Reader in Political Science, Mahila Mahavidyalaya, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, India.

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निदेशक की कलम से :

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# रसेल मुझे प्रिय क्यों हैं ?

- डॉ० चन्द्रकला पाडिया

बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल को मूलतः बीसवीं सदी के एक महान गणितज्ञ और दार्शनिक के रूप में जाना गया है । वे करीब सत्तर से अधिक किताबों, हजारों लेख और बेशुमार अप्रकाशित प्रपत्रों के लेखक हैं । मैकमास्टर विश्वविद्यालय, कनाडा स्थित रसेल आर्काइवज़ में यह तमाम रचनाएं सुरक्षित हैं । हम यह समझ सकते हैं कि रसेल कितने बड़े चिन्तक थे कि उन्होंने चिन्तन के हर क्षेत्र को ही अपनी सुचिन्तित रचना द्वारा समृद्ध किया । किन्तु यह भी ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि रसेल की ही तरह अनेक अन्य चिन्तकों ने भी अपने ज्ञान से चिन्तन के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों को पुष्ट किया । सवाल उठता है, रसेल में ऐसा विशिष्ट क्या है ?

मेरी दृष्टि में रसेल का मानवीय मूल्यों के प्रति अगाध श्रद्धा और समर्पण एक अद्भुत चीज़ थी क्योंकि अपने मूल्यबोध को कार्यस्तर पर उबारने के लिए उन्होंने बहुत प्रयास किया । पूरी जिन्दगी जिन बातों को उन्होंने गम्भीरता पूर्वक सोचा उन्हीं को कार्यरूप में परिवर्तित करने के लिए संघर्ष किया । उनका अदम्य साहस और विश्वास अपने आप में एक मिसाल कायम करते हैं । मुझे सबसे ज्यादा उनकी प्रथम विश्वयुद्ध की विरोधिता प्रभावित करती है जिसमें उनका अपनी सरकार के विरुद्ध पैमफ्लेट बाँटना, अपने ही लोगों को सरकार की अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा नीति के विरुद्ध उक्साना और पूरे साहस से अपने किये की जिम्मेदारी लेना - एक बेमिसाल उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है । रसेल को जेल तक जाना पड़ा । रसेल ने भारत की स्वतंत्रता के लिए इण्डियन लीग के मंच से तीसरे दशक में भाषण दिया । ट्रैफलगर स्क्वायर में, रक्षा मंत्रालय के सामने, ब्रिटेन की आणविक नीति के विरुद्ध वे एक के बाद एक धरना देते रहे । वह चाहते थे दुनिया एक बेहतर जगह बने जो रक्तपात से मुक्त हो और बदले में उनको 9६६9 में दुबारा जेल भेज दिया गया । उन्होंने विश्व के बड़े से बड़े पुरस्कारो को ठुकराया क्योंकि वे उन युद्ध बन्दियों की

\* रीडर, राजनीतिशास्त्र विभाग, महिला महाविद्यालय, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी, भारत

रिहाई चाहते थे जिन्होंने अपनी अन्तरात्मा की आवाज़ की आज्ञा पालन करने के कारण राज्य के निर्देशों की अवज्ञा की । बिलकुल एक नए आग्रह के साथ उन्होंने युद्ध अपराध ट्रिब्युनल की स्थापना की जो लीक से हटकर बन्दियों को नहीं बल्कि उन राजनेताओं को सज़ा देगी जिन्होंने युद्ध उकसाया और छेड़ा हो । अमेरिकी सरकार की वियतनाम लड़ाई में भागीदारी की भी उन्होंने कटु निन्दा की ।

सुरक्षित बैठकर चिन्तन का शब्दजाल रचना बहुत आसान है किन्तु दूसरों के दुःख की भागीदारी करना बहुत कठिन है । रसेल ने यही किया । वास्तव में, उनका जीवन वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् की भावना से ओतप्रोत है । हो सकता है पारम्परिक अर्थ में वे एक महान सन्त अथवा एक द्रष्टा नहीं हैं, क्योंकि उन्होंने स्वयं भी कभी एक साधु की तरह जीवन नहीं जीया न ही उन्होंने ईश्वर के अस्तित्व में विश्वास किया । किन्तु मूल्यों के सही आचरण से उन्होंने अपने जीवन को वास्तविक अर्थ में आध्यात्मिक बना दिया । उनकी परम्परा के विपरीत जाकर रूढ़ियों से लड़ाई तथा साधारण मनुष्य को सुखी बनाने की उनकी जीतोड़ मेहनत मुझे व्यक्तिगत रूप से गहराई तक प्रेरित करती है ।

आज की पीढ़ी को 'रसेल' और 'गांधी' जैसे व्यक्तियों की आवश्यकता है जिनकी अन्तःचेतना व प्रज्ञा इतनी प्रखर हो कि उसकी आवाज पर वे संसार की हर बुरी शक्ति का सामना कर सकें; और अपने ज्ञान व कार्यों से हजारों के जीवन में फैले अन्धकार को दूर कर सकें ।

#### Editorial

# WHY RUSSELL?

- Dr. Anuradha Banerjee

It is a moment of great satisfaction that the Banaras Chapter of Bertrand Russell Society is starting its own publication of a bi-lingual News Letter. The purpose behind it is obviously to enable the readers of the same to get more and more interested in reading and understanding Russell, and to contribute reflective write-ups on various aspects of Russell's prismatic views and philosophy. The bi-lingual aspect of the news letter promises to feed the eager minds of this ancient continent by providing them with Russell Literature in Hindi - the language of millions. Such an interaction with Russell may stimulate not only intellectual enrichment but help one with a better understanding of life at large. One hopes to exude thought-provoking comments from those to whom Russell-literature in a foreign language had hitherto remained inaccessible.

One may raise a very pertinent question as to the need of reading Russell in the larger Indian context while there already exists a richly-built time-honoured reservoir of enlightened ideas. Undoubtedly this ancient land of cultural heritage stands nourished with the sap of knowledge generated by its saints, philosophers and reformers down the ages. Therefore, a very honest answer to this question of Russell's relevance is that despite its own philosophical/intellectual infrastructure the Indian mind has tried to obviate the danger of making itself insular. It has always encouraged interaction with fresh ideas in order to fight stagnation. For this reason alone, for this susceptibility to genuine views of life, a Socrates, a Zarathustra, a Christ and many other epoch-making thinkers very easily get absorbed in the body of Indian thought and subsequently become an Indian experience.

Not only this, there exists a related sense of tolerance to unconventional ideas and concepts also. Hence the most opposed doctrines and views have coexisted in this subcontinent without incurring much resistance. To be

precise, what lies thwarted is narrowness of vision and partisanship and what has been extolled is a sincere effort to understand the meaning and significance of life on most liberal paths possible. The ideas which in the Indian context have acquired the touch of timelessness and authenticity have at their core a commitment to fight untruth, selfishness and hypocrisy. Herein, at this point, Russell becomes relevant to us for having resuscitated in his own way, through his unique single-handed struggle, the need of a moral fibre of life. The events and the shifts in his life had amazingly created an ever-widening horizon of significant experiences. Here one notes with a great interest the gradual metamorphosis of a great thinker into a man of action. He realized very well that the life of a chair-bound thinker was rather a fruitless proposition in the context of the present-day world when the life of the man on the street was totally jeopardized by the political power-hunt when humanity stood trembling on the edge of extinction. The nightmarish world of cold war and the state-sponsored violence and bloodshed splintered the thick shelter of his cozy life of learning and scholarship. He could not sit indifferent disowning his responsibility as his conscience shrieked against the cult of violence, cruelty and indifference to the worth of life and it exploded with a frenzied NO to every shade of atrocity which relegated the human existence to an insignificant corner. To rage a fight to retrieve human dignity in the most honest manner the aristocrat of his stature made a historic choice to share to the full the experiences of the man on the street. His was a complete journey from the pages of cold mathematical theories and philosophical enquiries to the iron roads of action.

He was criticized, laughed at and made to figure in the cartoons because it was impossible for his critics to ignore him. His opponents felt shaky when the sheer intensity of his incisive analysis of the existing state of affairs debunked the whitewash of tradition.

Russell with all his human limitations and failures shall stand to be a voice of dissent and a source of inspiration to those who choose not to be gripped by the unhealthy miasma of our times behind which thrives the bitter odour of materialism and falsity. Those who feel that our times are cursed with a lack of courage to put an effective finger of honesty on the over-whelming and shocking sense of failure to uphold truth, shall definitely find in Russell's views a solace and perennial source of inspiration.

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Russell's relentless war against violence, his commitment to the cause of peace, his sincere effort to reconstruct the pattern of human society and basic concern for a healthy growth of human understanding guided by the fire of rationality fails to make it possible to ignore him. His message is valuable to the readers of a country where the saints have not shirked to undergo test of fire and despite their spiritual and metaphysical leanings have found their fulfilment in the service of mankind alone. Russell provides every support to that attitude which stands up at the call of its conscience to reassess even truth itself, if it in any way impedes the betterment of humanity.

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To assert religion is to believe that virtue is momentous, that human greatness is truly great, and that it is possible for man to achieve an existence which shall have significance. Something of positive creed is involved, but far more of sheer determination. For the greatness or littleness of our lives are largely in our own control; and by stern resolution almost any achievement becomes possible.

