

## RUSSELL SOCIETY NEWS

No. 38

May 1983

- (1) Annual Meeting, June 24-26(2,41). BRS Award to Rotblat (32). Rotblat on Pugwash (7). The Cambridge Apostles (5). Mershon Report (8). Nuclear war survivor's manual (9). Reason: better dead than red (10). Bay Area religious beliefs (11). Marx, non-prophet (12). Contributions needed (25). Zuckerman's "Nuclear Sense & Nonsense" (43). BRS Library Campaign (21). BRS's new address (27). We nominate Directors (40). An asterisk in left column indicates a request. Index is at end.
- 

## ANNUAL MEETING (1983)

- (2) June 24-26 at McMaster. For the information provided in the previous newsletter, see (41). We have no additional information, except that we think we've found the cheapest way (by far) to send payment in Canadian funds: by U.S. Postal Money Order.
- (3) Deductible expense reminder. Members whose presence is essential to the conduct of the meeting are entitled to treat the cost of attending it as a deductible expense on tax returns. That would include officers, directors, committee chairmen, and anyone else who might be giving a report at the meeting.
- 

## REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES

- (4) Science Committee (Alex Dely, Chairman):

Alex's chief activity recently has been on the subject of accidental nuclear war. See (8).

Alex is University of Arizona correspondent for the Federation of American Scientists. He sent us the FAS Public Interest Report (February 1983) on the topic, "Reciprocal Visits by US and USSR political leaders." The basic reason for the arms race is fear of the other side. Yet what do we know about the other side? The Report tells us that "...a majority of the ruling political bodies of the two sides have never visited the country of the other." The 12-page Report aims to encourage Congressional travel to the Soviet Union with a view to achieving a better understanding -- and a lessening of fear -- of the adversary.

---

## BR AT CAMBRIDGE

- (5) The Apostles were the source of BR's greatest delight while at Cambridge. As he says in his Autobiography (Boston: Little, Brown. Volume I, 1957. pp.91-92):

The greatest happiness of my time at Cambridge was connected with a body whom its members knew as "The Society," but which outsiders, if they knew of it, called "The Apostles." This was a small discussion society, containing one or two people from each year on the average, which met every Saturday night. It has existed since 1820, and has had as members most of the people of any intellectual eminence who have been at Cambridge since then. It is by way of being secret, in order that those who are being considered for election may be unaware of the fact. It was owing to the existence of The Society that I soon got to know the people best worth knowing, for Whitehead was a member, and told the younger members to investi-

gate Sanger and me on account of our scholarship papers. With rare exceptions, all the members at any one time were close personal friends. It was a principle in discussion that there were to be no taboos, no limitations, nothing considered shocking, no barriers to absolute freedom of speculation. We discussed all manner of things, no doubt with a certain immaturity, but with a detachment and interest scarcely possible in later life. The meetings would generally end about one o'clock at night, and after that I would pace up and down the cloisters of Neville's Court for hours with one or two other members. We took ourselves perhaps rather seriously, for we considered that the virtue of intellectual honesty was in our keeping. Undoubtedly, we achieved more of this than is common in the world, and I am inclined to think that the best intelligence of Cambridge has been notable in this respect. I was elected in the middle of my second year, not having previously known that such a society existed, though the members were all intimately known to me already.

Things change. We do not recognize the Apostles of Russell's day as they are described in a current book review. The book reviewed is "After Long Silence" by Michael Straight (NY: Norton). The review is by H. Trevor-Roper, identified by The New York Review of Books — in which the review appeared (3/31/83, pp3-7) — as "Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Author of 'Hermit of Pekin', 'The Last Days of Hitler', 'The Rise of Christian Europe', and 'Princes and Artists'."

The following excerpts do not give the gist of the review, but are the passages that relate to the Apostles.

As is well known, the most prolific breeding ground for such moles was at Cambridge University. Why was this? On the face of it, Oxford would have seemed more promising. Oxford was the scene of the famous Union debate. Just before that, the Oxford University Communist Society—the "October Club"—had been dissolved by authority: an invitation to its members to go underground. Oxford is traditionally more political than Cambridge. But Oxford, as far as we know, produced no Russian spies, whereas Cambridge can glory in the names of Burgess, Maclean, Philby, Blunt, not to speak of smaller fry. How are we to account for this? Was it a mere accident: the presence of a particularly expert angler at that well-stocked pool? Or was it the consequence of some particular quality of the place?

The two ancient universities of England, as Macaulay wrote, have always had distinct characters. Oxford, in this century, has been gayer, more sophisticated, more cosmopolitan: ideas there overflow, collide and mingle with other ideas, and are diluted or complicated in the process. Cambridge is more esoteric and intense, even solipsistic: its ideas (where they exist) gather steam and build up pressure in the sealed test tubes of introverted coteries. It is difficult to imagine the philosophy of G.E. Moore, with its complacent cult of "good states

of mind," or the sanctimonious teaching of E.M. Forster, with its subordination of public virtue to private relations, being received in Oxford. And what is one to say of the "Apostles," the egregious secret society of self-perpetuating, self-admiring narcissists to which Moore and Forster, Burgess and Blunt, belonged? Could it have existed at Oxford? Would it not there have been blown up from within, or laughed out of existence?

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. Straight had already met Blunt on a visit to Russia, sponsored by a communist student, earlier in that year, and soon he was friendly with both him and Burgess. Next year, he found himself co-opted into the secret society of the Apostles and could be scrutinized closely by them. Burgess had by then publicly broken with the Communist Party and, as a blind, was moving in reactionary, not to say Nazi, circles. Philby and Maclean, we may note, were not Apostles. Consequently they did not come his way. Apostles were hardly expected to know anyone outside the society. As one of them once said, when asked a question about other undergraduates, "There are no other undergraduates."

Mr. Straight has a delicate sense of

irony and I particularly enjoyed his account of this absurd secret society. Like most university societies, it had originally been founded (in the early nineteenth century) with a serious purpose (the laicization of the university), and had not been secret at all. But—again like most university societies—it had quickly become purely social. It had also become secret and complacently exclusive. One of the silliest members in Mr. Straight's time was the then provost of Kings, J.T. Sheppard, a third-rate classical scholar. According to Sheppard, in order to be an Apostle, one had to be "very brilliant and extremely nice." There was an initiation ceremony and a fearful oath: the initiate prayed that his soul might writhe in unendurable pain for the rest of eternity if he so much as breathed a word about the society to anyone who was not a member. When Mr. Straight remarked that this seemed a bit harsh, Provost

See Hugh Sykes Davies, "Apostolic Letter," in *Cambridge Review*, May 7, 1982, and June 4, 1982.

Sheppard reassured him: "You see," he explained, "our oath was written at a time when it was thought to be most unlikely that a member of the society would speak to anyone who was not Apostolic." Such was the self-constituted elite which, by now, had become

the envelope for an even more secret cell: the crypto-communist recruiters of Russian spies.

\* \* \* \* \*

In 1949, at an Apostles dinner in London, Straight again met Burgess and Blunt, and next day a crucial conversation took place. Burgess was eager to ensure that Straight would not betray them, and Straight, having been assured that both were now inactive—that Blunt had returned to art history and Burgess was about to leave the Foreign Service—gave or implied such an assurance. In fact Burgess did not leave the Foreign Service and Blunt did not cease to act as his accomplice. But Straight did not betray them—at least not yet.

\* \* \* \* \*

For this reason, although I can forgive their error and even, at a pinch, their treachery, I cannot forgive their arrogance. The picture of the priestly Blunt, with his thin precise voice, ordering the lives of others at the behest of "our friends" in the Kremlin and laying a paternal hand on their shoulders as they leave his presence, will remain with me as the perfect icon of a Cambridge Apostle in 1937. So might St. Paul have sent Timothy to the Christian cells of Greece, or the Jesuit general sped a doomed missionary to the secret priest holes of Elizabethan England. □

The decline of the Apostles began soon after ER's time. Actually, he was aware of it, for he writes (pp.94-95):

Some things became considerably different in the Society shortly after my time.

The tone of the generation some ten years junior to my own was set mainly by Lytton Strachey and Keynes. It is surprising how great a change in mental climate those ten years had

brought. We were still Victorian; they were Edwardian. We believed in ordered progress by means of politics and free discussion. The more self-confident among us may have hoped to be leaders of the multitude, but none of us wished to be divorced from it. The generation of Keynes and Lytton did not seek to preserve any kinship with the Philistine. They aimed rather at a life of retirement among fine shades and nice feelings, and conceived of the good as consisting in the passionate mutual admimations of a clique of the élite.

---

BR ADMIRER

(6) Kisty. "George Kistiakowsky succumbed to cancer December 7, 1982 after a long, productive, inspiring career," writes George W. Rathjens in the "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists" (April 1983, pp 2-3). Rathjens — a chemist and Professor of Political Science at MIT, and a former Director of the Defense Department's Weapons Systems Evaluation Group — continues:

He had a distinguished career in chemistry, as is attested by the honors he received: medals, including the Medal of Science from President Johnson and the Priestly medal; honorary degrees and membership in the distinguished scientific societies. But I am ill-qualified to comment on the purely scientific aspect of Kistiakowsky's life or, for that matter, on his contribution to the Manhattan Project and other government service during World War II, for which he received the Medal of Merit from President Truman.

Although I first became acquainted with him in 1958 when I was working in chemistry at Harvard, it was during the ensuing 24 years that I came to know him well, both as a friend and as a comrade-in-arms in what was the consuming passion of his later years: his effort to prevent nuclear war. It is to this period of his life that I turn.

Kistiakowsky went to Washington in mid-1959 as President Eisenhower's science advisor and as chairman of the President's Science Advisory Committee. He brought with him incisive knowledge of military technology, gained through his wartime experience and, later, service on a number of advisory groups, including Science Advisory Committee panels, concerned with missile and other military programs. But he brought something else that was probably even more important to his relationship with the President. Eisenhower is reported to have said that the scientists were the only group that had come to Washington to serve the country rather than their own interests. It was the President's appreciation of this quality, coupled with hard work and healthy skepticism, that made Kistiakowsky and his predecessor, Jim Killian, so influential with Eisenhower, and that gave

them such weight in dealing with the hard sell of the military and aerospace contractors during that period of almost unrestrained interest in missiles, space and other exotic technologies. Would that there were such scientists in Washington today — and political leadership that valued those qualities.

Kistiakowsky left Washington at the end of the Eisenhower Administration with the Medal of Freedom, with a broader view of the world, and with a very considerable amount of political savvy which he was puckishly wont to downplay when it served his purposes — for example, in testifying before Congressional Committees. He also left with a concern, much increased since I had first met him, about the danger of nuclear war and the futility — indeed insanity — of the arms race. In testifying on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963 he said:

"I do not believe that we or any other nation can find real security in a continuing arms race. . . . To speak of winning such a conflict is to misuse the language: only a Pyrrhic victory could be achieved in a nuclear war."

He continued so to believe for the rest of his life.

After his return to Harvard, Kisty continued to serve as a government advisor until 1967 when, thoroughly disillusioned by events in Vietnam, he made a clean break with the Administration.

He then turned to working for a change in policy relating to both Vietnam and the nuclear arms race by speaking out in public, by efforts to secure the election of like-minded people to the Congress and by trying to influence those already in office.

He found a channel for his endeavors in the Council for a Livable World, of which he was chairman from 1977 until his death, and to which he was devoted.

Kistiakowsky's friends were legion, but there were also people and institutions about which he had strong negative feelings; and he was not reticent about making those feelings known. Among American institutions, there were probably none that so infuriated him as the Atomic Energy Commission and its successor agencies. He was appalled by the Oppenheimer affair; by the Commission's coverup of the fallout problem in the 1950s; and finally by its persistent and often devious efforts to prevent the cessation of testing of nuclear weapons. And I do not remember his having said many kind words — none, after Cambodia — about President Nixon or Henry Kissinger.

Although he was feisty and on occasion irascible, Kisty was also a man of great charm, warmth and humor. And, I should add, a man with some vanity. On visiting my home once, he said to me that he was pleased to see that my copy of his book, *A Scientist at the White House*, was next to Bertrand Russell's memoirs, and that that was an appropriate place for it. Just this week I learned that he had placed the book there while I had been out of the room. But he was right. He belonged in the company of Russell. Like Russell, he was one of that small group of scientists with good taste not only in research problems — all great scientists have that, almost by definition — but with good taste in how to spend their lives, in deciding what to be for and against; and in the courage to act, based on their convictions.

(Thank you, BOB DAVIS)

## NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

(7) Pugwash. It was at the first of the Pugwash Conferences (1957) that scientists from both sides of the Iron Curtain met for the first time. They came to discuss the danger of nuclear war and to seek ways to avoid it.

The Pugwash Conferences were BR's idea. In organizing them, BR was greatly assisted by Professor Joseph Rotblat, about whom BR says, in his Autobiography (NY:Simon & Schuster, 1969, Volume III, p. 98):

He was, and still is, an eminent physicist at the Medical College of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Executive Vice-President of the Atomic Scientists' Association. ... I have often worked closely with Professor Rotblat and I have come to admire him greatly. He can have few rivals in the courage and integrity and complete self-abnegation with which he has given up his own career (in which, however, he still remains eminent) to devote himself to combatting the nuclear peril as well as other allied evils. If ever these evils are eradicated and international affairs are straightened out, his name should stand very high indeed among the heroes.

The Conferences were not official meetings of government representatives or agencies, and had to be financed privately. The costs of the first Conference were paid by Cyrus Eaton, a wealthy industrialist. The Conference took place in the town where he was born, Pugwash, Nova Scotia.

Professor Rotblat has written "A History of the Pugwash Conferences". Actually, that is not the title of a book; it is the sub-title. The title is "Scientists in the Quest for Peace" (MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London, England, 1972). Here are the first paragraphs of the Preface, followed by the Summing Up:

### Preface

Pugwash is an international movement, started in 1957, involving some of the most famous men of learning and aiming to ensure that mankind will not destroy itself. Yet few people, other than its participants, are aware of its existence. The cause of this obscurity lies within the Pugwash Movement itself. Anonymity is the price paid for bringing eminent scientists together and getting them to talk freely and without inhibition on matters which are of deep concern to them but on which they are not necessarily experts. Such talks can be effective, and generate original ideas, only if the participants do not have to worry that what they say may be taken down and published, more likely than not in a distorted fashion. For this reason the meetings are private and the Press not admitted. But if the Press is excluded, its members do not write about them, and hence the ignorance of the public about Pugwash.

