

RUSSELL SOCIETY NEWS

No. 31
August 1981

- (1) '81 Annual Meeting reported (6,53,54). Playboy interview (12). BR on Evolution (16), on History (17). '82 BRS Award nominations wanted (19). On Sakharov (20). On Nuclear Disarmament (21-23). About Humanism (24-28). Time to vote (43). Membership list (51). An asterisk in the left column indicates a request.

(2) MEMBERSHIP RENEWALS

Last call for dues. Everyone's dues were due on July 1st (except new members who enrolled this year.) If your dues have not been received by September 1st, you become — horrible thought ← a non-person. Please mail your dues, if you haven't yet done so, to the Membership Committee, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg PA 18036. Dues: regular \$20, couple \$25, student \$10. Plus \$7.50 if outside the USA and Canada.

COMING EVENTS

(3) Tenth Interamerican Congress of Philosophy (October 18-23, 1981):

THE INTERAMERICAN SOCIETY OF PHILOSOPHY
AND
THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION
ANNOUNCE
THE
TENTH INTERAMERICAN CONGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY

Theme: HUMAN RIGHTS
Host Institution: FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
Place: TALLAHASSEE, Capital of Florida
Dates: 18-23 OCTOBER 1981
Languages: ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE, SPANISH, FRENCH

The organizing committee welcomes contributions on any philosophical topic, and will arrange sessions as appropriate for what is submitted.

The committee is inviting work on the topic of human rights, the theme of the congress, both in the form of individual papers and organized symposia. It especially welcomes contributions on this topic, either in the form of single papers or ideas for symposia, and suggests the following categories.

THEME: HUMAN RIGHTS

1. PHILOSOPHIC FOUNDATIONS
 - A. Alternative points of view on rights
 - B. Origins and development of rights
 - C. Changing conceptions of rights
2. HUMAN NATURE OR THE HUMAN CONDITION
 - A. Needs and rights
 - B. Rights and human differences (race, gender, sex, age, etc.)
 - C. Health care, research, and rights
 - D. What are the human rights?
3. RIGHTS OF INQUIRY AND EXPRESSION: PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS
 - A. Speech, publication, and broadcast
 - B. The arts
 - C. Religion
 - D. Science
 - E. Philosophy
4. ETHICS AND RIGHTS
 - A. Moral and legal problems of human rights
 - B. UN Declaration of Human Rights (especially the study led by Klibansky for the International Institute of Philosophy)
 - C. The work of the Interamerican Commission on Human Rights
 - D. Moral Education

5. SOCIETY AND RIGHTS: PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS

- A. Economic issues
- B. Political representation
- C. Civil rights
- D. Social change
- E. Political institutions

6. PRACTICE: Discussion of concrete problems of the limitation, defense, and extension of human rights from the perspective of one or more participating countries.

Funds are available for a limited number of participants. In view of the limitations, we appeal to those wishing to attend to seek local funding where possible. In order to make the necessary arrangements, the committee requests that brief abstracts or summaries of proposed work be received in the congress office by April 30, 1981. While we will consider proposals received after that date, those received later will have a diminishing prospect for financial assistance or optimum placement in the program.

Individual contributed papers should be planned for a delivery time of about twenty minutes, so that ample discussion time will be available. Similar considerations prevail for symposia. Where desirable, fuller written versions may be distributed in advance. We are now developing publication plans, and anticipate that the invited papers and a portion of the contributed papers will be published in the original language and in what translations may be possible and appropriate, with abstracts in all four languages.

Papers will be accepted without regard to the philosophical point of view they express, and wherever possible the committee intends to put works with differing points of view close to each other on the program in order to maximize the opportunity for fruitful exchanges. In addition, cognizant of the relevance that fundamental and applied work have for each other in the area of human rights, the committee will attempt to arrange for constructive dialog.

A number of other organizations, for example the Society for Iberian and Latin American Thought, are planning meetings of their own in conjunction with the Tenth Congress. Further information on this will be available later.

The Tenth Congress has been designated a regional international meeting by UNESCO. Prospective participants from outside Canada and the United States will need a passport and a United States visa. Please advise us if any unusual difficulties arise.

The 16-page pamphlet announcing the Congress, from which the above is taken is in Portuguese, Spanish and French as well as English. There are enrollment forms in the 4 languages. For more information, write Tenth Interamerican Congress of Philosophy, American Philosophical Association, University of Delaware, Newark, DE 19711. Thank you, DAVID MAKINSTER.

(See Page 32 for addresses of newsletter and BRS Library)

- (4) Humanist Summit Conference (October 29-30, 1981), at College Park Maryland. BOB DAVIS and DON JACKANICZ will represent the BRS at the Conference. All BRS members are invited. For information, write Bob (2501 Lakeview Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90039).
- (5) BRS at APA (December 28, 1981). For the 8th consecutive year, the BRS will have a session at the annual meeting — this year in Philadelphia, December 26-30 — of the American Philosophical Association, Eastern Division. For the program see (11). The date of the BRS session is probably December 28th, but it should be verified.

ANNUAL MEETING '81

- (6a) The 8th Annual Meeting of the BRS was held on the agreeable green campus of McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, home of The Bertrand Russell Archives, the weekend of June 26-28, 1981.
- Home facilities were excellent, thanks to the good work of KEN BLACKWELL, CARL SPADONI, and CHERYL WALKER, of the Russell Archives. Ken is Archivist, Carl is Assistant Archivist, and Cheryl is Secretary.

28 BRS members attended: KEN BLACKWELL, ANDREW BRINK, BOB CANTERBURY, PETER CRANFORD, DENNIS DARLAND, BOB DAVIS, RON EDWARDS, LEE EISLER, PAUL GARWIG, NICK GRIFFIN, ALVIN HOFER, DON JACKANICZ, MARVIN KOHL*, HERB LANSDELL, JOHN LENZ, BOB LOMBARDI, STEVE MARAGIDES, CALVIN MCCAULAY, MICHAEL PARAYESKI, RAY PLANT, STEVE REINHARDT, CHERIE RUPPE, CARL SPADONI, KATE TAIT, ELEANOR VALENTINE, WILLIM VALENTINE, HERB & BETTY VOGT. (*rejoined the BRS at the meeting)

11 non-members attended: Joseph Capuana, Catherine Funnell, Paul Gallina, David Harley, Elaine Heller, Joan Link, Marilyn Mason, Margaret Moran, Richard Rempel, Roland Stromberg, Elizabeth Valentine.

The following officers were reelected for 1-year terms, starting immediately: Peter G. Cranford, Chairman; Robert K. Davis, President; Harry Ruja, Vice-President; Dennis J. Darland, Treasurer; Donald W. Jackanicz, Secretary.

(A Bylaw amendment, passed at the meeting, provides that officers elected at an Annual Meeting shall take office immediately upon election, and shall remain in office until the next election, at the following year's Annual Meeting. Formerly the term of office coincided with the calendar year.)

There were talks by Ken Blackwell, Bob Davis, Nick Griffin, David Harley, Don Jackanicz, and Bob Lombardi; a panel discussion, with Ken Blackwell, Andrew Brink, Nick Griffin, and Richard Rempel participating, and Carl Spadoni moderating; and a showing of 2 "Meeting of Minds" programs in which BR was one of the characters.

All talks were taped and you may borrow the tapes from the BRS Library (address on Page 1, bottom). It is not true that the tapes are completely unintelligible; you can often make out what people are saying.

The gastronomical and social highlight of the weekend was the Saturday night banquet at Ken and Kandriin Blackwell's splendid, spacious house in the country (about 4 miles from McMaster). We will not attempt to describe the many superb platters that were set out before us, all made by K. B. (plus excellent brown bread baked by the other — or archiving — K.B.) that set a standard for future banquets that we don't expect to see equalled. Banquetwise, it will be all downhill from now on.

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Here are summaries of 2 of the talks:

- (6b) Ken Blackwell's "How Russell Planned to Achieve Compossibility":

Bertrand Russell had certain difficulties in his personal life: the familial loneliness into which he was plunged as an orphan, the consequent lack of union with others (be they groups or individuals), and the lack of peace caused by the restless torment of his particular set of passions. Russell sought love because through love he felt the hard shell of his ego dissolve and experienced the mingling of personalities. He sought even sexual love for this reason, as is evidenced by the coinciding of his early asceticism of both the emotions and the body and later expansiveness of the emotions and welcoming of sexual love. In the realm of thought, Russell is well known for his insistence on certain standards of belief. Allowing yourself to believe without good evidence is to yield to paltry personal desires to which a largeness of vision would never succumb. And just as he wished to escape from the prison of purely personal desires, he wished man to escape from the anthropocentric viewpoint, the perspective that judges all in terms of man's desires. When, however, it became a question of man's existence being threatened by man himself, Russell's ability to think of the human race without distinctions, supported by an expansive generosity, led him into strife in his old age, to do battle not with other men but with age-old hostile forces in man himself. In private life he was a generous man whose impersonal intellect was tempered by caring for the persons involved in the issue at hand. The record of his life shows him (as he puts it in his advice on growing old) making his "interests gradually wider and more impersonal, until bit by bit the walls of the ego recede and [his] life becomes increasingly merged in the universal life."

The foregoing description uses language associated with what I identify as the Spinozistic ethic by which Russell lived and which underlies his normative writings.

[Following this opening paragraph, I examined some of Russell's writings — especially The Conquest of Happiness — for the concept of self Spinoza bequeathed him and which is at the foundation of his ethic to promote generosity and rationality.]

(6c) Nick Griffin's "First Efforts":

The title of this talk is taken from the third chapter of My Philosophical Development and concerns Russell's intellectual development before he went to Cambridge in 1890. Given Russell's puritanical upbringing from his grandmother, his early thinking on religious subjects is traced through his secret journal, "The Greek Exercises". Russell's fascination with mathematics and his failed attempts to understand it are also analyzed. The talk concludes with the loss of Russell's religious beliefs upon reading Mill's Autobiography. The talk to the BRS was an abbreviated presentation of the first chapter of a book that I'm writing with Carl Spadoni entitled Russell's Idealist Apprenticeship.

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For much more on the '81 Meeting, skip to Don Jackanicz's reports, Pages 31-33. Other talks in later issues.

REPORTS FROM OFFICERS

(7) Chairman Peter G. Cranford reports:

A chief action of the Board of Directors was to initiate a revision of one of the Bylaws. The need for this was presented by Alvin Hofer because of differences of opinion as to how ethical violations were to be handled. He presented detailed procedures, and will present the results of further study. Others serving on the revision committee are Cherie Ruppe, Ray Plant, and the Board Chairman.

It was also decided that payment to the Russell Archives for "Russell" would be made at the time of publication rather than in advance.

It was suggested that we have a symposium on compossibility. This could serve as a pilot for an international discussion at a later date. Steve Allen and Dick Cavett have been approached, to include an examination of compossibility on their respective TV shows.

I have been in communication with Dr. Paul G. Kuntz, Professor of Philosophy, at Emory University, who has been in touch with Kenneth Blackwell concerning a philosophical workshop to be held on the Atlanta campus. Emory now rivals Harvard in the amount of endowments.

The Meeting held at McMaster this year was well organized, stimulating and socially enjoyable. It lived up fully to the high standard that has been set by recent Meetings. The intellectual calibre of those who participate is impressive.

(8) President Robert K. Davis reports:

I have been working on a number of projects in addition to the McMaster Meeting and doing research. In May Dan Wray, Jacqueline Berthon-Payon and I, with my sister as photographer, presented the BRS Award to Steve Allen at his offices in Los Angeles. We had an interesting half-hour with Allen, who seems to be well versed in Russell's religious ideas. I sent Andrei Sakharov a brief telegram, at the request of the Sakharov Defense Committee, on the occasion of his 60th birthday (see 20c).

As noted earlier, I have been working on having the 1982 Annual Meeting in England. I received some encouragement last fall; some members said they would try to attend. Recently several more have made it clear that they intend to go, and several European members have responded enthusiastically. I have been working with Peter Cadogan, of the South Place Ethical Society — he ran the ER Memorial campaign — and he put me in touch with the Wilberforce Council for Human Rights. We are discussing a joint meeting at Oxford, with the theme "Persecution Without Prison" — an area of human rights. It has to do with people punished administratively — exile is an example — rather than by imprisonment. Much has to be decided and nothing is certain yet, but I do have high hopes that this Meeting can be arranged. Members with suggestions or observations should please forward them to me (2501 Lakeview Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90039.)

A statement by Andrei Sakharov, not widely distributed in North America, put out by the Wilberforce Council, is being distributed with this newsletter. We can feel pleased that they are interested in working with us.

The BRS has been invited, by the American Humanist Association, to attend a "Humanist Summit Conference" in College Park, MD, October 30-31. (Cf. 4. The AHA letter of 5/28/81 says the dates are Oct. 29-30. If you plan to attend, better check with Bob as to the correct dates.) I have indicated that I plan to attend, if personal finances permit; Don Jackanicz has also indicated interest in attending. The Summit Conference will serve as a coordinating committee and idea generator among the groups attending, especially important in these days of Moral Majority nonsense.

Finally, I have been working on finding a home for Lester Denonn's Russell Library. I attended a seminar on fund-raising last winter, which helped clarify the problem. I have found a potential home for the collection. The prestigious private Huntington Library in San Marino, California (in the L.A. region) has indicated that it is "enthusiastic over the prospect" of getting the Denonn collection, and that "there is a large and interesting body of material in the collection which should be most useful to scholars studying Russell and other

philosophers of his time." Of course, the money is still to be raised; but having (1) learned the proper way to handle this project, and (2) found a very good potential home, I can at last report some real progress in this matter.

(9) Treasurer Dennis J. Darland reports:

For the quarter ending 6/30/81:

Balance on hand (3/31/81).....	1134.75	
Income: 5 new members.....	60.00	
50 renewals.....	960.00	
Total dues.....	1020.00	
Contributions.....	607.50	
Sale of RSN, books, etc.....	160.33	
Total income.....	1787.83	+1787.83
		2922.58
Expenditures: Information & Membership Committees.....	1215.79	
Bertrand Russell Memorial (London).....	50.00*	
Incorporation fee.....	5.00	
BRS Library.....	48.34	
BRS Award to Steve Allen.....	68.29	
Telegram to Andrei Sakharov.....	14.05	
1981 Annual Meeting.....	124.68	
Bank charges.....	50	
Total spent.....	1526.65	-1526.65
Balance on hand (6/30/81).....	1395.93	

*covered by contributions

 REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES
(10) Science Committee (Alex Dely, Chairman):

(1) Dissident scientist report: as a member of the American Physical Society's Committee on International Scientific Affairs, I helped write a "Human Rights Kit: Suggestions for Activities in Support of Oppressed Physicists" (available free from American Institute of Physics, 335 E. 45th St., New York, NY 10017). It gives case reports of scientists illegally imprisoned in Eastern Europe and South America for unpopular political beliefs, and sample letters to U.S. and foreign officials. Though most BRS members are not physicists or scientists, these actions can be taken by any citizen. I encourage BRS members to write letters of support for these courageous people; the investment in time is small, the emotional satisfaction large. Contact me if interested. (Physics Dept., University of Arizona, Tucson 85721.)

(2) Thanks to Kate Tait, who volunteered her services as an abstractor to the Canadian Journal of Peace Research Abstracts. I enjoy this work very much, and find many ingenious ideas on how to stop nuclear proliferation and start educating for a political system in which conflicts can be resolved through reason rather than military might.

(3) The landbased MX missile system is getting increased criticism from many who have studied the social, political, environmental and economic costs of "man's largest project". The decision on the basing mode (land or sea) will probably be made in July or August. I'm helping organize several workshops and a large conference-debate in Phoenix. We are hoping the land-based system can be defeated, as it is militarily inferior to sea-based missile systems.

(4) I have become the State Toxic Substances Coordinator for the coalition of several environmental and consumer groups. In June and July, severe ground water pollution was found in Tucson, due to TCE (trichloroethylene). This carcinogen is estimated (at the levels detected) to cause 1 excess cancer per 10,000 people. As Tucson gets all its drinking water from ground water, and the population is 500,000, the health hazard is obvious. Equally disturbing, the EPA's Enforcement Division is being eliminated, and OSHA is being weakened. The states will now have to take over the task, and Arizona lacks trained personnel, money and other support. I am holding workshops, outlining alternatives and possibilities of political action. Several thousand wells have been closed across the country due to TCE alone. I suggest that BRS members look into the situation in their own communities. You may be unpleasantly surprised, but may still have time to correct the problem. I have plenty of information on how to start a toxic substances campaign. If interested, please contact me.

Anyone interested in working with me, or getting more information, on any of the above, please write to me.

PHILOSOPHERS' CORNER

(11)

THE PROGRAM OF THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY

with

THE EASTERN DIVISION OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION

Place: Sheraton-Philadelphia and Franklin Plaza Hotels, Philadelphia

Time: December 27, 1981 to December 30, 1981
(Probably the morning of the 28th at 10 a.m. Consult the program issue of the APA Proceedings for confirmation.)Do Relations make any Particular difference?
Chris Swoyer, University of Oklahoma

Commentator: Roger Simonds, American University

Russell on the Relations of Universals and Particulars
Larry Blackman, SUNY, Geneseo

Commentator: David Rodier, American University

Chairman: Justin Leiber, University of Houston

Abstracts of the papers to be presented may be gotten in advance of the meeting by writing Edwin Hopkins, 6165 64th Ave. #3, Riverdale, Md. 20840.

This Program is presented by the ERS Philosophers' Committee
Edwin Hopkins, Chairman

ER INTERVIEWED

(12)

The Playboy Interview. G. B. Golson, ed. (New York: Playboy Press, 1981). Interviewer: Norman MacKenzie. March 1963:

In mid-Camelot, even Kennedy "liberals" did not question the need for a strong military. The New Left had not yet formed, *Catch-22* was still a cult book, and pacifism was something odd and just a bit unsavory. Which seemed to be good enough reasons for Fisher to assign journalist Norman MacKenzie to interview Lord Bertrand Russell, the renowned mathematician, philosopher, and pacifist.