Bertrand Russell

सम्पादकीय

# रसेल क्यों ?

- डॉ० अनुराधा बनर्जी

यह एक सुखद मौका है कि बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल सोसायटी (वाराणसी अध्याय) की द्विभाषिक (अंग्रेजी व हिन्दी) 'न्यूज लेटर' की शुरूआत हो रही है । 'न्यूज लेटर' की अपनी इस द्वि-भाषिक विशिष्टता के कारण भारत के एक विशाल जनसमुदाय के पास सहज रूप से पहुंच पायगा । अंग्रेजी के साथ ही हिन्दी में प्रकाशित होकर यह 'न्यूज लेटर' ऐसे हाथों तक पहुँचेगा जिनके लिए रसेल साहित्य अंग्रेजी में होने के कारण पूर्णत: सुलभ न था ।

सवाल उठ सकता है इस 'न्यूज लेटर' की आवश्यकता क्या है ? प्रथम उत्तर यह है कि बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल सोसायटी की यह पहचान होते हुए संस्था के चिन्तन और कार्यों का ईमानदार दस्तावेज भी है। इस 'न्यूज लेटर' का प्रयास है कि वह अधिक से अधिक विद्वत्जनों तक पहुँचे । द्वितीयतः इस 'न्यूज लेटर' के माध्यम से रसेल पर विचारों का खुला आदान प्रदान भारतीय दार्शनिक चिन्तन की परम्परा को सुदृढ़ बनाने की आशा रखता है । भारत की तरह बौद्धिक रूप से उदार देश में हर समय नए विचारों का स्वागत हुआ है । इस मूभि पर, अत्यन्त आस्तिक और नास्तिक विचार धाराएं शान्तिपूर्ण सहावस्थान करती रही हैं । प्रायः वे विचार भी जो पूर्णतः विदेशी मूल के हैं और भारतीय मिट्टी के रंगरूप से अलग हैं , वे भी भारतीय चिन्तन परम्परा में समाहित हो जाते हैं । एक जरथुस्त्र, एक ईसा अथवा एक सुकरात अन्ततः शुद्ध भारतीय अनुभूति बन जाते हैं ।

यह भी स्पष्ट होना चाहिए कि यह 'न्यूज लेटर' मात्र एक शौकिया विचार मन्थन का मंच नहीं है । यह मंच उन विचारों को बढ़ावा देने का प्रयास करेगा जिनके द्वारा हमारी मानविक अनुभूतियों, सकारात्मक वृत्तियों, रचनात्मकता कुछ हद तक सुरक्षित रह सकें । आज के भौतिकतावादी और हिंसक परिवेश में जो लोग अपने को मानसिक रूप से असुरक्षित महसूस करते हैं और एक ऐसे सहारे की आवश्यकता महसूस करते हैं जो हर सड़न और कपट के विरूद्ध आवाज उठाता रहा है । रसेल

रीडर, अंग्रेजी विभाग, बसंत कन्या महाविद्यालय, वाराणसी, भारत ।
 मूल अंग्रेजी प्रपत्र का हिन्दी रूपांतर लेखिका द्वारा ।

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ने उन्हीं लोगों के लिए एक जीवंत आलोक स्तम्भ हैं । रसेल ने किसी गलत विचार से कभी समझौता नहीं किया क्यों कि उनके जीवन में कोई दोहरा मानदण्ड था ही नहीं। न केवल दूसरों के अन्याय बल्कि अपनी त्रुटियों से भी लड़ने की जीजिविषा के कारण रसेल हमारे इस युग को दिशा दिखाने के लिए प्रांसगिक हैं ।

हर स्थापित परम्परा पर रसेल ने सवाल उठाये। बिना सवाल और प्रतिवाद के उन्होंने कुछ भी नहीं स्वीकारा, यही प्रश्नकारी प्रवृत्ति भी मनुष्य को चिन्तन की ऊँचाई की और गतिशील बनाती है। वर्तमान 'न्युज लेटर' भी ऐसे ही जीवन की हर विसंगति पर लेखन-सामग्री की भागीदारी की आशा अपने पाठकों से करेगा। चूँकि यह वर्तमान युग मूल्यों के विघटन का समय है, आइए हम देश और विश्व और विश्व के स्तर पर स्थापित मूल्यों का पुनर्विवेचन करें। हो सकता है हम अपने व्यक्तिगत जीवन तथा अपने छोटे दायरों को थोड़ा बेहतर करने में सफल हो सकें। हो सकता है आज का यह छोटा प्रयास भविष्य में एक बड़ी शक्ति का उत्स बन जाये।

> Truth is a stern and pitiless God; he exacts his hecatombs of human sacrifices, he slays with jealous thunder every love which is unfaithful to him, he drives into madness those who cannot bear the full terror of his majestic frown, his whispers are fanged adders whose sting poisons trust and human fellowship. In happiest moments, his commands enjoin doubt, his cold commentary freezes the blood. Only those who resolutely turn away from him escape his tyranny, only for them the sun shines and flowers are gay. Why worship such a God? Why not fly to oblivion and ease, to kindness of love? Yet an inner voice speaks, with an absolute authority that no vain words can diminsh, bidding us follow Truth though he slay us, though he blast the lives of those we love, though he wither the flowers of joy and dry up with this parched breath the pleasant springs of happiness.

> > Bertrand Russell

LIST	OF SEMINARS/TALKS A	RRANGED B	LIST OF SEMINARS/TALKS ARRANGED BY BANARAS CHAPTER OF THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY	<b>BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY</b>
S.No.	S.No. SPEAKER/SPEAKERS	DATE	CHAIR PERSON	TOPIC
÷	Prof. Nalini Pant Prof. D.K. Srivastava Economics, B.H.U. Prof. D.K. Srivastava Economics, B.H.U. Prof. R.S. Sharma English, B.H.U. Dr. Rashmikala Agrawal History of Arts, B.H.U. Prof. V.C. Srivastava A.I.H.C, B.H.U. Dr. A.K. Rai Philosophy, B.H.U.	18.05.1990	Prof. R.R. Tripathi Dean, Faculty of Social Science Banaras Hindu University	Bertrand Russell on Peace, Socialism & Humanism Technology Astridence and Man : From Russell to Mac Luhan Bertrand Russell : Man of Action as a Man of Letters Bertrand Russell's Concept of Happiness Russell : A Man of Vision Russell as a Philosoper
2.	Prof. H.C. Srivastava Sociology, B.H.U.	26.11.1990	Prof. B.L. Garg Political Science, B.H.U.	Reflections on Socialism Today
3.	Prof. A.K. Saran Ex-Visiting Professor Harward Univ., America	18th - 19th May 1991	Prof. Vidya Niwas Mishra V.C., Sanskrit University Prof. Anand Krishna Retd. Prof. History of Arts, B.H.U.	The Europeanization of the Earth : The Discourse of Modernity I The Europeanization of the Earth : The Discourse of Modernity II

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S.No.	SPEAKER/SPEAKERS	DATE	CHAIR PERSON	TOPIC
4.	Shri Sunil Sahshtrabudhe Inst. of Gandhian Studies Rajghat, Varanasi	05.08.1991	Prof. Ali Ashraf, Director Inst. of Gandhian Studies Rajghat, Varanasi	Swadeshi Rajniti ki Parikalpana Concept of Indigenous Politics
5.	Prof. D.K. Srivastava Economics, B.H.U.	23.12.1991	Prof. Mohan Thampi English, B.H.U.	The Interface Between Man and Technology
6.	Prof. G.B. Mohan Thampi Ex-Vice Chancellor Kerela University Prof. Namwar Singh Hindi Jawaharlal Nehru Univ. New Delhi	09.05.1992 10.05.1992	Prof. S.P. Verma Political Sciences, IGNOU New Delhi Prof. C.S. Jha Vice Chancellor Banaras Hindu University	Disintegration of Soviet Union : Future of Socialism Bertrand Russell and Socialism
7.	Prof. Linda Rennie Forcey Women's Studies State Univ., New York.	22.09.1992	Prof. V.C. Srivastava A.I.H.C., B.H.U.	Economic Conversion from a Military to a Peace Economy
8.	Prof. G.B. Mohan Thampi Ex-Vice-Chancellor	18.04.1993	Prof. B.L. Garg Political Science, B.H.U.	Challenges of Communalism

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S.No.	SPEAKER/SPEAKERS	DATE	CHAIR PERSON	TOPIC
9.	Prof. Raghuveer Singh Political Science Gorakhpur University	12th - 13th May 1993	Prof. R.R. Pandey, HOD. Philosophy, B.H.U. Prof. Hira Lal Singh Ex. Dean, Social Sciences	Methodology and Meaning in the Twentieth Cen. Political Thought - I Methodology and Meaning in the Twentieth Cen. Political Thought - II
10.	Prof. R.B. Jain Pol. Sc., Delhi University	26.11.1994	Prof. Mohan Thampi English, B.H.U.	Structural Adjustment and Beaurocracy in Developing Societies
11.	Prof. G.B. MohanThampi Ex-Vice-Chancellor	15.12.1994	Prof. P.D. Kaushik Political Science, B.H.U.	The Intellectual Context of Postmodernism
12.	Prof. R.K. Mishra Law School, B.H.U. Dr. Priyankar Upadhyay Political Science, B.H.U. Dr. D.P. Verma Law School, B.H.U. Dr. Chandrakala Padia Political Science, B.H.U. Dr. Durg Singh Chauhan Elect. Engg., B.H.U.	23.12.1994	Rtn. Amitabh Ray Governor Rotary Club, Dist312	Human Rights : An Introduction Human Rights in the Third World Human Rights in the Third World Philosophical Dimensions of Human Rights Indian View of Human Rights