There are other organizations which debate the same issues in public, in front of a wide audience and in full glare of the mass media. But usually the discussions turn into speeches for the benefit of the audience, and little original thinking takes place; on the whole such gatherings are less conducive to the emergence of new concepts than a true confrontation of minds, with cross-fertilization of ideas, in a small meeting round a table.

### SUMMING UP

In the course of 15 years, the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs have become established as an important and effective channel of communication between scientists for the study and discussion of many of the complex issues which confront mankind at the present time. The participation in these conferences of eminent scientists from East and West, and the constructive proposals which have emerged from the discussions, particularly in relation to disarmament, have secured for the Pugwash Conferences the respect of the scientific community, of governments, and of many sectors of society. The name "Pugwash" has become a symbol of successful international debate on controversial issues, and the conferences are cited as a model for similar efforts in other fields of human relations.

The success of the Pugwash Conferences is the result of resolute efforts of a group of scientists, determined to retain an independent and unbiased outlook, and anxious to build and consolidate international understanding and co-operation. The Pugwash Conferences have shown that it is possible to apply the scientific approach, which has proved so successful in science and technology, to problems which are only indirectly related to science. They have shown that even when dealing with highly controversial matters, it is possible to tell the truth, without being abusive, to be candid, without trying to embarrass, provided that there is a common approach based on scientific objectivity and mutual respect.

Another aspect of the Pugwash Movement is that it represents an excursion into a new type of activity by scientists, the fulfilment of their social responsibilities. The important role played by science in modern society, and the special opportunities and competence of scientists, put on them the duty to help mankind to avert the dangers which are arising from the progress of science and technology, and to assist in the development of a new world, in which the beneficial applications of science can be fully developed.

Since 1955, when the Russell-Einstein Manifesto was issued, the world situation, as far as it affects the aims of Pugwash, has changed considerably. All nations now accept the view that a nuclear war would be an unmitigated catastrophe, and that no side would emerge as a real victor from such a war. Much has also been achieved in bringing nations together to talk about various aspects of world security. Whereas at the beginning, Pugwash was the only channel of communication between East and West for debate on these issues, nowadays many channels are open, and with the inclusion of China in the United Nations, there are great hopes of extending the lines of communication.

Above all, there has been a dramatic change in the attitude and the involvement of scientists in issues facing mankind. Stimulated by Pugwash in some measure, many scientists have made the study of the problems of disarmament and arms control their main occupation. The increasing awareness in society of the importance of research on peace and conflict, has resulted in the setting up of a number of national, and a few international, institutes, where scholars from both the social and the natural sciences carry out full-time research on these problems. The usefulness of closer international collaboration in science and technology is often linked with the need to establish a better climate for East-West understanding and good will, and this has brought forth projects for new institutions, from an international university to regional institutes, and many scientists are involved in their planning. Other scientists, responding to the realization by society of the importance of a proper organization of science, have made science policy their chief interest and became professionally involved in science planning and administration. The special problems of developing countries have been taken up as a subject of study by social scientists in universities and academies of science. In the affluent countries, society is becoming increasingly concerned with some negative aspects of the peaceful applications of science, e.g., pollution of the environment, or the possible interference with the natural evolution of mankind by "genetic engineering"; many scientists are worried about the possible misuses for war purposes of their academic research and often find that their pursuits pose before them many new moral and ethical problems. This has given rise to the setting up of societies specifically concerned with the social responsibilities and moral obligations of scientists.

All these developments mean that one of the aims of Pugwash, to get scientists to think and work on the various aspects of the impact of science on society, has been largely achieved, and it may be argued that Pugwash should now retire and hand over the remaining tasks to these professional or specialized bodies. On the other hand, it may be argued that the uniqueness of Pugwash as an "amateur" body, in bringing together individuals without commitments and allegiances, and the very fact that over the years it managed to maintain its independence and yet retain the confidence of governments in both East and West, are sufficiently compelling reasons to continue its existence. In any case, the main aims of Pugwash are still to be fulfilled. Although the foreboding of imminent catastrophe expressed in the Russell-Einstein Manifesto has not come true, and we have managed to avoid a world-wide conflagration so far--in a small part perhaps thanks to the existence of Pugwash--the dangers facing mankind have not disappeared. The arms race continues unabated, and is indeed accelerating; the sophistication of weapons of mass destruction and of their means of delivery is increasing, making an accidental outbreak of war ever more probable. The discrepancy in the standard of living between nations is increasing rather than decreasing. The world is in a turmoil, with the ideological differences as pronounced as ever, and with many local conflicts threatening to engulf the whole globe. Clearly, the initial aims of Pugwash, as expressed in the Russell-Einstein Manifesto and in the Vienna Declaration, are still to be achieved, and this alone calls for further and more intense efforts by scientists from all countries and various disciplines to fulfill these objectives. Pugwash remains one of the most effective vehicles for such efforts.

By increasing the scope of its activities, and by bringing in more scientists, young and dynamic as well as senior and respectable, Pugwash, with its unique structure, world-wide links, and established reputation for objectivity and independence, could serve as the rallying point for the diverse activities of scientists. It could be the central forum for critique

of efforts by other groups of scientists, assessment of their results, and generation of new ideas. Thus, Pugwash could become the source of inspiration and hope for the strivings of scientists to create a stable and happy future for mankind.

Professor Rotblat will receive the 1983 Bertrand Russell Society Award. See (32).

## ON NUCLEAR WAR

- (8) Accidental nuclear war is a possibility that BRS Science Committee Chairman, Alex Dely -- and his colleagues, Dean Babst and David Krieger -- have been investigating. Last issue we reprinted his 2 "call for help" papers -- addressed to Nuclear Weapons Researchers, on accidental war and "Nuclear Weapons Treaty Verification Methods" (RSN37-6a) -- and highlights of his proposal for an Accidental War Assessment Center (RSN37-6b).

Alex points out that concern about the possibility of accidental nuclear war is not new. He sent us the 1960 Mershon Report, produced by the Mershon Program at Ohio State University. The Program, funded by the late Colonel Ralph Mershon, conducts research into areas vital to U.S. national security.

The Report was republished in England, in 1960, jointly by The Campaign in Oxford University for Nuclear Disarmament, and Housmans, Publishers and Booksellers. It has an introduction by BR:

## INTRODUCTION

by

BERTRAND RUSSELL

I am very glad that the Mershon Report entitled **Accidental War: Some Dangers in the 1960's** is being printed in England by the Campaign in Oxford University for Nuclear Disarmament and Housmans. In spite of the extreme sobriety of this Report, and its obvious desire for objectivity, the document is one which no candid reader can study without the utmost alarm. It takes, one by one, the various ways in which an unintended general war may break out. Among these are the spread of a limited war and diplomatic miscalculation. These causes alone, according to a senior military analyst who is quoted, give an even chance of a general nuclear war during the next ten years. Sheer accidents are another sort of danger. Anti-aircraft missiles have been accidentally launched at least twice. False radar warnings have occurred frequently and are likely to occur even more frequently as radar becomes more sensitive. These false warnings have hitherto sent manned bombers on their murderous mission. These were recalled when the mistake was discovered, but they are being replaced by missiles which cannot be recalled.

All these dangers, to my mind, are far less threatening than what the Report heads as "Human Aberrations". We are told that in the United States 43 per cent of medical discharges from the armed forces are for psychiatric causes and that, nevertheless, there is no psychological screening for men who are going to occupy the most delicate and responsible posts. It is pointed out that such men, if in any degree unbalanced, are likely in a time of tension to act with fatal rashness. What is even worse is that men whom American authorities consider sane would not be so considered in any less hysterical atmosphere. The United States Government is inaugurating a campaign of civil defence and, in order to further it, is sending instructors to all parts of the country to persuade people, falsely, that shelters may keep them alive. What instruction these

instructors are to give is determined by a supreme instructor, Dr. Hurt, the Oak Ridge National Laboratory psychologist. Some of the remarks which those whom he instructs are to spread throughout the country are worth quoting:

*"The good-goodies and the fancy pants — the brains minus the brown — are most apt to fall by the wayside when war comes. Not if war comes — just when. There will be war . . . it is just a question of when, and the main thing we have to fear is people out of control — even more than the atom out of control . . . I recommend that everyone with a fall-out shelter include a gun in the equipment . . . I recommend shooting anyone who tries to invade a fall-out shelter."*

*(The Oak Ridger, November 8, 1961)*

I am afraid that Dr. Hurt is considered sane. With such men engaged in manufacturing fanatics, it is almost inevitable that in a time of tension some excitable people in responsible posts will feel that individual initiative is called for to force the Government to take action.

Anyone who requires new material for nightmares should bear in mind the following statements which have been made by men in positions of critical responsibility, and which reflect the views of their colleagues around the world:

Admiral Radford:

*"I demand . . . total victory over the Communist system - not stalemate."*

In other words, war.

General Nathan Twining:

*"If it were not for the politicians I would settle the war in one afternoon by bombing Soviet Russia."*

General Orvil Anderson, Commander of the Air War College:

*"I would be happy to bomb Russia, just give me the order to do it."*

These statements are the ravings of men in power. See New York "Nation", October 28, 1961, "Juggernaut: The Warfare State".

The sombre conclusion is that, unless the policies of the Great Powers are radically changed within the next few years, the chances of human survival are very slight.

This is the first paragraph of the Publishers' Note:

Human optimism dies hard: to give but one example, on 1st January 1939 Lloyd's were giving 32-1 odds against war in 1939. It is dangerously easy in such a spirit of optimism to convince oneself that nuclear war is so terrible that it could not happen. With the development of new and speedier weapons systems and of more and more nuclear weapons the danger of war is closer than ever.

These are the titles of some of the sections of the 25-page Mershon Report: ACCIDENTAL WAR IN HISTORY. SPECIFIC DANGERS IN THE 1960s: DEFENSE SYSTEM ACCIDENTS, ACCIDENTAL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, HUMAN ABERRATIONS, UNINTENDED SPREAD OF LIMITED WARS, CATALYTIC WARS (caused by spread of nuclear weapons), DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY MISCALCULATIONS, INTERNATIONAL TENSION AND READINESS FOR WAR.

Alex writes:

Our many accidental war papers are generating many replies, including about 6 from the Pentagon, NATO, and various generals. They disagree with us but can't state any contrary facts.

We are amassing much critical data, and our book for Canadian Peace Research Association will certainly only be a start on a much more detailed book in a few years.

Senator Hart had indicated he would hold hearings in Accidental War in September. Last week I received a call from his staff that Pentagon officials are worried about a scare, so he's holding off indefinitely till we have more concrete information, and he can ask Defense research agencies to look into our "allegations".

Eventually, Alex may testify at a Congressional hearing.

(9) From the New York Times (12/20/83): *Survivors' Manual*

One of the most talked-about new books in Washington as the holiday season moves into high gear is bound in red and gold, is distributed by Farrar Straus & Giroux and costs only \$4.95. Its arresting title: "The Official Government Nuclear Survivors Manual — Everything that is Known about Effective Procedures in Case of Nuclear Attack".

The publisher, Bill Adler, said: "We thought the American public should be brought up to date on everything the Government is doing in its behalf. In our opinion, that knowledge may well be America's only hope for survival."

Not counting endpapers, the book has 192 pages, every one of them absolutely blank.

(Thank you, DON JACKANICZ)

## RELIGION

(10) Reagan: Better dead than red. From the New York Times (3/20/83, p. 18E):

### Reagan's Unsettling Life-or-Death Preference

To the Editor:

In addressing the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando on March 8, President Reagan praised "as a profound truth" the sentiment that it is better that children "die now, still believing in God, than have them grow up under Communism and one day die no longer believing in God" (news story March 9). These words are cause for dismay.

If they are essentially opportunistic rhetoric, calculatingly expressed to an audience that the President had reason to expect would respond enthusiastically to them, they raise embarrassing questions both about Mr. Reagan's judgment and about his good sense. The decency of people and their right to continued life, as a read-

ing of Bernard Shaw's "The Devil's Disciple" might have taught him, does not, after all, depend on their religious beliefs.

We have even more reason for concern if, as many think, Mr. Reagan is a true believer in the kind of sentiment he uttered. For, as the most powerful political leader in the world, Mr. Reagan can, by a touch on a button, determine whether hundreds of millions of people shall live or die.

It is profoundly disquieting that the individual who has life-and-death power over the future of humanity, young and old alike, may believe that we are better off dead but devout than alive and atheistic.

EDWARD PESSEN  
Brooklyn, March 11, 1983

- (11) Religious beliefs surveyed. The San Francisco Examiner (of 4/3/83) polled close to 700 people in the Bay Area, asking, "Which category best defines your religious beliefs?"

These are the categories:

**Atheist** — You do not believe in God.  
**Agnostic** — You do not know whether there is a God or a future life or anything beyond the material world.  
**Mystic or spiritualist** — You don't necessarily believe in a God that created the world, but do believe there is some force beyond the material world.  
**Christian** — You believe that Jesus Christ is the Messiah and is the son of God.  
**Jewish** — You regard yourself as descended from the ancient Hebrews and follow the Jewish Scriptures.  
**Humanist** — You believe in a moral system based on human interests, not religious beliefs.

These are the results:

Christian	41%
Mystic/Spiritualist	22%
Humanist	19%
Agnostic	11%
Jewish	3%
Atheist	1%
Other	3%

(Thank you, JACK RAGSDALE)

More than 30% do not believe in the supernatural -- more than we had realized.

---

- (12) Non-prophet. Karl Marx had some brilliant insights, but he wasn't so hot as a prophet. A lot of things have happened that he didn't figure on. As Sidney Hook puts it:

What was distinctive about his theories concerning how socialism — which *au fond* was an extension of democracy to a way of life — was to be achieved has largely been disproved by historical events. History, alas!, has been guilty of *lesé-Marxism*. Marx underestimated the capacity of capitalist societies to raise the standard of living of its population, including even the longevity of the working class; he underestimated the growth and intensity of nationalism; he was mistaken in interpreting all forms of coercion and exploitation as flowing from private ownership of the social means of production; he ignored the prospect of bureaucratic forms of collectivism; and the very possibility of war between collectivist economies, illustrated in the nuclear threat of Communist Russia against Communist China, was inconceivable to him by definition. As we have seen, he shared the naiveté of anarchist thinkers in believing that the state would disappear with universal collectivism and that "the administration of things" could ever completely replace administration by men and women and the possibility of its abuse. He underestimated the role of personality in history; and, although he contributed profoundly to our understanding of the determining influence, direct and indirect, of the mode of economic production on many aspects of culture, he exaggerated the degree of its determination and its "inevitability" and "necessity." That is why those who have learned most from Marx, if faithful to his own commitment to the scientific, rational method, should no more consider themselves "Marxists" today than modern biologists should consider themselves "Darwinians" or modern physicists "Newtonians." "Marxism" today signifies an ideology in Marx's original sense of that term, suggestive more of a religious than of a strictly scientific or rational outlook on society.