It was supposed to be a "theme" interview: Lord Russell's passionate call for disarmament and his castigation of both superpowers would certainly provide enough substance for an extended conversation, Fisher thought. But as it turned out, Lord Russell had some unconventional views on other matters, too, calling for a new outlook on sexuality, for a revamping of sexual education, for a new and open morality—topics congenial to *PLAYBOY*, but not often articulated by such a respectable spokesman. It was Fisher's—and *PLAYBOY*'s—first real coup.

If the long and stormy life of Bertrand Arthur Russell can be said to possess any unifying thread, it is an enduring attitude of passionate skepticism, a lifelong refusal to accept any truth as immutable, any law as infallible or

any faith as sacred. During the nine decades of his dedication to dissent, the erudite Earl Russell, a member of the House of Lords, has been awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in recognition of his pioneering research in mathematical philosophy and symbolic logic, and honored with Britain's distinguished Order of Merit for service to his country. But he has also been reviled as an enemy of religion and the flag; jailed for his ringleadership of passively nonviolent demonstrations against nuclear armament; and variously extolled and execrated for his contentious convictions on free love, women's suffrage, sex education, pacifism and preventive war.

As the London Times wrote last May on the occasion of Lord Russell's 90th birthday, "for every one who grasps even the outline of his contribution to mathematical logic, 10,000 wear the little button that he wears." The button is the badge of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, a militantly antimilitary movement of which he is the combative champion. As spiritual leader of the famed Committee of 100, a ban-the-bomb group that commands widespread popular support in Britain, he has also earned international eminence—and a brief prison term for civil disobedience—as the most articulate agitator for the controversial cause of unilateral disarmament.

ment.

In October 1961—after a decade of mounting personal outcry against the unabating arms race—Russell warned his uneasy listeners at a ban-the-bomb rally in London's Trafalgar Square that they would be lucky if any of them were alive in a year's time. That year has passed, and nuclear holocaust has not yet overtaken us. We began our interview by reminding Lord Russell of this prophetic miscalculation.

PLAYBOY: Inasmuch as the world has successfully survived the year since your Trafalgar Square address, Lord Russell, would you care to revise your estimate of the likelihood of an atomic war?

RUSSELL: I said at Trafalgar Square that we would need luck as things were, and we have been extremely lucky so far. But I don't see any reason to be optimistic. I still feel that the human race may well become extinct before the end of the present century. Speaking as a mathematician, I should say that the odds are about three to one against survival. The risk of war by accident—an unintended war triggered by an explosive situation such as that in Cuba—remains and indeed grows greater all the time. For every day we continue to live, remain able to act, we must be profoundly grateful.

PLAYBOY: In a scathing reference to President Kennedy, Premier Khrushchev and Prime Minister Macmillan, you said in 1961 that "they are the wickedest people who have ever lived in the history of man, and it is our duty to do what we can against them." Did you actually mean to say that Kennedy, Khrushchev and Macmillan are the worst of a gallery of villains which includes Hitler and Attila?

RUSSELL: That was an arithmetical statement. Just as it is a wicked thing for one man to murder another, it is 10 times as wicked to murder 10 others, and 1,000,000 times more wicked to be responsible for the death of 1,000,000 men. No man in history has ever had the chance to murder on such a scale. In the past there have been long and bitter wars that caused appalling destruction, but at the end there were still people who could build again. Today we face the prospect of total obliteration in a single day. If mankind is to survive at all, intelligent people must learn to think and act in a less provocative manner than in former times.

PLAYBOY: Did not the avoidance of nuclear war over Cuba last October reassure you about the prudence and restraint of both Kennedy and Khrushchev?

RUSSELL: There are signs that the politicians are beginning to realize the implications of the power they wield. But they have not fully assimilated them. So much seems to depend on very personal factors with politicians—even on what they have had for breakfast and whether they have indigestion when they have to make some important decision. What I am saying is this: When two great powers disagree about anything—it doesn't matter what—they must find a way to settle it somehow by arbitration or by negotiation, not by war or threat of war. We know only too well that if you threaten someone with war and he doesn't give way, then you may find yourself committed either to war or to backing down—and that choice has almost always been resolved by war. The Berlin crisis is a case in point. Here the Russians have been somewhat aggressive; they are trying to secure a change in the status of West Berlin by what amounts to threats of war. In the case of the Cuban crisis, on the other hand, Khrushchev has shown himself to be less belligerent than Kennedy, and in effect, at a crucial moment last October, was responsible for avoiding a war of nuclear devastation. Full credit must be given to him for this. He acted with great restraint in a crisis of the first magnitude. I hope it may presage similar responses should the Berlin question reach a comparable peak of crisis. The essential thing to understand is that no conceivable solution to any problem is worse than a nuclear war. It is necessary to realize before it is too late that any act—whatever its motive or rationale—is to be considered wicked if the consequence is an atomic holocaust.

PLAYBOY: What do you believe was the effect of your own personal intervention with Khrushchev—via your much publicized cable appealing for Russian prudence in responding to the American blockade of Cuba?

RUSSELL: He carried out the promise he made in the letter replying to my cable—the promise to do nothing rash that would risk conflict. Within hours of my communication, 12 Soviet ships had turned back from their Cuban destination and Khrushchev had stopped further shipment. This left Cuba illegally blockaded in violation of international law. I believe that if a blockade is defensible when applied to Cuba, then the precedent can be applied also to Berlin and even to Britain, which is an advanced American nuclear base. America should remember the War of 1812 when the United States would not tolerate a British blockade. This is the very heart of what I have been saying for years: If nuclear bases are intolerable in Cuba, then they are intolerable anywhere in the world. Nuclear bases threaten the survival of mankind and the Cuban crisis has shown us how very close we are to annihilation.

PLAYBOY: Do you think the Russian position on Berlin may bring us closer still?

RUSSELL: I can't tell. There are all these different possibilities. There is intended war, resorted to when one side really thinks it can win. That is the least likely cause in this case. Then there is escalation—a little war growing into a big one. There is also threat and counter-threat, where each side hopes the other will give way—a course inevitably bringing such dangerous factors as prestige and national pride into play. But what is most likely in Berlin or elsewhere is simply war by misinterpretation. You may get a meteor or something like that showing up on a radar screen, and someone will press the button. There is no time to consider. It could so easily happen, in a day, in a moment . . .

PLAYBOY: Can you make any estimate of the destructive consequences of such a disastrous "misinterpretation"?

RUSSELL: This is a question for experts, though all experts are biased. For an uninformed person such as me, it is very difficult to make any precise forecast. But I could give you a *minimum* estimate. I believe you must generally estimate that, at the very least, the price of nuclear war would be that half the population of both America and Russia, plus the whole of the population of Western Europe and Britain, would be wiped out.

Fear is very much a part of the incentive for armaments. If the fear were removed, each side would be more reasonable. I think that if the West were to voluntarily divest itself of nuclear weapons as a token of its peaceful intentions—this would greatly impress the Russians. They would then feel that they had nothing to fear and that they could enormously reduce their own expenditure on armaments. They would spend their money on consumer goods instead.

PLAYBOY: Does your disarmament plan involve also the abandonment of conventional weapons?

RUSSELL: We should not interfere with conventional weapons unless there is general nuclear disarmament. We would then discard all but a very small number of conventional weapons.

PLAYBOY: It has been said by some political observers that this eventuality will remain entirely academic as long as the U.S. continues to insist on inspection without disarmament, and the U.S.S.R. on disarmament without inspection. Would you agree or disagree with this appraisal?

RUSSELL: It does rather look that way. One side says that America is to blame for the stalemate and the other says Russia is responsible. You get the same sort of explanation in both countries. That, roughly speaking, has been the excuse for not reaching agreement. But I think the true explanation lies deeper than that. Neither side *wants* agreement, and they have to have something plausible to disagree about. You must realize that in both countries there are political and military factions—lobbies, if you like—which exert powerful pressure for extremist policies. On both sides they consist of people with interests in armaments and all the apparatus of preparation for war. There are military commanders in power on both sides, and their vested interest is in exercising that power. In fact, military people carry much more weight in the making of policy than does public opinion.

PLAYBOY: Would you say, then, considering this climate of opinion within as well as between Russia and America, that there is any realistic hope of drafting a global disarmament plan which would be acceptable to both sides?

RUSSELL: No, not at present. There is no possibility of attaining or sustaining general disarmament until East-West tension has lessened.

PLAYBOY: In 1957 you wrote in *The New Statesman*, the liberal British journal, an appeal to Premier Khrushchev and then-President Eisenhower for just such a lessening of world tension, to which both the Russian leader and John Foster Dulles responded with public reassurances. Six years have elapsed since then without a noticeable decline in global strife and division. At this critical moment in the cold war, would you care to make another such appeal—perhaps suggesting specific ways in which relations can be improved—to Khrushchev and President Kennedy?

RUSSELL: If I were to make another such appeal, I would have to begin by repeating what I said in 1957. I should say simply to both men: "You seem anxious to destroy the world, to create vast misery and total destruction. All this preparation for war is childish—and suicidal. If you could only begin to tolerate each other, you would be perfectly happy." I would go on to suggest that the overwhelmingly urgent necessity is to come to an agreement; this is far more important than the precise form the agreement takes. Last summer I sent a message to Moscow in which I expressed the wish that in all negotiations between East and West, the negotiator for the Communists should begin by saying that the universal victory of capitalism would be less disastrous than nuclear war. At the same time, the Western spokesman should start by admitting that the universal victory of communism would be preferable to the destruction of mankind. In a speech last July,

Khrushchey singled out this suggestion and said that he entirely agreed. I was rather pleased. I would suggest further that the likelihood of war could be lessened immeasurably if both sides would place a great deal more emphasis on the ghastly destructiveness of war. At present the major organs of publicity in both East and West are inclined to make the public believe that nuclear war wouldn't really be so terrible after all. That is why I am opposed to Civil Defense preparations. They are diabolical inventions calculated to tell lies and to deceive. Everyone who knows anything knows that. People may think themselves safe in their deep shelters—but they will roast. Governments must be made to give up the habit of lying in order to persuade people to die quietly. Thirdly, I would strongly recommend an agreement on both sides not to teach that the other side is wicked. For Americans, communism is the Devil; for the Russians, capitalism is the Devil. The truth is that neither is wicked than the other. They are both wicked.

PLAYBOY: Do you see *no* difference between the moral positions of America and Russia?

RUSSELL: No. They *both* have abominable systems. I am inclined to prefer the American system, but only because it is more allied with what I am used to. If I had been born a Russian, probably I should prefer the Russian system.

PLAYBOY: Have your views changed since you returned from a trip to Russia in 1920 to write one of the earliest and sharpest criticisms of the Soviet regime?

RUSSELL: I still take exactly the same view. Up to the time of Stalin's death, it was really quite horrible. Since then, I think, things have not been quite so bad—though I still don't care for the Soviet system at all. I just don't happen to like the American system either. The Americans tell you they stand for freedom: What they mean is that you must be quite willing to perish in order to be free in hell. In Russia they punish you if you espouse capitalism; in America they punish you if you espouse communism. What is the difference? But it is not worthwhile for us to go into the question of whether Russia or America has the better system. There are merits and demerits on both sides. The only important matter is to find some way of compromise between them which will avoid war. At present each has an entirely melodramatic conception of the other, and I think that the Russian Government in particular encourages this view by not allowing Russian tourists to visit other countries except in small organized groups. The same applies to Western visitors in Russia. This is a great pity. But there also seems to be some kind of fear in the West that if you get to know Communists, you will begin to admire them and finally be won over by them. Not a bit of it. There is simply no other way to achieve on each side an understanding of the real nature of the other.

PLAYBOY: Do you consider it possible to strive for these same aims *without* waiting a century—by relying on the UN?

RUSSELL: It can't be done through the UN as it is now, because the UN does not embrace China. Its exclusion is a colossal stupidity. The veto also is an absurdity. Some nations, moreover, are very much more powerful and populous than others, and you cannot invest a little nation with the same weight as a big nation. What you will have to do is divide the world into regions. You might, for example, have North America as one group, Europe as another, Russia as a third, China as a fourth, and so on. You would have to work it out with a view to making it more or less equally balanced in population. And the various regions ought to be so constituted that their internal relations would be foremost in importance and their relations to the outer world secondary in importance. I would leave each region complete autonomy for its own affairs. The world government would become involved only when there were contests or disputes with other regions. We shall not long survive without some such system.

PLAYBOY: On a personal level, why have you chosen to adopt a policy of civil disobedience as a means of promoting the cause of peace?

RUSSELL: Purely to get attention. All the major organs of publicity are against us. It was extremely difficult to get any attention at all until we resorted to it. I have no views in principle either for or against civil disobedience. It has always been practiced at different times and places. With me it is purely a practical question of whether to do it or not, a method of propaganda.

PLAYBOY: Do you feel that the authorities have the moral right to prosecute and imprison those involved in such nonviolent demonstrations for peace—as they have done to you?

RUSSELL: I have no right to complain about being punished for breaking the law. I complain only if I am not permitted to break it. I recognize that if you go outside the law you cannot complain if it is made a little awkward for you, but it ought to be possible to do so. If I suddenly took it into my head that I wanted to assassinate the Queen, then I should expect to be punished. You do that sort of thing with full foreknowledge of the consequences.

PLAYBOY: You were recently threatened with expulsion from the Labor Party for urging Western representatives to attend a Moscow "peace" conference and state their views. Aren't such occasions always turned to their own advantage by the Communists?

RUSSELL: On the contrary. Members of the Committee of 100 went to Moscow last summer and presented their point of view very effectively indeed. They got publicity both inside and outside of Russia. Many Americans have asked me why I don't preach my ideas to the Russians as well as to the West, and the answer is that I *do*. Certainly the Russians disagree with much of what I say, but I have found it just as easy—or as difficult—to get publicity for my views in the Soviet press as in the English press. The question I wondered about was whether they had bowdlerized what I said. I have taken the trouble to get translations of what they printed and found that they have been completely faithful. They have not altered a scrap.

PLAYBOY: In addition to disseminating your views personally on both sides of the Iron Curtain, you were the initiator of a series of peace conferences, of which the first was held in Pugwash, Nova Scotia, between groups of scientists from East and West. What positive results do you feel have emerged from these symposia?

RUSSELL: They have made a contribution toward informed opinion. For one thing, as a result, the test-ban negotiations came very much closer to success than they would otherwise have done. But the Pugwash meetings have not accomplished as much as one might have hoped. There was a lack of effective publicity. The public won't listen to informed opinion. They want uninformed opinion.

PLAYBOY: In 1916, you were fined £100 by the Lord Mayor of London for circulating a pacifist leaflet which the law deemed "likely to prejudice the recruiting and discipline of His Majesty's Forces." Your intention, you said then, "was to procure, if possible, a change in the law, or failing that, to secure a change in administration." Does the same intention motivate your current antiwar activities?

RUSSELL: Yes. Then, of course, I was defending the rights of conscientious objectors in World War I. I do not wholly share their views, but I felt, and still feel, that one should respect their convictions. They believe what I do not believe: that it is wicked to take part in *any* war, however righteous the cause. I supported the war against Hitler, and have become a pacifist today largely because of the destructiveness of nuclear warfare.

PLAYBOY: Even if a nuclear conflict is avoided, either through disarmament or a continuing balance of power, Khrushchey has made it clear that future "peaceful co-existence" will entail a continuing nonviolent struggle on the ideological front and an intensified campaign of economic competition which he predicts will eventually "bury" us. What posture do you feel the West should adopt in combating this threat?

RUSSELL: Neither of these conflicting interests will be arbitrated equitably and amicably until we have a truly representative and authoritative world government. In the absence of one, it will be a tug-of-war, a question of who is stronger. A continued program of economic and educational aid to underdeveloped countries, meanwhile, would be a significant means of strengthening the Western position. It would be better, of course, if such aid were given cooperatively by both sides, but I don't think that this is practical politics at the moment. In either case, it should be given not on cold war grounds, but simply because these people need help.

PLAYBOY: Do you share the apprehension of leading sociologists and economists concerning the implications of unchecked population growth in such overcrowded and underproductive areas as Africa, China, India and parts of Latin America?

RUSSELL: The population problem has, in my opinion, been rather exaggerated. It can be solved by adequate birth control, and I don't think that Catholic objections will prevent the increasingly widespread use and acceptance of contraceptives. After all, Roman Catholics represent only a small segment of the world's population. India and China are the really big problem areas, and both are inclined to favor birth control.

PLAYBOY: Do you agree with many historians and social scientists who foresee that the next century will witness "an inexorable economic and social evolution," as one commentator has expressed it, "from the tradition of individual enterprise to the psychology of mass man"?

RUSSELL: Societies comprised of small farmers, merchants and artisans will soon be anachronistic. Almost everybody is already part of something big. If we are to preserve individual liberty in this new world of huge firms and institutions, we must begin thinking in different terms from the tenets of classical liberalism. We will be able to deal with the "curse of bigness," as Justice Brandeis called it, only by democratizing industry. I would like, for example, to see rules providing for the popular election of directors and managers in each industry. The important thing is to ensure the limitation

and equitable division of power. At present economic power is too much concentrated in the hands of a few big men who control the lives of others to an undesirable degree. The Russians—in fact, socialists of all countries—make the cardinal error of believing that if you have a democratic state running industry, then it automatically follows that the industries themselves will be democratic. But to put state officials in place of capitalist officials changes nothing; they are still men, still wielding the same power. Unless state officials are made responsible to all us underlings, nothing will ever be achieved by nationalization.

PLAYBOY: So far we have been talking mainly of the issues which have preoccupied you during the last half-dozen years. But your life's work has encompassed a multitude of causes. Which of them has mattered most to you?