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S.No.SPEAKER/SPEAKERSDATECHAIR PERSONTOPIC13.Prof. R.S. Sharma Dept. of Enghish B.H.U.10.05.1995Prof. D.N. Mishra Vice-Chancellor, B.H.U.Crisis of Indian Democracy Prof. P.D. Kaushik Prof. P.D. KaushikCrisis of Indian Democracy Metaphors of Education14.D. Harikesh Bahadur Faculty of Education23.09.1995Prof. Nalini Pant, B.H.U.Metaphors of Education15.Prof. Constance A. Jones California Institute of Integral Studies23.01.1996Prof. Anand Krishna B.H.U.Growing Influence of Hinduism i America15.Prof. Constance A. Jones California Institute of Integral Studies23.01.1996Prof. Anand Krishna B.H.U.Growing Influence of Hinduism i America					
Prof. R.S. Sharma10.05.1995Prof. D.N. MishraDept. of EnghishVice-Chancellor, B.H.U.Dept. of EnghishVice-Chancellor, B.H.U.B.H.U.Political Science, B.H.U.Dr. Harikesh Bahadur23.09.1995Prof. P.D. KaushikPolitical Science, B.H.U.Dr. Harikesh Bahadur23.09.1995Prof. P.D. KaushikProf. P.D. KaushikProf. Caliton23.09.1995Prof. Constance A. Jones23.01.1996Prof. Constance A. JonesSan H.U.San Froncisco, U.S.A.B.H.U.	S.No.	<b>SPEAKER/SPEAKERS</b>	DATE	CHAIR PERSON	TOPIC
Dr. Harikesh Bahadur23.09.1995Prof. Nalini Pant, Ex-Head, Political ScienceFaculty of EducationB.H.U.B.H.U.B.H.U.Prof. Constance A. Jones23.01.1996Prof. Constance A. Jones23.01.1996Prof. Constance A. JonesEx-Dean, Arts FacultyIntegral StudiesB.H.U.San Froncisco, U.S.A.B.H.U.	13.	Prof. R.S. Sharma Dept. of Enghish B.H.U.	10.05.1995	Prof. D.N. Mishra Vice-Chancellor, B.H.U. Prof. P.D. Kaushik Political Science, B.H.U.	Crisis of Indian Democracy
23.01.1996 Prof. Anand Krishna Ex-Dean, Arts Faculty B.H.U.	14.	Dr. Harikesh Bahadur Faculty of Education B.H.U.	23.09.1995		Metaphors of Education
	15.	Prof. Constance A. Jones California Institute of Integral Studies San Froncisco, U.S.A.	23.01.1996	Prof. Anand Krishna Ex-Dean, Arts Faculty B.H.U.	Growing Influence of Hinduism in America

### INTRODUCING THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY, U.S.A. and its BANARAS CHAPTER

Founded in 1974, the Bertrand Russell Society seeks to foster a better understanding of the life, work and writings of Bertrand Russell and how his contributions relate to today's world. Some specific aims of this Society are :

- to provide a forum for the ongoing discussion of Russell's work
- to make Russell's view better known as they deal with virtually all the modern world's problems, from how to be happy to how to work for nuclear disarmament
- to encourage new scholarly and popular writings on Russell
- to present Russell's ideas as attractive rational alternatives to alienation, cynicism and belief in the supernatural.

The Bertrand Russell Society U.S.A. is formed not to support everything what Russell said but to remind people the meaning and object to which Russell's thought is directed - truth and liberation of the human creative impulse. The Society is not a group of holders of stereotyped opinions. On the contrary it invites free debate and encourages individuals to follow Russell's principles of tolerance, rational understanding and compassion so that a better world can be created. Initially there were 12 members in the Society. Within two years the number rose to almost 200 members in Canada, Denmark West Germany, Columbia, Japan and Britain. Today there are about 400 members in the Society.

The achievements of the Society are :

- publication of the Society's quarterly News Letter entitled, 'Russell Society News'
- free subscription to the journal 'Russell : The Journal of the Bertrand Russell Archives' published from McMaster University, Canada
- establishment of Bertrand Russell Society Award for promoting the causes Russell fought for
- · establishment of Bertrand Russell Book Award
- establishment of doctoral and post doctoral fellowships, etc.

#### **The Banaras Chapter**

The Banaras Chapter of the Bertrand Russell Society is the brain child of Dr. Chandrakala Padia, Reader in Political Science, BHU. She became a member of the Society in 1982 and had the honour of attending three of its annual meetings held at San Diego, New York and Hamilton. Being deeply impressed by the objectives and functioning of the Society, she proposed to introduce the Banaras Chapter in the annual meeting held at New York on June 23, 1989. Her proposal was widely discussed and finally approved by the Board of Directors of the Society. Dr. Padia was appointed the Director of the Banaras Chapter, India, by the Board.

On returning to India, Dr. Padia put forward the proposal before some likeminded people who welcomed the idea. Initially 12 persons joined the Chapter and it was formally inaugurated on May 18, 1990 to mark the birthday of Bertrand Russell. The editorial will throw ample light on the aims and objectives of the Banaras Chapter.

A detailed outline of talks and seminars is also incorporated in the News Letter to enlighten you with the intellectual activities of the last six years (1990-1996).

#### Aims and Objectives of Bertrand Russell Society, Banaras Chapter

- To make Russell's ideas accessible to keen readers.
- To let people know Russell's contribution to India's freedom struggle; his wide correspondence with many leaders and scholars of India and his deep appreciation for eastern civilization and culture.
- To create an inter-disciplinary forum where scholars from different disciplines may interact on matters of human concern in a true Russellian spirit.
- To create a forum where people from all walks life both academicians and non-academicians may join together to work for a holistic approach.
- To promote the cause of peace and nuclear disarmanent.
- To critically examine and evaluate the relevance of Russell's views from a Third World perspective.

# बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल सोसायटी ः एक परिचय

सन् 9६७४ में पीटर क्रैनफोर्ड, एक क्लिनिकल मनोवैज्ञानिक द्वारा बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल सोसायटी की स्थापना हुई । इस सोसायटी का उद्देश्य है बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल के जीवन, कार्य तथा आलेखों को सही रूप से समझना तथा आधुनिक विश्व के सन्दर्भ में उनके विचारों का मूल्यांकन करना । सोसायटी के कुछ विशेष उद्देश्य इस प्रकार हैं :

- रसेल के कार्यों की परिचर्चा के लिए एक मंच स्थापित करना
- विश्वशांति से लेकर निरस्त्रीकरण तक आधुनिक विश्व की समस्त समस्याओं पर रसेल के विचारों के साथ लोगों का सही परिचय कराना
- रसेल के लोकप्रिय तथा पाण्डित्यपूर्ण आलेखों के प्रति रूचि जगाना
- अलगाववाद, कुण्ठा तथा अलौकिक में आस्था के प्रतिरोध में रसेल की आकर्षक तर्कसंगत आवधारणाओं को उपस्थापित करना

बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल सोसायटी, अमेरिका, की स्थापना इसलिए नहीं की गई कि रसेल के समस्त विचारों के साथ हम सहमत हों बल्कि सत्य तथा इन्सान के सृजनशील आवेगों को मुक्त कराने के लिए रसेल की प्रचेष्ट के प्रति लोगों को जागरूक कराना ही इसका प्रधान उद्देश्य है । अतः सोसायटी स्वतंत्र विचारों के आदान प्रदान को प्रोत्साहित करती है । साथ ही साथ यह भी सोसायटी का प्रयास है कि हर व्यक्ति सहनशीलता, तर्कसंगत बोध तथा करूणा के सन्दर्भ में रसेल के सिद्धान्तों का अनुसरण करे ताकि एक बेहतरीन विश्व बनाया जा सके ।

मात्र बारह सदस्यों से सोसायटी का प्रारम्भ हुआ था । दो साल के अन्दर सदस्य संख्या लगभग २०० हो गई । उत्तरी अमेरिका के अलावा कैनाडा, डेनमार्क, पश्चिम जर्मनी, कोलम्बिया, जापान एवं ब्रिटेन में कई शाखाएं खोली गई । सोसायटी की उपलब्धियाँ निम्न प्रकार हैं :

- सोसायटी का त्रैमासिक न्यूज लेटर, 'रसेल सोसायटी समाचार' का प्रकाशन
- कैनाडा के मैकमास्टर विश्वविद्यालय द्वारा प्रकाशित 'रसेलः बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल आर्काइवज़' पत्रिका की निःशुल्क सदस्यता प्रदान
- बईण्ड रसेल के विचारों को अग्रसर कराने वालों के लिए बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल सोसायटी पारितोषिक की स्थापना
- बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल पर शोध के लिए बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल ग्रन्थ पारितोषिक की स्थापना
- बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल पर शोध तथा उत्तर-शोध कार्य के लिए फेलोशीप आदि खिताबों का प्रारम्भ

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बर्टण्ड रसेल सोसायटी का बनारस अध्याय :

बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल सोसायटी का बनारस अध्याय डॉ० चन्द्रकला पाडिया, रीडर, राजनीतिशास्त्र, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय के चिन्तन की उपज है । १६८२ में वह सोसायटी की सदस्या बनीं और उन्होंने इसकी क्रमशः सैन डिएगो, न्यूयार्क तथा हैमिल्टन में सम्पन्न हुई तीन वार्षिक बैठकों में भाग लेने का सम्मान प्राप्त किया । सोसायटी के उद्देश्यों और कार्यों से प्रभावित होकर उन्होंने २३ जून १६८६ को न्यूयार्क में हुई सोसायटी की वार्षिक सभा में बनारस अध्याय को प्रारम्भ करने का प्रस्ताव रखा। उनके प्रस्ताव पर विस्तृत विचार विमर्श हुआ । अंततः वह सोसायटी के बोर्ड ऑफ डायरेक्टर्स द्वारा अनुमोदित हुआ । उस समय डॉ० पाडिया को बनारस अध्याय के डायरेक्टर के रूप में नियुक्त किया गया ।