The above quotation comes from Sidney Hook's article in "Free Inquiry" (April 1983, p. 27). Hook maintains that the Marxists have perverted Marx. The article is titled, "Karl Marx versus the Communist Movement".

---



## NEWS ABOUT MEMBERS

- (13) Dong-In Bae. (First, for the benefit of recent BRS members, a few words about Dong-In: a BRS member since early 1975, he is a native of Korea, with political asylum in West Germany. He founded the Korean Bertrand Russell Society, headquartered in West Germany. He set a record for long-distance travel to attend a BRS meeting, traveling all the way from West Germany to Canada for the 1978 meeting at McMaster.)

He writes: I am glad to inform you that on 18th February 1983, it was officially proclaimed that I passed all the doctoral examinations - there were "born" other 19 new Doctors in our Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences at the University of Cologne.

In the meantime, my dissertation with the theme "Arbeitsdesign ('Job Design'): Entwicklungskontext, Praxis, Perspektive" has been printed and delivered to the University Library and to the Dean Office of the Faculty, and I received today the Certificate of the Degree of "Dr. rer. pol." (Doctor rerum politicarum). My major is Sociology, and the secondary subjects are National Economics and Political Science.

In writing my above dissertation, I was happy to quote the following passages from BR and Dora Russell, *The Prospects of Industrial Civilization*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1970 (1959), P.76f., indicating their foresight into the problems of technological development and industrialization:

"Oil is a good example of a commodity of which there is a shortage. ... Competition between nations will increasingly tend to be not for markets, but for raw materials; that is to say, they will compete as producers, not as traders. ... Industrialism in its heyday is being extraordinarily wasteful of the natural resources of the world, taking no thought whatever for future generations. It is probable that, within the lifetime of those who are now young, scarcity of raw materials will radically transform industry, and compel nations to adopt less frantic and excessive methods of production. Some authorities assert that oil, coal, iron and many other hitherto necessary materials of industrialism, will have grown very scarce fifty years hence; in any case, it is nearly certain that they will have grown sufficiently scarce for those nations which possess them to be anxious to avoid waste." (quoted on P.21 of my diss.).

Now, I must find out a job, above all, in the fields of scientific researches. It will be, however, very difficult to find any job which is adequate for me. As we know, the economically hard, present situations are all over the world more or less the same. On political reasons, as you know, I cannot return to Korea in the near future; I should still stay here (or in any free society).

- (14) Alejandro Garciadiego — recipient of the 1982 BRS Doctoral Grant — has completed all the requirements for his Ph.D., and has sent a copy of his dissertation to the BRS Library.

- (15) Marvin Kohl tells why he views abortion as a mixed good, in "Free Inquiry" (Winter 1982-83, p.42):

There are good reasons for supporting a liberal abortion policy. Many anti-abortion arguments we hear today are inadequate. If born human progeny have greater moral standing, if fundamental respect for women demands the recognition of their right to choose responsibly, and if an anti-abortion public policy is deeply harmful, then we have a plausible case for abortion as a mixed good. It is a mixed good because it typically harms by killing another closely akin being — even when an abortion is performed to prevent injury to the life or health of the mother. Moreover, to take away a life leaves many of us with a sense of moral uneasiness, often anguish — even if it be less sentient or only a potential human being, even if it be the best we can morally do in a particular situation. This sentiment is not the result of a Ghandi-like sense of purity. Rather it is due

to the understanding that, in many cases, sex education or birth-control might have been workable and, if so, clearly seems to be preferable. A large part of this anguish is that, as with many human problems, we have allowed the situation to develop to the point where the best moral alternative (though not the only one) is to kill another being.

In light of this, I wish to suggest that Richard Taylor and Jeanne Caputo's "Abortion and Morality" (FI, Fall 1982, p. 32) is an unfair portrayal of the problem. First of all, suppose it is true (which I think it is not) that "the question of when a fertilized ovum becomes a 'human being' is clearly unanswerable." Surely it is then at least plausible to maintain that, since a line cannot be successfully drawn, we should assume that we indeed do have a human

being from the moment of conception. Taylor and Caputo attempt to parry this criticism by suggesting that, since most fertilized ova are never implanted in the womb, God is the supreme abortionist. Now this slapdash move may be amusing to some, but it is clearly fallacious: for the issue in abortion is not the death of the fetus (as in an honest miscarriage or its like), but deliberate killing.

Taylor and Caputo rightfully marshal evidence about the human suffering and the capacity for evil that lies in the proposals to curtail the legal right to abortion. Again, I am sympathetic with their conclusion. But to arrive at it by suggesting that all, or even most, anti-abortionists are blind to morality because they are indifferent to suffering is, at best, simplistic.

First of all, it is one thing to disagree

with a moral position and another to deny that it is a moral position. Second, not all harm is suffering: killing someone whose life has, or could have, genuine meaning is plausibly conceived of as an act of harm. Third, dogmatic fundamentalists are not the only ones who oppose abortion. Many reflective people oppose abortion, as utilitarians, because they believe killing is contagious. They believe that a slide is inevitable and therefore that a liberal or moderate abortion policy has net negative utility. Many other opponents of abortion seem to be act intuitionists. They maintain that one can "see" the rightness or wrong-

ness of an act. They maintain that all abortion is wrong because, if one would witness an abortion, one would "see" or intuit the wrongness of that act.

Now both of these positions may be mistaken. Nonetheless they are moral points of view. And the humanist can dismiss them out of hand only if he is willing to embrace the same kind of simple-minded dogmatism he hopes to conquer. Perhaps in the great battle with the Moral Majority it is understandable that some should become almost like their enemies. But an open society, a political democracy, if it is to work well, requires that we have full relevant informa-

tion as to choices. To the extent either side falsifies or oversimplifies the issues, the process of democracy is made more difficult. To the extent that we humanists lose our reverence for certain ideals or choose immediate political gain at the price of sacrificing truth and fairness, we violate our birthright.

*Marvin Kohl is professor of philosophy at the State University of New York College at Fredonia and author of The Morality of Killing.*

(16)

Corliss Lamont. The following ad -- in The New York Review of Books (3/17/83,p.54) -- tells the story:

**Lover's Credo**  
POEMS OF ROMANTIC LOVE  
By Corliss Lamont

*A book of eloquent and exuberant verse by a Humanist philosopher that provides an antidote to today's pervasive vulgarization and debasement of sex relations.*

"The bliss of sexual and spiritual love, the beauty of the loved one and of nature, the loneliness and ironies of lost romance are gracefully conveyed in these meticulously structured poems."

—The Booklist  
American Library Association

"Corliss Lamont, bored with pornography and four-letter words, has shown that one can speak candidly of the delight of tenderness, passion, exaltation and lasting comradeship of two people in love without resorting to coarseness. The title poem, 'Lover's Credo' is especially appealing. . . . This little volume should please lovers of all ages."

—The Atlanta Journal

Second revised edition issued in paperback. 72 Pages.

\$4.95 at your bookstore or direct from  
WILLIAM L. BAUHAN, PUBLISHER  
DUBLIN, NH 03444

## QUESTION ANSWERED

(17)

"Horrible, horrible, horrible." The question Jack Ragsdale asked last issue (RSN37-11) has been answered by JOHN FOTI. He referred us to "Bertrand Russell: The Passionate Sceptic" by Alan Wood (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1958). The following is from Pages 236-7:

My wife then spoke of young men who had been killed in the war; and said that it seemed monstrously unjust that they should not, somehow or somewhere, have a second chance of happiness and achievement. 'But the universe is unjust,' said Russell.

In this, I think, lay the essence of Russell's practical wisdom: to the end he remained true to the faith—preached long before in *A Free Man's Worship*, and intensified by the horrors the world had known since—that the beginning of any worthwhile creed of living must be a recognition of harsh and unpleasant truths. He said that 'the secret of happiness is to face the fact that the world is horrible, horrible, horrible. . . . You must feel it

deeply, and not brush it aside. . . . You must feel it right in here'—hitting his breast—'and then you can start being happy again.' Russell went beyond Christian morality in not only stressing man's insignificance compared with the universe, but in saying that the universe has no principle of justice at work in it. I call this practical wisdom because, if you can give up believing in cosmic justice, then nothing can make you have a grievance against the world; and there is nothing so sterile and profitless as having a grievance. Russell, unlike many philosophers seemed to find in the fundamental point of his philosophy of life a practical help in his own living. I do not think he could possibly have kept up his courage and cheerfulness, in the face of sc

much recurring sorrow and anxiety, if he had not come to learn by experience the knack of not feeling sorry for himself. Energy which he might have wasted on feeling sorry for himself was diverted into feeling angry with other people: which I think is much more healthy. He once said 'I don't believe in meekness'.

This, perhaps, was one of his sharpest departures in practice from Christian precepts. But only in practice, because, of course, his theories did not allow him to be angry with anybody. An evil man was not to be hated, but studied and cured by scientific

(Thanks, also, to Ramon Carter and Bob Davis.)

methods: 'It is a waste of energy to be angry with a man who behaves badly, just as it is to be angry with a car that won't go.' But the truth is that a life based strictly on Russell's principles, without occasional deviations, is as difficult as one based strictly on Christian teachings, except for a few exceptional saints. And even Christ himself (as Russell pointed out) was capable at times of unloving remarks to his enemies.

'Hatred of some sort,' Russell once wrote, 'is quite necessary—it needn't be towards people. But without some admixture of hatred one becomes soft and loses energy.'

---

#### NEW MEMBERS

(18) We warmly welcome these new members:

HOWARD A. BLAIR/135 N. Wilmoth Av./Ames, IA 50010  
 LUCY M. BORIK/5211 Dumaine Dr./La Palma, CA 90623  
 DEAN T. BOWDEN/8283 La Jolla Shores Drive/La Jolla, CA 92037  
 SHEILA DRECKMAN/PO Box 244/Kieler, WI 53812  
 TERRY L. HILDEBRAND/17802 Clark St./Union, IL 60180

WILLIAM R. OSTROWSKI/1441 W. Thome Av./Chicago, IL 60660  
 PAUL M. PFALZNER/380 Hamilton Av./Ottawa, Ont./Canada K1Y 1C7  
 ADELAIDE PROMAN/3653 North 6 Av. (25C)/Phoenix, AZ 85013  
 LELA MARIE RIVENBARK/2615 Waugh Dr.(233)/Houston, TX 77006  
 HUGH B. THOMAS/105 Swigert Av./Lexington, KY 40505

RICHARD H. THOMAS/141882/POB E/Jackson, MI 49204  
 LLOYD E. TREFETHEN/4 Washington Square Village (75)/NY NY 10012  
 CLIFFORD VALENTINE/5900 Second Place, N.W./Washington, DC 20011

---

#### NEW ADDRESSES AND OTHER CHANGES

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

LT LEONARD R. CLEAVELIN, JAGC, USNR/1936 N. Clark St. (812)/Chicago, IL 60614  
LT ROBERT J. DELLE/3969 Adams St. (208B)/Carlsbad, CA 92088  
 PRADEEP KUMAR DUBEY/E.C.E. Dept/U-Mass/Amherst, MA 01003  
 MARK E. FARLEY/302 S. Masters Dr./Dallas, TX 75217  
 FRANCISCO GIRON B./171 Chesters House/University of Strathclyde/Glasgow 4AF/Scotland, UK G61

DR. STEPHEN HAMBY/Center for Rational Living/500 Lowell Dr., S.E./Huntsville, AL 35801  
 DOUGLAS HUTCHISON/254 S. Lanza Ct./Saddle Brook, NJ 07662  
 DON LOEB/423 S. Seventh St.(2)/Ann Arbor, MI 48103  
 JIM SULLIVAN/1103 Manchester Dr./South Bend, IN 46615  
 PAUL WALKER/RR Box 181/Blairsburg, IA 50034

DR TERRY Z. ZACCONE/13046 Anza Drive/Saratoga, CA 95070

---

#### BRS LIBRARY

(20) Books to lend. On the next page is a list of 38 books available from the BRS Library. You may borrow any that interest you.

To borrow, order from Jack Ragsdale, BRS Assistant Librarian, 4461 23rd St., San Francisco, CA 94114. There is no fee for borrowing, but please enclose postage when you order, 86¢ for HB, 63¢ for PB; stamps accepted. Return books in 3 weeks, unless you request an extension. On the list of books, the names of donors appear in parenthesis.

1. HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY \* HB (Jack Ragsdale)
2. MYSTICISM AND LOGIC PB (Jack Ragsdale)
3. BERTRAND RUSSELL'S BEST Robert E. Egner, Ed. (Ramon Carter) HB
4. AN OUTLINE OF PHILOSOPHY PB (Ramon Carter) HB
5. AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BERTRAND RUSSELL (1872-1914) HB Vol. 1 (Ramon Carter)
6. LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE PB by Derek Humphry (Author)
7. ESSAYS ON BERTRAND RUSSELL edited by E. D. Klemke HB (Bob Davis)
8. MORALS WITHOUT MYSTERY by Lee Eisler (author) HB
9. AUTHORITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL PB (Don Jackanicz)
10. AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BERTRAND RUSSELL (in one volume) HB (Don Jackanicz)
11. BERTRAND RUSSELL\* 1872-1970 cartoons pix, articles etc PB (Don Jackanicz)
12. BERTRAND RUSSELL, A LIFE by Herbert Gottschalk (Don Jackanicz)
13. EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL ORDER PB (Don Jackanicz)
14. EFFECTS AND DANGERS OF NUCLEAR WAR (15 pp An educational exhibit)
15. ESSAYS ON SOCIALIST HUMANISM PB (Don Jackanicz)
16. GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY PB (Don Jackanicz)
17. ICARUS or THE FUTURE OF SCIENCE PB (Don Jackanicz)
18. THE IMPACT OF SCIENCE ON SOCIETY PB (Don Jackanicz)
19. AN INQUIRY INTO MEANING AND TRUTH PB (Don Jackanicz)
20. IN PRAISE OF IDLENESS PB (Don Jackanicz)
21. HAS MAN A FUTURE PB (Don Jackanicz)
22. JUSTICE IN WARTIME HB (Don Jackanicz)
23. NATIONAL FRONTIERS AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION PB  
by Roy Medvedev
24. MY PHILOSOPHICAL DEVELOPMENT PB (Don Jackanicz)
25. POLITICAL IDEALS PB (Don Jackanicz)
26. PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION PB (Don Jackanicz)
27. THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF BOLSHEVISM PB
28. ROADS TO FREEDOM PB
29. SCEPTICAL ESSAYS PB
30. SECRECY OF CORRESPONDENCE IS GUARANTEED BY LAW PB  
by Roy Medvedev
31. THE TAMARISK TREE by Dora Russell, an autobiography
32. MR. WILSON SPEAKS "frankly and fearlessly" ON VIETNAM TO  
BERTRAND RUSSELL PB
33. MARRIAGE AND MORALS PB (Jack Ragsdale)
34. DEAR BERTRAND RUSSELL - a selection of Russell's correspondence  
with the public HB (Jack Ragsdale)
35. EDUCATION AND THE GOOD LIFE PB (Jack Ragsdale)
36. HUMAN KNOWLEDGE-ITS SCOPE AND LIMITS PB (Jack Ragsdale)
37. WHY I AM NOT A CHRISTIAN plus 14 other essays on religion and  
related subjects and a 50-page appendix on  
the history of Russell's being prevented from  
teaching at New York's City College. (Jack  
Ragsdale)
38. THE EVOLUTION OF CONSCIENCE by Ralph Newman PB (Jack Ragsdale)

(21) BRS Library Campaign. We are not satisfied with the BRS Library as it exists today. It's much too small!

We think the BRS Library ought to own a copy of every book ER ever wrote and every book written about him or his work.

That's a big order.

Perhaps you can help us work our way toward achieving it.

If you have a book by or about ER that you've read but are not likely to read again soon, if ever -- or if you have several copies of the same book, perhaps in different editions -- please donate it to the BRS Library, which will make it available to many. If the book you donate is out of print -- many books by ER are -- it will be specially welcome.

If there's some book by ER that's a particular favorite of yours, and that you'd like to see reach more people, buy it -- if you see it for sale -- and donate it to the Library.

In a future issue we expect to list the books by ER that the Library does not own, along with their current prices...in case you wish to contribute money to the Library for the purchase of a particular book.

Help us fill the gaps -- there are many! -- in the BRS Library. Send books to Jack Ragsdale, BRS Assistant Librarian, 4461 23rd St., San Francisco, CA 94114. Book postage: 1st lb. 63¢, thereafter 23¢ per lb.

## FUN

- (22) Puzzle. JACK RAGSDALE asks you to guess who is being referred to in the following:

Professor of Paganism; philosophical anarchist; moral nihilist of Great Britain; desiccated, divorced and decadent advocate of sexual promiscuity; corrupting individual; Professor of Immorality and Irreligion; ostracized by decent Englishmen; dog; conducted a nudist colony; ape of genius; devil's minister to men; pro-communist.

Jack says all these quotes come from "How Bertrand Russell Was Prevented from Teaching at City College, New York," by Paul Edwards. It is included, as an appendix, in "Why I Am Not A Christian" (London:Allen & Unwin, 1957, pp 181-220).

---

## ONE-LINER

- (23) A fundamentalist is someone who worships a dead radical.

From "The Founding Fathers and Religious Liberty" by Robert S. Alley, in "Free Inquiry" (Spring 1983, p.5) Alley calls it a paraphrase of a comment by John Holt.

---

## CONTRIBUTIONS

- (24) We thank these recent donors: BOB DAVIS, PAUL FIGUEREDO, DAVID GOLDMAN, DON JACKANICZ, MICHAEL TAINT.

- (25) We invite contributions. Invite, did we say? Nay, beg were more like it. We beg contributions.

Look! We are standing on our head, which is unusual, because these are unusual times, and there is an unusual need for money in the BRS Treasury.

So please send what money you can spare. No amount is too small\*to be useful.

Send it c/o the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.

\*or too large, for that matter

---

## BRS BUSINESS

- (26) Use of the BRS name by members. Some BRS members, when writing a Letter to the Editor (of a newspaper or magazine)— or to a prominent person -- wish to bring in the BRS name. We like that idea, and encourage it, provided it is done in the following way: write your letter on BRS members' stationery (29).

We ask you not to write BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY after your name, when you sign your letter -- no matter what kind of stationery you use. That would make it appear that you are writing on behalf of the BRS, and that would be an unauthorized use of the BRS name.

- (27) A new address for the BRS. You may have noticed a new BRS address at the top of Page 1. It replaces the former Georgia address.

We have, in effect, moved the corporation from Georgia to Illinois. We did it this way: we dissolved The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc.(a Georgia corporation) and formed The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc.(an Illinois corporation).

From the standpoint of BRS members, nothing has changed, nothing is different.

How did we happen to be incorporated in Georgia? Why did we make the change?

We were incorporated in Georgia because that's where Peter Cranford lives. Peter, our former Chairman, founded the BRS and made all the arrangements in the early years (and paid for them), for all of which we are permanently in his debt. He incorporated the corporation in Georgia because that's where he lives. That was reasonable and proper.

A corporation is required to have a "registered agent" (of the corporation) who is a resident of the state. Peter, a Georgia resident, was the registered agent of the BRS, a Georgia corporation.

But circumstances changed.

Peter is getting on in years, and has had a "lengthy hospital stay and a convalescence which continues to limit my activities," he told us in his letter of August 5th (RSN35-36).

Do we have another BRS member who lives in Georgia and who might become the registered agent if that should become necessary or seem desirable? We have no member in Georgia, except Peter, who has been active in BRS affairs.

So it seemed prudent to move out of Georgia. We moved to Illinois, where we have quite a few members, including 5 Directors, two of whom are BRS Officers, any of whom could satisfactorily fill the post of registered agent.

And that's how it has come about that the BRS is now an Illinois corporation, and that Don Jackanicz, BRS President, is its registered agent. It is Don's Illinois address that is now the official address of the BRS, and appears at the top of Page 1.

We are greatly indebted to BRS Director STEVE MARAGIDES, who is an attorney (and who happens to live in Illinois) for donating his legal services -- which were not inconsiderable -- and which enabled us to make the move from Georgia to Illinois.

\* \* \* \* \*

Here are the minutes of the two Board of Directors meetings held in connection with the move from Georgia to Illinois:

THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY

Special Meeting of the Board of Directors, Claremont, California, 19 Dec. 1982

Present: Harry Ruja (presiding), Jacqueline Berthon-Fayon, Robert E. Davis.

Harry Ruja (henceforth HR) called the meeting to order, announced that according to the Bylaws, a quorum was present, and presented the agenda consisting of two items: (1) approving the Society's Bylaws in connection with the application for tax-exempt status, and (2) approving the cancellation of the incorporation of the Society in Georgia and its reincorporation in Illinois.

Robert Davis (henceforth RKD) moved approval of item 1; Jacqueline Berthon-Fayon (henceforth JB-F) seconded the motion. There being no discussion, HR called for a vote. The motion passed unanimously.

JB-F moved approval of item 2; RKD seconded the motion. HR raised the issue of the method to be used to notify the membership of this change. Consensus was reached that the BRS News was the appropriate vehicle for that purpose. There being no further discussion, HR called for a vote. The motion passed unanimously.

There being no further business to conduct, the meeting was adjourned.

Harry Ruja

*Harry Ruja*

\* \* \* \* \*

We are not reproducing the "Resolution to Dissolve", which is referred to in the April Minutes, because the Minutes give the substance of the Resolution.

MINUTES OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING OF THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY, INC., APRIL 11, 1983

The Special Meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order at 4:00 p.m. on Monday, April 11, 1983 in Room S-204 of the Science Building of Northeastern Illinois University, 5500 N. St. Louis Ave., Chicago, IL. A quorum was established by the presence of three Board members--Donald W. Jackanicz, Steve Maragides, and Hugh S. Moorhead. In the absence of Board Chairman Harry Ruja, those present chose Steve Maragides to serve as Acting Chairman. In the absence of Board Secretary Cherie Ruppe, those present chose Donald W. Jackanicz to serve as Acting Secretary.

The sole agenda item was to authorize dissolution of the Georgia corporation known as The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc. and to establish the corporate identity of our organization as that of The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc., an Illinois corporation, by specifying that, upon dissolution of the Georgia corporation, all Society attributes other than state of incorporation are to be transferred to the Illinois corporation. Steve Maragides moved, with Hugh S. Moorhead seconding the motion, that the "Resolution to Dissolve" (see accompanying sheet) be approved by the Board and submitted to the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia in accordance with that State's corporation dissolution procedure. This motion was carried by a vote of Yes--15 (the three Board members attending in person plus 12 Board members casting affirmative votes by proxy through Donald W. Jackanicz) and No--1 (one Board member casting his negative vote by proxy through Donald W. Jackanicz). Seven Board members did not vote. See the accompanying sheet for a complete vote tally.

With no other business at hand, Acting Chairman Steve Maragides moved that the meeting be adjourned. Hugh S. Moorhead seconded the motion which was unanimously accepted. The meeting adjourned at 4:15 p.m.

*Donald W. Jackanicz*

Donald W. Jackanicz, Acting Secretary  
April 12, 1983

FOR SALE

(28) BR button, b&w, 2 1/4" diameter, \$1.50 postpaid. Same button with a magnet instead of a pin, \$2 postpaid. Order from Buttonworks, 55 Bow St., Portsmouth, NH 03801. Allow 4 weeks.

(29) Members' stationery. 8 1/2 x 11, white. Across the top: "The good life is one inspired by love and guided by knowledge." Bertrand Russell. On the bottom: "Motto of the Bertrand Russell Society, Inc." New price: \$6 postpaid, for 90 sheets (weighs just under a pound, travels 3rd class). Order from the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.

- (30) BR postcard, Philippe Halsman's handsome 1958 photo of BR with pipe, is presently out of stock at the source. We will let you know when it becomes available again.
- 

#### REPORTS FROM OFFICERS

- (31) President Don Jackanicz reports:

On April 16 I attended the second of three national conferences on No First Use of Nuclear Weapons sponsored by the Council for a Livable World. In October 1982 this organization sponsored a similar meeting in New York; on December 3, 1983 a San Francisco meeting will be held. Five hundred people were present to hear seven hours of talks and to participate in discussion. The program centered on the article "Nuclear Weapons and the Atlantic Alliance" by McGeorge Bundy, George F. Kennan, Robert McNamara, and Gerald Smith appearing in Foreign Affairs, Spring 1982. This article advanced the argument that a firm American commitment to the no first use of nuclear weapons would be a great advance in reducing East-West tension and could be the starting point of more meaningful nuclear arms reduction talks. Both the Soviet Union and China have made such commitments. In discussion, arguments favoring and discrediting this thesis were made so that the proposal was subjected to a substantial critique. Of the four authors, only Bundy was present, but other diplomatic, military, and scholarly authorities were on hand to add their expertise. If you are interested in more information on the Council or would like some of its free publications, including an offprint of this article, write to Council for a Livable World/11 Beacon St./Boston, MA 02108. Attending public interest meetings like this one, studying the issues, and voicing one's opinion to elected and appointed government officials are among the ways each of us can contribute in some small way toward ending the nuclear weapons folly. If you have something of this nature to share with members, please submit a report to the RSN. Your thoughtful contribution might just have some worthwhile affect.

As the June Hamilton Annual Meeting is approaching, I trust as many of you as possible have made travel plans and reservations with our host, McMaster University. Our Annual Meetings have always been the highlight of the BRS year, and in 1983 this tradition will continue. A fine program has been prepared by the Archives, and we will have the pleasure of enjoying it within the beautiful setting of the University. Accommodations, as always, will be very good. The BRS will have several business matters to attend to, and I hope each of you will consider attending for this reason as well as to participate in the other Meeting activities. A final note: After a long search, it seems I have located an adequate Red Hackle supply. This traditional Annual Meeting beverage, I do expect, will be available to us in adequate quantity.

---

#### BRS AWARD

- (32) Professor Joseph Rotblat will receive the 1983 Bertrand Russell Society Award. He worked closely with BR on that most important of all possible projects, the elimination of nuclear weapons -- a project which began to take on substance at Pugwash.

Pugwash was a breakthrough. It brought scientists from the East and West together for the first time (to discuss the danger of nuclear war.) Professor Rotblat helped BR bring Pugwash into existence and keep it going. We have already mentioned BR's very high opinion of him (?).

In accepting the invitation to receive the Award, Professor Rotblat writes:

With regard to my relations with Bertrand Russell, I was in close touch with him until his death and, later, with his wife, Edith. The Movement originated by Bertrand Russell, the Pugwash Conferences, has occupied most of my time and still does. Although I am no longer Secretary-General, I am very active in the Pugwash Council and its Executive Committee and I am Chairman of the British Pugwash Group. I am proud of the fact that I am the only person alive who attended all the Pugwash Conferences so far.

There is a possibility that we may be able to present the Award to Professor Rotblat in person at our June meeting. He writes:

I note that the presentation would be made at your banquet at McMaster University on June 25. I shall be in the United States (in Wisconsin) at that time, attending a conference. Should my commitments at the conference enable me to be free on that date, I would be glad to make the trip to Hamilton, but I will not know whether this will be possible until late in May.

This is one more reason for BRS members to come to the June meeting at McMaster! To make reservations, see (41).

#### OBITUARY

- (33) Herbert A. Stahl has died, we regret to report. He has been a BRS member since early 1975. The many difficulties which he successfully surmounted were described in the Congressional Record of March 1, 1976 and reproduced in RSN19-45 (August 1978). We offer our sympathy to his widow, Dorothy.

#### ABOUT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

- (34) Wilberforce seminar cancelled. The seminar was to have taken place at St. John's College, Cambridge, on August 5-7 (RSN37-31), but August, Jack Lennard advises, "is a holiday month, especially the first half, when possible speakers, and others, are on vacation." Hence the cancellation. "I thank you for your kind interest," he adds. "Perhaps we will try again another year."