RUSSELL: Though they have mattered differently at different times, the question of international peace certainly transcends any I have ever been concerned with or any issue that previously excited me. But I have derived great satisfaction from many of my interests—matters of the mind more than anything else. Mathematical logic has been the source of perhaps my deepest intellectual gratification. It has given me very great pleasure to feel, in an important field of human knowledge, that I may have made some lasting contribution to man's understanding of things which were once beyond his grasp, but which can now be comprehended and manipulated. I am also pleased with the aftermath of my campaign for women's suffrage and my efforts to secure a more enlightened sexual morality and behavior. They have gone almost as well as I would have liked them to go. When I was young, one talked to a woman in a different language than when talking to a man. There was a cultivated unreality in intercourse between men and women which I thought was very bad indeed. Today things are utterly different. Young people don't realize how much change there has been. But we still need much more freedom and frankness in sexual instruction. Another matter to which I have always attached great importance in education is that schools ought not to teach nationalism. Every school, with hardly any exception, has as one of its objects the deception of children. They teach them patriotism, to salute the flag. But the flag is a murder symbol, and the state is a pirate ship, a gang of murderers come together. When they salute the flag, they salute the symbol of bloody murder. All this is perfectly clear, valid psychology.

PLAYBOY: On the occasion of your 90th birthday, Lord Russell, you said, "In old age, one becomes aware of what has, and of what has *not* been achieved." Did you mean this observation to apply to the fruits of your own efforts in behalf of the various causes you've espoused?

This bears repeating:

"...in all negotiations between East and West, the negotiator for the Communists should begin by saying that the universal victory of capitalism would be less disastrous than nuclear war. At the same time, the Western spokesman should start by admitting that the universal victory of Communism would be preferable to the destruction of mankind."

ER QUOTED

(13) St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Letter to the Editor:

Bertrand Russell once sardonically remarked that he could find very little evidence that man is a rational animal. The latest spate of correspondence from the anti-gun control people certainly justifies Lord Russell's pessimism. As nearly as I can decipher their arguments, they are saying that after a victim is dead or wounded, law enforcement and justice should be vigorous and swift. My grandmother would have called it "locking the barn door after the horse was stolen."

Richard Ash

Mexico, Mo.

(Thank you, STEVE MARAGIDES)

(14) Forbes (5/11/81, p. 348):

"A sense of duty is useful in work but offensive in personal relations." Bertrand Russell

(Thank you, WHITFIELD COBB)

BR MEMORIAL

- (15) Russell Memorial (London) — not quite paid for. This from London, from Peter Cadogan, who handled the fund-raising:

The present position is that we owe the sculpter her last 200 pounds and have about 50 pounds in the bank. It would be nice if we were to raise a little more. Dora and John Russell gave very generously to the fund (they were the biggest donors) and then finally put up an extra 400 pounds to make sure we paid our way — so that, since this was in theory a loan, any surplus we have will be paid back to Dora. The help we have received from The Bertrand Russell Society in the US has been most rewarding both financially and psychologically.

RUSSELL ON X

- (16) "Russell on Evolution", quotations selected by FRED ALLENDORF, who last month attended a special workshop in teaching evolution at the college level — he teaches evolution to biology majors at the University of Montana — at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Evolution, in Iowa City.

On the origin of life:

It may seem odd that life should evolve by accident, but in such a large universe accidents will happen. (1)
It is probable that all forms of life have evolved from unicellular organisms. How these were first formed we do not know, but their origin is no more mysterious than that of helium atoms. (2)

On Darwin:

The doctrine that all men are born equal, and that the differences between adults are due wholly to education, was incompatible with his emphasis on congenital differences between members of the same species. (3)

On a design:

Is there not something a trifle absurd in the spectacle of human beings holding a mirror before themselves, and thinking what they behold so excellent as to prove that a Cosmic Purpose must have been aiming at it all along? (4)

If I were granted omnipotence, and millions of years to experiment in, I should not think Man much to boast of as the final result of all my efforts. (5)

Man, as a curious accident in a backwater, is intelligible: his mixture of virtues and vices is such as might be expected to result from a fortuitous origin. (6)

On evolution as progress:

The same laws which produce growth also produce decay. (7)

And if the changes on the earth's surface during the last million years appear to our present ethical notions to be in the nature of progress, that gives no ground for believing that progress is a general law of the universe. (8)

A process which led from the amoeba to man appeared to the philosophers to be obviously a progress — though whether the amoeba would agree with this opinion is not known. (9)

On Man's relationship to other animals:

Things and species lost their boundaries, and none could say where they began or where they ended. (10)

The difference between man and the lower animals, which to our human conceit appears enormous, was shown to be a gradual achievement, involving intermediate beings who could not with any certainty be placed within or without the human family. (11)

An adherent of evolution may maintain that not only the doctrine of equality of all men, but also that the rights of man, must be condemned as unbiological, since it makes too emphatic a distinction between man and other animals. (12)

Would not a world of nightingales and larks and deer be better than our human world of cruelty and injustice and war? (13)

On the environment:

Man is a part of nature, not somethin contrasted with nature. (14)

To formulate any satisfactory modern ethic of human relationships it will be essential to recognize limitations of men's power over the non-human environment. (15)

On philosophy:

That man is the product of causes which had no prevision of the end they were achieving; that his origin, his growth, his hopes and fears, his loves and his beliefs, are but the accidental collision of atoms; that no fire, no heroism, no intensity of thought and feeling, can preserve an individual life beyond the grave; that all the labors of the ages, all the devotion, all the inspiration, all the noonday brightness of the human genius, are destined to extinction in the vast death of a solar system, and that the whole temple of Man's achievement must inevitably be buried beneath the debris of a universe in ruins — all these things, if not quite beyond dispute, are yet so nearly certain that no philosophy which rejects them can hope to stand. (16)

From evolution, so far as our present knowledge shows, no ultimately optimistic philosophy can be validly inferred. (17)

- (1) Religion and Science (London:Oxford 1935)p.216. (2) Human Knowledge:Its Scope and Limits (NY:Simon & Schuster 1948) p.36. (3) A History of Western Philosophy (NY:S&S 1945) p.726.(4) Religion and Science p.221.(4) same, p. 222. (6) same. (7) same,p.81. (8) Our Knowledge of the External World (NY:Mentor 1960)p.21. (9,10,11) same, p. 18.

(12) A History of Western Philosophy, p.727. (13) Religion and Science, p.221. (14) "What I Believe" in The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell, Egner & Denonn, eds. (NY: S&S), p.367. (15) A History of Western Philosophy, p. 729. (16) "A Free Man's Worship" in The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell, p.67. (17) Religion and Science, p. 81.

(17) "Russell on History" by PHILIP STANDER:

As a science, history conveys two very different meanings. First, science, as the verifier of historical facts, is especially important where evidence is both scarce and obscure and where there is a conflict of testimony. "History, however much it may be pursued as an art, has to be controlled by the attempt to be true to fact." (1) Science, in the sense that the historian does his utmost to preserve fidelity to the facts, is absolutely essential to the study of history.

There another sense in which history attempts to be scientific. This is when historians seek out causal laws connecting different facts. The attempt to discover such causal laws in history resembles attempts by which the physical scientists have succeeded in discovering interconnections among facts. "If there were a science of history, its facts would be deduced from general laws, which would come first in the general order." (2)

At present, Russell is quick to admit, history is far from this state. While some aspects of history can be made more or less scientific, and Russell believes that it is important to do this whenever possible, the material is much too complex to be reduced to scientific laws at present. In fact, Russell adds, such reduction to law is probably centuries away. Due to our present ignorance there is too much that appears as chance, and too great a likelihood that we overlook, in the search for causal laws connecting events, an incalculable number of variables and forces. (3) "I think the course of history is subject to laws and is probably for a sufficiently wise person deterministic; but nobody is wise enough. It is far too complicated and nobody can work it out; the person who says he has done so is a charlatan." (4)

Another difficulty in searching for such laws is that there is not so much recurrence in history as there is, for example, in astronomy. For even when historical causal sequences are established, there is not much reason to expect that they will hold in the future. The relevant facts are so complex, and we are so ill-equipped to deal with them, that unforeseeable changes falsify our predictions. "No historian, however scientific, could have predicted in the fourteenth century the changes brought about by Columbus and Vasco da Gama. For these reasons I think that scientific laws in history are neither so important nor so discoverable as is sometimes maintained." (5)

Russell applies these arguments especially to those who think that they have discovered some formula according to which human events develop, to those large schemes of historical development which many have found so fascinating. Men such as Hegel, Marx, and Spengler have created general formulae which, Russell believes, can only be made plausible by omitting half the facts. Such men who attempt to make up philosophies of history are dismissed by Russell as merely inventors of mythologies. (6)

Russell's sceptical appraisal of "descriptive theories", of projections into the future on the basis of described patterns, derives from his views concerning our knowledge of the past. Since the past is known through given effects, a wide variety of causes of the same effect is conceivable, thereby rendering questionable an historian's explanatory theory. For this reason, it is highly probable that the future might be very different from projections based on some descriptive patterns which, in turn, were based upon the "discovery" of causal relations. The assessment of evidence and records, Russell concludes, will always be restricted to context, temperament, occupation, and so on. That is, historians come to the past with attitudes and biases, and their temporal location and local interests determine their individual assessments of the past.

In coming to grips with the fact of considerable disagreement among observers of the same event, Russell contends that an historian's narrative, most certainly, is an imposed structure upon events where historians exclude and include according to their various senses of significance. The result of this process of selection is the demonstration of relations between the facts. And it is precisely because the historian shows relations, i.e., makes connections by jumping over spaces of time, that the historian is an artist, his selectivity being a reflection of his motives, temperament and assumptions.

It is grossly incorrect, however, to conclude that Russell believes historical records to be an iron curtain to the past. Among philosophers, Pragmatists have been similarly misinterpreted. Rather, like the Pragmatists, Russell's view is that, since everything said about the past is reduceable to record, then one must be sceptical of those attempts to form closed, absolute, and final descriptions about events derived from records. This form of scepticism assumes that some records yield more plausible accounts than others. It is this issue of "plausibility" that renders understandable much of Russell's activities in the realm of historical research.

First, in this connection, some observations yield evidence more plausible than others. Essentially, Hume asserted this when he wrote, "All probability...supposes an opposition of experiments and observations, where the one side is found to overbalance the other, and to produce a degree of evidence, proportioned to the superiority." (7) In much the same way, Russell asserts, some discoveries of cause and effect relationships appear more plausible than others. Thus, it becomes possible for Russell to study "general trends" in history and to talk of "cause and effect". One must keep in mind, however, that the use of such terms is to be understood in light of the issue of "plausibility".

When, finally, A History of Western Philosophy was completed, Russell openly admitted to being eclectic, for, in order to cover such a vast stretch of time, "it is necessary to have very drastic principles of selection. ...In the case of the men whom I have discussed, I have mentioned what seemed relevant as regards their lives and their social surroundings; I have even sometimes recorded intrinsically unimportant details when I considered them illustrative of a man or his time." (8) Of course, such selectivity influences the causal relations which one infers. In the case of Russell, philosophy was perceived as an integral part of social and

political life: "not as the isolated speculations of remarkable individuals, but as both an effect and cause of the character of various communities in which different systems flourished." (9) This, essentially, is Russell's theory of "reciprocal causation", i.e., the theory that history is determined by the interaction of men and their environments, the theory that the circumstances of men's lives do much to determine their philosophy and that, conversely, their philosophy does much to determine their circumstances. (10)

(1) "History As Art" in Portraits from Memory etc. (NY: S&S 1951) p.192. (2) Inquiry into Meaning and Truth (London: George Allen & Unwin 1940)p.17. (3) "How to Read and Understand History" in Understanding History etc. (NY: Philosophical Library 1957)p.38. (4) Hegel's Philosophy of History (NY:Random House 1941)p.414. (5) "History As Art", p.194. (6) "How to Read and Understand History", p.15-17. (7) "An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding" by David Hume, in The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill, Edwin A. Burt, ed. (NY: The Modern Library 1939) p. 654. (8) A History of Western Philosophy (NY:S&S 1945)p.x. (9) Same, p. ix. (10) Same, p. xiv.

THE BRS AWARD (1981)

(18) The 1981 BRS Award, to Steve Allen was reported in RSN10-17. Here is how it was reported in a BRS press release:

STEVE ALLEN RECEIVES THE 1981 BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY AWARD

The 1981 Bertrand Russell Society Award has gone to Steve Allen, a man who does not fit anyone's stereotype. Though widely known as a comedian and versatile TV performer, it is not generally known that he is also given to serious thought, as will appear below.

The Award, in the form of a Plaque, was presented to Mr. Allen by BRS President Bob Davis, at a private meeting in Van Nuys on May 28th.

The Plaque citation reads: "For using unique talents in the service of public enlightenment, by inviting ordinary citizens to meetings of many great minds."

This refers to the PBS TV series, "Meeting of Minds," which brings together great figures and thinkers of the past, in animated conversation. The series was conceived, written, and moderated by Mr. Allen.

"Meeting of Minds" deals with important figures of many kinds — from rulers and generals to poets and saints, and not a few philosophers. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle ...Aquinas, Voltaire, Russell...all appear on-stage, in various episodes. In fact, "Meeting of Minds" might almost have been called "Philosophy For People Who Don't Like Philosophy." It is not a dry-as-dust presentation of ideas to a captive audience, as is sometimes the case in a college classroom. (No TV audience is captive.) There are flashes of wit, clashes of ideas, and the excitement of good argument. And, importantly, the ideas presented are true to the historical record. All this may help explain why "Meeting of Minds" is now in its 4th season, with more to come in prospect.

That a popular TV performer, in position to reach a very large audience, should wish to use his time and talents to enlighten his fellow citizens — clearly a labor of love — should not go unnoticed. Nor has it. "Meeting of Minds" has won the Peabody Award, a TV Critics Circle Award, the Encyclopedia Britannica Award, the Film Advisory Board Award, and 3 national "Emmy" nominations. The Bertrand Russell Society is delighted to add its Award to this list. It is clear that Mr. Allen knows what's important, in the opinion of lots of people.

Bertrand Russell was also someone who invested a good deal of his time in enlightening his fellow citizens, as titles of many of his books indicate: "The ABC of Atoms", "The ABC of Relativity", "The Conquest of Happiness", "What I Believe", "Marriage & Morals", "A History of Western Philosophy". This last was one of the few books that President Carter took with him to the White House from Plains.

Only the bare bones of Steve Allen's remarkable versatility and energy can be indicated here. He is a comedian-actor-jazz pianist-clarinetist-lyricist-poet-novelist-master of ceremonies-orchestra leader-singer. And that's not all: He has composed 4000 songs, and written 22 books. Some of the books are decidedly serious, such as "Ripoff" (on white collar crime), "The Ground Is Our Table" (about migratory farm labor), and "Explaining China". His novel, "The Wake", first written as a play, about a poor Irish Catholic family in Chicago, is semi-autobiographical. He has also written 2 volumes of poetry.

The Bertrand Russell Society is a company of admirers of Bertrand Russell (1872-1970). It is not a scholarly society — though quite a few scholars are members — and is open to anyone interested in Russell. For information, write RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.



Bob Davis has just given the BRS Award plaque to Steve Allen

THE BRS AWARD (1982)

- (19) The 1982 BRS Award -- whom would you like to see get it? Send us your nomination, your candidate.

A candidate should have done one of the following:

- . made an important contribution to Russell scholarship (as BRS Award Winner Paul Schilpp did);
- . popularized important ideas, thus enlightening the public (as BRS Award Winner Steve Allen does in "Meeting of Minds");
- . worked closely with BR in an important way;
- . acted in support of a cause that BR believed in. M.I.T. Professor Henry W. Kendall, of the Union of Concerned Scientists, who works against nuclear armaments (and nuclear power), would qualify;
- . acted in ways that exhibited qualities of character (such as moral courage) reminiscent of BR.

Send your nomination to the BRS Award Committee, care of the newsletter (address on Page 1, bottom), and tell why you believe your candidate deserves the Award. If you name a well-known figure, it may earn publicity for the BRS, which is a plus. If you are not sure whether your candidate qualifies, don't let that stop you: it's up to the Award Committee to pass on qualifications.

HUMAN RIGHTS (SAKHAROV)

- (20a) Peter Cadogan on Sakharov, in "New Scientist" (May 28, 1981):

Andrei Sakharov

There has been too much silence about Andrei Sakharov and it is good to see *New Scientist* make an end of it ("Sakharov: science of a dissident", 30 April, p 274). May I draw readers attention to the remarkable statement he made last October in the form of an open letter to the president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences? Part of it reads as follows:

"My life has been such that for two decades I found myself among those engaged in scientific-military and military construction projects in which I myself took an active part and then, for more than 12 years, I have been among those people who have set themselves the task of a non-violent struggle

for the observation of human rights and the rule of law. My fate has thus forced me to perceive with especial acuity the questions of war and peace, international security, international trust and disarmament, and the questions of human rights and open societies, and to give intense thought to these problems in all their interdependencies. That was how my position evolved. In many respects it proved unorthodox, at odds with the official line and with my own assessments of many years previous. In the final analysis all this has completely changed my life, my goals and my ideals."

The open letter runs to six pages, is a truly remarkable document, and is available from me for an SAE, or from

its publishers in this country: The Wilberforce Council for Human Rights, Salisbury Hall, Park Road, Hull HU3 1TD.

Sakharov would like to hear from scientific colleagues and friends. The November 1980 *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* published an appeal from F. Janouch of the Research Institute for Physics, Stockholm, part of which reads:

"I am convinced that it is time now for the scientific world community to escalate the efforts to help our distinguished Soviet colleague. From Andrei Sakharov's last communication it is obvious that he is mainly missing the information about what is going on in physics. It should be easy for physicists to break down this information barrier. Let the theoretical institutes,

laboratories and groups from all over the world begin sending to Sakharov their preprints, lecture notes, and reports."