भारत वापस लौटकर डॉ० पाडिया वे इस प्रस्ताव को कुछ सममनस्क लोगों के सामने रखा जिन्होंने इस विचार का स्वागत किया । शुरूआत में १२ व्यक्ति अध्याय में शामिल हुए और मई १८, १६६० को बनारस अध्याय विधिवत प्रारम्भ हुआ । इस दिन को खासकर इसलिए चुना गया क्योंकि १८ मई बर्द्रण्ड रसेल का जन्मदिन भी है । बनारस अध्याय के उद्देश्यों पर सम्पादकीय विस्तृत प्रकाश डालेगा। १६६० से १६६६ तक बनारस अध्याय की गतिविधियों का तथा संगोष्ठियों/भाषणों का विवरण आपकी जानकारी के लिए इसी अंक में प्रस्तुत है ।

बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल सोसायटी के लक्ष्य तथा उद्देश्य :

- उत्सुकजनों को बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल के आदर्शों से परिचित कराना
- भारत के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में रसेल के योगदान तथा विभिन्न नेताओं और विद्वानों के साथ उनके पत्राचार एवं प्राच्य सभ्यता - संस्कृति के प्रति उनकी रूझान के बारे में लोगों को अवगत कराना
- एक अन्तर्विधाओं का मंच तैयार करना जहाँ विभिन्न विधा के पण्डितगण आपस में रसेल की उदार मासिकता के अनुरूप विचारों का आदान प्रदान कर सकेंगे ।
- एक ऐसे मंच का सृजन करना जहाँ समाज के हर श्रेणी के लोग चाहे वह पठन-पाठन से जुड़े लोग हों अथवा अन्य पेशे से संबंधित हों, एकजुट होकर समग्रता की ओर बढ़े
- शांति व निरस्त्रीकरण के उद्देश्यों को बढ़ावा देना
- तीसरी दुनिया के परिप्रेक्ष्य में रसेल की अवधारणाओं की समीक्षा तथा मूल्यांकन करना

## UNDERSTANDING RUSSELL : AN ESSAY IN INTERPRETING SOME DETAILS OF HIS SOCIO-POLITICAL THOUGHT

#### - Dr. Chandrakala Padia\*

The present paper seeks to project Russell's socio-political views as a significant addition to political theory, and as being relevant to the problems that face us today, specially the following : erosion of personal freedom and creativity, over-exploitation of our natural resources, bureaucratic state administration, and continued domination of capital over labour. Russell can look at these problems in the proper perspective, for he has the manifold ability to fathom the depths of human nature; to pay due heed to the destructive dynamics of industrial capitalism; to get at the forces that determine the complex class and power relationships created by the development of capitalism; and, above all, to discover some ways to inject humanistic values into the dialectic of social processes.

I admit that where they deal with problems just listed, the writings of Russell often seem to be inconsistent and unsystematic. This has, indeed, been the complaint of quite a few critics. But the appearance is not the truth. I shall try to argue for just this thesis that Russell's political philosophy is rather remarkable for its consistency of purpose and method.

I, indeed, believe that Russell's political philosophy is a well-knit whole and that if we skip even a single thread of it, the entire complex of thought would tend to look like a tangled mass of ideas. No individual concept in Russell's thought, whether it be liberty, peace or socialism, can be treated separately. They all arise out of his *passionate* concern for the human individual regarded as a being endowed with specific faculties which are not necessarily related to his class, status or position. Russell has an abiding faith in Man and his enormous creative potentialities and he is anguished to see that these powers are denied a chance to flower by our present institutions, social order and cultural values. The pressure of these visible

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and non-visible socio-cultural forces makes the individual forget his own real needs, and he, therefore, becomes a tireless crusader for things which are not really necessary, a pursuit which leads in the end, to catastrophic wars.

It is this painful awareness which underruns his theory of impulses in his Principles of Social Reconstruction. He says, "All human activity springs from two sources : impulse and desire".<sup>1</sup> But impulse is, in his view, a little more basic than mere desire, for what makes a desire gain in power and insistence is its linkage with impulse.

At this point, I must, however, admit that there are places in Russell's writings which may lead the superficial reader to complain of incongruence. Thus, in the work just referred to, at one place Russell regards impulse and desire as the only springs of human activity; and at another, suggests that "the activities of men may be roughly derived from three sources : instinct, mind and spirit"<sup>2</sup> How is this consistent, first only two, and then three clear bases of human action ? The oddity, however, can be easily explained with a little more careful study of the text.

I do it thus : Instincts are admittedly the basic equipment of mind. Each one of them is a natural tendency to attend to a particular class of objects, and to feel and behave with regard to them in a more or less determined way. To illustrate, the instinct of curiosity not only makes us wonder - or experience the feeling of uncertainty - with regards to unfamiliar objects, but also makes us actively do something to remove this uncertainty and to come to know the thing in question. In adult life, however, the actual operation of an instinct does not involve the three elements of knowing, feeling and conation in equal measure. It is, for instance, quite possible for a man to make his instinct of curiosity work in a quite impersonal way, that is, not really for the sake of removing the discomfort of his own uncertainty, but because the unknown object fascinates him by virtue of its potential relevance to a theory or to the larger interests of human knowledge taken generally. Such a working of curiosity, Russell says, gives rise to the life of the mind. In other words, though the two are surely not identical, instinct can come to be assimilated to what is known as mental life, to lose its initial otherness, and enable us to temper the sharp twoness of instinct and mind. Similarly, if one manages to exercise his instinct of protective love in such a way that he comes to feel as intensely for others' children as for his own, the result will be the dawning of the life of the spirit. One may, therefore, say with reason that in Russell's thought instinct, mind and spirit are not three exclusive entities, but only varying modes of the working of instincts.

There working, however, does not need any *alien* force. Every instinct has its own built-in source of energy : that is, its inherent conative aspect or impulse. Yet the objects that this energy may aim at, and the way it tries to secure them have got to be picked and regulated by conscious and self-critical thought.

The awareness of an end of some value or charm produces desire. Desire itself is related to need. We desire only that which we need or do not already have. These needs themselves have other linkages. They may relate to the life of the spirit, quite as easily as to the life of instinct (or mind). In any case, that which makes human life dynamic is the fact that we have needs and also the energy to try to meet them. So impulse and desires - relating, may be, to the merely instinctive, or to the life of mind or spirit - be said to be the basic sources of all human activity. The multiplicity of the determinants of our behaviour is thus duly tempered.

Russell, however, does not stop at this point. He sees it clearly that though the gratification of an impulse always makes us immediately happy, the later and explicit consequences of such indulgence can often be bad. So he divides impulses into two kinds : the creative and the merely possessive.

The distinction makes sense. The exercise of a possessive impulse can lead to conflict with others quite easily, for the attitude of possessiveness so relates a man to a thing that the others are at once denied free access to it. Every possession, indeed, tends to be exclusive and encourages divisiveness. On the other hand, a creative impulse is not at all subject to such vitiation. True, what an artist creates is *his* doing; but the art-work is necessarily meant for contemplation by and enjoyment of *others*. Even an object of craft is useful to others. So a creative impulse may truly be said to draw a man out of himself and to put him, so to say, at the service of others. Russell is, therefore, convinced that an important aim of any social reconstruction should be to liberate our creative impulses.

He does not, however, exaggerate the value of impulse in opposition to reason; and I see no way to underestimates the value of reason in politics. Russell openly says :

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It is common to speak of an opposition between instinct and reason.... But in fact the opposition of instinct and reason is mainly illusory. Instinct, intuition or insight is what first leads to the beliefs which subsequent reason confirms or confutes.... Reason is a harmonising,

controlling force rather than a creative one.<sup>3</sup>

In other words, reason is, in Russell's views, necessary for regulating the non-rational forces of human nature. Nor does he think that it is too much to expect an average person to let reason and social considerations regulate the working of his instincts. It is indeed a fact, says Russell, that t

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A man's needs and plans and desires are not confined to his own life. If his mind is comprehensive and his imagination vivid, the failures of the community to which he belongs are his failures, and its successes are his successes : accordingly, as his community succeeds or fails, his own growth is nourished or impeded.<sup>4</sup>

The creative impulses may be said to make for the awareness of the truth of interdependence of the individual and society.

But how can these impulses be allowed freer play unless we remove what bars their way? It is in this context that Russell affirms his faith in socialism and criticizes the present capitalist system. Capitalism, he protests, provides no outlet to the individual's creative impulses and only creates a gulf between what he *would like to* do - in response to his creative needs, urges and desires - and the activity he *has to* undertake to keep his body and soul together by working for a capitalist. Under a capitalist system the purpose of worker is not to create at the bidding of his inner nature but simply to produce whatever he may be asked to for the sake of earning wages. In Russell's words :

The work becomes merely an external means to a certain results, the earning of wages .... And so the process of production, which should be one instinctive cycle, becomes divided into separate purposes which can no longer provide any satisfaction.<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, capitalism may be said to breed a wrong kind of philosophy, that is, the belief that the way to happiness lies only in the acquisition of ever greater wealth. This is why people keep struggling breathlessly to amass wealth and power by giving free play to their possessive impulses and predatory tendencies. Russell is indeed right when he says :

The emphasis is on material goods, not on freedom, self-direction and outlet for creativeness. The private capitalist has become an unduly anarchic survival, preserving for himself alone a form of liberty which the rest of the community has unavoidably lost.<sup>6</sup>

Russell adds that capitalism is also wasteful human resources because it expropriates those material resources with a reckless prodigality which entails almost a certainty of hardship for future generations.