- (35) Earthday Society Foundation sponsored "Earth Day (a global holiday)" on March 20-21. This is their announcement →



EARTH DAY '83 - MARCH 20th - 21st

PEACE BELL CEREMONY - UNITED NATIONS

SUNDAY, MARCH 20th : 11PM TO 12 MIDNIGHT

THE EQUINOX WILL OCCUR AT 11:39 PM (EST)\*

The Peace Bell will be rung at the moment of the equinox, followed by two minutes of silent prayer or meditation; a time for worldwide dedication to the care of Earth. Radio and TV in all countries are urged to give live coverage to this event, to commemorate World Communications Year with a breathtaking global commitment to the care of Earth.

Individuals and groups who wish to celebrate Earth Day may come to the United Nations, or plan their own local celebration.

Earth Day projects can begin one or two weeks before Earth Day. Reports during this time on the state of Earth in local communities are requested. They can be given to local media and by Mailgram to the Earth Society for a State of Earth global round-up on Earth Day. This will include reports from Space and from the North and South Poles.

COMMUNICATE EARTH CARE IN 1983 : WORLD COMMUNICATIONS YEAR

\*EQUINOX: 0439 Universal Time (GMT) March 21st (March 20th in New York)



EARTH SOCIETY  
FOUNDATION



(36)

World Policy Institute, Publications 1983. This is an impressive 24-page catalog of books and papers that deal with the really big problems. This is how the Institute describes itself and its areas of interest:

## WORLD POLICY INSTITUTE

The purpose of the World Policy Institute is to develop and implement practical proposals for preventing and eventually eliminating war, achieving economic well-being, advancing human rights, and establishing a healthy global ecology.

The World Policy Institute, formerly the Institute for World Order, changed its name in 1982 to reflect a new emphasis on scholarly research aimed at producing pragmatic policy recommendations—in the form of books, World Policy Papers, and briefings—for achieving a more peaceful and just structure of international relations.

The Institute's communications program conveys these recommendations to legislators and public officials, to the general public through the media, to professional and service groups, to universities and schools, and to religious and other membership groups.

## CONTENTS

World Security .....	3
War and Militarism .....	4
Disarmament and Demilitarization ...	5
International Relations/World Order Studies .....	7
U.S. Foreign Policy .....	11
Economics, Development, Environment .....	14
Human Rights .....	17
Curriculum Development Resources .....	18
Audio-Visual Materials .....	19
Additional Materials .....	20

## WORLD POLICY INSTITUTE

777 United Nations Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10017

(212) 490-0010

Most of the material is published by the Institute itself, but the Catalog also lists books from other publishers, including Basic Books, W. H. Freeman, UChicago Press, Monthly Review Press, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Princeton U. Press, Praeger, etc.

Here are samples,  
from Pages 12-13

### The National Interest and the Human Interest: An Analysis of U.S. Foreign Policy

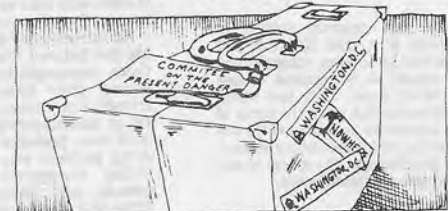


Robert C. Johansen. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980. 517 pp. Paper, \$7.95

Johansen develops a new global humanistic framework for analyzing U.S. foreign policy, and assesses the impact of U.S. foreign policy on strategic arms limitation, human rights in Chile, economic well-being in India, and environmental protection of the oceans.

"Indispensable for anyone wishing to teach international relations courses from a perspective that takes into account the ethical issues suppressed by 'realpolitik' thinking."—*Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*

### Peddlers of Crisis: The Committee on the Present Danger and the Politics of Containment



New! Jerry W. Sanders. Boston: South End Press, 1983. 335 pp. Paper, \$7.95

Traces the remarkable odyssey of the Committee on the Present Danger from political power, to political exile, and back to the present where a number of the Committee's members hold top positions in the Reagan Administration. Sanders uncovers the conflicts and critical interaction that takes place among policy elites, public opinion, and examines the opportunities for popular movements at home and abroad to challenge elite domination of policy and break the grip of Cold War militarism.

"Presents important new material on the foreign policy debate in the U.S. at two critical junctures—the scholarship is superior and the historical reporting is meticulous."—Richard Barnett, Institute for Policy Studies

(37)

Friends of Robert G. Ingersoll. Newsletters 4 & 5 (February and March 1983) report that there will be an Ingersoll Sesquicentennial Festival in Peoria, IL for several days in August, with scholars giving talks at Bradley University. To coincide with the Festival, the Friends are putting on a Freethought Fair. "Representatives of various freethought publishers and organizations will have displays featuring their wares and literature. The Fair will not be limited to Ingersoll and will include the entire spectrum of American freethought: atheism, agnosticism, deism, rationalism, etc." For information about the Festival, Fair, travel and lodging, and exact dates, write the Friends at PO Box 5082, Peoria, IL 61601

- (38) FFRF. The Freedom From Religion Foundation devotes its March 1983 newsletter to a 12-page article, "Creationism: The Fossil Record and the Flood". We reproduce a portion of the conclusion:

...they have given unwary "evolutionists" quite a scare and at times waylaid scientific evolutionists by thrusting a fresh, unexpected attack upon them in debates for which the scientists were totally unprepared. Science had thought that this low-level foolishness had long since been disposed of, and it was caught flat-footed by the novelty of finding a coterie of well-prepared debaters with rather good credentials in science now standing behind the bible itself! Until then, it was easy to dismiss the superstitions of the bible as superstitions. Suddenly, the new breed of fundamentalist burst forth from the covert, quiet halls of fundamentalist colleges where they had been perfecting the attack upon evolution for some time!

The forces of science found themselves in disarray as creation scientists fired volley after volley of challenging, scientific-sounding, and apparently credible arguments in every direction: at school boards, at science itself, at political targets, at textbook publishers: at the blindly faithful—a virtual MIRV barrage designed to bring down the constitutional barrier between religion and the state.

FFRF's address is PO Box 750, Madison, WI 53701. They seek members. Annual dues \$15.

- (39) The Hemlock Society -- "supporting active voluntary euthanasia for the terminally ill." The Society is sponsoring a National Voluntary Euthanasia Conference on April 29 and 30, at the Unitarian Center, San Francisco, according to Hemlock Quarterly (No. 11, April 1983). The Quarterly lists the very considerable publicity the Society has been receiving in the media, including NBC-TV's "Today Show" (March 9), ABC-TV's "The Last Word", with Phil Donahue (taped March 29, release date not known), Time Magazine, Behavior Section (March 21). The Quarterly reproduces the Time article.

And we've just come across this sizeable article in The New York Times (4/25/83, p. B8):

## The 'Right To Die': Is It Right?

**S**INCE the apparent suicide in March of Arthur Koestler and his wife in London, something of an old subject — euthanasia — has been debated anew. Only last week, the Koestler deaths were the focus of intense discussion in Dallas at the annual meeting of the American Association of Suicidology, the group of suicide-prevention professionals.

And this Friday, the first National Voluntary Euthanasia Conference is expected to attract several hundred people to the Unitarian Center in San Francisco. The event's sponsor is Hemlock, a two-year-old, Los-Angeles-based organization with 7,500 members that has published a controversial book, "Let Me Die Before I Wake," written by the group's founder, Derek Humphry.

The book's subtitle describes it as a volume "of self-deliverance for the dying." Critics charge the book is a suicide manual that may cause unne-

cessary death among the young and the depressed, people who might not kill themselves if it weren't possible to buy a guide to self-destruction.

The word euthanasia, derived from the Greek roots "good death," has been loosely applied to everything from an individual's right to die with dignity to the extermination of those in nursing homes by the Nazis. Hemlock, however, is primarily interested in those who wish to end the life of the terminally or incurably ill.

An introductory disclaimer in "Let Me Die Before I Wake" suggests that those contemplating suicide should convey their intentions to family, friends, a physician, counselor, minister or suicide-prevention center. The book then presents case histories of dying patients who were assisted in killing themselves by family or friends, and describes dosages of drugs that were used by people to die.

"We are all going to die, and a few of us are going to die badly," said Mr. Humphry. "We regret suicide in the young, and we hope that people will not misuse this book. But are we to deprive intelligent, thinking, terminally ill people of this resource?" What he called "rational suicide" was the ultimate civil liberty, he said.

Hemlock's stance has not gone uncriticized. "Our organization believes that under no circumstances can one

justify the violent taking of life," said Dr. Jack Willke, president of the National Right to Life Committee. "We don't say that you have to use medication or mechanical equipment if the patient is in the process of dying. But one never directly kills. Doctors who prescribe drugs to such people are helping a patient die, and the doctor is an accomplice to the killing."

A physician for 35 years, Dr. Willke believes that there is no such thing as pain that cannot be controlled. "No matter what the illness," he said, "one can be kept reasonably comfortable. If you can't control the pain, get another doctor."

Others oppose the Hemlock book on religious grounds. "Certainly one has the physical ability to do away with oneself," said the Rev. William B. Smith, professor of moral theology at St. Joseph's Seminary in Yonkers. "But the moral right? I'd say no. If you believe life comes from God, and you have it in trust for a while, then you believe that you cannot take it. But if you believe you're not only the tenant but also the landlord of your existence — then I suppose you can believe that you can take your life."

Dr. John D. Arras, philosopher-in-residence at Montefiore Medical Center in the Bronx, frequently advises doctors on these issues. "I don't know why believers can't have the view of God as a compassionate inkeeper, who gives his residents the right to check out whenever they want to," he said about religious objections.

Some, like Father Smith, believe that the term "rational suicide" is a contradiction in terms. Dr. Arras thinks that suicide under certain circumstances can be an ethical option. "I believe that the classical philosophical argument for suicide or assisted suicide is very strong," he said. "But these are decisions that should be made in fear and trembling. I'm wary of the popularization of suicide. It's one thing to stake out the abstract right to die, another thing to parade this before depressed people who may take advantage of it."

There is also implied criticism of Hemlock in the policy of older "right-to-die" groups. "We decided not to make available methods that would enable people to take their own life," said Alice V. Mehling, executive director of the Society for the Right to Die, a group in Manhattan founded in 1938. "Suicide can be botched with rather unfortunate results. No one knows really what their tolerance is to an overdose of any drug."

Another Manhattan-based organization, Concern for Dying, has decided against distributing suicide manuals. "We completely support the principle of bodily self-determination," said A. J. Levinson, the group's executive director. "But the vast majority of people who want to commit suicide are depressed people who need counseling — and not instructions."

The Hemlock Society's address is PO Box 66218, Los Angeles, CA 90066.

### ELECTION OF DIRECTORS

- (40) We are to nominate Directors. Directors are elected to 3-year terms. The Bylaws call for a minimum of 6 and a maximum of 24. We currently have 22. If we elect 7 this year, it will bring the total up to 24, which is desirable.

Any member may nominate any other member to be a Director-Candidate.

If you wish to be a Candidate yourself, notify the Elections Committee, and someone will probably nominate you.

The duties of a Director are not burdensome. Directors are occasionally asked their opinion about something, by mail; and they are expected to make a reasonable effort to attend annual meetings, though not at great expense. The cost of attending meetings is tax-deductible, for Directors.

We would like to have more than 7 names on the ballot, so as to give members a choice.

A brief statement about a Candidate should accompany a nomination. If you are volunteering, include a brief statement about yourself.

The next newsletter (RSN39, August) will contain a ballot, with the brief statements about the candidates.

Directors whose terms expire this year are ALI GHAEMI, DON JACKANICZ, CHERIE RUPPE, WARREN SMITH, KATE TAIT. They are all eligible for re-election.

- \* To nominate someone -- or to volunteer yourself -- write the Elections Committee, c/o the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.

### ANNUAL MEETING (1983)

(41) June 24-26. The following information was provided in the last issue (RSN37-33):

The meeting is timed to coincide with a Conference at McMaster. The Conference -- jointly sponsored by the Bertrand Russell Editorial Project (at McMaster University) and the Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology (at University of Toronto) -- is in 2 parts.

Part 1 -- June 24-26, 1983 -- is on BR's non-technical ("humanistic") writings.  
Part 2 -- June 1984 -- will deal with BR's technical writings.

The program consists of 10 talks, starting Friday at 1 PM and ending at noon, Sunday. (Actually the program starts at 12:50 PM with a brief speech of welcome by Richard A. Rempel, Coordinator of the Russell Editorial Project.) It's not solid talk, talk, talk. It's talk alternating with coffee breaks and ending with a Barbecue at the Faculty Club, 6 PM on Friday, and a Buffet Banquet with Red Hackle (BR's brand of whiskey), 7 PM Saturday.

These are some of the speakers and their topics:

- . S. P. Rosenbaum (University of Toronto), "Russell and Bloomsbury".
- . Kirk Willis (University of Georgia and recipient of the 1979 BRS Doctoral Grant), "Russell's early views on religion".
- . Peter Clarke (St. John's College, Cambridge University), "Russell and Liberalism".
- . Brian Harrison (Corpus Christi College, Oxford University), "Russell and suffrage".
- . Thomas C. Kennedy (University of Arkansas), "Russell and Pacifism".

A BRS business meeting will be held Friday evening. No Conference talks are scheduled.

Costs: A Conference fee of \$30 (students \$15) covers talks, coffee breaks, Barbecue, Banquet. Cost of lodging and meals is \$43.84 per person double, \$54.34 single. This covers 2 nights lodging (June 24, 25), 2 breakfasts (June 25, 26), 1 lunch (June 25). Extra lodging before and after the Conference is available at the daily rate of \$15.75 double, \$21 single. Rates include bedding, towels, soap, daily maid service, parking and Ontario's 5% sales tax.