They should be sent by registered mail with the pink "advice of delivery" card (P68G)CS to: Professor Andrei Sakharov, Prospekt Gagarina 214, kv3, Scherbinka 2, Gorki, USSR. If the pink delivery card is not returned within a month with Sakharov's signature on it, please ask the local post office to investigate the matter. The Post Office is obliged, according to international convention, to make an investigation and, if unable to provide proof of delivery, to provide compensation.

Peter Cadogan
East West Peace People
1 Hampstead Hill Gardens
London NW3

- (20b) Sakharov's 6-page open letter to the President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences is enclosed with this newsletter. BOB DAVIS obtained copies for BRS members from The Wilberforce Council for Human Rights, Hull, England, which published it. Our thanks to the Wilberforce Council and to Bob.

Note: the Wilberforce pamphlet suggests 2 actions: (1) Write a polite letter to Brezhnev expressing your concern about the denial of Sakharov's human rights, with a carbon copy not to Popov, the Soviet Ambassador to England, but to the Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. (His Excellency, Dr. Anatoly F. Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador, Soviet Embassy, 300 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, DC 20036.) (2) Write a letter of support to Sakharov, address on back page of the Wilberforce pamphlet.

- (20c) Andrei Sakharov Defense Committee (NYC) urged people and organizations to telegraph greetings to Sakharov on his 60th birthday, May 21, 1981. Bob Davis did so, on behalf of the BRS.

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

- (21) From The New York Times Review of the Week (5/24/81, p.E19):

A Day To Remember

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — It used to be celebrated as Decoration Day, then as Memorial Day — sometimes even by the simpler English name of Remembrance Day — but lately we have forgotten to

remember why it was set apart: On May 5, 1868, Gen. John A. Logan, Commander in Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, issued an order that on May 30 of that year there should be a pause to decorate the graves of the soldiers killed in the Civil War, and to pray for reconciliation and peace.

Since then we have had five wars, with so many more graves to decorate that we are running out of space here in Arlington Cemetery. Yet one of the most significant aspects of politics here now is that very little is said about how to avoid another war. There is no discussion, as there was in the years after

the Second World War, of organizing the nations for peace, no debates about Baruch plans or Acheson plans or Lillenthal plans for the control of nuclear weapons, no Eisenhower plan for transferring tens of billions of dollars from military to civilian purposes.

It almost seems to be accepted that

safety lies in more and more military weapons, now costing the world over \$900 billion a year. The United States military budget — significantly called the "defense" budget — is now larger than the entire Federal budget of 20 years ago and the main opposition to it comes from those who want to make it even larger.

Occasionally somebody does speak out against the prevailing indifference to the mounting cost and danger of the arms race, but their warnings are certainly not part of any serious debate between the parties or even much thoughtful discussion in the press.

Prof. Henry Kendall, a physicist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and chairman of the Union of Concerned Scientists, recently made a speech at the State University of Groningen in the Netherlands, deploring the mounting tension between the major nuclear nations and the lack of debate about that perilous predicament.

"The danger of nuclear war remains one of the grim features of modern life," he said. "... a few U.S. nuclear strategists, some of them with close as-

sociations with the present Reagan Administration, even believe that 'limited' nuclear wars can be fought — and in terms of American political objectives — 'won.' Europeans no doubt, living as they do on one of the primary potential battlefields, must find this opinion rather unsettling...."

The explosion of a one-megaton weapon in the lower atmosphere," he reports, "will create a fireball some 7,000 feet in diameter: a million tons of air will be heated above 2,000 degrees centigrade. Detonated at or near the ground the weapon will dig a crater nearly one-fifth of a mile in diameter and 300 feet deep. If such an explosion occurs in an urban area, some 50 square miles will be totally destroyed by the blast effects and much of the wreckage burned out from fires started by the heat...."

We will spare you the gruesome details of his estimates of death and destruction in any nuclear war, but Senator Edward Kennedy did manage to get the entire speech printed, without debate, in the appendix to the Congressional Record of May 12, 1981.

George Kennan, probably our most

distinguished and certainly our most articulate living diplomat, was in Washington last week to receive the Albert Einstein Peace Prize.

He asserted that the United States and the Soviet Union were now on a "collision course politically" and that the "process of rational communications between the two governments seems to have broken down completely."

"Every President of this country from Dwight Eisenhower to Jimmy Carter," he said, "has tried to remind us that there could be no such thing as victory in a war fought with such weapons... [yet] when one looks back over the history of these warnings, one has the impression that something has now been lost of the sense of urgency, the hopes, and the excitement that initially inspired them so many years ago."

"One senses, even on the part of those who today most acutely perceive the problem and are inwardly most exercised about it, a certain discouragement, resignation, perhaps even despair, when it comes to the question of raising the subject again...."

Kennan has little faith that the present crisis can be averted by merely

renewing the strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union and agreeing to small reductions in nuclear arms.

"I can see no way out of this dilemma," he observes, "other than by a bold and sweeping departure.... I would like to see the President, after appropriate consultation with the Congress... propose to the Soviet Government an immediate across-the-board reduction by 50 percent of the nuclear arsenals now being maintained by the two superpowers...."

Though this dramatic proposal came from the man who has the longest experience of any American on Soviet affairs and who originally proposed the policy for "containing" the expansion of Soviet power, his remarks were not widely discussed or even circulated.

It is this silence — or indifference — or forgetfulness — that is so ominous on this Remembrance Day. George Kennan may be right or wrong, but with his record, he is certainly not irrelevant, and might even be as worth listening to as, say, Senator Jesse Helms, North Carolina's gift to peace and good will.

What seems to be a transcript of the Kennan speech that Reston refers to appeared as an article in "The New York Review of Books" (7/16/81, pp. 14-15). Titled "A Modest Proposal", it ends with this paragraph:

In the final week of his life, Albert Einstein signed the last of the collective appeals against the development of nuclear weapons that he was ever to sign. He was dead before it could see publication. It was an appeal drafted, I gather, by Bertrand Russell. I had my differences with Russell at the time, as I do now in retrospect. But I would like to quote one sentence from the final paragraph of that statement, not just because it was the last one Einstein ever signed, but because it sums up, I think, all that I have been trying to say on the subject. It reads as follows:

We appeal, as human beings to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest.

(22) From "The Dial" (February 1981) pp. 46-49:

Why Aren't We More Afraid Of The Bomb?

We are very afraid. But we don't show it.
There's the rub.

BY ROBERT JAY LIFTON

Robert Jay Lifton is a professor of psychiatry at Yale University. His most recent book is *The Broken Connection: On Death and the Continuity of Life*.

The atom bomb that struck Hiroshima shortly after 8:00 A.M. on August 6, 1945, was a trifle. Strategic war-

heads today can create a nuclear explosion over a thousand times more powerful. These devices are infinitely more lethal in the amount of radiation they can spread. We know, nevertheless, what that trifling bomb did to Hiroshima. We know that people by the thousands were incinerated in the streets, many of them as they hurried to work. A white flash, and they were

gone. Ninety percent of the people who were outdoors and within six tenths of a mile from where the bomb hit died instantly. All the buildings within two miles crumbled. The blast melted stone.

Surviving the explosion was no guarantee of remaining alive. Within days, radiation began its work. People became weak, ran high fevers, developed diarrhea, bled from all their orifices, lost

their hair, and died. Death by radiation is in many ways worse than the explosion itself. Radiation is invisible. It was the survivors' second encounter with death after the bomb dropped.

Years later, they had their third encounter. Because of radiation, cases of leukemia, most of them fatal, increased. This was only one kind of cancer that the bomb produced; the incidence of

cancer of the thyroid, the lungs, the ovaries, and the cervix also rose. But psychologically, leukemia, particularly in children, was the ultimate horror, the eventual outcome of the first moments after the bomb struck. The fears have not ended. The rate of cancer among survivors continues to increase. They wonder what genetic scars will appear in their children or their children's children.

We can be reminded of the Hiroshima bomb, and we know that many more powerful bombs are aimed right now at cities around the world. So why aren't we frightened by the knowledge that if a one-megaton bomb (the bomb dropped on Hiroshima was only thirteen kilotons) struck a city as densely populated as New York, over two million people would probably die instantly? Cockroaches would survive well. They would be blinded by the flash but still able to resist radiation far better than humans.

I think we are afraid, but we hide our fear. We have done precious little talking about the consequences of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Yet, my study of Hiroshima survivors and my observations in this country today lead me to believe that those events *have* had an important psychological impact on us. The Hiroshima explosion cannot really represent what would occur today if nuclear weapons were used. Still, Hiroshima has things to tell us, particularly if we look at it not as an obscure event in the past but as a truth dominating our existence today. Ironically, we ourselves experience in muted form much of what happened psychologically to the survivors even though we have never experienced such a holocaust.

Right after the bomb exploded, the survivors ceased to feel, though they were surrounded by destruction and mutilation—people whose flesh fell from their bodies, charred corpses in fantastic positions, screams and moans. "Somehow, I became a pitiless person," one survivor told me, "because if I had had pity, I would not have been able to walk through the city, to walk over these dead bodies, badly injured bodies that had turned black, their eyes looking for someone to come and help them."

The survivors were psychically numb. It was a defense mechanism to close themselves off from death. Their unconscious message: If I feel nothing, then death is not taking place. But such cessation of feeling is itself a symbolic form of death.

There was also another emotion: The survivors felt the need to justify their own survival when so many others had died. An impossible task. The alternative was to feel guilty for being alive, and this turned to shame. Survivors spoke of "the shame of living." They

could never simply conclude that by happy chance they had survived. Now, thirty-five years later, some have remained so identified with those who died that they themselves feel as if dead. In daily life, they have been distrustful and suspicious yet have craved human relationships. These have been difficult to find; just as the survivors felt ashamed for themselves, others in Hiroshima have felt them to be tainted by death. Survival became a stigma, and some of that attitude still lingers.

Hiroshima initiated us into the possibility of global destruction. In the United States, that awareness has a special impact on children, according to unpublished studies conducted several years ago by Michael Carey, a historian trained in psychoanalytic methods. He interviewed people who had been schoolchildren in the early 1950s. It was the time when schools across the country held bomb drills, in which pupils were told to crouch under their desks. The Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs and the fear of a menacing Russia inspired those quaint exercises. Nightmares and fantasies of death and destruction resulted.

The repercussions went far beyond bad dreams. A child must struggle to understand death and come to terms with its inevitability and finality. We all have difficulty doing this, but under ordinary circumstances, we come to accept death as part of life's rhythm. Bomb drills, bomb scares, and images of grotesque, massive death interfere with the capacity of children to think of death as natural. They equate it with annihilation.

The world is insane. This attitude also emerged from Carey's interviews—the bomb is irrational, governments are irrational, and those in authority have no real authority. In such a world, nothing can endure. Awareness of the bomb's potential has thus created an ephemerality; we remain alive at the whim of a craziness that can make us disappear in an instant.

We deal with this by leading double lives. All those whom Carey interviewed spoke of both the possibility of destruction as well as the need to go about their lives as if nothing would happen. Most of us probably lead the same double lives and, in fact, share the themes that appear in Carey's work. We cannot afford to incorporate our knowledge of the destructiveness of nuclear weapons into our emotions. If we allow ourselves to feel what we know, we probably could not go on; hence the extraordinary gap we experience between knowledge and feeling.

Becoming numb to the threat of nuclear destruction is perhaps one way to get through daily life, but it is not a so-

lution. Indeed, it may lead us right into extinction. The existence of nuclear weapons and the threat of their use interfere with the human desire for continuity. We need to feel connected, I believe, to those who have existed before and will exist beyond our brief individual life spans. We normally experience this sense of immortality in the idea of living on in our children, our creations, our influences on others, and in something all cultures describe as an individual's relationship to the natural world. We also feel this larger continuity in spiritual, or religious, terms and, finally, in psychic states that we view as transcendent, states so intense that time and death disappear—religious ecstasy, song and dance, sex, or merely the contemplation of beauty.

But in the face of extermination by a nuclear holocaust, who can believe in living on in one's children and their children or by means of spiritual or creative achievement or even in nature, which we now know to be vulnerable to our destructive weapons? Though we may be numb to the danger of destruction, we are aware of the bomb's presence, its weight on us. This, I believe, is why we are hungrier than ever for states of transcendence. We seek highs from drugs, meditation, jogging, and skydiving, and we join extremist religious cults that offer a kind of cosmology that sometimes includes or even welcomes a nuclear event.

Much worse, a religion based solely upon the nuclear threat exists today. It is industrial society's ultimate disease, a condition I call nuclearism. Worshipers passionately embrace nuclear weapons both as a solution to anxiety over possible nuclear holocaust and as a way of restoring a lost sense of immortality. They seek grace and even salvation—the mastery of death and evil—through the power of the new technological deity.

Adherents see the deity as capable not only of apocalyptic destruction but also of unlimited creation. The bomb, they think, can solve diplomatic impasses, force a way to peace, and atomic energy's potential can create a world of milk and honey. Believers come to depend on weapons to keep the world going. Edward Teller, a leader in the development of the hydrogen bomb, has associated unlimited bomb making with the adventurous intellectual experience of Western civilization, derided what he calls "the fallout scare," assured us that we can survive a nuclear attack, and insists above all that we cannot and must not try to limit the use of nuclear weapons.

A dangerous expression of nucle-

arism in our present weapons policy is the advocacy of "limited nuclear war." Proponents continue to seek from weapons magical solutions to political and military dilemmas while closing their eyes to the unlimited destruction that would result.

We must be able to imagine the consequences of nuclear weapons if we are to stop their use. Coming to terms with massive death, collective death, is asking a great deal of the human imagination. Yet, I do not see how we can ask for less.

That is why we need to remember Hiroshima. Its images give substance to our own intellectual sense of horror. However inadequately that city represents what would happen now if thermonuclear weapons were dropped on a population center, it helps us imagine. Keeping alive Hiroshima's death may help us keep alive.

The proximity of a nuclear holocaust is beginning to break through our numbness, at least for many of us. The accident at Three Mile Island, the near explosion of a Titan II warhead in Damascus, Arkansas, bring the ease of massive death in the nuclear age to the surface of our consciousness. The Iraq-Iran conflict deepens the shadow of possible global destruction. We are beginning to see through the sterility of the nuclear language—"exchanges," "scenarios," "stockpiles"—used by our political and military planners. As we sense the danger increasing, our defenses weaken and our fears increase. This is the beginning of awareness. We now need to go further and place nuclear dangers in the contexts of our lives, our values, and our personal and political advocacies. Unless each one of us knows where he or she stands ethically and politically—what one feels about the future of nations and mankind—a stand on nuclear holocaust may be impossible.

But to gain that perception, one must open oneself to discomfort and anxiety. That poses a formidable historical, even evolutionary, problem. Ordinarily, we are selective in what we experience, feeling just enough and closing ourselves off just enough to function and survive. Technology has upset that equation. What is now required is an unprecedented level of tension and psychic balancing, one that permits us to imagine a nuclear holocaust but does not paralyze us with fear.

Can we speak of a shift in consciousness taking place? We may do better to speak of a struggle against numbing. As reluctant as a turn toward awareness may be, it is an important step along a path to a human future. □

(23) **The 1980 Rabinowitch Prize Essay** — by Michael Shuman, winner of the Essay Contest — appeared in the January '81 "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists". (Details of the Essay Contest were given in RSN27-19.) Unfortunately, we don't have space enough to print the essay itself; it runs to 8 pages. You may borrow it from the BRS Library (address on Page 1, bottom.)

HUMANISM

(24) From The New York Times (5/27/81)p. A26:

Secular Humanists Confront the Moral Majority

To the Editor:

The informative news article by Dena Kleiman on the increase in book censorship and on the general assault on "secular humanism" [May 17] should alarm supporters of civil liberties and all fair-minded Americans.

As Miss Kleiman shows, rightist religious groups, such as the Moral Majority, are everywhere attacking the philosophy or religion of humanism, which has become, they contend, "the unofficial state religion." "Its omnipresence . . . particularly within the nation's schools," they say, "is responsible for crime, drug abuse, sexual promiscuity and the decline of American power." The religious fundamentalists claim that humanists control education, the press, radio and TV and the Government itself.

As an active humanist for almost 50 years, I am astonished at these wild charges, since humanists have unfortunately remained a small minority. The American Humanist Association has never had more than 6,000 members, and that number is at present reduced to approximately 3,000. We would indeed rejoice if humanism had the power and influence widely ascribed to it today.

While constantly accused of being "amoral," secular humanism advocates the highest ethical standards. Its supreme ethical aim is the this-earthly

welfare, progress and happiness of all humanity, with reliance on the methods of science and reason, democracy and love. It embodies the sound principles of the philosophies or religions and thus incorporates much of the Judeo-Christian ethic as set forth in the Bible, especially in the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount.

Like demagogic politicians, demagogic organizations need a demonic scapegoat, and they have chosen humanism. They extend their malicious propaganda to the liberals and even the American Civil Liberties Union, which a Moral Majority leader has absurdly denounced as "a Communist front."

In the face of all this pernicious nonsense, we humanists are standing firm and fighting back as best we can.

CORLISS LAMONT
Honorary President
American Humanist Association
New York, May 18, 1981

'An Incorrect View'

To the Editor:

Though some state Moral Majority chapters, which are autonomous, may be involved in limited efforts to influence the quality of reading material in some public schools, the national Moral Majority office is not involved in any such problems at this time.

Those state chapters that are so in-

involved are doing nothing different from what feminist organizations and minority groups have been doing for years. Those groups have succeeded in rewriting books so that they reflect the way they view themselves and the way they perceive the world. What is good for the liberal goose ought to be good for the conservative gander.

I do not believe in a "conspiracy theory" among secular humanists. Their philosophy, however, is a world view that is shared by many who have influence in such substantive areas as textbooks, television, movies and advertising. As major influencers of what we see, read and, therefore, think, secular humanists are having a major impact on America.

Secular humanism is an incorrect view of mankind, placing the created at the center of all things, rather than the Creator. From such a presupposition flow inevitable moral and ethical consequences that I believe have proved to be detrimental to the best interests of the human race.