Russell challenges the very basis of capitalism, that is, the right to private property. What is, however, distinctive of his way of thinking is his studied opposition to the belief that acquisition of ever grater wealth is the pre-eminent urge of human nature. The belief, he protests, makes for indifference to the need for individual growth in accordance with one's inherent talent and aptitude. Here Russell is in the company of thinkers like Marcuse, Gramschi, Luckas and Marx. He insists on the need to provide due channels of release to Man's creative energies by humanizing the whole industrial process and by making it accordant with the basic needs of Man for fellowship in creativity. This is why Russell inclines to socialism. But he sees it clearly that a truly advantageous transition to Socialism cannot be a matter of just replacing one system with another, and that the advent of socialism has to be prefaced with, or accompanied by creation of conditions that offer ample room for the creative growth of individuals. It is this cautionary thought which determines Russell's choice of the kind of socialism he comes to prefer. State socialism does not find favour with him for the simple reason that a mere transfer or property claims from individual hands to the state could produce a perpetuation of the wages system, and also a kind of bureaucratic state capitalism. Russell is convinced that equalization of wealth without equalization of power would be an achievement of little value. The greatest evil which can arise under State Socialism, however, is that the entire realm of human consciousness may become subject to *dictates of the state*. However irrational these may be,

honest and right-thinking individuals would find it impossible to oppose them. At the same time, Russell sees no sense in anarchism either. He refuses to believe that human freedom demands total abolition of authority. Nor can he accept the idea of using violence or any kind of terrorist campaign for achieving ends, for such ways are bound to disturb peace and upset conditions required for the exercise of man's creative powers.

I may here add that Russell also objects to syndicalist methods, for he believes that an excess of violence, strike and sabotage is detrimental to the establishment of a true socialist society. At the same time he is sympathetic to such objectives of the syndicalists as safeguarding the interest of the producers, substituting industrial action for political action, and provision for freedom in work as opposed to excessive emphasis on mere material welfare.

At this point, I am perhaps expected to address the question as to how Russell reacts to Marxism. He reacts, I say, at once with remarkable balance, in the sense that he is both a thoughtful critic and admirer of Marx. He appreciates the following emphasis of Marx : economic motivation in politics; the ideal of social change through the conquest of power by those who are not possessed of capital; and the idea of social acquisition of the means of production on a national or universal scale. On the other hand, Russell protests against Marx, that it is neither necessary nor probable that the course of history will always move on a dialectical path, and that it is equally unlikely that dialectical change will assuredly lead to a happy ending. Nor is Russell willing to believe that history is determined by the merely objective forces of production, or that all human institutions and beliefs are, in the ultimate analysis, products of economic conditions. He argues that history is also determined by quite a few non-economic factors, such as, the influence of exalted personalities. The concept of class war is also unacceptable to Russell, for if it is pursued as an ideal, it is bound to breed hatred. Thus, even Marxist ideology fails to satisfy Russell's passion for a just and creative social order. Consequently, he is led to propose a few devices of his own. One of these is industrial Federal Democracy. Russell regards it as a promising way to do away with autocracy or tyranny and to provide labour a measure of direct interest in economic processes. In his own words :

> If we are to retain any capacity for new ideas ... the monarchial organisation of industry must be swept away.

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All large businesses must become democratic and federal in their government.<sup>8</sup>

Russell expresses surprise at the fact that while men and women have struggled so much to achieve political democracy, so little has been done to introduce democracy in *industry*. He hopes that

> by this system many men might come to feel again a pride in their work, and to find which is now denied to all but a fortunate few ... it is only by some such method ... that the free growth of the individual can be reconciled with the huge technical organisations which have been rendered necessary by industrialism.<sup>9</sup>

Russell is, therefore, naturally led to argue in favour of trade unions and to sympathise with their goals and objectives, namely, increase of leisure and diminution of hectic work, as against mere increase in the quantity of production. Leisure is clearly necessary for the exercise of one's creative impulses. This is, I repeat, a recurrent emphasis of Russell. Where he lists the four essential requirements of an adequate industrial system - that is, productivity, economic security, distributive justice and the ultimate furtherance of creativity rather than possessiveness. He does not forget to emphasise that "the fourth is much the most important object to be aimed at". This is also why Russell regards Guild Socialism as the best of all workable systems, for, it alone tries to secure maximum freedom and stimulus for workers through functional representation in Parliament and self-government in industry. Some of Russell's own words may here be cited with advantage :

National Guildsmen have always remembered the importance of freedom for more than their collectivist predecessors. Their systems of balance between the rival powers of the Parliament and Guild congress is designed to secure political freedom. Their system of self-government in industry, as opposed to bureaucratic management by state socialists, is designed to protect the interest of the workers in any industry both nationally, in the general problems of the industry, and locally in all matters that can be decided locally.<sup>10</sup>

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It would, however, be wrong to believe that this is enough to meet the requirements of an ideal political system of Russell's conception. He sees it clearly that, as is borne out by the case of the Third World countries, the mere production of certain institutional devices, such as communal ownership and industrial federal democracy, cannot promote creativity unless the individual's own ability to respond to these changes is developed. A mere introduction of constitutional rights has not changed the hierarchical nature of society in these countries. People, here, have not just learnt to avail of these rights; what they lack is education. To Russell, the aim of education should be an all round fostering of the 'critical faculties' and the 'capacity to judge' independently unaided by the crutches of ideas and notions which are apparently friendly yet deceitful in reality.

Our present educational systems, Russell adds, are not so oriented. They do not quicken our mental powers; they are only vehicles of indoctrination. Russell says:

> Certain mental habits are commonly instilled by those who are engaged in educating; obedience and discipline, ruthlessness in the struggle for worldly success, contempt towards opposing groups, and unquestioning credulity, a passive acceptance of the teacher's wisdom. All these habits are against life. Instead of obedience and discipline, we ought to aim at preserving independence and impulse. Instead of ruthlessness, education should try to develop justice in thought. Instead of contempt, it ought to instil reverence .... The worst evil which arises out of present educational system is the fact that education is treated as a means of acquiring power over the pupil, *not as a means of nourishing his own growth*.<sup>11</sup>

Russell, therefore, seeks to devise a new system of mental training, more suited to the needs of the new society. He insists on promotion of the scientific spirit so that people may be enabled to follow the direction of their own creative impulses. He goes to the extent of saying that no road to social reconstruction can be securely paved and no political theory adequate unless as much attention is paid to children as to men and women. It is interesting to see how Russell's attitude to our present educational system and capitalism relates to his analysis of war. Our teachers hold on to their way of looking at things and abhor disagreement; the capitalist, it is obvious, cannot think of parting with his wealth. It is this possessiveness and this indifference to sharing and accommodation that lie at the root of our tendency to wage war against other countries. Russell declares :

> Capitalism does very much to promote wars .... wars would probably be less frequent and less destructive if private property were abolished .... For my part I feel convinced that any vital progress in the world depends upon the victory of international Socialism.<sup>12</sup>

Again, in his work on China, 'Problems of China', he declares :

The concentration of world's capital in a few nations, which by means of it are able to drain all other nations of their wealth, is obviously not a system by which permanent peace can be secured .... Under the existing economic system, a nation's interest is seldom the same as that of the world at large, and then only by accident ... the essential evil of the present system .... is production for profit instead of for use .... Hence, arise competition and exploitation and all the evils both in internal labour problems and in international relations ... peace alone can never be secure until international Socialism is established throughout the world.<sup>13</sup>

I conclude, therefore, that Russell's thought cannot be put under any rigid category of political thought, be it utilitarianism, individualism, liberalism or socialism. His views often touch the border regions or different ideologies and schools. But his main emphasis is clear and consistent. Whatever be the political system we may choose to devise, the human individual must be educated *and enabled to* cultivate his creative powers. The volume or power of an aggregate is not an alternative to individual excellence.

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# REFLECTIONS ON BERTRAND RUSSELL'S POLITICAL IDEAS

### - Dr. Nalini Pant

Bertrand Russell was a humanist and pacifist out-and-out. His name, in this context, remains bracketed with Gandhi, Einstein and Tolstoy. Humanism is a belief in the unity of human race and man's potential to perfect himself by his own efforts. The basic requisite for the development of man's potential by his own efforts is freedom, freedom to act; and in acquiring it, the freedom of each individual becomes the condition for the freedom of all.

It is in the pursuit of freedom and peace that Russell emerged as a social reconstructionist. Earlier, his passion for clarity had driven him towards the study of mathematics. He found in it (mathematics) eternal truth and absolute knowledge. But after seeing the horrors generated by the first world war, he turned to social and political problems.

In order to achieve a warless world Russell suggested : (1) Single government of the world with a monopoly of political power; (2) Equal distribution of wealth among various nations; (3) Control of population; (4) Negation of the concentration of power and (5) Freedom of the individual.

He believed in the concept of creative and positive liberty, and, yet, freedom was not the ultimate 'good' for him. The forms of ultimate good are - creative art, love, thought and peace. Thus, freedom for Russell meant providing opportunities for the realization of man's creative power.

In his quest for peace, and finding out the causes of war, Russell builds his 'Theory of Impulses'. He finds that wars are not primarily caused either by the ambition of Governments or by diplomatic bunglings, but by the life of impulses. There are two kinds of impulses - possessive and creative. The first leads to conflict and war, and the second is concerned with knowledge

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and art. State and property are the manifestations of possessive impulse and issue in war. A war, therefore, could be prevented if possessive impulse could be restrained and creative impulse encouraged.

The state, for Russell, is a 'Cruel Necessity' or a 'Necessary Evil'. The essence of the state is power. Therefore, to ensure freedom Russell suggests a modified form of state by assigning to it only the essential functions like preserving internal law and order and affording protection against foreign invasion. All other functions could be transferred to voluntary bodies. Clearly enough, Russell is against over centralization and is in favour of devolution of power. He is against dogmatic authoritarianism in any form. He is not a determinist like Hegel and Marx but is an alternativist.