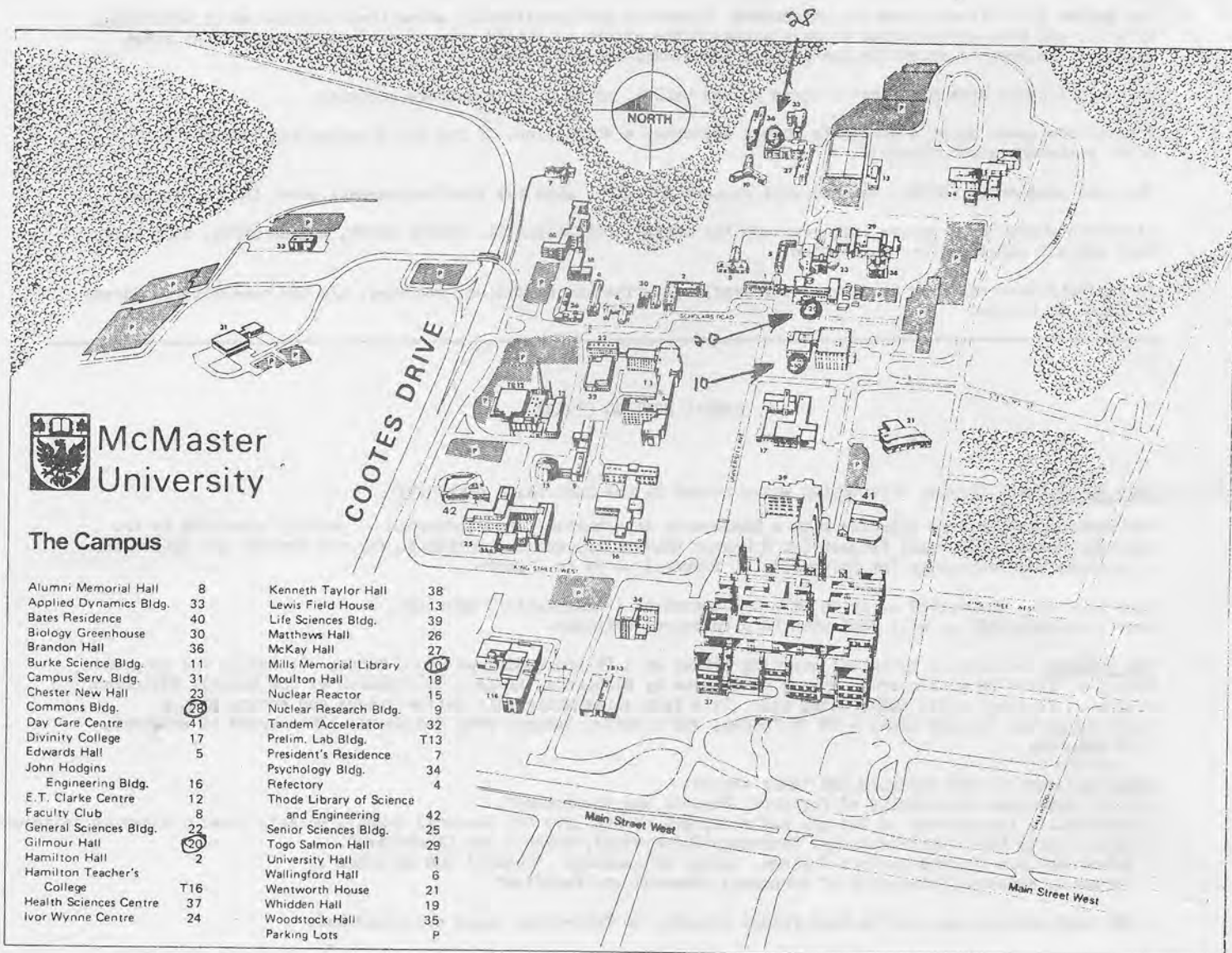
To make a reservation you need 2 money-orders, payable to McMaster University in Canadian funds. (1) Send the Conference fee to Secretary, The Bertrand Russell Editorial Project, TSH 719, McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada L8S 4M2. (2) Send payment for lodging to Conference Services, Commons 1018, McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada L8S 4K1, and mention dates of arrival and departure.

On arrival at McMaster, go to the Main Lobby Registration Desk in the Commons Bldg. (Bldg 28 on map, circled), and pick up your room key and settle into your room. Then go to the Russell Archives in Mills Memorial Library (Bldg. 10 on map, circled) between 9 and 5 PM Friday, to register for the Conference and get a program. The Conference talks will all be given in Room 111, Gilmour Hall (Bldg 20 on map, circled). Map is on next page.

Transportation to McMaster. Go to Toronto by train or plane. Then it's an hour's bus-ride to Hamilton/McMaster, from Toronto Airport or Bus Terminal. The Toronto-Hamilton bus may stop at McMaster on request; we're not sure of this. In any case, "McMaster is in the west end of the City of Hamilton, just a few minutes from downtown by car, taxi or public bus," according to McMaster literature.

If you can't get there before Friday evening, you will have missed 3 talks Friday afternoon. There are 7 talks scheduled after Friday.

- \* Come if you can!



## ANOTHER VIEW

(42) Socrates is greater. You recall the nasty statement attributed to BR which appeared in El Espectador (Bogota) (RSN36-6), and which translates from the Spanish as follows:

Socrates is greater than Christ because he did not have the cruel and sanguinary instincts of that hallucinating Jew.

We thought it was pure smear. But HARRY RUJA has this to say:

Though I cannot affirm or deny that BR said exactly what is ascribed to him by the unnamed professor, according to Jose Velez Saenz, he has expressed somewhat similar sentiments in "Why I Am Not A Christian". On Page 17 of the Simon & Schuster edition, we find: "There is one very serious defect...in Christ's moral character, and that is that He believed in Hell." He was furious with those who would not listen to his preaching, an attitude absent from Socrates and one which detracted from his superlative excellence. On Page 19, BR says further: "I cannot myself feel that...in the matter of virtue Christ stands quite as high as some other people known to history. I think I should put Buddha and Socrates above Him in those respects."

## ON NUCLEAR WAR

(43)

"Nuclear Sense and Nonsense" by Solly Zuckerman is nominally a book review in *The New York Review of Books* (12/16/82, pp. 19-26). Actually it is much more; it is an excellent history of the nuclear arms race by someone who ought to know. He was Science Adviser to the British Government.

The books reviewed are "The Nuclear Delusion: Soviet-American Relations in the Atomic Age" by George F. Kennan (Pantheon) and "With Enough Shovels" by Robert Scheer (Random House).

Any European citizen who picks up the two books under review hoping to inform himself about the nuclear dangers that bedevil East-West relations could well be excused were he to gain the impression that George Kennan was brought up within a culture wholly different from the one out of which the characters in Robert Scheer's pages emerged. How, one might well ask, could a politically sophisticated analysis of American-Soviet relations, of the kind which George Kennan provides, appear in the same country and at the same time as the proclamations of a band of military camp followers who pretend to provide intellectual backing for the controversial defense policies of Ronald Reagan and Caspar Weinberger? How is it that senior and experienced American military leaders who have spoken out have so far failed to refute the martial vaporings of a handful of civilians who offer guidelines for all-out nuclear war, as though its consequences would be little worse than a succession of severe droughts? Can it be that the enormous momentum of the arms race, and the pervasive power of the military machine, have in recent years so conditioned the environment of American opinion that, for all that may be said in favor of free speech, public expressions of dissent have so far had as little impact on the formulation of government policy in the US as the whimpers of dissent have in the USSR?

Whatever the answer, the belligerent noises now coming out of Washington are certainly sharpening the anxieties of ordinary citizens in parts of Western Europe where public expressions of concern can still have an impact on government policies. People are scared by talk of protracted nuclear war; by the fact that there is no let-up in the nuclear arms race; by the lack of progress in the START and "theater weapon" talks. And, however regrettable, and quite apart from differences of view about steel imports into the US, or trade relations with the USSR, strains in the Atlantic Alliance will increase the more it becomes clear that European governments are unable to influence the East-West military confrontation.

The recent admissions that the Pentagon, with presidential blessing, is embarking on preparations that would ostensibly provide the US with the means to fight a "protracted" nuclear war against the USSR have generated a new wave of alarm, and more than a little astonishment, in those European quarters where questions were already being asked about other aspects of nuclear strategy. Caspar Weinberger's efforts at retraction, culminating in his "open letter" to some seventy newspapers, have done nothing to allay anx-

ety or to reduce bewilderment. Theodore Draper's "open reply" indicated that the Weinberger letter will more likely than not intensify fear among

*The New York Review*, November 4, 1982.

those of America's European allies on whose territory such a war, were it ever to occur, would be fought.

But the whole concept of a nuclear war is nonsense, and the purpose of Mr. Scheer's book is to reveal the degree of nonsense it is. If the subject were not as serious as it is, parts of the book could be read as a skit on the Reagan administration's foreign and defense policies. Unfortunately, however, it is not a skit. What Scheer writes is backed by tapes of conversations he has had with Mr. Reagan; with Vice-President Bush; with Eugene Rostow, now the head of the State Department's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; with members of the group called the Committee on the Present Danger, of whom Rostow, Richard Pipes, Richard Perle, and several other members are now officials in the Reagan administration. Half of the book is devoted to notes and appendices, which include transcripts of tapes and of other records. It's real enough. Europe and North America have every reason to be fearful. So have the Russians.

No one in his senses should dispute the basic assumption that the rulers of the Soviet Union will do anything in their power to prevent the political disruption of their own state, or that of the satellite countries on whose stability they have in part based their own security. The USSR must be expected to do anything that could further its own interests. To that end it will also take risks, such as, for example, its intervention in Afghanistan. On this there is considerable agreement between George Kennan and Reagan's advisers. But from that point on, their paths diverge sharply.

What is highly questionable in the Reagan doctrine, and certainly to much informed European opinion, is the assumption that the Politburo would deliberately risk intruding into NATO territory, in the near certainty that such aggression would be likely to entail nuclear war. But this is what Reagan's people seem to believe. They also now say that America has to plan for a "protracted" war because the Russians believe that they could fight and win such a war. The Reaganites point to the development of new Russian nuclear launchers and warheads as proof. But if this is proof, then what is not explained is why the Soviet leaders, while deploying nuclear arms with their forces, publicly declare that a nuclear exchange could never be contained and that, once

started, the result would be scores of millions of deaths on both sides. This is not simply propaganda—any more than were the predictions of the nuclear physicists about the amount of energy locked up within the atom.

Nonetheless, as the nuclear arms race now pursues its course, the USSR continues to develop more and more accurate ballistic missiles, in order, as the Pentagon claims, to eliminate America's equally accurate land-based ballistic missiles, with the object of decreasing the intensity of a retaliatory nuclear onslaught. As further "proof" of the USSR's aggressive intentions, the Reagan strategists point to an evacuation program which the USSR is said to have ready for its bigger cities, and to a belief that some significant part of its industry has been built underground. It is also said that the USSR has invested in a vast shelter policy. To those who wish to interpret such developments that way, this means that the USSR is bent on a "first strike." What such interpretations ignore is that regardless of the number of American land-based missiles that might be destroyed, the USSR could still be utterly destroyed by the warheads launched by the airborne and submarine limbs of the nuclear triad of the US.

As seen by the men whom Scheer interviewed, and whom he quotes, the "scenario" of a Soviet first strike necessarily has to be the basis for American policy. Therefore the nuclear arms race must continue, both in quality and quantity. The US must also embark on a shelter policy. It is, of course, admitted that absolute invulnerability of land-based launchers cannot be guaranteed, not even for an MX system. Nor, if there were a nuclear exchange, can there be any guarantee that there won't be casualties, even when the primary targets are so-called "military" targets. But given a civil-defense policy like that of the Russians, fatal Soviet casualties might be kept down to the level of, say, twenty million, which, Professor Richard Pipes thinks, is a tolerable figure. He also believes that if all Soviet cities with a population of a million or so "could be destroyed without trace or survivors, and, provided that its essential cadres had been saved, [i.e., the USSR] would emerge less hurt in terms of casualties than it was in 1945."

Professor Jack Ruina, a professor of electrical engineering at MIT, tells us in Scheer's book that Pipes is a nice man, but that he "knows little about technology and about nuclear weapons." Jack Ruina certainly does know about both. But he is being overgenerous when he limits Professor Pipes's ignorance just to technology and nuclear weapons. Scheer describes Pipes as a "notorious

anti-Soviet hard-liner" who came to America from Poland. To someone like myself who has seen it happen, it is clear that Pipes has little or no idea of what it's like when a city is devastated even with conventional bombs; when it is bombed even at the intensity which London suffered at the height of the Blitz. Hamburg, Dresden, Tokyo were worse. If the Soviet Union were being hit in a nuclear exchange, the US would also be hit. I shudder to think how America, or for that matter the United Kingdom or the USSR, would react were, say, six of their largest cities to be struck simultaneously by a one-megaton nuclear warhead. Each strike would result in something like a quarter of a million immediate deaths. A one-megaton warhead on Detroit would, in theory, exhaust the medical facilities of the whole United States.<sup>2</sup> I say "in theory," because such facilities couldn't be mobilized. Have none of the members, past or present, of the Committee on the Present Danger the imagination to translate numbers of warheads, launchers, or megatons into human realities?

Official American forecasts indicate that without the kind of shelter policy that Professor Pipes has in mind the number of deaths that would be caused by an all-out nuclear exchange would be scores of millions on each side. But what shelter policy does he have in mind?

Here we turn to T.K. Jones, now the administration's deputy undersecretary of defense for research and engineering, strategic theater nuclear forces. To survive a nuclear onslaught, Soviet citizens evacuated to the outskirts of their cities are advised, so he tells us, to dig a hole and to cover it with small saplings, over which is spread three feet of earth. That would be enough to deal with radioactive fallout. Americans should be taught to do the same. "If there are enough shovels to go around"—this is how Scheer got the title for his book—"everybody's going to make it." And speaking in what he calls general terms, T.K. Jones is quoted as saying that without protection against an all-out nuclear exchange, recovery time

<sup>2</sup>*The Effects of Nuclear War*, Office of Technology Assessment, Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1979.

would take a couple of generations, probably more. You'd lose half the people in the country. With protection of people only, your recovery time to prewar GNP levels probably would be six or eight years. If we used the Russian methods for protecting both the people and the industrial means of production, re-

covery times could be two to four years.

As I read this passage, I kept thinking that Jones must have been pulling Scheer's leg. But we are assured this was not the case. That being so, is it necessary to comment further on the thinking behind the Reagan administration's notions of a "strategic nuclear exchange"?

I am equally hard put to understand what lies behind the concept of a protracted nuclear war. How would it start? How measured a pace does "protracted" mean?