Under the Constitution, secular humanists are perfectly free to assert their philosophy, but they must be tolerant of those who disagree with them and do the same.

CAL THOMAS
Vice President for Communications
The Moral Majority
Lynchburg, Va., May 20, 1981

(Thank you
DON JACKANICZ)

(25) From Newsweek (July 6, 1981) pp.48-49:

The Right's New Bogyman

During last year's political wars, the preacher-politicians of the Moral Majority transformed the terms "liberal" and "liberalism" into synonyms for godlessness and immorality. Now, in the wake of last November's conservative landslide, the fundamentalist New Right has shifted its terminology and tactics to confront a new bogyman. The target is what Christian fundamentalists label "humanism"—and their campaign against anyone they regard as a humanist threatens to become as virulent as the anti-communist crusade of the 1950s.

In the Western tradition, humanism is not really a philosophy. Rather, it is an attitude that recognizes the dignity of man and the importance of culture to his full development; it therefore emphasizes, as the poet T. S. Eliot put it, the superiority of "breadth, tolerance . . . and sanity" over "narrowness, bigotry and fanaticism." In the fundamentalist view, however, humanism becomes very nearly its own opposite: a narrowly anti-Christian creed that denies God, glorifies self-indulgence and preaches everything from Darwin's theory of evolution to socialism and pornography. With the influence of humanists in government, the media and public education, says the Moral Majority's Rev. Jerry Falwell, "secular humanism has become the religion of America." It has, he declares, "taken the place of the Bible."

That apocalyptic message has become the rallying cry of a diverse field of right-wing political and religious groups, and it is being repeated with increasing frequency throughout the nation. The Christian Broadcasting Network, for example, has

sold 1,813 prints of "Let Their Eyes Be Opened," a half-hour film that warns about the pervasive influence of humanism in the public schools while regaling audiences—most of them Bible-study and prayer groups—with peephole views of scantily clad teen-age prostitutes.

The crusade's most vigorous apostle is San Diego preacher Tim LaHaye, a self-styled Biblical family counselor who has used his anti-humanist zeal to achieve considerable political clout. Earlier this year LaHaye organized the Council for National Policy, an informal coalition of New Right activists that for the first time puts well-heeled conservatives like oil billionaire Bunker Hunt and fundamentalist preachers in regular touch with right-wing political tacticians, U.S. senators—and the White House. As council president, LaHaye figured prominently at a lavish dinner party recently given in Washington, D.C., by conservative fund-raiser Richard Viguerie and attended by a number of Cabinet and White House officials. "We share a basic commitment to moral values," LaHaye says of his new political-religious coalition. As he noted in "The Battle for the Mind," a book he wrote about the humanist threat, "We must remove all humanists from public office and replace them with pro-moral political leaders."

So far, the anti-humanist campaign's main battleground has been in the public schools. Armed with fundamentalist tracts with titles like "Secular Humanism: The Most Dangerous Religion in America," activists criticize textbooks, intimidate teach-

ers and block sex-education programs. In Alabama, businessman Leo Yambrek enlisted the support of Gov. Forrest (Fob) James's wife in an anti-humanist crusade that succeeded in eliminating five history and social-studies textbooks from the state's education curriculum. In New Hampshire, former Congressional candidate Bob Sweet has taken to the lecture circuit warning parents and teachers against the dangers of godless humanism in the classroom. And in the wealthy Dallas suburb of Plano, Texas, a group called Concerned Parents for Quality Education has written congressmen—and the White House—demanding that all traces of humanism be removed from the Plano schools. "It's a pervasive campaign, an epidemic and a real attack on public education," says Dorothy Massie of the National Education Association's teacher rights department. "It's really a witch hunt, only now the witches are humanists."

'Paranoid': Who are the humanists whom the fundamentalists are hunting? There is no clear answer. In the classic mode of what American historian Richard Hofstadter has called "the paranoid style in American politics," the fundamentalists seem to have created a conspiracy where none actually exists. LaHaye, for instance, warns darkly that America is being victimized by "275,000 humanists" who control everything from the Supreme Court and the Federal government to the nation's universities, labor unions and media. But in "The Battle for the Mind" (350,000 copies of which are currently in print), he manages to identify only a handful of card-carrying sec-

ular humanists—chiefly the hundred-odd signers of a windy 1973 tract called the "Humanist Manifesto II." This group of prominent, self-described nontheists—among them, science-fiction writer Isaac Asimov, behavioral psychologist B. F. Skinner and philosopher Sidney Hook—denounced religion in the name of the "scientific method." In doing so, they set themselves off from the mainstream of humanist tradition—a tradition in which man's relationship to God is as important a subject as any other human activity.

Despite its obscurity, the "Humanist Manifesto" has been used by fundamentalists to back up their charge that secular humanism is a religion—and as such should not be taught in public schools. The basis of that argument was set out in a 1978 article in the Texas Tech Law Review by attorneys John W. Whitehead and John Conlan. According to Whitehead and Conlan, secular humanism received what amounted to official recognition as a religion when the Supreme Court decided to allow principled nontheists to register as conscientious objectors to military service. As a result, they wrote, "Traditional theism, particularly Christianity, [was] disestablished as the State's presuppositional base in exchange for the religion of Secular Humanism." What were the humanist religion's tenets? To define them, Whitehead and Conlan turned to the "Humanist Manifesto"—which asserts the supremacy of human reason and science over religious faith and the authority of the Bible.

Narrow Test: Like many conspiracy

theories, the anti-humanist argument contains elements of truth. Until the establishment of universal public education in the late nineteenth century, most American higher education—and much secondary schooling as well—took place in Christian schools. Not all of them, however, would have passed the modern fundamentalist's narrow test for Biblical inerrancy. In any case, the appearance of totally secular universities did have a profound influence on the thinkers and activists who eventually shaped public education in America. "John Dewey and most of the other progressive architects of the public-education system grew up in small-town, Protestant America," says church historian Martin Marty. "But after they went to university, they dismissed all religion as the dull, small-town Protestantism they had known." Today, however, apart from an occasional celebrity skeptic like Skinner, there are few dyed-in-the-wool secular humanists left on campus who do much more than serenely ignore religion.

The fundamentalist attack on humanism is aimed at far more than just contemporary secularism. It represents a challenge to the root values of Western culture and the tradition of Christian humanism that lies at its core. As evangelical educator David Hicks notes, "The dialectic between pagan humanism and Christianity . . . undergirds all Western thought, culture and education."

Just as Saint Augustine used the scaffolding of Platonism to create the first system of Christian theology, so did Saint Thomas Aquinas draw on Aristotle to fashion his magnificent medieval synthesis of reason and revelation. Even the great Protestant reformers, Calvin and Luther, were trained as humanists; indeed, it was their humanistic studies that led them to their rediscovery of the Bible. And in Erasmus and Saint Thomas More, Renaissance humanism merged with Christian learning and sanctity.

"The Christian humanist does not feel skittish about using the word *humanism*," evangelical scholar Mark Noll has written, "since at the heart of his faith stands the confession that God—the originator of everything right and good—himself became man." The fundamentalists seem oblivious to this notion. "They know a lot about Jesus," Noll says, "but they would know a lot more about him if they also knew Aquinas and Pascal."

But the fundamentalist mind is essentially bellicose; it demands an enemy to fight, not books to read. Modern fundamentalism, after all, got off the ground in the 1920s when Biblical literalists abandoned the secular university and all it represented in favor of their own Bible colleges—sanctuaries that scorned humanistic learning as satanic. In their view, seminal thinkers like Plato and Aristotle were worth discussing only as

examples of pagan error. Both Falwell and LaHaye were educated at such schools, and today both head fundamentalist colleges that continue this essentially anti-intellectual tradition.

The fundamentalist critique of humanism is breath-takingly simple. "All books are based either on man's thoughts or God's thoughts," LaHaye argues in "The Battle for the Mind." The notion that Christianity could be enriched or informed by outside sources is thus considered completely invalid. Indeed, LaHaye criticizes Aquinas for reintroducing Aristotelian thought in the Christian West, remarking: "It is an irony of history that a man who was sainted by his church as a scholar was responsible for reviving an almost dead philosophy, which has become the most dangerous religion in the world today—humanism." This notion that anything not inspired directly by Biblical truth is inevitably anti-Christian applies to more than just philosophy. Among others, LaHaye excoriates Michelangelo for sculpting a nude David—when the Bible makes it clear in Genesis that, having fallen from grace, man should cover his nakedness. "The Renaissance obsession with nude 'art forms,'" LaHaye declares, "was the forerunner of the modern humanist's demand for pornography in the name of freedom."

Alienation: Such bizarre indictments

may say less about humanism than about the fundamentalists' profound alienation from the life of the mind. As the Roman Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain observed, "Humanism is inseparable from civilization or culture." In rejecting it, the fundamentalists are, in a sense, rejecting the entire Western tradition.

They may also be rejecting some potential allies—chiefly those orthodox Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, who are equally upset by sexual promiscuity, drugs and moral indifference. The fact is, fundamentalists share a common enemy with orthodox Christians and devout Jews: secularists in every walk of life who deny that man has a transcendent dignity and destiny. Together, they might well find a way to bring teaching about religion back into the nation's schools and check the zealotry of those social planners who would manipulate the young at the expense of parental authority.

Fundamentalists have only recently awakened to these problems, and to the fact that the United States is no longer—if it ever was—the Christian nation they yearn for. America is a complex, pluralistic nation whose problems demand of its citizens all the breadth, tolerance and sanity that Eliot said humanism has to offer. And if that takes the form of a religious faith, it must feed on more than resentment and fear.

(26) Humanist books purged, a front page story in The New York Times (5/17/81):

Parents' Groups Purging Schools Of 'Humanist' Books and Classes

By DENA KLEIMAN

In Onida, S.D., birth control information has been removed from the high school guidance office, and the word "evolution" is no longer uttered in advanced biology. "Brave New World" and "Catcher in the Rye" have been dropped from classes in literature. The award-winning children's book "Run, Shelley, Run" has been banned from the library.

In Plano, Tex., teachers no longer ask students their opinions because to do so, they have been told, is to deny absolute right and wrong. In Des Moines, Iowa, a high school student production of "Grease," the hit Broadway musical, was banned. In Mount Diablo, Calif., Ms. Magazine is off the school library shelves; it is available only with permission from both a parent and a teacher.

Lobbying Methods Sophisticated

Emboldened by what they see as a conservative mood in the country, parents' groups across the nation are demanding that teachers and administrators cleanse their local schools of materials and teaching methods they consider antifamily, anti-American and anti-God.

Armed with sophisticated lobbying techniques and backed by such national organizations as Moral Majority, the Eagle Forum and the Christian Broadcasting Network, these parents are banding together to remove books from libraries, replace textbooks, eliminate sex education courses and balance lessons of evolution with those of Biblical creation, at least. They also seek to revise such things as the open classroom, new math and creative writing, asserting that these relatively unstructured academic approaches break down standards of right and wrong and thus promote rebellion, sexual promiscuity and crime.

'Secular Humanism' Opposed

There have always been disgruntled parents of one political persuasion or another. But visits to several cities and interviews with educators and leaders of the movement in cities around the nation show that today's groups are far more numerous, well organized and vocal. Their focus is no longer a specific book or course of study but rather the very nature of public education itself. The philosophy of "secular humanism," they say, permeates every facet of school life, from learning the alphabet to high school lessons in American history.

"Secular humanism is the underlying philosophy of all schools," said Terry Todd, national chairman of Stop Textbook Censorship, a group based in South St. Paul, Minn., which argues that "decent" books such as "The House of Seven Gables," "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "Huckleberry Finn" and "Robinson Crusoe" have been censored in favor of "humanist" literature. "Those of us who understand know how it is infiltrated, know how it is inculcated in the children."

Lottie Beth Hobbs, president of the Pro-Family Forum in Fort Worth, Tex., which distributes a leaflet entitled "Is Humanism Molesting Your Child?" said, "Humanism is everywhere. It is destructive to our nation, destructive to the family, destructive to the individual."

According to these groups, "humanism" has become the unofficial state religion. Its omnipresence, they contend, particularly within the nation's schools, is responsible for crime, drug abuse, sexual promiscuity and the decline of American power.

The Philosophy Called Humanism

There is a philosophy called humanism, which places man at the center of the universe, encourages free thought

and scientific inquiry without deference to a supreme being and offers no absolute standard of ethics.

But critics of the antihumanist movement, including teachers, parents and administrators, charge that the campaign is based more on hysteria than fact. They see "secular humanism" as a meaningless catch-all term used by these groups to describe all the nation's ills. While they acknowledge that humanism is the underlying philosophy of modern society, they dispute the belief that its acceptance is a result of conspiracy. Nor do they believe that it has been destructive to mankind.

"I think secular humanism is a straw man," said Paul Kurtz, a professor of philosophy at the State University at Buffalo, a leading humanist. "They are looking for someone to blame."

"Substitute the word humanist for Communist of the fifties or Bolshevik of the twenties," said Dorothy Massie of the National Education Association. "This time the target is public school education."

Based primarily in predominantly white suburbs and small towns, the protesting parents' groups, which number in the hundreds, have names such as Young Parents Alert, People Concerned With Education, Parents of Minnesota and Guardians of Education. They include many parents who have never been involved in organized activity before but have decided to join with others now because they fear that the problems of urban school systems are slowly encroaching on those of their own home towns. Direct mail, toll-free telephone numbers and cable television provide easy access to others who share their concerns.

Brainwashing Is Alleged

Through brochures, films and pamphlets distributed at parents meetings, these parents are being told that humanism "brainwashes" students to accept

suicide, abortion and euthanasia and that it encourages them to lie, alienates them from their parents, fosters such "socialistic" anticompetitive practices as the open classroom and conditions them to think that there is no such thing as right or wrong.

"Some of you may have elementary or secondary children who experience stomach aches, headaches, nightmares or other similar complaints and/or disorders that cannot be accounted for," warns a pamphlet entitled "Parental Guide to Combat the Religion of Humanism in Schools," distributed by Parents of Minnesota. "Look in your schools! Modern educational materials and the techniques used may be what is causing those problems."

"I worry about my sons," said Lore Finley, whose two sons attend grade school in Blunt, S.D., and who only recently has become aware of the movement against secular humanism. "We do not have any rules in school; no right, no wrong. I don't like secular humanism. It teaches anything goes: if you feel it's O.K., do it."

What these parent groups are asking for, they say, is a return to many of the teaching practices and textbooks of 30 years ago, as well as the Christian values and principles upon which, they argue, the country was founded. They are asking specifically for history texts that emphasize the positive side of America's past, economics courses that stress the strengths of capitalism and literature that avoids divorce, suicide, drug addiction and other harsh realities of life.

Rating Textbooks for Parents

On another level, they advocate a return to academic "basics," contending that the abandonment of such disciplines as penmanship has led to slackening of standards and declining achievement. They want reading programs that focus on phonics rather than whole word recognition, writing programs that stress good

spelling over creativity. They also want, they say, a curriculum and an approach to teaching that clearly delineates between right and wrong.

"There is just too much negativism," said Mel Gabler, who with his wife, Norma, operates the largest "textbook clearinghouse" in the country, advising parents' groups on the moral acceptability of textbooks from their home in Longview, Tex. The Gablers say inquiries have increased 50 percent since President Reagan was elected in November.

"There is an uneasy feeling that maybe we've bent over backwards with being broadminded," said Dr. Scott Thompson, president of the National Association of Secondary School Principals.

According to Judith Krug of the American Library Association, since last November there have been attempts to remove, restrict or deny access to 148 different books in 34 states.

In Buhler, Kan., for example, "The Kinsman," a science fiction novel by Ben Bova, was removed from the library of the Prairie Hills Middle School because parents complained that it was sexually suggestive. In Gretna, Va., a parent-teacher committee at the high school voted to cut out or ink over "Howl" by Allen Ginsberg and "Getting Down to Get Over" by June Gordon, which involves the trauma of a woman who was raped, both of which are in "The Treasury of American Poetry."

In Muskego, Wis., students must now have written permission to check out the feminist health manual "Our Bodies, Ourselves." In Branson, Mo., an issue of Sports Illustrated was returned to the publisher in a brown paper bag because it emphasized bikini swim suits. In French Lick, Ind., "Death of a Salesman" has been banned from a high school English class because it contains obscenities.

Curbing Various Textbooks

Because of successful challenges by such groups as the Gablers, numerous health, social studies, English and science textbooks have already been removed or revised to comply with parental

complaints. Most recently, the Alabama Board of Education voted to remove "Justice in America" and "Unfinished Journey," both published by Houghton Mifflin and widely used in social studies classes across the country, from the state's approved textbook list in response to parental complaints that they were filled with secular humanism.

"We feel we brought the best of scholarship and accumulated as accurate and objective a book as we can possibly publish," Gary Smith, corporate counsel for Houghton Mifflin, said of "Unfinished Journey." "We found it difficult to find substance to support the charges made."

Many attempts to ban books have met failure. Others are still tied up in litigation, such as *Pico v. Island Trees*, a case involving a ban on Long Island in 1976 of nine books, including "Slaughterhouse Five" by Kurt Vonnegut Jr., "The Fixer" by Bernard Malamud, and "Down These Mean Streets" by Piri Thomas. The Long Island case is currently on appeal to the Supreme Court and could become an important test case of a school board's right to decide the contents of a school library.

Even in areas where censorship efforts have failed, teachers and others say that the battles themselves have had a chilling impact in certain cases on what goes on in the classroom.

Avoiding Controversial Subjects

"I think about what I'm doing twice," said Betty Duke, who teaches ninth grade history at Vines High School in Plano, a suburb of Dallas, where no specific book has been eliminated. "Is there anything controversial in this lesson plan? If there is, I won't use it. I won't use things where a kid has to make a judgment."

In South St. Paul, a suburb of St. Paul, Minn., all books that could possibly be considered controversial must be so labeled. They must then be reviewed by committee and either rejected or accepted by the school board. Rather than be subjected to that procedure, teachers in the school system simply have not changed the curriculum in more than six years and continue to use books that may

in fact no longer be relevant.