Erich Fromm in his "Prophets and Priests" made Russell a prophet. He says, "those who announce ideas - and not necessarily new ones - and at the same time live them, we may call prophets." In this sense, Russell is a prophet, a prophet who is a passionate pacifist and a passionate humanist.

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When it first occured to me to doubt the existence of God I contented myself with the answer that order and government prevail throughout nature, showing signs of ruling intelligence; that observed phenomena are the result of laws which themselves are the results of more general laws; that thus converging lines are built up, which must meet in a head, or first cause, which first casue we call God. This argument still appears to me perfectly satisfying to the intellect, but to the soul it is insufficient.... It cannot feed the soul or sustain it in times of despondency.... But as I grew fonder of nature, and came more into harmony with her spirit, till I could fancy I heard the music of the spheres, a new aspect of God burst in upon me.

Bertrand Russell

# बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल के राजनैतिक चिन्तन पर एक विचार

- डॉ० नलिनी पंत

बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल पूर्ण रूपेण एक मानवतावादी तथा शान्तिवादी थे । इस सन्दर्भ में उनका नाम गाँधी, आईनस्टाइन तथा टॉलस्टॉय की बराबरी करता है । मानवतावाद एक ऐसी अवधारणा है जो मानव जाति की एकता तथा मानव के अपने प्रयास से अपनी उन्नति की सक्षमता में विश्वास रखता है । इन्सान की अन्दरूनी क्षमता का अपने प्रयासों से विकास के लिए बुनियादी जरूरत है स्वतंत्रता अर्थात् स्वयं कुछ करने की स्वतंत्रता और इस स्वतंत्रता को प्राप्त करने के लिए हरेक इन्सान की स्वतंत्रता ही सबकी स्वतंत्रता की शर्त है ।

स्वतंत्रता और शांति की इसी खोज में रसेल एक सामाजिक पुनर्संरचनाकारी के रूप में (सोशल रिकन्स्ट्रकशनिस्ट) के रूप में उभरे । प्रारम्भिक जीवन में रसेल को उनकी स्पष्टता की चाह ने गणित के अध्ययन की ओर प्रेरित किया था । गणित में उनको शाश्वत सत्य तथा परम ज्ञान की प्राप्ति हुई । लेकिन प्रथम विश्व युद्ध के द्वारा उपजी विभीषिका को देखने के बाद वह सामाजिक और राजनैतिक समस्याओं की ओर मुड़े ।

एक युद्ध मुक्त विश्व तक पहुँचने के लिए रसेल ने कुछ सुझाव दिए । जैसे -

 विश्व में एक सरकार स्थापित हो और राजनैतिक शक्ति पर जिसका वर्चस्व हो

- राष्ट्रों के बीच सम्पदा का सही तथा बराबर रूप में आवन्टन

- जनसंख्या नियन्त्रण

- शाक्ति के केन्द्रीभूत होने को नकारना

- व्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता

वह रचनात्मक तथा सकारात्मक स्वतंत्रता की अवधारणा में विश्वास रखते थे लेकिन फिर भी स्वतंत्रता ही उनके लिए परम ''शुभ'' नहीं था । परमशुभ की

मूल अंग्रेजी लेख का हिन्दी रूपांतर डॉ० अनुराधा बनर्जी द्वारा ।

<sup>\*</sup> प्रोफेसर एवं पूर्व विभागाध्यक्ष, राजनीति शास्त्र विभाग, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी, भारत ।

अभिव्यक्तियाँ कई हैं जैसे - सर्जनात्मक शिल्प, कला, प्रेम, चिन्तन तथा शांति । अतः इन्सान की रचनात्मक शक्ति को साकार करने के लिए मौका दिया जाना ही रसेल के लिए स्वतंत्रता का पर्याय है ।

शांति की खोज में और युद्ध के कारणों को ढूँढ निकालने में रसेल अपने संवेगो का सिद्धान्त निर्मित करते हैं । वह महसूस करते हैं कि युद्ध मूलतः न तो सरकारों की महत्वाकांक्षा से और न ही कूटनैतिक चलाकियों के कारण से उभरते हैं, बल्कि वे (युद्ध) संवेगों से ही उपजते हैं । उनके अनुसार सामान्यतः दो तरह के संवेग होते हैं। यथा, अधिकरावादी एवं रचनात्मक । प्रथमोक्त संवेग असहमति और युद्धों की ओर ले जाता है और दूसरे प्रकार के संवेग के साथ ज्ञान तथा कला जुड़ी हुई है । राज्य तथा सम्पत्ति अधिकारवादी संवेग का प्रकाश है । जिसके चलते युद्ध होते हैं। अतः युद्ध को रोका जा सकता है यदि अधिकारवादी संवेग पर अंकृश लगाया जाए और रचनात्मक संवेगों को आगे बढ़ाया जाए । रसेल के लिए राज्य एक "क्रूर आवश्यकता'' अथवा "आवश्यक बुराई'' है । राज्य का मूल सार सत्ताशक्ति है । इसलिए स्वतंत्रता को निश्चित करने के लिए रसेल कुछ सुझाव देते हैं । वे कहते हैं कि एक सीमित रूप का राज्य हो जिसको कुछ मूलभूत कार्य दिए जाएँ । जैसे अन्दरूनी कानून और व्यव्यथा का संरक्षण करना तथा विदेशी आक्रमणों से देश को सुरक्षित रखना और बाकी कार्यों को स्वैच्छिक संगठनों को दिया जा सकता है । यह स्पष्ट है कि रसेल सत्ता के अति केन्द्रीयकरण के विरुद्ध हैं तथा शक्ति विदान के समर्थक हैं । वे किसी भी रूप के क्टर प्रभुत्ववाद के विरुद्ध हैं । वे हिगेल व मार्क्स की तरह अवश्यम्भाविवादी भी नहीं हैं, बल्कि एक विकल्पवादी हैं ।

एरिक फ्राम ने अपनी रचना "प्राफेटस् एण्ड प्रिस्टस्" में रसेल को एक भविष्य द्रष्टा के रूप में देख सकते हैं । वह कहते हैं : "वे जो विचार देते हैं - और आवश्यकता नहीं कि वे विचार नए हों, और साथ ही साथ उनके अनुसार जीवन जीते हैं, हम उन्हें भविष्य द्रष्टा कह सकते हैं," इस तरह से रसेल एक भविष्य द्रष्टा थे जो एक गहरी संवेदना वाले शांतिवादी व मानवतावादी हैं ।

### BERTRAND RUSSELL : MAN OF ACTION AS A MAN OF LETTERS

#### - Dr. R.S. Sharma\*

It is not easy to capture the essential personality of Bertrand Russell. In the beginning of his career he was no more and no less than "a formula with legs". Later he developed humanistic interests and became involved in the whole range of issues confronting our modern society. He brought philosophy out of the ivory tower and concentrated his mind on the question of questions - human happiness. He opposed war and campaigned for women's suffrage and for disarmament. He championed progressive thinking in politics, education and religion. And to crown it all, he wrote essays and treatises whose abiding charm and unique style brought him the Nobel Prize.

In his long multi-dimensional career, Russell covered a wide range of interests. It has been aptly remarked that his work extends from 'the icy regions of logical space' to the 'equatorial jungles that lie between us and the conquest of happiness'.

In the midst of this overwhelming variety of pursuits, what distinguishes Russell from others - scientists, philosophers and creative writers - is his sense of mission, his orientation to action. As a young man he espoused the cause of science and logical thinking, seeking like a knight errant to drive mysticism back to her shady alcoves. The first law of morality for him was to think straight. As a campaigner and social reformer he directly entered the fray, and having the courage of his convictions, remained undeterred by the consequences that followed - be it denunciation or imprisonment.

In his literary writing also Russell wielded his pen like a weapon now strident, now persuasive and mild. Nothing of art for art's sake in him. But

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he possessed a natural literary talent. It has been printed out that his insistence on logical thinking was something of an over-correction, for, like Plato, he was aware of the literary strain in his constitution. But his scientific habit of mind proved an asset rather than a hindrance. It lent his essays that clarity, structural symmetry and simple rhetoric, which must be recognized as characteristic virtues of prose. His is a unique prose style.

> O weary soul, that seekest for more light, And find'st but broken fragments of the truth, That feel'st a vague and undefined desire For something greater than this earth can give, A striving after perfect blessedness And fuller life than here is granted thee: Think not this want shall never be supplied Dream not that death will quench that spark of light Which makes thee long for more; but trust in God, Who, as he gave thee thoughts which seek for him, Will, when this life's short struggle is no more, Fulfil thy noblest hopes, and satisfy That restless striving after perfect life Which while thou liv'st doth ever drive thee on.