It is a basic tenet of the policy of the Western Alliance that war in Europe could start only if the Russians moved westward from their present positions. Every effort would then be made to halt them with conventional weapons, and resort to nuclear arms would be made only if our defense failed. The next act in this script is "limited nuclear war," a concept to which no experienced senior European military commander can attach any reality. On the other hand, Scheer reminds us that it is now fashionable in American military circles to talk about "command, control, communications and intelligence" (reduced in jargon to C<sup>2</sup>I, or C cubed I) as a system whereby a nuclear war could be kept both limited and protracted through measures that would allow the US military establishment to launch and control a war in which nuclear weapons were used and would survive whatever level of destruction took place.

This is nonsense. Whatever form war takes, what's missing from the term is "J"—judgment. Only political judgment could stop a nuclear war from erupting, and only the facts of immediate destruction could stop it. Battlefield nuclear weapons would destroy whole villages and small towns; so-called "theater weapons" big towns and cities. How does a protracted nuclear war proceed? Tit for tat? And how is it contained? We now know that there wasn't enough C<sup>3</sup> in the Pentagon, at the time the plan for protracted nuclear war was leaked, to prevent General David Jones, as he stepped down in June from the chairmanship of the Joint Chiefs, from denouncing the whole idea as military rubbish. By so doing, he did far more than Caspar Weinberger could ever do to reassure America's allies that Washington is not deviously plotting their destruction.

But how on earth could the school of thought to which T.K. Jones, Professor Pipes, and Mr. Perle belong prosper, while that to which men such as George Kennan belong has failed to influence policy? Is it that Reagan's amateur strategists are really representative of Americans? Are typical Americans so consumed by their hatred of Russians, and so ignorant of the nature of destruction, that they are prepared to hazard the continuity of Western civilization in order to further their personal prejudices in a fantasy about nuclear war? If that is the case, so much must have been forgotten about the significance of nuclear weapons in East-

West relations that it's worth going back to the beginning.

A month after Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been devastated, Henry Stimson, then secretary of war, advised President Truman that America's possession of the nuclear secret could not be used as a weapon to change the communist system.<sup>1</sup> Instead he urged that the American government—having consulted the British—should tell if all to the Russians, and so avert a "secret armaments race of a rather desperate character." "I consider," he wrote,

the problem of our satisfactory relations with Russia as not merely connected with but as virtually dominated by the problem of the atomic bomb.... If we fail to approach [the Russians] now and merely continue to negotiate with them, having this weapon rather ostentatiously on our hip, their suspicions and their distrust of our purpose and motives will increase.

That was written on September 11, 1945. Four months later, in January of 1946, Secretary of State Byrnes appointed Dean Acheson chairman of a small committee to produce a plan for the international control of atomic energy. The result was a report which, as Acheson tells us in his memoirs,<sup>2</sup> was largely the work of Robert Oppenheimer, who himself kept closely in touch with some of his physicist colleagues—C.C. Lauritsen, I.I. Rabi, and George Zacharias.

Contrary to Stimson's advice, the Russians were not brought into the exercise. Nor were the British. In June of 1946, Truman's appointee, Bernard Baruch, presented the Acheson-Lilienthal Report to a newly constituted UN Atomic Energy Commission. The choice of Baruch was greeted with dismay by both Acheson and Oppenheimer, neither of whom seems to have trusted him.<sup>3</sup> In December the report was agreed to by ten members of the commission, with the Soviet Union and Poland abstaining, and then in due course it was vetoed in the Security Council. According to some cynical commentators, this result was not unwelcome either to Mr. Truman or to Mr. Baruch.

In retrospect, one cannot regard the Soviet veto as surprising; the USSR was close to completing the development of

<sup>1</sup>*International Herald Tribune*, September 11-12, 1982.

<sup>2</sup>*Present at the Creation* (Norton, 1969).

<sup>3</sup>Nuel Pharr Davis, *Lawrence and Oppenheimer* (Simon and Schuster, 1968).

its own bomb. The United Kingdom's position was also ambiguous. The UK had been one of the ten that voted in favor of the American plan to "internationalize" the military and civil applications of atomic energy, but it has now been disclosed that two months before the vote was taken, the inner group of Prime Minister Attlee's cabinet had decided to go ahead with the manufacture of a British bomb. The decisive voice in this move was that of Ernest Bevin, the foreign secretary. "We've got to have this," he is reported as having

said to his colleagues. "I don't mind for myself, but I don't want any other Foreign Secretary of this country to be talked at or to by the Secretary of State of the United States as I have just been in my discussions with Mr. Byrnes. We've got to have the thing over here, whatever it costs." Clearly the Russians were not the only ones who were worried by the possibility of American nuclear domination.

A few of the more sophisticated of the senior scientists who had been involved with Oppenheimer in the Manhattan Project realized from the start that since no theoretical limit existed to the destructive power of nuclear warheads, the latter could not be regarded as just a new form of armament. Among the nonscientists who had come to the same conclusion was George Kennan. Stimson had spoken in 1945. In 1946 Henry Wallace, vice-president to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, had sent an open letter to President Truman advising against the views of "a school of military thinking" which was ad-

<sup>4</sup>Sir Michael Perrin, *The Listener*, October 7, 1982.

vocating "a preventative war" against the USSR before it acquired the weapons.<sup>7</sup>

There were others. In 1947 a book, *The Absolute Weapon*, had been published under the editorship of Bernard Brodie.<sup>8</sup> It spelled out the message that "the bomb" implied a watershed in international politics. Kennan's initial reaction against the use of the bomb was, as he puts it, instinctive and moral—much the same as that of the Chicago physicists, led by Leo Szilard, whose work had been crucial to the development of the bomb, but who, unlike Oppenheimer, were urging President Truman, before the weapons were used against Japan, that they should never be used. If the Russians too came into possession of the weapon, so Kennan felt,

then it had to be viewed as a suicidal weapon, devoid of rational application in warfare; in which case we ought to seek its earliest possible elimination from all national arsenals. If we were successful in achieving its elimination, fine. If not, then we might, I thought, have to hold a few of

<sup>7</sup>P.M.S. Blackett, *Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy* (London: Turnstile Press, 1948).

<sup>8</sup>Harcourt Brace, 1947.

these devices for the unlikely event that others should one day be tempted to use them against us.

The latter consideration of deterrence remains to this day the basic and logical rationale against the concept of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

In 1949 the Russians exploded their first atomic bomb. President Truman then decided to proceed to the development of the hydrogen warhead. Like

Oppenheimer, Kennan opposed the decision. He spelled out his views in a paper which in January 1950 he addressed to Dean Acheson, by then secretary of state. How, he asked, were these new weapons to be regarded?

Were they to be seen as "an integral and vitally important component of our military strength, which we would expect to employ deliberately, immediately, and unhesitatingly in the event that we became involved in a military conflict with the Soviet Union"? Or were we holding them solely as a deterrent? In this last case, we must take care "not to build up a reliance upon them in our military planning." Our public position should then be that "we deplore the existence and abhor the use of these weapons; that we have no intention of initiating their use against anyone; that we would use them only with the greatest of reluctance and only if this were forced upon us by methods of warfare used against us or our allies...." We would, in other words, eschew the first use of such weapons ourselves; and we would try to inculcate into others the assumption that they would never again be used.

I left no doubt in Mr. Acheson's mind as to which of these alternatives I favored. If we were to adopt the first alternative—if, that is, we were to base our military strategy upon the use of nuclear weapons—then, I wrote, it would be hard "to keep them in their proper place as an instrument of national policy." Their peculiar psychological overtones would render them "top-heavy" for the purpose in question. They would impart "a certain eccentricity" to our military planning. They would eventually confuse our people, and would carry us "towards the misuse and dissipation of our national strength." Before launching ourselves on this path we should, in any case, make another effort to see whether some sort of international control could not be devised and agreed upon by the international community.

Kennan's doubts were brushed aside. Since then, all that he and others feared has come to pass. East and West now face each other with tens of thousands more intercontinental nuclear warheads than would be needed to assure a state of mutual deterrence. Warheads have been elaborated for use as battlefield and so-called "theater" weapons. On paper at least, their deployment has become part of tactical doctrine, regardless of the fact that no responsible army commander has the slightest idea of how, given political authority, their use could ever be controlled. Only desk-warriors who have never seen action, only computer specialists who can trade the deaths of millions in war games between the NATO and Warsaw Pact powers, can devise the world of fantasy where nuclear weapons have a role in active warfare, as opposed to being

weapons which, because of their limitless and suicidal destructive power, deter states with nuclear weapons from taking military action against each other. Nuclear weapons deter; they cannot defend.

Here, to European eyes, lies the irony of present American policies. In 1947, at a time when Europe was tottering as it tried to overcome the grievous economic, political, and social problems by which it was then confronted, the US generously came to Europe's aid with the Marshall Plan. In 1948 Soviet hostility to the West reached a peak with the coup in Czechoslovakia and with the blockade of Berlin. A fragile European defense organization was set up under the Brussels Treaty, to be underpinned a year later by the formation of NATO, with the US as its main military partner.

Then, alas, the distortion of military planning began, the "certain eccentricity" which George Kennan foresaw the bomb would bring in its train. The European members of NATO were still far too exhausted even to try to implement the 1952 Lisbon Conference goals for conventional forces. The Federal Republic of Germany, whose contribution in manpower is today bigger than that of any other member of NATO, was not even a member. And in any event, the idea had already taken root that disparities in numbers of troops could be compensated for by the provision of battlefield nuclear weapons—an idea which Robert Oppenheimer misguidedly supported, and which Kennan opposed on political grounds.

Twenty years ago, long before President Reagan assumed power, this notion was openly challenged in NATO circles on direct military grounds,<sup>9</sup> but to no avail. Because it suited Western economic and political circumstances, the European members of NATO have, over

<sup>9</sup>Solly Zuckerman, "Judgment and Control in Modern Warfare," *Foreign Affairs*, 40 (2), 1962, pp. 196-212.

the years, preferred to stick their heads into a mass of nuclear verbiage rather than face the truth that the more they do so—and the more they ignore NATO's weakness in conventional forces—the more defenseless we become in fact, should war ever break out with the Warsaw Pact powers. Of course, we could make the ridiculous assumption that the Russians are so irrational as to risk an uncontrollable nuclear exchange, which could only end in the total destruction of Western Europe, of Warsaw Pact territory west of the Urals, as

well as of the United States and, presumably, Canada. But what would be the point of that?

Up to the mid-Seventies, not a single one of the military leaders who had been involved in NATO planning had spoken out in public to declare his doubts. Since then several have.<sup>10</sup> Admiral of the Fleet Lord Mountbatten, chief of the British Defence Staff for six years, said that the belief that nuclear weapons could be used in field warfare without triggering an all-out nuclear exchange, leading to the final holocaust, is more and more incredible. One of his successors, Admiral Hill-Norton, said that he knew no informed observer who believed that war with nuclear weapons is credible. His successor, Field Marshal Lord Carver, observed that "no sensible, responsible military person" believes that a war could be fought in Europe in which nuclear weapons were used without avoiding a strategic nuclear exchange.

In the latter half of the Fifties and in the early Sixties public alarm about nuclear weapons was essentially due to fears about the health hazards of radioactive fallout from atmospheric nuclear tests; it died down after such tests were banned by the treaty of 1963. Political and military NATO circles continued to base strategy and tactics on the nuclear weapon. All the phrases used over the years to imply to the public that NATO is always updating its policies in the end add up to the same thing—if the Russians launch an attack which cannot be held back by means of conventional weapons, NATO would resort to nuclear arms. What is more, in such circumstances, NATO forces would initiate the nuclear exchange. What *per contra* would the Russians then do? Obviously, if NATO forces move against them, and if NATO starts to use nuclear weapons, the USSR would most likely respond in kind, even if the risk were that the ensuing exchange could end in hundreds of millions of deaths. There could be no victors in such an exchange. The end would be mutual suicide.

George Kennan perceived all this from the moment he realized that the Russians, come what may, would devise their own nuclear weapon. By 1949, when they exploded their first bomb, and the debate about the "super," or hydrogen, bomb started, Kennan was certain. A year later his heterodox views led to his resignation from the State Department and to his first attempts to circulate those views in public, culminat-

ing in the six BBC Reith Lectures which he delivered in 1957.<sup>11</sup> In one of these lectures he argued forcibly for the withdrawal of American and Soviet forces from Western Europe and for the unification of the two Germanies as a

<sup>10</sup>Solly Zuckerman, *Nuclear Illusion and Reality* (Viking, 1982).

<sup>11</sup>*Russia, the Atom and the West* (Harper Brothers, 1958).

demilitarized state. In another he pointed to the dangers of introducing tactical nuclear weapons into the armory of NATO's military forces.

Both ideas, as he tells us, "encountered a violently adverse official reaction, particularly in Germany and the United States." His idea of a demilitarized Germany serving as a buffer between East and West was unacceptable to the Western allies and, by the time he made the proposal, to the Russians. His objection to battlefield nuclear weapons was anathema to military technologists and amateur tacticians. But in retrospect, how right Kennan was when he concluded that if nuclear weapons were treated as battlefield weapons rather than as instruments of deterrence they would intensify military tension in Europe, and

would be bound to raise a grave problem for the Russians in respect of their own military dispositions and their relations with the other Warsaw Pact countries. It would inevitably bring about a further complication of the German and satellite problems. Moscow is not going to be inclined to trust its satellites with full control over such weapons. If, therefore, the Western continental countries are to be armed with them, any Russian withdrawal from Central and Eastern Europe may become unthinkable once and for all, for reasons of sheer military prudence regardless of what the major Western powers might be prepared to do.<sup>12</sup>

It did not help Kennan that when he

made this pronouncement the Russians were propounding the same message. Nor did it help that the consequences of his counsel would be a demand for more resources for conventional arms and forces.

In the introductory section to his new book, Kennan pessimistically observes about the nuclear assumptions and strategies of the kind exposed by Scheer

that

they are now so deeply and widely implanted in the public mind that in all probability nothing I could say, and nothing any other private person could say, could eradicate them. Only a senior statesman and political leader, speaking from the prominence and authority of high governmental position (in our country, a president, presumably) could have a chance of re-educating the public successfully on these various points, and this is something for which one sees, at this present juncture, not the slightest prospect.

This is obviously true if the present American administration continues to follow the path it has chosen over the past two years. But I think that Kennan forgets that there are other countries in the world besides the US and the USSR. I feel that there may be more force than he or any of us now realizes to the anti-nuclear movement in Europe—which he discusses in his penultimate chapter.