"We want and need to update contemporary literature," said Joyce Johnson, who teaches language arts at South St. Paul Senior High School. "But we won't make suggestions because they would only be labeled out of context."

Learning About Humanism

Peter Carparelli, the principal of Helena Senior High School in Montana, said that many of his teachers had become anxious since a meeting last month when a discussion of the sex education curriculum turned into a forum on the ills of secular humanism. "There is this feeling that you're being questioned," he said.

"Anything that I think possibly controversial I tape," said George H. Tanner, one of several teachers at Montello High School in Wisconsin who began taking cassette tape recorders to class after parents accused them of "anti-God" statements they deny making.

Parents become aware of "secular humanism" and the campaign to cleanse the schools in different ways. Some first heard about it by means of religious television, newspapers or at religious services. Many others have been invited to community meetings and have been shown films and given pamphlets from such national organizations as the Gablers, the Pro-Family Forum, the Eagle Forum, Moral Majority, the Heritage Foundation and America's Future.

Some of the pamphlets currently in circulation include "Weep for Your Children," "The Hate Factory" and "Anti-God Humanists are 'Conditioning' Our Children."

Quick Network Reaction

A 29-minute film produced by the Christian Broadcasting Network and entitled "Let Their Eyes Be Opened" has already sold over 1,800 copies at \$125 each to individuals and groups across the nation. The film shows, among other things, aborted fetuses and teen-agers who have taken an overdose of drugs. It attempts to show that teen-age prostitution, pornog-

raphy and murder are all a result of secular humanism in the schools.

"Two years ago I didn't even know what secular humanism was," said Joyce Cook of Blunt, S.D., president of the local parents group attempting to purge it from the schools. "Now I realize you can be a humanist without knowing it and that there are humanists doing every thing."

Mrs. Cook, who has a son at Sully Buttes high school in Onida and another child in grade school in Blunt, first heard about secular humanism when she was working to oppose the proposed equal rights amendment. She was told to call a lobbyist in North Dakota, who in turn said that she would put Mrs. Cook in touch with someone who could tell her more about humanism. Fifteen minutes later, Mrs. Cook said, she received a phone call from Mel Gabler of Texas, who sent her a package of materials.

Mrs. Cook now subscribes to at least a dozen national organizations sympathetic to her cause and keeps their literature in cardboard boxes and files in her living room. She plays host to sessions around her kitchen table to inform her neighbors of humanism's dangers and is always an outspoken participant at school board meetings. She, among others in the community, was in favor of banning "Run Shelley Run" by Gertrude Samuels, which was chosen by the American Library Association as Best Book For Young Adults in 1974 and which deals, in sometimes stark language, with the problems of a teen-age runaway.

"We have to get rid of secular humanism," said Donald J. Rytikus, superintendent of schools in Onida and Blunt, S.D. The only way that can be done, he said, was by getting rid of "liberal, real liberal, personnel."

"I worry for my son," said Vicky Brooks, who teaches English at Sully Buttes high school and opposed the ban. "I don't want him to be in a community where if you disagree you are wrong. I want him to be able to evaluate opinions and be able to think. People who can't think are ripe for dictatorship."

(27) From *The New York Times* (7/22/81) p.A13:

We're No Holier for Our 'Holy War'

By Martin E. Marty

Martin E. Marty is professor of the history of modern Christianity, at The University of Chicago, associate editor of *The Christian Century*, and author, most recently, of "The Public Church: Mainline-Evangelical-Catholic."

CHICAGO — One year into its holy war, the United States, is not, and stands small chance of becoming, a holier, happier, more civil, or more moral nation.

Last summer, during the election campaign, citizens began to see what in the black movement used to be called the "religiocification" of politics. Now, the unpromising language of the crusade or jihad corrupts the news media and disrupts society. It is time for a cease-fire.

Religiocification has old, long roots. Grant the New Christian Right a point: Now and then its foil, "Secular Humanists," have used religious terms. In 1934, the philosopher John Dewey wanted democratic humanism to become "explicit and militant" as a faith. Humanist manifestos in 1933 and 1973 — overlooked, and overlookable, documents — included some holy-war terms. But if they were calling for some kind of "church," almost no one ever joined.

The United States Supreme Court unwittingly handed the Protestant Right some weapons. In *Torcaso v. Watkins*

(1961), the Justices named some religions that did not focus on faith in God: Buddhism, Taoism, Ethical Culture, and, yes, Secular Humanism. In United States v. Seeger (1965), the Court quite properly granted conscientious-objector status to a citizen whose "religious" conscience was formed without reference to a "Supreme Being." The Court cited the theologian Paul Tillich's broadening definition of religion as "ultimate concern."

With aid from a hated philosopher, the Court, and a theologian, the new religious Right started calling every mental outlook, world view, philosophy of life, or even warm tingle, a religion.

In 1976, John W. Whitehead, a lawyer, and John Conlan, a former Congressman, put the arsenal together in a garbled article in the *Texas Tech Law Review*. Fundamentalist best-sellers since then have billboarded their argument. The two authors claimed that in a string of cases, climaxed in the "school prayer" decisions of 1962 and 1963, the Justices had "virtually eliminated... traditional theism" from schools. In the authors' reasoning, since some "ultimate concern" has to ground all talk of values and morals, some religion has to be privileged and established in American public institutions. Even though the Justices had explicitly rejected this notion and carefully ruled out

Secular Humanism as a candidate for such establishment, Mr. Whitehead and Mr. Conlan claimed that at least by default they had ruled it in.

During the last three years, we have heard the claim that the faith of the majority, traditional theism, should be so established. Whose theism — that of Jews and Christians, or Christians alone, or Protestants, or Mormons? The Right wants Genesis-based "Scientific Creationism" given equal time to counter evolution, which they claim can be taught only as a sort of religion. While there are plausible grounds for tuition tax credits, the Protestant militants implausibly argue that public schools are established churches of Secular Humanism and that they have the right to be protected from them. Library and school-board members may be devout Presbyterians or Roman Catholics, but if they do not surrender to the Right, they are chased as godless Secular Humanists.

The Rightist case is based on distortions of language and history. The Supreme Court school-prayer decisions did not take God out of the schools. Two years before the first decision, a survey shows, only about 6 percent of the school districts in the pious Midwest and only 2 percent of those on the West Coast had "devotional home room exercises," and only 18 percent and 11 percent had Bible reading at all.

Some religious leaders have called

for de-escalation of the holy war. The evangelist Billy Graham, the conservative Baptist theologian Carl Henry, responsible evangelicals, many Catholic bishops, half the Southern Baptist Convention — all have warned against confusions that result when leaders mobilize religious instincts for political causes.

America may have a (sometimes creative) civil religion, but it has also gotten by as a civil society. Alongside its public religion, its schools have been productive on the basis of a public philosophy. The writer G. K. Chesterton did call this "the nation with the soul of a church," but, like the other nations of the free West, it is also a nation with the soul of a nation. Arthur Mann, a University of Chicago historian, recently reminded discussants in a debate that through most of America's history, citizens did well with simpler concepts like "American ideals," and asked, what-ever happened to them?

Not every aspect of every world view, science class, notion, or philosophy has to be a matter of "ultimate concern" and thus religion. Citizens can pursue religion through churches, synagogues, and, yes, tiny clubs of Secular Humanism. The religions have a right to seek influence in the free realm. What the United States needs now is civil argument, which can resume only when the holy war scales down.

(28) From the Los Angeles Times (5/28/81):

Art Buchwald

Hunting Down the Secular Humanists

The new threat to this country, if you believe the Moral Majority and the television preachers, is not Communists or fellow travelers but "secular humanists."

The "secular humanists" are the ones who are brain-washing our children with books about evolution, sex, race relations, ERA and naughty words.

This means we have to get the books out of the schools and libraries. The book censors are starting to organize, the moral crusade has begun and the hunt for secular humanists is on.

I am always intimidated by book-burners, so I want to get on the bandwagon as soon as possible.

My problem is, unlike the Red-baiting witch hunts of the McCarthy days, I find it impossible to know who a secular humanist is.

It was easy to tell a Commie or fellow traveler in the '50s because he always carried a Daily Worker under his arm and didn't bother to shine his shoes. He never had a nice thing to say about Roy Cohn or Sen. Joe McCarthy and he kept taking the Fifth Amendment when he was called in front of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Also, you could check up on him by finding out if he once belonged to one of the hundreds of subversive organizations listed by the government as being for the violent overthrow of the government.

But a secular humanist is a different breed of cat. From what I can gather, he is much harder to identify unless he openly admits he thinks Darwin's theory of creation makes sense.

Secular humanists are not joiners. They don't have cells where they plot anti-American and anti-God propaganda. Most of them work alone, doing historical research, writing textbooks and novels, and explaining

how babies are born. They pollute children's minds with how the world is, rather than how the anti-humanists would like it to be.

What makes them so dangerous is that secular humanists look just like you and me. Some of them could be your best friends without you knowing they are humanists. They could come into your house, play with your children, eat your food and even watch football with you on television, and you'd never know that they have read "Catcher in the Rye," "Brave New World" and "Huckleberry Finn."

Of course, there are some who flaunt their humanism and will brag they're for abortion and against prayers in public schools. You can throw them out of the house.

But for every secular humanist who will tell where he or she stands on a fundamentalist issue, there are 10 who keep their thoughts to themselves and are working to destroy the American family.

No one is safe until Congress sets up an Anti-Secular Humanism Committee to get at the rot. Witnesses have to be called, and they have to name names of other secular humanists they know.

Librarians and teachers must be made to answer for the books they have on their shelves. Publishers have to be held accountable for what they print. Writers must be punished for what they write.

The secular humanists should be put on notice that they can no longer hide behind the First Amendment.

If we're going to go back to the old moral values that made this country great, we're going to have to do it with search-and-destroy methods. First, we must burn the books—and if that isn't enough, then we must burn the people.

(Thank you
JOHN TOBIN)

RELIGION

(29) Instructions from Mt. Sinai, from the New York Times Review of the Week (5/24/81)p.E19:

By Anthony Lewis

One of the important elements in Ronald Reagan's election was right-wing fervor on social and religious issues. The Moral Majority and other groups roused a lot of voters with their calls to end abortion, put prayer back in the schools and resist the women's movement as a threat to the family.

Since Jan. 20 the Reagan Administration has done its best to keep those questions on the back burner in Congress. It did not want its economic program obstructed by an emotional fight over social issues.

But now the fight is on. And we can already see that it represents a danger to the President — not to his economic package, which is on its way, but more deeply to the political climate in the country.

Abortion, that most divisive of issues, has led the way. Senator Jesse Helms and others have been pressing for action on a bill to get around the Supreme Court's decision that it is unconstitutional to make early abortions a crime, by a "simple" declaration that human life begins at conception.

Then last week the Senate, by a vote of 52 to 43, attached to an appropriation bill the strictest anti-abortion rider it has ever approved. The lan-

guage forbids the use of Federal funds to pay for a poor woman's abortion unless the pregnancy threatens her life. It rules out abortions under Medicaid even in cases of rape or incest.

In the debate on the rider, the issues were ones not of party but of faith — really of religious belief. The chief debaters were all Republicans: on one side Senator Helms, on the other Senators Bob Packwood and Lowell Weicker.

Senator Helms specifically rejected appeals for the approximately 15,000 women who become pregnant as the result of rape each year. Under existing law they are eligible for Medicaid abortions if they are poor and have reported the rape within 72 hours. But Senator Helms spoke of "a d herring whereby people come up four months later and say, 'Oh, by the way, I was raped four months ago.'"

Senator Packwood said: "There is growing in this country a Cotton Mather mentality . . . narrow, unforgiving." He spoke of "a feeling that 'God speaks to me. I will tell you what He says. Tough luck if you're not on the same wavelength.'"

Senator Helms answered: "We're talking about the deliberate termination of human life. If that's a Cotton Mather mentality, so be it. There is a set of instructions that came down

from Mount Sinai about that."

That drew from Senator Weicker: "We're not running this country from divine commandments or instructions from Mount Sinai."

My guess is that most Americans do not want this country run by divine commandments — or, rather, by politicians who claim exclusive knowledge of those commandments, the intolerance that motivated Cotton Mather in the Salem witch trials is not the basis of the American political system.

Fundamentalist religion is gaining strength in the United States. But I do not believe it follows that religious Americans want a theocracy as their form of government. Many, even of the strongest personal beliefs, would hold to the country's tradition of diversity in faith and separation of religion from government.

It happens also that a guarantee of diversity — a prohibition on the mixing of church and state — is written into the Constitution. And most Americans, when they think about it, are not likely to favor radical change in that aspect of our fundamental law.

Then there is the place of the Supreme Court in our system. Americans rallied in 1837 to protect a Court whose decisions they did not like against the court-packing plan of a highly popular President. I think the

feeling for the Court as an institution, as a safeguard, is just as strong today. Most Americans will feel uneasy about changing the Court's reading of the Constitution by "simple" legislation.

The public, then, may come to see those who raise the social issues not as "conservatives" but as radical zealots. And the mood of friendly tolerance for conservative experiment in Washington could turn sour.

In the same week that the anti-abortionists were pushing to the extreme in Washington, Italians by a 2-to-1 margin rejected a tightening of their moderate abortion law — and did so despite the emotional circumstance of the attack on the Pope. It would be ironic if a country with a First Amendment were to let religion command politics more than it does in Rome.

Another irony is that some of the same men who talk about translating the word of God into American legislation show little concern for the godless cruelties of other governments. Senator Helms indicates no desire to have the United States speak out against torture in Uruguay or official anti-Semitism in Argentina.

There again I doubt that the right-wing zealots speak for America. The more the extreme right sets the pace, the more danger there is that Ronald Reagan's Washington will lose its rapport with the country.

(30) Creationism, James Gorman in "Discover" (May 1981)

"Isn't it difficult to realize that a trial of this kind is possible in the 20th century in the United States of America?"

That question was asked more than half a century ago by defense attorney Clarence Darrow about the famous "monkey trial" of 1925, in which a Tennessee public school teacher named John Scopes was found guilty of violating state law by teaching evolution in his classroom. Incredible as it may seem, the same question could have been asked in March 1981, as evolution went on trial in a California courtroom, and was seriously challenged by a bill passed overwhelmingly by the Arkansas state legislature. Although the much heralded California trial ended inconclusively, the Arkansas vote may have set the stage for another, more dramatic battle.

The California case was brought by Kelly Segraves, 38, and several others, including Segraves's 13-year-old son Kasey. Segraves is director of the Creation-Science Research Center, based in San Diego. He is one of a growing number of fundamentalist Christians who consider themselves "scientific creationists"—a description that many scientists believe was invented solely as a device to slip creationism into public school curricula in the guise of science. Segraves's grievance was that the state of California was teaching evolution as fact in public school science classes. Thus, he said in his complaint, infringed on the free exercise of religion by those whose beliefs run contrary to the Darwinist theory of evolution. His demand: science courses must take a position of "neutrality" on the origins of life. About the only way that could be done—though Segraves did not specifically request it—would be for the schools to teach also the scientific creationist view,

essentially the same as the biblical version of the beginning of life as described in Genesis.

Interest in the trial had been building, and when it began early in March in Sacramento, Superior Court was packed with spectators hoping for a rerun of the Tennessee case. Local newspapers headlined the event "The Monkey Trial," and the presiding judge, Irving Perluss, acceded to pleas from the press for full coverage. A television crew was in place in the jury box, a photographer sat in the front row of spectators, and the opposing attorneys were equipped with clip-on, battery-operated microphones.

In his opening statement, Richard Turner, Segraves's attorney, said that his client wanted teachers to "stop teaching the theory of evolution as fact in public schools." To dramatize his point, on the second day of the trial he called as a witness young Kasey Segraves, who testified that his public school teacher had told him that man evolved from apes. This conflicted with what he was taught at home. Said Kasey, "I believe that God created man as man and put him on the earth."

It soon became apparent that Kelly Segraves had backed away from the language of his original complaint. He was careful not to advocate the teaching of creationism in the schools, and said he objected most to the state's making the theory of evolution "unquestioned dogma." All he really wanted, it turned out, was qualification of one sentence in the state's science guidelines for teachers and textbook publishers, which read: "The process [of evolution] has been going on so long that it has produced all the groups and kinds of plants and animals now living as well as others that have become extinct." The addition of such phrases as "most scientists believe" or "scientists hypothe-

size" would satisfy him.

Judge Perluss was incredulous. "I thought you wanted scientific creationism taught in the schools. I wonder if this case of great and important constitutional issues has evolved, if you pardon the pun, and come down to a question of semantics. If this is what this case is now all about, then it seems to me we're wasting an awful lot of time."

After five days of argument, Perluss handed down his ruling. He held that the evolution statement did not infringe the free exercise of religion and could thus stand unamended. But he ordered wide dissemination to educators and textbook publishers of a 1973 state board of education policy directive that specified that evolution should be presented as theory, not dogma.

On the surface, the ruling seemed a defeat for opponents of the teaching of evolution in public schools. But Segraves seemed pleased. Said he, "We've done what we came here to do—that is, establish the rights of the Christian child. We've made sure dogmatic assertions can't be made in the science classroom any more." Deputy Attorney General Robert Tyler was not happy with the ruling. "The science framework and the state of science in California is intact," he said. "But to throw the creationists a bone, the judge mandated a meaningless act. The very fact that the creationists won anything has given them great momentum."

In fact, the momentum was already there. Pressed by fundamentalists, legislators in 14 states have introduced bills requiring that creationist views be presented in science classes. One Florida school district requires that creationist ideas be taught in biology classrooms, and in California, Minnesota, South Dakota, Kansas, Illinois, and

Iowa, individual biology teachers have voluntarily included these ideas in their courses. The Texas school board insists that biology textbooks used in public schools include a statement that evolution is a theory and not a fact. Bowing to such pressures, several publishers have sharply reduced the amount of space in biology textbooks devoted to Darwinian theory, or have added sections on creationism.