> > **Bertrand Russell**

# बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल ः एक कर्मयोगी व साहित्यिक

डॉ० आर० एस० शर्मा \*

बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल के व्यक्तित्व को समेटना कठिन है । अपने कर्मजीवन की पहली अवस्था में वे एक चलता फिरता फार्मूला से न तो कुछ अधिक अथवा कुछ कम थे। बाद में उन्होंने मानवतावादी विचार विकसित किया और वे हमारे आधुनिक समाज को चुनौती देने वाले तमाम मुद्दों के प्रति जागरुक हुए । 'दर्शन' को उन्होंने यथार्थ के साथ जोड़ा तथा मानव की शान्ति सम्बन्धित विशिष्ट प्रश्न पर अपना ध्यान केन्द्रित किया । युद्ध का उन्होंने विरोध किया, महिलाओं के चुनाव के अधिकार व निरस्त्रिकरण के लिए मुहिम छेड़ी । उन्होंने राजनीति, शिक्षा तथा धर्म में प्रगतिशील विचारधारा का समर्थन किया । सबसे अधिक महत्वपूर्ण हैं उनके निबन्ध और आलेख जिनकी विशिष्ट शैली ने उनको नोबल पुरस्कार से विभूषित किया ।

जो बात रसेल को अन्य बैज्ञानिकों, दार्शनिकों और साहित्यकारों से अलग करती है वह है उनकी कर्मयोग के प्रति प्रतिबद्धता। वैज्ञानिक चिन्तन के प्रति युवावस्था से ही अत्यन्त अधिक रूझान होने के कारण उन्होंने रहस्यवादी चिन्तन पद्धति को नकारा तथा तर्क को प्रधानता दी । सीधा और स्वच्छ चिन्तन ही उनके लिए नैतिकता थी। एक समाज सुधारक होने के नाते वे वास्तविक संघर्षों में कूद पड़े । अपने विचारों और सिद्धान्तों को प्रमाणित करने के लिए वे निर्भीकता से जूझते रहे चाहे उसके फलस्वरूप उन्हे अपमान सहन करना अथवा जेल जाना भी क्यों न पड़ा हो ।

अपनी साहित्यिक रचनाओं में रसेल ने अपनी कलम को कभी तीखे तो कभी अनुनय पूर्ण रूप में प्रयुक्त किया । हालांकि, मात्र कला की साधना के लिए नहीं बल्कि जीवन को सुधारने के लिए ही उन्होंने लिखा फिर भी उनकी रचनाओं में एक सहज साहित्यिक गुणवत्ता झलकती है। उनकी वैज्ञानिक विचार पद्धति और तर्कपूर्ण विवेचन उनकी साहित्यिक रूझान के प्रवाह में बाधक न बन कर उसे और भी अधिक निखार देते हैं। यहीं उनकी तुलना प्लेटो से की जा सकती है। स्पष्टता, तर्कपूर्ण प्रस्तुति, चिन्तन का सन्तुलित विवरण और सादगी उनकी गद्यशैली की मुख्य विशेषताएं हैं ।

\* भूतपूर्व विभागाध्यक्ष, अंग्रेजी विभाग, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी, भारत । मूल अंग्रेजी निबंध का हिन्दी रूपांतर डॉ० अनुराधा बनर्जी द्वारा ।

### TECHNOLOGY-'ASTRIDENCE' AND MAN : FROM RUSSELL TO MCLUHAN

#### - Dr. D.K. Srivastava\*

This paper deals with Man's interrelationship with technology. Russell had viewed science as having two functions : (i) to enable us to know things and (ii) to enable us to do thing. Slowly, the second function has overtaken and circumscribed the first function. Also, Russell had viewed the invidual in three roles : (a) as a common man, (b) as a hero, and (c) as a cog in the machine. 'Qua hero, a man should have opportunity of initiative, qua common man, he should have security, qua cog, he should be useful'. With the growth of technology, man's role as a cog has become predominant. This spells considerable dangers for man qua man, and Russell was a leading figure of modern times to warn us against the impending disaster, '... This really won't do. The idolatory of the machine is an abomination. The machine as an object of adoration is the modern form of Satan, and its worship the modern diabolism.'

Russell has an inbuilt - distrust, a gut-rejection of technology which he shares with Gandhiji who had said in *Hind Swaraj* that technology is nothing but a pit of poison which can only be expected to breed more of its kind.

McLuhan offers a framework in which the real impact of technology on man can be analyzed. He considers technology as an extension of human limbs and senses. Thus, the television is the extension of human voice, eyes and ears; the house is an extension of human skin, and the atom bomb is an extension of human teeth and fist. Each technological change disturbs the sense - ratios. This disturbance is made bearable or accommodated by a numbing process or process of auto-amputation which is the response of the central nervous system to unanticipated shocks. Now, in the form of electricity and information technology, even the central nervous system has

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been extend beyond all proportions. Like Narcissus, looking at his own projection outside of himself, man stands dazed, forgetful of his real self.

In looking for a way out, McLuhan considers an idea suggested by Russell who had claimed that one of the greatest discoveries of the twentieth century was the technique of 'suspended judgement'. The first step is to recognize the true nature of technology. Not many people can rise above the state of numbness to do this. Only some poets and philosophers are truly aware of the true nature of the present catastrophe and it is in their works, that ideas about the true destiny of man would survive as in Noah's Ark. It is surprising that a full theory of the true nature of technology, its implications, and the way of emancipating from its grip and grab has been provided in Srimad Bhagvad GITA long before technology assumed its present forms and proportions.

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It is not worth while to keep every one in a prison for fear a few should fall over precipices and be killed. And a principal reason why family life as it exists, though it is the source of the greatest goods, is also the source of the greatest evils in most people's lives, is just the absence of that respect for each other's liberty which it is the purpose of women's emancipation to foster.

**Bertrand Russell** 

स्नायु तंत्र का उन झटकों के प्रति प्रतिक्रिया है जिनकी पहले से कोई धारणा नहीं थी । अब, बिजली तथा सूचना टेक्नोलाजी के माध्यम से केन्द्रीय स्नायुतंत्र अभूतपूर्व रूप से प्रसारित हुआ है । नार्सिसस की तरह अपनी ही छवि को अपने बाहर देखते हुए इन्सान अपने अन्दरूनी रूप को भूल कर घबराया सा खड़ा है ।

एक समाधान की खोज में मैकलूहन रसेल के एक विचार को लेते हैं । रसेल ने कहा था बीसवीं सदी की एक अन्यतम महान खोज है suspended judgement की विधा । पहला कदम होगा टेक्नोलाजी के सही रूप को समझा जाना । टेक्नोलाजी के प्रभाव से बँधे लोगों में बहुतों के द्वारा ऐसा करना मुश्किल लोगा । केवल कुछ कवि और दार्शनिकों ने ही वर्तमान के सही रूप को पहचाना है और उनकी रचनाओं में ही मानव के वास्तविक उद्देश्य के मूलमंत्र निहित रहेंगे । वर्तमान समय में टेक्नोलाजी के आज के इस रूप तक पहुँचने के बहुत पहले ही श्रीमद् भागवद् गीता में टेक्नोलाजी के वास्तविक रूप व इसके अर्थ के संबन्ध में और इससे मुक्ति पाने की राह के विषय में एक सम्पूर्ण सिद्धान्त की अवधारणा उपलब्ध है । 'टेक्नोलाजी - अभियान' इस शब्द के पीछे गीता की एक अभिव्यक्ति है।

> I feel myself so rugged and ruthless, and so removed from the whole aesthetic side of life — a sort of logic machine warranted to destroy any ideal that is not very robust. My own ideals can endure my own criticism and thrive on it; your, I believe, can also. But most people's can't. People think me cynical, but that is superficial. The bottom feeling is one of affection for almost everybody. I could often wish to be more ruthless in feeling — it would simplify life.

# टेक्नोलाजी अभियान तथा मनुष्य

- डॉ० डी. के. श्रीवास्तव

टेक्नोलाजी तथा मानव के अन्तर्सम्बन्धों का यहाँ एक विश्लेषण प्रस्तूत है 🗄 रसेल के अनुसार विज्ञान के दो कार्य हैं : प्रथमतः हमें जानकारी देना, द्वितीयतः हमें कार्य करने के लायक बनाना । धीरे-धीरे विज्ञान का दूसरा पहलू अधिक प्रबल हो गया है और उसने पहले कार्यक्षेत्र को संकुचित कर दिया है । रसेल ने व्यक्ति के भी तीन रूपों को चिन्हित किया है, वे हैं (१) व्यक्ति, एक सामान्य इन्सान के रूप में (२) व्यक्ति, एक नायक के रूप में (३) व्यक्ति, व्यवस्था रूपी यंत्र के एक पर्जे , के रूप में। नायक की हैसितयत में व्यक्ति को अगुवाई का मौका मिलना चाहिए । सामान्य व्यक्ति की हैसियत में उसे सुरक्षा मिलनी चाहिए और एक पूर्ज़ की हैसियत में उसे उपयोगी होना चाहिए । टेक्नोलाजी के विकास के साथ इन्सान का पुर्ज़े की तरह का कार्य अधिक महत्वपूर्ण हो गया है । इन्सान का यान्त्रिक होता जाना उसकी मानविक हैसियत को काफी डराने लगा है । एक आधुनिक महान विचारक के रूप में रसेल ने इस गहराते खतरे की ओर संकेत किया है । यन्त्र की पूजा उनके लिए खतरे की घन्टी है। यन्त्र को अत्यन्त बढ़ावा देना शैतान को बूलावा देना है । टेक्नोलाजी के सम्बन्ध में रसेल का यह वर्जनात्मक मनोभाव गान्धी के मनोभाव के समान था । हिन्द-स्वराज में गान्धी ने लिखा कि टेक्नोलाजी मात्र एक विषकुम्भ ही है जो सिर्फ अपने सदृश को ही जन्म देता है ।

मैकलूहन ने मानव के जीवन पर टेक्नोलाजी के प्रभाव को विश्लेषित करने का एक खाका दिया है । वह टेक्नोलाजी को मानवीय अंग प्रत्यंगों का विस्तार-मानते हैं। जैसे टेलिविजन मानवीय स्वर, दृष्टि और श्रवण शक्ति का विस्तार है; एक घर मानव की त्वचा का विस्तार है और अणुबम इन्सान के दाँतों और मुक्कों का । प्रत्येक तकनीकी परिवर्तन इन्द्रियों के समीकरणों को विगाड़ता है इस प्रकार की गड़बड़ी को एक स्तब्ध कर देने वाली स्वविनाशी प्रक्रिया अथवा प्रक्रियाओं द्वारा सहने लायक बना लिया जाता है अथवा स्वीकृत कर लिया जाता है जो केन्द्रीय

\* प्रोफेसर, अर्थशास्त्र विभाग, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी, भारत । मूल अंग्रेजी लेख का हिन्दी रूपांतर डॉ० अनुराधा बनर्जी द्वारा ।

### **RUSSELL IN PRAISE OF IDLENESS**

#### Dr. Aruna Mukhopadhyaya\*

In this world of growing materialism Bertrand Russell has given us an all-time panacea to cure the fever of acquiring more than it is actually needed although his panacea is the most condemned word : leisure. So far men have been taught not to wallow in idleness as an idle brain is devil's workshop. The caution against such 'diabolic' consequence is undoubtedly precious. Yet Russell compels us to think otherwise. It is not strange and unbelievable that a born aristocrat like Russell should preach in favour of the priority of leisure since leisure is supposedly the prerogative of the aristocracy and the feudal lords. They are born to spend life in "fox-hunting" sort of idle exercises. What surprises us is Russell's vehemence towards such misconception and misuse of leisure. His concept of leisure is entirely different from the traditional one. He leaves no stone unturned to speak against such idly busy way of life. In reality, such leisurely privilege grabbed by a particular tier of society certainly disturbs the very balance and harmony of social life. It is derived at the cost of those who labour to provide leisure for the privileged aristocracy.