Sure enough, as his title implies, there is a nuclear delusion—or illusion. But there is also a nuclear reality which is undoubtedly better understood in Europe (including, I would say, the Warsaw Pact countries) than it is in the United States—a land mass that has never been ravaged by modern war. There are West European leaders as well as American

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

residents. I do not despair of the possibility that at some moment one of them could start the process that will remove from today the threat that there will be no tomorrow.

So long as political differences between East and West remain as they are, there is clearly no logic to the concept of unilateral disarmament on either side for either side. But, equally, there is no logic to the nuclear arms race between the US and the USSR, a race which continues because of a built-in technological momentum, and a race which inevitably increases the danger that, by inadvertence or through mad decision, the weapons could one day be used. The explosive release of the enormous forces which hold together the invisible particles that constitute an atom provides a way of erasing in a flash centuries of human achievement. It is not a means whereby political differences can be resolved. □

#### (44) Mr. Pipes objects, in The New York Review of Books (March 31, 1983):

##### To the Editors:

Lord Zuckerman's essay, "Nuclear Sense and Nonsense" [NYR, December 16] contains a few critical remarks about me to which I would like to respond.

Contrary to Lord Zuckerman's assertion, Mr. Robert Scheer, the author of *With Enough Shovels*, cannot have "tapes of conversations" with me because I have never talked to him. To the best of my knowledge, I have never met him. In fact, I do not even know who he is apart from being the author of what (judging by Lord Zuckerman's

review) is an ill-informed and nasty book.

"Given a civil-defense policy like that of the Russians," Lord Zuckerman writes, "fatal Soviet casualties might be kept down to the level of, say, twenty million which, Professor Pipes thinks, is a tolerable figure." Twenty million casualties is the number suffered by the Soviet Union in World War II: since among these victims were members of my own family, I can hardly regard such figures with equanimity. I may further add that estimates by Soviet Civil Defence authorities suggest that they (not I) believe a

well-developed and executed civil defence program will keep casualties in a nuclear conflict down to that level. If Lord Zuckerman regards such expectations as nonsense then he may wish to communicate his views to General Altunin who heads the Soviet Civil Defence effort rather than criticize American rapporteurs of Altunin's estimates.

Quoting Mr. Scheer, Lord Zuckerman describes me as a "notorious anti-Soviet hard liner" who came to America from Poland." If Lord Zuckerman will define for me a "notorious pro-Soviet soft liner"—I will

be able to tell whether I am indeed his opposite. My coming to America from Poland, however, has no more bearing on my intellectual qualifications than Lord Zuckerman's migration from South Africa to England has on his.

Lord Zuckerman admits to knowing little about me but he is "clear that Pipes has little or no idea what it's like when a city is devastated even with conventional bombs." Whence the certainty? It so happens that I resided in Warsaw in September 1939 when the city was devastated in Nazi terror raids.

The experience has etched itself deeply in my memory, though I fail to see why it should make me more competent to discuss Soviet nuclear strategy. Most knowledge which civilized man has at his disposal he acquires vicariously, learning from the experience of others. Were this not so, were we required to undergo personally all that we profess to know, on what authority would Lord Zuckerman himself [have] dared to publish fifty years ago his pioneering *Social Life of Monkeys and Apes* since he clearly is neither

a monkey nor an ape?

Lord Zuckerman expresses dismay that the school of thought with which I am associated "prosper" while that which he regards as having a monopoly on political wisdom "has failed to influence policy." To the extent that his essay is representative of his favored school, the reason is not far to seek. Carelessness with facts, frequent resort to *ad hominem* arguments and to ridicule are symptomatic of contempt for the opinions of others. Such a method of argumentation gets

one so far but no further. It may sway some readers, but it certainly does not impress those who must make fundamental decisions affecting national security.

Richard Pipes

Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Lord Zuckerman replies:

I fear that Dr. Pipes protests too much. My reference to "transcripts of tapes and of

other records" related generally to those which Mr. Scheer reproduced in his book.

The references to Dr. Pipes's beliefs are in the form of excerpts from his writings. If they are false, I suggest that he take the matter up with Mr. Scheer. If they are not, those who like myself regard the views which they expressed as nonsensical will learn with relief that Dr. Pipes now wishes either to qualify or to disown them.

- (45) "To Preserve A World Graced By Life", a 12-page pamphlet by Carl Sagan, is being mailed to all BRS members with this issue of the newsletter. It is a plea to save our world from nuclear devastation. It has been supplied -- at DON JACKANICZ's suggestion -- by the Council for a Livable World, whose objectives and distinguished members are listed in the pamphlet. We are grateful to the Council for providing the pamphlet at no charge.

#### WE APPLAUD

- (46) Felix De Cola's Letter to the Editor of the Los Angeles Times (April 27, 1983):

This is my very last letter to The Times.

I know that I am dying and I am unafraid. I am still a happy atheist, and with Bertrand Russell, I say:

"I think our own hearts can teach us no longer to look around for imaginary supports, no longer to invent allies in the sky, but rather to look to our own efforts to make this world a fit place to live in instead of the sort of place that the churches, in all these centuries, have made it.

Adieu.

FELIX De COLA  
Hollywood

*This letter was dictated to De Cola's wife; it was mailed on Monday, the day he died.*

Felix had been a member of the BRS. (Thank you, Jacqueline Berthon-Payon and Bob Davis.)

#### BOOK REVIEW

- (47) "Marriage & Morals" by Bertrand Russell (NY: Liveright, 1929). This is one of the books that offended Judge McGeehan in the trial that prevented BR from teaching at City College of New York (1940). This is what reviewers thought of the book at the time it was published, as revealed in "Book Review Digest, 1929" (NY:H.W. Willson Co.):

RUSSELL, BERTRAND ARTHUR WILLIAM.  
*Marriage and morals.* 320p \$3 Liveright

176 Sexual ethics. Marriage 29-21696  
Beginning with an historical and ethical survey of sexual morality, Mr Russell discusses the moral standard as it existed among savage tribes and during the Christian era as a background to a consideration of the modern problem, with emphasis upon sexual ethics in relation to modern marriage. Suggestions for certain modifications of the conventional code, making for greater happiness in the whole realm of sex and marriage, are given.

"Bertrand Russell has certainly produced the most humane and persuasive volume in the recent flood of books on marriage. None of it is unfamiliar--which is quite as it should be--and the book will reach a great many people who would have said at the outset that they were hostile to his conclusions. He is convinced of two facts: that marriage is for the sake of the children born in it, and that love is one of the first values of existence." Ruth Benedict  
+ Books (N.Y. Herald Tribune) p5 O 20 '29 1992w

Reviewed by Francis Snow  
Current Hist 81:630 Ja '30 250w  
"In the last analysis Mr. Russell, like Judge Lindsey, is proposing nothing new; he is only suggesting a candid facing of a new fact. An old morality is bankrupt; a new morality will have to be created. In fact, a new morality is

already in the process of being created blindly by the very people who have never heard of Mr. Russell or of the new theories of morality that many of this generation have proposed. The economic and psychological forces in our civilization are at work achieving this change. Mr. Russell's book attempts only to give clarity to this change, but in trying to do this he is attempting in a fine, courageous manner an extremely grave task. Too much praise can scarcely be given to those who, like Mr. Russell, see this change as part of a greater revolution in the very structure of social life." Y. F. Calverton  
+ Nation 129:677 D 4 '29 850w

"If Mr. Russell had more charity towards the world in which he lives he would write a less entertaining book, but he might make a more effective contribution to the discussion of his subject." Ray Strachey  
+ Nation and Ath 46:255 N 16 '29 750w  
New Statesman 34:162 N 9 '29 850w

"Mr. Russell's trumpet blast is not going to bring down the walls of Jericho, but 'Marriage and Morals' is a civilizing book by one of the two great civilizers of the current age--the other is Havelock Ellis--and even the person whose blood pressure mounts rapidly while turning its pages will be better off for having read it." F. F. Van de Water  
+ N.Y. Evening Post 111m O 12 '29 250w

"Permeating the book is his delicious dry wit, his tentative, half-humorous way of saying things which he means in deadly earnest. There is a good deal in the book with which traditional moralists would take issue. His whole

position on individual freedom, the legal aspect of marriage, and family life is very advanced. . . Whether or not one agrees with [his] conclusions--and he makes them very easy to accept in argument--the importance of such a book and such a writer as Russell is immense. This importance lies in giving us perspective, more of a birdseye view of problems that lie all too close to everyday life and experience." Isabel Proudfit  
+ N.Y. Times p2 N 17 '29 1300w

"Pity the unsuspecting reader who artlessly opens Bertrand Russell's new book without any premonition of where this astute philosopher will lead him. In that easy, informal manner which discounts all the airs of scholarship Russell puts himself on a footing with the average man, and presto!--he is discussing the fundamentals of his beliefs and practices, his faith, his family, his national loyalty, and the very existence of his stock on this earth. Moreover, Russell stirs up these subjects, each of which is fraught with controversy, in the most amiable manner, discussing them as common sense dictates, giving both sides, forcing no conclusions on the reader." Harry Hansen  
+ N.Y. World p17 O 15 '29 1100w

"Liberal minded readers will find much to interest and nothing to shock them in Bertrand Russell's new book. He writes with perfect frankness and transparent purity of motive, and the charge of sentimentality often made against such high-minded idealists can scarcely be advanced against this volume." F. L. Robbins  
+ Outlook 153:310 O 23 '29 1000w



"Mr. Russell's book sets the problem in its historical perspective, and states it as fairly as is possible for one who is a natural partisan. Whatever we may think of his proposals it is evident that such a book, written by a man whose good faith is above question, was long overdue."

— Spec 148:sup679 N 9 '29 800w

Springf'd Republican p7e N 3 '29 400w

"Marriage and Morals is interesting insofar as it: (1) traces the history of conventional ethics back to their source conditions, and (2) shows that those conditions no longer exist. Mr. Russell fails to prove that assurance of paternity is the only factor that stands in the way of extra-marital relationships." E. M. Allen

— Survey 62:355 D 15 '29 350w

Times [London] Lit Sup p860 O 31 '29 85/w

## AGAIN, THE BIG ISSUE

(48) From The New York Times (4/24/83, p. E21):

### 'Frightened for the Future of Humanity'

The following statement was signed by 70 scientists who contributed to the development of the first atomic bomb, in 1943. Among the signatories are five Nobel Prize winners — Hans Bethe, Owen Chamberlain, Richard Feynman, Ed McMillan and Emilio Segre. Others include Robert Marshak, Victor Weisskopf and Frank Oppenheimer.

The signers of this statement are scientists who came to the Manhattan Project at Los Alamos in its earliest days and who are now gathered to observe the 40th anniversary of the opening of the laboratory. We write this because we worked on the creation of the first nuclear bomb and therefore, even though the consequences and the concern must be the same for all people equally, we feel a special sense of responsibility. We are appalled at the present level of the nuclear armaments of the nations of the world and we are profoundly frightened for the future of humanity.

The single crucial fact is that the two major world powers now possess a sufficiency of nuclear warheads and delivery systems to destroy each other and a significant part of the rest of the world many times over. Furthermore, in view of the massive overkill potential already achieved, the mobility of many launching systems, and the absence, after many years of research, of any credible defense, we see no conceivable probability of preventing, by any military action that could be taken, such total or near-total destruction. This being so, considerations of possible comparative advantage to one side or the other in numbers of warheads or in megatonnage become irrelevant.

Our one hope is that both the United States and the Soviet Union will recognize the futility of trying to outbuild the other in nuclear strength and also the cataclysmic danger inherent in the effort to do so. We urge upon the leaders of both countries that this recognition be made a cornerstone of national policy and that it lead to the beginning of a mutually agreed upon reduction of nuclear armaments and, for all nations, to the ultimate goal of the total elimination of such weapons.

BR QUOTED

(49) "Forbes" loves BR, and continues to dig up nuggets for its "Thoughts on the Business of Life" section:

To be able to fill liesure intelligently is the last product of a civilization. (April 11, 1983, p. 220)

Change is one thing, progress another. "Change" is scientific, "progress" is ethical; change is indubitable, whereas progress is a matter of controversy. (May 9, 1983, p. 352).

(<sup>1</sup>thank you, WHITFIELD COBB)

LAST MINUTE ITEMS

(50) Still more new members, and we are very glad to welcome them:

- THANOS CATSAMBAS/3003 Van Ness St.,N.W. (S-418)/Washington, DC 20008
  - GUSTAVE JAFFE/844 Stanton Av./Baldwin, NY 11510
  - JAMES M. JONES/Rt. 8, Box 294/Hickory, NC 28601
  - VERA SCHWARTZ/ Dept. of History/ Wesleyan University/Middletown, CT 06457
  - LUDWIG SLUTSKY/3939 Apache Trail (D12)/Antioch, TN 37013
- ROBERT E. WILKINSON/2425 Sharon Road/Charlotte, NC 28211

(51) Bylaws of the BRS will be discussed at the June meeting. Come, and have your say about them.

---

INDEX

(52) Introductory (1). Annual Meeting (2,41). Deductible expense reminder (3). Science Committee report (4,8). Cambridge Apostles (5). Kisty (6). Pugwash by Rotblat (7). Mershon Report on accidental war (8). Nuclear war survivor's manual (9). Reagan:better dead than red (10). Bay Area religious beliefs (11).Non-prophet Marx (12). News about members: Bae (13), Garcadiago (14), Kohl (15), Lamont (16)."Horrible" question answered (17). New members (18,50). New addresses (19). Books to lend (20). BRS Library Campaign (21). Guess who (22). Fundamentalist defined (23). Contributors thanked (24). Contributions needed!(25). Members' use of BRS name (26). BRS's new address (27). For sale: BR button (28), members' stationery (29). Not for sale: BR postcard (30). President Jackanicz reports (31). BRS Award to Rotblat (32). Herb Stahl dies (33). Wilberforce seminar cancelled (34). Earth Day holiday (35). World Policy Institute publications (36). Ingersoll's Friends (37). FFRF (38). Hemlock Society grows (39). We nominate Directors (40). Annual Meeting schedule (41). "Socrates greater than Christ" (42). Zuckerman's"Nuclear Sense and Nonsense" (43) and Richard Pipes' objections (44). Sagan's anti-nuclear pamphlet (45). De Cola's last letter (46). 1929 reviews of BR's 1929 "Marriage and Morals" (47). "Frightened...for Humanity" (48). Forbes quotes BR (49). More new members (50). Bylaw discussion at June meeting (51) Index (52).