In mid-March the creationists won their greatest victory to date, when Arkansas passed a bill requiring that, beginning in 1982, if either evolution or scientific creationism is taught in public schools, balanced treatment must be given to the other viewpoint. In an apparent effort to convince the courts that the legislation does not violate the constitutional separation of church and state, the bill prohibits the teaching of religion or reference to religious writings in the classroom. Said Arkansas State Representative Michael Wilson, who sided with the minority in the 68-to-19 vote, "As a lawyer, I will tell you the courts will hold this bill unconstitutional as quickly as it gets to court."

Indeed, the Arkansas legislation seems to define the battle line sharply and set up a confrontation that could provide what Sacramento failed to: a 1980s version of the Scopes trial.

Many scientists believe that the creationists are attacking not only evolutionary theory but the nature of scientific inquiry itself. In the following Essay, written for DISCOVER this month, Harvard professor Stephen Jay Gould, a leading paleontologist (and one of creationism's chief antagonists), accuses scientific creationists of distorting legitimate scientific discourse with falsehoods and innuendo. His arguments may well state the case of the scientific community in the trial that seems destined to come.

(31)

"The Churchman" ran this ad in the New York Times Review of the Week (5/24/81) p.E7. We admire it.

PARDON ME, MR. LINCOLN

THREE SCORE, and three years ago
Our grandfathers helped bring forth upon
this planet

The First World War,
Conceived in nationalistic fervor
And dedicated to the proposition

That some people are more equal than others.
Now we are engaged in a vast Cold War,
Testing whether our nation or any other nation

So deceived and so frustrated can long endure.
For many years international leaders
Have been conducting conferences and meetings,

presumably in efforts
To halt the insane, irrational, immoral and
suicidal condition

That threatens with extinction all living
organisms. But in a larger sense, they cannot
obliterate, they cannot eradicate.

They cannot save us from the ultimate folly of
nuclear war.

The courageous, selfless and consecrated persons,
living and dead,
Who over the years struggled, bled, and died

In pursuit of peaceful solutions to international
misunderstandings

Are the only ones who can show us the way to
save ourselves from the extinction.

The world's people seldom note nor long
remember the unspeakable horrors of past wars,
But they will not survive an atomic holocaust.

It is for those of us now living to dedicate
ourselves completely

To the unfinished task which peacemakers, living
and dead, thus far nobly advanced.

It is for those of us who for so long have buried our
heads in the sands

To be here dedicated to the great unfinished task
remaining before us

That this nation and the entire world, under God,
Shall at last emerge from the scourge of war;
And that government of the military, by the
military and for the military,
Shall vanish from the Earth.

MAHLON R. HAGERTY

The above poem reflects the sentiments found
in each fearless issue of *The Churchman*, a
Humanist-oriented journal, the oldest religious
(and youngest in spirit) magazine in the country. A
copy of the poem, plus a free issue of *The Churchman*,
will be sent for a \$5.00 trial subscription of
one year. Among its authors are Professor John
Somerville, Hazel Henderson, George Selde, Brig
Gen. Hugh B. Hester, Edward Lamb, Dr. Corliss
Lamont, Rabbi Morrison D. Bial, the Rev. Stephen
H. Fritchman, Robert St. John — all speaking
forthrightly and with enlightenment on the
pressing issues of our troubled time with a focus
on world peace.

YES, I accept your offer to try THE CHURCHMAN.

- Send me a one-year subscription to THE
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Include my FREE issue.
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RATIONALITY

- (32) Cognitive dissonance. From The New York Times Review of the Week (5/17/81) p.E22:

The Triumph of Cognitive Dissonance

To the Editor:

Cognitive dissonance, which is the belief in two or more mutually exclusive ideas, is not unusual. What is less



common is a political philosophy based on such logical contradictions. Today, American conservatives seem to believe that:

- In technology, America is falling behind the rest of the world; funding

for education and scientific research should be cut.

- Government should stay out of peoples' private lives; what is needed is a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion.

- Federal spending causes inflation because it is wasteful and inefficient; military spending should be increased.

- The military cannot keep enough trained, dedicated people in service; resume the draft (see also private lives, above).

- The free market should determine the worthiness of any product or service; curtail Japanese imports.

- America needs efficient transportation; subsidize Lockheed and Chrysler. Cancel Conrail.

Most serious is the belief that the way to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war is to build more nuclear weapons. I realize that the republic in which logic rules has yet to be founded. I hope that the republic in which illogic rules is not upon us. One concern I have is whether, like the village in Vietnam, America will be destroyed in order to be saved.

JOSEPH WALKER
Philadelphia, May 11, 1981

NEWS ABOUT MEMBERS

- (33) Andre Bacard recently became a member and would like to hear from members who live in, or plan to visit, the Bay Area. Write him at Box 4121, Stanford, CA 94306
- (34) Adam Paul Banner is going to Haiti for 3 months (or more) under the auspices of the International Executive Service Corps, as a Volunteer Executive. He designs plants, and is a technical specialist in the manufacture of carbon and graphite. He will assist in the start-up and development of a flashlight battery plant. For his address in Haiti, sdd (39).
- (35) Leonard Cleavelin, who is studying law, has accepted a commission in the U.S. Navy Judge Advocate General's Corps. He is spending the summer as an Ensign on temporary active duty, and was therefore unable to be at the McMaster Meeting.
- (36) Daniel Tito expects to matriculate at Goddard College, Vermont, this fall.
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QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

- (37) More on 2 + 2 = ? Originally, JACK RAGSDALE wondered what ER meant when he said something like "Two and two are about four" (RSN27-25). KEN KORBIN offered a statement approximately from Wittgenstein (RSN28-31). Now BOB LOMBARDI comes across some paragraphs that seem relevant, in ER's The Art of Philosophizing (NY: Philosophical Library 1968) pp.114-115:

"But," you may say, "none of this shakes my belief that 2 and 2 are 4." You are quite right, except in marginal cases—and it is only in marginal cases that you are doubtful whether a certain animal is a dog or a certain length is less than a meter. Two must be two of something, and the proposition "2 and 2 are 4" is useless unless it can be ap-

plied. Two dogs and two dogs are certainly four dogs, but cases may arise in which you are doubtful whether two of them are dogs. "Well, at any rate there are four animals," you may say. But there are microorganisms concerning which it is doubtful whether they are animals or plants. "Well then, living organisms," you say. But there are things of

which it is doubtful whether they are living organisms or not. You will be driven into saying: "Two entities and two entities are four entities." When you have told me what you mean by "entity," we will resume the argument.

Thus concepts, in general, have a certain region to which they are certainly applicable, and another to which they are certainly inapplicable, but concepts which aim at exactness, like "meter" and "second," though they have a large region (within the approximate field) to which they are certainly

inapplicable, have no region at all to which they are certainly applicable. If they are to be made certainly applicable, it must be by sacrificing the claim to exactness.

The outcome of this discussion is that mathematics does not have that exactness to which it apparently lays claim, but is approximate like everything else. This, however, is of no *practical* importance, since in any case all our knowledge of the sensible world is only approximate.

Bob continues:

Though Russell doesn't use the quote " $2 + 2$ sometimes = 5", it is clear how leeway can be found to make a case for it. For example, two women plus two women equal four women, you might say. But what if one woman were pregnant? What if one were pregnant with twins? So much for the certainty of mathematics, since mathematics is subservient to the arbitrary judgment of the person doing the adding.

NEW MEMBERS

(38) We welcome these new members:

KEVIN A. ALDRICH/82 Overland St./Fitchburg, MA 01420
VINCENT BATTS, JR./4403 Centre Av.(C-2)/Pittsburgh, PA 15213
CLARE A. FEY/663A Robinwood Drive/Pittsburgh/PA 15216
DONALD E. M. HYLTON/13311 Ankerton/Whittier, CA 90601
JOSPEH P. INFANTE/First Av./Hauto Valley Estates/RD 1, Nesquehoning, PA 18240

ANDRES KAARIK/Sorakersvagen 15/S 122 47 ENSKEDE, Sweden
PROF. MARVIN KOHL/Philosophy, SUNY/Fredonia, NY 14063
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GILBERT MURRAY/2225 N. Main St./Walnut Creek, CA 94596
KENNETH J. MYLOTT/1380 S.W.4 St./Boca Raton, FL 33432
JOSEPH NECHVATAL/18 N. Moore St./New York, NY 10013
PROF. & MRS. RICHARD P. PHARIS/Biology /University of Calgary/Calgary, Canada T2N 1N1
GEORGE R. RINHART/Upper Grey/Colebrook, CT 06021

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JOHN A WILHELM/4600 71st St./La Mesa, CA 92041
SANTO & BETTY ZACCONE/6208 Dundee Drive/North Highlands, CA 95660

NEW ADDRESSES & OTHER CHANGES

(39) When something is underlined>, only the underlined part is new (or corrected.)

TRUMAN E. ANDERSON, JR./1200 Denver Center Bldg./Denver, CO 80203
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COLLECTORS' CORNER

(40) Preservation. TOM STANLEY writes:

The physical care of books and pamphlets is a very important but often neglected aspect of collecting. I'd like to recommend two sources of concise introductions to this topic: Preservation Office, Library of Congress, Washington, DC 20540. (They offer 5 leaflets on environmental protection of paper materials.). Michael Turner, Preservation Office, Bodleian Library, Oxford, England. (Two leaflets.) These items are free.

If you'd like to complete your collection of Haldeman-Julius pamphlets by Russell, you can contact the company at its new address: Norris Peters, Little Blue Book Company, Box 19911, Columbus, OH 43219. Mr. Peters must own the copyright as he wrote that he could print any of the titles for distribution. For the story of BR and H-J, see "Russell" (29-32:1978).

CONTRIBUTIONS

(41) BRS Treasury contributors: we thank PETER CRANFORD, LEE EISLER, KATHY FJERMEDAL, PHILLIPS FREER, DON JACKANICZ, RAY PLANT, JOHN SCHWENK, and JOHN TOBIN.

(42) Russell Memorial (London) contributors: our thanks to JACQUELINE BERTHON-PAYON, PETER CRANFORD, LEE EISLER, DON JACKANICZ, JIM MCWILLIAMS, FRANK PAGE, and WILLIAM VALENTINE. Contributions to the Russell Memorial are still needed; please see (15).

ELECTION OF DIRECTORS

(43) We are voting to elect 8 Directors, for 3-year terms starting 1/1/82. This year, for the first time, we have more candidates (13) than openings (8). That is how it should be (when possible), to give members a choice. We like all 13...but can vote only for 8. You need not sign your ballot; it can be a secret ballot, if you so choose.

Here is data on the Director-Candidates:

JACQUELINE BERTHON-PAYON (Claremont, CA) is the new Co-Chairman of the Membership Committee. For more about her, see (44).

PETER CRANFORD (Augusta, GA) is founder (and chief financial angel) of the BRS; BRS Chairman of the Board; formerly President; currently a Director; author, and clinical psychologist in private practice.

BOB (Robert K.) DAVIS (Los Angeles) is a founding member; BRS President; former Vice-President; currently a Director; salesman; small business proprietor; former highschool teacher.

ALEX DELY (Tucson, AZ). Chairman, Science Committee. Born & educated in Belgium (philosophy & physics). U.S. resident since '76. Physics research at U. Chicago. Teaching physics at U. of Arizona, formerly at Illinois State U. Active in "progressive issues" (disarmament, equal access to justice, etc.). State Toxic Substances Coordinator for Sierra Club, BRS member since '75.

LEE EISLER (Coopersburg, PA) is a founding member; Chairman, Membership and Information Committees; editor, RSN; currently a Director; retired; formerly advertising writer and executive.

DAVID HART (Rochester, NY) attended BRS Annual Meetings in '79, '80, and '81. Gave talk at '81 meeting on BR's disregarded advice to the English Left. "My interest in BR led me to spend a recent leave of absence" -- from teaching mathematics -- "in Cambridge" (England) (written up in RSN30-27). Wrote "Russell on Marx" (RSN30-14).

ALVIN HOFER (Miami, FL) is Chairman of a BRS committee to revise expulsion procedures. Would like to see "more of the Society's decisions determined by the general membership, by RSN balloting." Ph.D. in physics; has done basic and applied research. Member: Common Cause, National Organization for Women.

MARVIN KOHL (Fredonia, NY) is Professor of Philosophy at the State University of New York, and author of Benificent Euthanasia, Infanticide and the Value of Life, and other books.

HUGH S. MOORHEAD (Chicago) is Professor and Chairman, Philosophy Department, Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago; Master's Thesis on Russell; Doctorate on the Great Books movement. "Have nearly all of BR's books, purposely omitting Principia Mathematica, which isn't readable!" Has 3 notes from BR.

JACK RAGSDALE (Dallas, TX) is Co-Chairman of the BRS Library Committee. Born in Atlanta, fortunately received "a good inheritance of tolerance and doubt, and questioned religious and social values even before I discovered BR's Why I Am Not A Christian in my teens. I started as a seaman and finished as an importer/wholesaler. I have traveled extensively, which has sharpened my awareness. Speak Spanish; lived in NYC 40 years."

HARRY RUJA (San Diego, CA) is BRS Vice-President. Professor Emeritus, Philosophy, San Diego State University. Russell scholar and bibliographer; currently a Director. BRS member since its first year (1974).

WILLIAM VALENTINE (Eaton Rapids, MI). Telecommunications specialist, Michigan Supreme Court. B.S., M.A., Communications. Formerly directed funded research at U. Notre Dame and Michigan State U., experience that could be useful to BRS projects. Recent articles: "Human Rights and World Telecommunications", Pacific Telecommunications Conference, Honolulu, 1980; "A Conversation with Dora Russell" in "Russell" (1981)

DAN WRAY (Hollywood). BRS member since 1975. Playwright and screen writer. Attends local (Los Angeles area) BRS meetings and presentations. Especially interested in BR as an intellectual historian, as in A History of Western Philosophy. Hopes to suggest future BRS projects and to help make arrangements for the '82 meeting in Oxford (England).

Please vote! Use the ballot on the last page of this newsletter.

BRS BUSINESS

- (44) Membership Committee's new Co-Chairman is Jacqueline Berthon-Payon. Laureate du Conservatoire de Musique, Nancy, France; BRS member since early '78. An "instant convert" to BR when a friend lent her The Will To Doubt some years ago. She has since given away, to friends and acquaintances, 115 copies of Bertrand Russell's Best (Egner, ed.) She will deal with requests for information about the BRS, and enroll new members. We welcome her warmly to her new office. Her address: 463 W. 10th St., Claremont, CA 91711.

FOR SALE

- (45) Members' stationery price reduced 20%. We ordered a larger quantity and got a better price from the printer. New price: \$5 postpaid for 95 sheets. 8½ x 11, white. "cross the top!" The good life is one inspired by love and guided by knowledge*" Bertrand Russell. On bottom: "Motto of The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc." Order from the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.
- (46) BR postcard. Philippe Halsman's handsome 1958 photo of BR with pipe. 4¼ x 6. 75¢ for the first one, 50¢ each after the first one. RSN30-44 shows it. Order from the newsletter, address on Page 1, Bottom
- (47) New book price list replaces the list of RSN30-35d. Till further notice, order these books from Don in Chicago, not from Jack in Dallas.

---The following titles can be ordered from the BRS Library at the discounted prices shown.
 ---This list and prices are current as of August 1, 1981 and supersede previous lists and prices. From time to time market changes require title deletions, allow for title additions, and force price increases. But the discounts given provide considerable savings, especially for certain titles which are often difficult to locate.
 ---Prices include postage and other shipping costs.
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 ---Send orders to Donald W. Jackanicz; 3802 N. Kenneth Ave.; Chicago, IL 60641; U.S.A.

By Bertrand Russell

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BERTRAND RUSSELL, 1872-1970.....	1.25
ESSAYS ON SOCIALIST HUMANISM IN HONOUR OF THE CENTENARY OF BR, edited by Ken Coates.....	9.00 H
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THE LIFE OF BR IN PICTURES AND HIS OWN WORDS.....	4.00
MR. WILSON SPEAKS 'FRANKLY AND FEARLESSLY' ON VIETNAM TO BR.....	1.25
NATIONAL FRONTIERS AND INTL. SCIENTIFIC CO-OP, by Z. A. Medvedev....	4.00
SECRECY OF CORRESPONDENCE IS GUARANTEED BY LAW, by Z. A. Medvedev...	3.50
THE TAMARISK TREE, MY SEARCH FOR LIBERTY AND LOVE, Volume I, by Dora Russell.....	5.00 H

ABOUT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

(48)

BR Peace Foundation objects to objections. The Foundation has been campaigning for European Nuclear Disarmament. (RSN26-36). Elizabeth Young does not favor the campaign (RSN30-45). Now Ken Coates, a Director of the Foundation, responds to Ms. Young, in this May 12, 1981 Letter to the Editor, "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists":

Elizabeth Young writes to say that your readers should not accept "the not quite innocent naivetes of END" (the European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign). Why are we "not quite" innocent? Does she mean we are not as stupid as she would like us to be thought? Or does she mean that we are not "innocent" because we are in some way "guilty"? If so, of what are we to be convicted? All those public figures who came together last year to propose that a nuclear-weapons-free zone be established in Europe are absolutely politically transparent. Our different and evolving views on a whole range of matters have been quite widely published and discussed, and concealment of our purposes is the very last thing which informed critics have ever charged against any of us. No: we may be wrong, but if so our argument can easily be met without unworthy innuendo. If we are right, such innuendo is even more unworthy. Ms. Young really ought to stick to the issues, and bite her tongue when these aspersions cross her mind. She will find that she may become more persuasive when she does.