Is an idle brain a devil's workshop ? Should it necessarily be so always? Russell has raised all such questions in 'The Praise of Idleness'. He has challenged the viability of this conventional and rather conservative notion. One wonders whether he wanted to build an ideal world - an Eden for the idlers - otherwise he could not have been so articulate against the worldwide worship of labour. Indeed Russell has closely observed the harmful impact of overwork on modern civilization, especially on the post-war western existence. Hence he wrote :

> I want to say, in all seriousness, that a great deal of harm is being done in the modern world by belief in the virtuousness of WORK ....

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Russell's deep love for human being at large and specially for the down-trodden has enabled him to realize the curse of the regimentation of overwork. The worship of work (as for him both work and overwork are synonymous) has brought nothing but atrocity to the working lot. Hence no good has so far been done to the society. It is a quagmire in which both the aristocrat and the labourer are equally trapped. Seemingly there remains no possible way out of this snare. But for this Russell holds the aristocracy itself responsible. Man's insatiable lust for having more, the fever of prosperity, is the constant source of all social oppressions. This necessary evil has created an artificial disparity in the society. The avaricious craving for more has cleaved the society into two distinct classes : the privileged and the oppressed. While the oppressed class toils harder than its capacity, the privileged class draws on the fruit of its industry like a barnacle. The chasm only widens and hence remains unbridgeable.

As a result, the workers always remain deprived and starved. It has another side too which is even darker. Due to the unmitigable urge to hoard and produce surplus, an artificial dearth is being created which results not only in deprivation or starvation but also in slavery. It is a dehumanizing factor that snatches freedom from the fold of the working class. Russell's titillating and rather teasing title of the essay may appear misleading but reading between the lines the grimness of the situation becomes quite perceptible. 'In Praise of Idleness' is no solitary example where Russell is so explicitly expressive against the maddening consumerism that causes exploitation of the have- nots by the haves. Elsewhere in his other writings too the same indignation is expressed. A sceptic like Russell could not accept anything given without questioning its propriety. Hence it is natural that he would certainly challenge the right to exploit in this way which in the long run turns the labourer into a mere human machine.

Russell's argument in favour of labour (to provide leisure for the labourers he has urged to curtail the eight-hour working period to four) is also pertinent to the Third World which is greatly being fashioned after the west. In the early part of this century John Galsworthy raised such an argument as to the exploitation of the labourers in his drama, 'Strife', which holds good for the Third World as well where also the labourers are exploited in the same manner. If we stamp Russell as a socialist alone or a sceptic it would expose our limited vision. He has a tremendous inner

डॉ० अरूणा मुखोपाध्याय

जब पूरी पश्चिमी दुनिया श्रम संस्कृति के पीछे दौड़ रही है, उसी पश्चिमी दुनिया के एक सदस्य होने के बावजूद बर्ट्रण्ड रसेल ने अवकाश की न ही केवल बात छेड़ी बल्कि श्रम संस्कृति के खिलाफ अपने निबन्धों के माध्यम से एक अनोखा मुहिम जारी किया। यह नहीं है कि रसेल श्रम का मूल्य नहीं समझते थे । न ही उन्होंने आलस को बढ़ावा दिया । श्रमसंस्कृति के नाम पर विश्वव्यापी जो व्यभिचार, जो शोषण तथा अन्याय चल रहा है उसके खिलाफ उन्होंने आवाज उठायी ।

पश्चिमी सभ्यता का आधार है श्रमसंस्कृति जिसके बिना ऐसी प्रगति कभी सम्भव नहीं होती पर इसी श्रमसंस्कृति के पीछे एक विकृत मानसिकता भी छुपी हुई है । लोभ, जरूरत से अधिक धन इकट्ठा करने की वासना ने भौतिकता की चरम सीमा तक पश्चिमी इन्सान को पहुँचा दी है । इसी मानसिकता के कारण ही समाज स्पष्टतः दो टुकड़ों में बँट गया : शोषक वर्ग तथा शोषित वर्ग । सम्पन्न वर्ग और अधिक सम्पद की लालसा से शोषित वर्ग को एक निश्चित समय सीमा के परे जाकर काम करने पर मजबूर करता है जिसके चलते शोषित वर्ग मानवयन्त्र में परिवर्तित होता जा रहा हैं । उनसे उनका स्वतंत्र जीवन जीने का अधिकार छीना जा रहा है जो मानवीय दृष्टिकोण से स्पष्टतः एक जघन्य अपराध है ।

इस अपराध को रोकने के लिए रसेल ने एक उपचार भी सोचा है । वह है अवकाश । उनके अनुसार फैक्टरियों में आठ घण्टे के वजाय चार घण्टे का श्रम ही काफी हैं । इससे श्रमिकों को भी मनोरंजन का समय मिलेगा ताकि वह एक यंत्रमानव के रूप में नहीं बल्कि एक इन्सान की तरह जी सके ।

पर इसका यह अर्थ नहीं है कि रसेल ने श्रमसंस्कृति को पूरी तरह नकारा या उसकी उपेक्षा की । उन्होंने बल्कि विकास के लिए अनुशासित श्रम की आवश्यकता के ऊपर जोर भी डाला । वास्तव में रसेल ने किसी भी प्रकार की अनुशासन हीनता की कड़ी समालोचना की । अभिजात सम्प्रदाय ने जिस प्रकार अवकाश का दुरूपयोग किया उसके विरोध में उन्होंने कलम उठायी क्योंकि निम्नवर्ग के शोषण के

\* प्रवक्ता, अंग्रेजी विभाग, कन्या कुमारी इन्टर कालेज, वाराणसी, भारत । मूल अंग्रेजी प्रपत्र का हिन्दी रूपांतर लेखिका द्वारा ।

creative impulse, a peculiarly sensitive mind that has always dominated his mathematician's identity that tends only to calculate cold digits. This literary aspect of his character has attributed humour to his style which is obvious in the very title (Lytton Stratchey, the famous Bloomsbury intellectual, once said that Russell was the wittiest of them all). Yet Russell provokes us to think seriously and reassess the existing social structure. His warning is as grave and solemn as Wordsworth's lament, "What man has made of man." He has offered his recipe for the ideal panacea. Now it depends on us whether to accept it to set life right or to reject it ignoring his earnest appeal to the humanity at large and make it total Hell.

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Of all the studies by which men acquire citizenship of the intellectual commonwealth, no single one is so indispensable as the study of the past.... It is not only to the historian that history is valuable, not only to the professed student of archives and documents, but to all who are capable of a contemplative survey of human life.

Bertrand Russell

पीछे इन अभिजातों की हरकतें ही काम करती हैं । ठीक उसी प्रकार इन्सान के ऊपर अधिक श्रम का बुरा असर भी कितना हानिकारक हो सकता है यह भी उन्होंने अपने निबंध 'इन प्रेज ऑफ आयड्ल्नेस' यानी 'आलस्य की प्रशस्ति' में साफ जाहिर किया । उनका कहना है कि यह प्रचलित अवधारणा ''खाली दिमाग शैतान का कारखाना है'' कदापि तर्कसम्मत नहीं हो सकती क्योंकि अत्यधिक श्रम भी आज के सामाजिक जीवन का एक अन्यतम अभिशाप भी है अधिक श्रम के कारण अतिरेक की समस्या खड़ी होती है और इसी के चलते भूखमरी जैसी भयानक स्थिति भी पैदा होती है ।

मानवतावादी रसेल का यह स्वतंत्र विचार केवल पश्चिमी दुनिया के लिए ही नहीं बल्कि तीसरी दुनिया, विशेषतः हमारे भारत के लिए भी बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि भोगवाद का धुन अब हमारी जड़ों को भी खोखला कर रहा है । हम आज जिस बालश्रमिक प्रथा को रद्द करने के लिए आवाज उठा रहे हैं उसके लिए कहीं न कहीं हमारी विकासशील और पश्चिम के मोहताज तीसरी दुनिया भी रसेल की ऋणी है । और इसीलिए भारतीय बौद्धिक जीवन में रसेल के उदार तथा मानवीय विचार अत्पन्त प्रासंगिक तथा आवश्यकता हैं ।

What is prison? Self-interest, subjectivity, insistence. Why a prison? because it shuts out the love, the knowledge, and the attainment of goods otherwise possible. What the universe allows, what it forbids: It forbids the freedom of omnipotence; it permits the freedom of comtemplation. It permits the freedom of oneness with it; three forms of union : love, admiration, knowledge. All three are escapes from prison. All three combined give wisdom, peace, virtue; joy in part, infinite melancholy too.

Bertrand Russell

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#### **Bertrand Russell**

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