Up to now, however, her arguments are not very strong. We propound three fallacies, she thinks. The first of these is that "public opinion has pressed for nuclear disarmament and detente." No, she thinks, on the contrary:

"there has been virtually no public pressure for disarmament." But the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament did not fall out of the sky. How was it brought into being? Were there not constant pressures from the non-aligned states, from European neutrals, and from voluntary peace organizations, churches, and other bodies? When, since 1978, spokesmen as different as the Pope, Lord Mountbatten, President Tito and the Socialist International have warned against the arms race, does all this have no effect on public opinion? But elsewhere Ms. Young has expressed her disapproval of the final document of the UN Special Session, because it gives explicit support to the idea of nuclear weapons-free zones. Pressure for disarmament, in her view, is not properly so-described unless it fits her so-far unstated criteria of what is acceptable disarmament.

Our second fallacy is, she thinks, geographical: we have called for an ultimate, de-nuclearization of military forces in Europe "from Poland to Portugal", but Europe reaches into the Urals. This point would weigh more heavily if it had not several times been answered in a variety of exchanges initiated by Elizabeth Young in other newspapers. The call for a nuclear-free zone is directed against the threat of "limited" nuclear war. It seeks to arouse a common movement between all the European countries which are sandwiched between the nuclear superpowers. Superpower disarmament must be negotiated separately, not because we wish it so, but because this fact is an evident and regrettable part of the same logic which has evolved superpowers. In appealing to the political territory of Europe, we are, as Elizabeth Young knows, adapting to the proposals for general ground-rules on nuclear-free zones which were drawn up in the UN Special Session. Within the meaning of those rules, not only do member-states of such zones pledge themselves to forswear nuclear weaponry, but also a number of explicit undertakings are reciprocally required from the nuclear powers. If half of the USSR were to be included in such a zone, then the USA would be asked to allow that it might be strafed from Vladivostok but must withhold a response against Moscow or Leningrad. This is, we may believe, a nonsensical suggestion, and it reinforces the appreciation that the two superpowers necessarily constitute a special case. We do not suggest that the UN Special Session offers the only possible basis for demuclearized zones, but we do believe that it proposes a starting point. If Ms. Young is asked how she would proceed differently, she refuses, because she disagrees with the UN recommendations in their entirety so far as this issue is concerned.

Lastly, we are accused of fallacy because she believes our proposals would advantage Russia, while our intention is to offer no advantage to either Alliance. But our proposals would have the same effect in the Warsaw Pact as in NATO, in the sense that they would concentrate the nuclear forces into superpower territories, and thus reorient their priority targeting upon each other. The basic advantage here would be for Europe, East and West, which would have defused the most pressing danger of limited war preparations, and bought time, if not much, for joint superpower nuclear disarmament. Obviously Ms. Young disagrees with us, but she has not pinpointed a "fallacy". There is more than one opinion, a situation which is quite compatible with an absence of fallacies on both sides, unless fallacies are defined by some political authority.

In weighing the military balance, Elizabeth Young enters a complex field, as she well knows, but her description greatly simplifies it. It is a debate worth pursuing further, and for this reason I will not accuse her of "not quite innocent" naivete, but instead would prefer to invite her to develop her argument, in which others might then join with some prospect of enlightenment.

(49)

You can count on the Quakers! We are pleased to reproduce this flyer, sent us by ALEX DELLY:

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(50)

"Humanistic Judaism"— an attractive quarterly published by the Society for Humanistic Judaism — "is the voice of the fourth Jewish alternative. This alternative embraces all Jews who value their Jewish identity, but who find no place in the three traditions of conventional Judaism." They are committed "to reason and humanpower." Books they offer for sale include Humanist Manifestos I and II, 3 books by Corliss Lamont, 2 by Lester Mondale. The Winter 1981 issue deals largely with feminist efforts to eliminate the male-is-superior aspects of traditional Jewish religion. Information: Society for Humanistic Judaism, 28611 West Twelve Mile Road, Farmington, MI 48018.

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(51)

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Part I, above, is a list of those who were members on June 1, 1981. (It was distributed at the '81 McMaster meeting.)
 Part II, below, lists members who have joined the BRS since June 1, 1981.

BRS MEMBERSHIP LIST (PART II)

- Kevin A. Aldrich/83 Overland St./Fitchburg, MA 01420
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ABOUT "RUSSELL"

(52)

Latest issue? A number of members have inquired about this. The latest issue of "Russell" is "35-36 autumn-winter 1979-80". Another issue, a quadruple one, is nearly ready for distribution.

The eighth Annual Meeting of The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc. was held Friday, June 26 through Sunday, June 28, 1981 at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. Except as noted, all events took place in Room 106 of Chester New Hall on the McMaster University campus.

Friday, June 26, 1981

Following afternoon registration in the Commons Building and in the Russell Archives in Mills Memorial Library, an informal dinner was held in the Vallance Memorial Dining Hall of the Commons Building.

At 7:08 p.m. Kenneth Blackwell, Russell Archivist, called the first session to order by welcoming all assembled and introducing Robert K. Davis, BRS President, who thereafter presided over the proceedings.

A general business meeting began as President Davis reported on a number of recent BRS business items and his own undertakings:

1. With the help of Peter Cadogan of London, plans for a 1982 BRS Annual Meeting in Oxford are progressing.
2. The President sent greetings from the BRS to Andrei Sakharov on his 60th birthday.
3. BRS members have been invited to attend the October 1981 American Humanist Association conference to be held in College Park, Maryland.
4. The President recommends Los Angeles as site of the 1983 BRS Annual Meeting.
5. The Huntington Library of San Marino, California has offered to house Lester E. Denonn's Russell Library, but \$100,000 for its purchase would have to be raised by 1983.
6. The President intends to work toward the creation of a sculpture of Will and Ariel Durant to be placed in a Los Angeles park near their home. Steve Allen has expressed interest in helping with this effort.
7. The 1981 BRS Award was presented to Steve Allen on May 28, 1981 by Jacqueline Berthon-Payon, Dan Wray, and the President "for using unique talents in the service of public enlightenment, by inviting ordinary citizens to meetings of many great minds." (Although Mr. Allen was unable to attend the Annual Meeting, a set of photographs of the Award presentation ceremony was on display.)
8. The absence of Vice President Harry Ruja was noted; he is devoting a year to scholarly work in Israel.

All members present unanimously agreed to dispense with the reading of the 1980 Annual Meeting Minutes. Treasurer Dennis J. Darland then reported the BRS's cash balance was approximately \$1,400.00. His detailed Treasury records are available for inspection. Next, the Co-Chairman of the Information and Membership Committees, Lee Eisler, briefly spoke on developments regarding Russell Society News and membership growth. Lee then distributed to all present a sheet of five proposed Bylaw amendments (see attached). The membership present unanimously adopted the first; discussion on the second was postponed; the third was defeated; and the fourth was unanimously adopted. Discussion followed on Lee's fifth proposed Bylaw amendment and one advanced by Alvin Hofer (see attached), both of which concerning member expulsions. Agreement was reached to discuss the expulsion question more fully at a later time, however, Steve Maragides requested the Minutes to include an official reference to the recent expulsion of John Sutcliffe.

With the conclusion of the general business meeting, Nicholas Griffin read "First Efforts", a part of the first chapter of a forthcoming book, Russell's Idealist Apprenticeship, authored by Carl Spadoni and himself. This presentation dealt with Russell's mathematical and philosophical thought during his pre-Cam-

bridge years. After discussion and a brief refreshment interval, the first of two "Meeting of Minds" video tapes were shown, having been donated by Steve Allen. Engaged in this television conversation, moderated by Mr. Allen, were St. Augustine, Thomas Jefferson, the Empress Theodora, and Russell.

The first session was adjourned at 10:05 p.m. Shortly thereafter, the BRS Board of Directors met in Room 207 of Chester New Hall.

Saturday, June 27, 1981

Breakfast was taken in the Vallance Memorial Dining Hall. At 9:05 a.m. President Davis called the second session to order. After a few general announcements, the second "Meeting of Minds" video tape was presented. In this tape the four previously mentioned figures concluded their conversation. A brief refreshment interval followed. Don Jackanicz then spoke on "Russell and the House of Lords", outlining Russell's few House of Lords speeches and providing background on that institution and Russell's apparent contempt for it. The final morning session event was the presentation by Robert K. Davis of "Russell and Clio" in which he examined Russell's philosophy of history, particularly as stated in Power: A New Social Analysis. The session was adjourned at 12:20 p.m. The Vallance Memorial Dining Hall was the site for lunch. About one hour before the afternoon session began, the BRS Board of Directors held a second meeting outdoors on the plaza near Kenneth Taylor Hall.

The afternoon session was called to order by President Davis at 2:10 p.m. "H. G. Wells and Bertrand Russell: World Educators" was presented by David Harley who explored the intellectual relations between these two figures. After a refreshment interval, a panel discussion was held in which the McMaster University Russell papers editorial project was reviewed. Participants were Carl Spadoni, who chaired the discussion, Kenneth Blackwell, Andrew Brink, Nicholas Griffin, and Richard Rempel. The complexity and extent of the project, which will result in up to thirty printed volumes, were described, and questions from the audience served to clarify a number of points. At 3:48 p.m. the session was adjourned.

A Red Hackle Hour was held from 4:00 to 5:00 p.m. in the Reading Room adjoining the Russell Archives. The permanent collection and temporary exhibits of the Archives and the friendly atmosphere in the Reading Room were quite sufficient to insure a pleasant hour for all. Shortly before 7:00 p.m., members met in front of the Commons Building to arrange for rides to the Greenville, Ontario home of Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Blackwell at which a delightful garden banquet was held. The evening concluded as members returned to Hamilton somewhat after 11:00 p.m.

Sunday, June 28, 1981

Breakfast was again taken in the Vallance Memorial Dining Hall. The final session was called to order at 9:35 a.m. by President Davis. Robert Lombardi then presented "Nuclear Disarmament: A Plan for Peace" in which he expounded his own proposals for reducing American and Soviet armaments. This was followed by "Detours on the Road to Freedom: Russell and Today's English Left" given by David S. Hart who recently returned from an extended stay in Cambridge. Due to time limitations, a refreshment break was combined with discussions of these two papers. Lastly, Kenneth Blackwell spoke on "How Russell Planned to Achieve Compossibility" which replaced his previously announced paper, "Russell's Ethics--A New Look", and which included considerable material on Russell's admiration of Spinoza. Following a concluding discussion period, at 12:08 p.m. the session was adjourned. An informal lunch was then held in the cafeteria of the Health Sciences Center.

The Board of Directors of The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc. met in two separate sessions on Friday, June 26 and Saturday, June 27, 1981 at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

Friday, June 26, 1981

The Chairman of the Board of Directors, Peter G. Cranford, called the first session to order at 10:08 p.m. in Room 207 of Chester New Hall. The following ten Board members were present: Peter G. Cranford, Kenneth Blackwell, Dennis J. Darland, Robert K. Davis, Lee Eisler, Don Jackanicz, Raymond Plant, Stephen J. Reinhardt, Cherie Ruppe, and Katharine Tait. The following twelve Board members were not present: Adam Paul Banner, Jack R. Cowles, Lester E. Denonn, Martin A. Garstens, Ali Chaemi, Edwin E. Hopkins, J. B. Neilands, Harry Ruja, Gary M. Slezak, Beverly Smith, Warren Allen Smith, and P. K. Tucker.

Non-Board member Robert Lombardi raised the problem of John Sutcliffe by questioning whether an official BRS endorsement process exists for ideas and opinions put forth by individual members. The Board responded that each BRS member is free to speak for himself or herself and may bring up any issue at BRS meetings; however, the statements of individual members must not be represented as being endorsed by the BRS unless specific Board or general membership consent is given. Non-Board member Alvin Hofer, who had been recognized to speak by Chairman Cranford, then turned the Board's attention to his proposed Bylaw amendment regarding the expulsion of members. His "working document" (see attached) and his statement in its support stressed the need for absolute fairness for one whose expulsion is being considered. Chairman Cranford, Robert K. Davis, and Lee Eisler recounted the history leading to the expulsion of Mr. Sutcliffe with the latter two Board members agreeing that his expulsion had been scrupulously based on Bylaw procedures and was conducted with fairness. The Chairman, however, raised doubts as to the propriety of the procedures used. Raymond Plant then moved that Alvin Hofer's "working document" be officially received by the Chairman for Board study. This motion was unanimously accepted. Chairman Cranford named a committee consisting of himself as Chairman, Alvin Hofer as Corresponding Secretary, and Raymond Plant and Cherie Ruppe as members to review the expulsion provisions in the Bylaws. He also expressed his intention to write to Mr. Sutcliffe on the Board's discussion of the expulsion topic; his letter, the Chairman stated, would be circulated to all Board members before being mailed to Mr. Sutcliffe.

Turning to the subject of BRS funds, Treasurer Dennis J. Darland briefly reviewed his accounts and began a discussion on the possibility of investing Treasury money which is presently restricted in full to a checking account. Some Board members voiced their concern of possible legal problems which could result from such investments, while it was mentioned that the small amount now in the Treasury could not command particularly high returns in any investment. However, all agreed that it would be preferable to realize some small fund increase through placing some amount of Treasury funds in interest-bearing accounts in banks or other relatively secure financial institutions. Robert K. Davis finally moved that the Treasurer, with the cooperation of officers and knowledgeable BRS members, be allowed to invest BRS funds in a responsible manner. This motion was accepted by an eight to two yes vote; Kenneth Blackwell and Raymond Plant voted no.

Next discussed was the best procedure for Board members, officers, and members performing official BRS business to qualify for income tax deductions for their legitimate, non-reimbursed expenses. (The discussion was based on the United States income tax model and may or may not be applicable to those individuals liable for income tax payments in other countries.) Treasurer Dennis J. Darland and Don Jackanicz recounted the latter's late 1980 request that the Treasurer 1. accept his personal check, whose total represented his non-reim-

bursed 1980 BRS expenses plus a contribution to the BRS, and 2. send in return a BRS check in the amount of his non-reimbursed expenses total. Don had expended a considerable amount of his own funds in 1980 for BRS activities and wanted to make his income tax computations and forms as simple as possible; he therefore hoped to use the cancelled personal check as evidence of a contribution to the BRS for income tax purposes rather than to itemize all of his individual expenses as deductions. Dennis explained that he did not honor Don's request as he did not consider the arrangement proper. Don explained that he was following the example of Robert K. Davis who had sent a check under similar circumstances to a previous Treasurer. Discussion brought the Board to the conclusion that it would be preferable for each BRS member acting in an official capacity to be responsible on his own or her own for any income tax deduction and that, though used in the past, the contribution-reimbursement method outlined above should be avoided. Contributions are of course encouraged, and members are to be reimbursed upon request for authorized expenses. But the BRS's best interests require individuals to handle their tax deductions independently.

Board members Kenneth Blackwell and Katharine Tait left the meeting at 11:10 p.m.

The session's last order of business concerned Russell: The Journal of the Bertrand Russell Archives and its infrequency of publication which has disturbed many BRS members. Robert K. Davis stated that the BRS should take some position since a large number of Russell subscriptions are paid for through BRS membership dues. He suggested two possibilities: 1. discontinue subscriptions through the BRS, allowing each individual to subscribe on his or her own as desired; 2. the BRS should pay for Russell only when an issue is published. Discussion continued for a few minutes on this problem. But, owing to the late hour, the meeting was adjourned at 11:18 p.m. by Chairman Cranford with the understanding that a second Board meeting would be held the next day at a location to be announced.

Saturday, June 27, 1981

Chairman Peter G. Cranford called the second session to order at 1:18 p.m. outside in the plaza of Kenneth Taylor Hall. The following seven Board members were present: Peter G. Cranford, Dennis J. Darland, Robert K. Davis, Lee Eisler, Don Jackanicz, Cherie Ruppe, and Raymond Plant. The other fifteen Board members were absent.

Don Jackanicz suggested that, to save limited time and to streamline proceedings, only Board members should be allowed to speak during Board of Directors meetings unless a non-Board member is specifically authorized to speak by the Chairman. His suggestion was briefly discussed, but no formal motion was made.

Two points were then made by Chairman Cranford: 1. in his opinion the "informal" procedures which have been followed to good ends by officers should be replaced by formal ones; 2. regarding the possibility discussed from time to time of organizing a BRS publishing venture, he recommends refocusing on the audio tape medium, especially considering the chaotic structure of the publishing industry and the contemporary appeal of audio-visual materials.

Robert K. Davis reintroduced the question of Russell and what, if any, action the BRS should take regarding its infrequency of publication. He moved that effective January 1, 1982, the BRS is to make payment to McMaster University for the Russell journal at the time of publication. This motion was unanimously accepted. The Secretary was requested to inform McMaster University of the Board's decision via a formal letter.

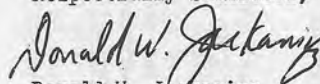
Discussion turned to the election of officers. Chairman Cranford expressed his view that a change in officers would be beneficial for the BRS. Cherie Ruppe

then put forth a blanket resolution for the complete reelection of all incumbent officers. Her motion was unanimously accepted.

The final matter discussed was the proposed 1982 Annual Meeting in Britain. Chairman Cranford voiced the opinion that such a meeting might not be successful because of the great distance involved, considering the majority of the BRS's membership resides in North America; he suggested planning would be difficult and probably few members would be able to make such a major trip. However, Robert K. Davis, who has been the principal advocate and organizer of a Britain meeting, optimistically outlined the successful liaison formed between the BRS and Peter Cadogan of the London South Place Ethical Society, who has offered to work with us in planning a 1982 Annual Meeting at Oxford. Bob also cited the possibility of working with the London-based William Wilberforce Society from which he has recently received encouraging communications. In any event, Bob stated, he will keep all Directors fully informed of his continuing work which, he feels assured, will result in a worthwhile 1982 Britain Annual Meeting.

As the afternoon session of the general BRS meeting was due to begin and as no further business remained to be discussed, Chairman Cranford adjourned the session at 2:01 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,



Donald W. Jaekanicz
Secretary of the Board of Directors
The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc.

July 1, 1981

P.S. to the above: Alvin Hofer's "working document" is not included at this time, as it is a preliminary proposal. When the committee produces the final version (on expulsion procedures), it will appear in the newsletter.

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