

## RUSSELL SOCIETY NEWS

No. 45

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- (1) Highlights: Renewal honor roll (3). BR on atom-bombing Russia (5). Mark Russell's prayer (9). "Gödel's Doom" (19). Salmon honored (24). BR at 80 (28). An asterisk in the left column indicates a request. The index is at the end
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## MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL

- (2) Last call for dues. Everyone's dues are due (except those who joined during December 1984.)

You have to pay your dues so that we can pay our expenses.

Please pay, if you haven't. For role models, see next item (3).

Dues: 22.50, regular; 27.50, couple; 12.50, student under 25; 12.50, limited income. Plus 7.50 outside the USA, Canada and Mexico. Plus \$2 for Canada and Mexico. In US dollars only.

- \* Please mail dues to 1985, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

Thanks.

- (3) Honor Roll. As you know, everyone's dues are due January 1st. But not everyone pays by January 1st. Some renew -- eventually. Some do not renew until reminded. Some do not renew until notified that they are about to become non-persons. But there are some who renew IMMEDIATELY, and they have our warm thanks. Here they are -- on our Honor Roll. They renewed by December 15th.

JEAN ANDERSON, VIVIAN BENTON-RUBEL, DAN BOND, FERNANDO BOTERO, POLLY COBB, WHITFIELD COBB, GLENNA CRANFORD, PETER CRANFORD, STEVE DAHLEY, ALEX DELY, MONIKA DEPPEN, KENNETH DIAMOND, LEE EISLER, ALBERT ELLIS, ALEJANDRO GARCIA-DIEGO, PAUL GARWIG, ARTTIE GOMEZ, DAVID GRUBBS, CHARLES HILL, OPHELIA HOOPES, JAMES HOOPES, MARVIN KOHL, HERBERT LANSDELL, PHILIP LE COMPTE, HERMAN LEFKOWITZ, JUSTIN LEIBER, H. W. LESSING, ARTHUR LEWIS, SUSANA MACGI, CHARLES MANGISTRO, CALVIN MCCAULAY, HUGH MCVEIGH, THEO MEIJER, FRANK PAGE, DAVID PRIDMORE-BROWN, MIEVE REINHARDT, CHERIE RUPPE, SIGRID SAAL, GREGORY SCAMMEL, JOHN SHOSKY, WARREN SMITH, JOHN SONNTAG, TIMOTHY ST. VINCENT, PHILIP STANDER, TOM STANLEY, JOHN TOBIN, LLOYD TREFETHEN, FERNANDO VARGAS, CHARLES WEYAND, JOHN WILHELM, RONALD YUCCAS.

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## BR AND THE ATOM BOMB

- (4) On atom-bombing Russia. Did BR think it was a good idea to atom-bomb Russia under certain circumstances? Yes. See next item.
- (5) From "The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists" (October 1946), with thanks to Harry Ruja:

THE ATOMIC BOMB AND THE PREVENTION OF WAR

...Bertrand Russell

Mr. Russell in transmitting this manuscript wrote us an interesting note indicating that it had been refused by five American periodicals of wide circulation. (It has appeared in the English journal POLEMIC.) In offering it to the Bulletin -- which he reads "with interest and attention" -- Mr. Russell trusted us to cut it if necessary without distorting his views.

We publish the article in full in the belief that Mr. Russell automatically deserves an American audience and that the Bulletin reader is sufficiently discriminating to profit from articles which he does not necessarily endorse.

### THE IMPACT OF ATOMIC WAR

The atomic bomb has set a problem to mankind which must be solved if any tolerable existence is to be possible for the human race. The problem is that of abolishing large-scale war, not at some distant future date, but quickly, before there has been time for another vast conflict to break out.

If the next great war were to occur within the next two or three years, it would probably lead to a quick victory for the United States and its allies, since no other Power would have atomic bombs. But if there is no war in the near future, there will have been time for Russia to manufacture atomic bombs -- and not only Russia, but many other nations, great and small. It must be assumed that bombs will soon become much cheaper and much more destructive than those dropped on the Japanese. In addition to bombs there is the possibility of spraying large regions with radioactive substances which will exterminate all life in their neighborhood. Given a little carelessness, life on this planet may be made impossible.

It is to be expected that, if war comes, it will begin with a surprise attack in the style of Pearl Harbor. The aggressor will hope for a knock-out blow so severe as to make retaliation impossible. If Great Britain were the target, it is probable that this hope would be realized, for Great Britain is peculiarly vulnerable to atomic attack, owing to the smallness of its area and the density of its population. It is to be expected that during the first day or two London, Glasgow, and all the major centers of population will be wiped out; industrial production will be paralyzed, and about half the inhabitants will perish. To carry on the war after such a blow would be impossible.

The situation will be slightly less catastrophic, though still appalling, if the attack is directed against the United States. In the first 24 hours, New York, Washington, Chicago, and all the main centers of population will cease to exist, President and Congress will have undergone a diabolic alchemy, and a considerable percentage of the inhabitants of the United States, including most of those who are important in industry, will perish. The bomb will be borne by rockets, and it will be a matter of guesswork to infer what government is responsible. Some of the survivors will clamor for peace at any price, while others will proclaim that they would rather die than submit to so foul a blow. If the nation's store of atomic bombs has been successfully safeguarded, probably the resisters will prevail; there will be fierce revenge, many nations will be drawn in, and destruction will continue until disorganization makes the further manufacture of atomic bombs impossible. If one side succeeds first in this aim, it may consider that it has won a victory, but it will be a "victory" far more disastrous to the "victor" than any defeat known to history.

### THE COST OF PREPAREDNESS

Let us consider for a moment what will be involved in the meantime in safeguarding atomic bombs and rockets. It will be necessary to keep their location secret, which will mean virtually a prison camp for those who work in connection with them. It will involve a constant suspicion of treachery, leading to a prohibition of foreign travel for all but the most highly trusted public servants, as already in Russia. It will involve a complete cessation of freedom for all scientific workers whose activities have any bearing on the warlike utilization of atomic energy. It will require apparatus and crews always ready, day and night, to retaliate upon whoever is considered the most probably enemy, as soon as there is any report of an atomic bomb being dropped. These crews must be told that, in a crisis, they are not to wait for orders, since the statesmen and the higher command will probably be wiped out. In the atmosphere of mutual suspicion thus generated diplomats will meet to discuss such important questions as who is to have the oil of Persia or the tin of Malaya; as they talk, they will be wondering which side will get in first with its Pearl Harbor. Sooner or later, nerves will give way, and the explosion will occur.

If utter and complete disaster is to be avoided, there must never again be a great war, unless it occurs within the next few years. Is it possible to establish a system which will secure this result before we suffer the penalty of our folly and our cleverness?

### THE PERMANENT PREVENTION OF WAR

It is entirely clear that there is only one way in which great wars can be permanently prevented, and that is the establishment of an international government with a monopoly of serious armed force. When I speak of an international government, I mean one that really governs, not an amiable facade like the League of Nations, or a pretentious sham like the United Nations under its present constitution. An international government, if it is to be able to preserve peace, must have the only atomic bombs, the only plant for producing them, the only air force, the only battleships, and, generally, whatever is necessary to make it irresistible. Its atomic staff, its air squadrons, the crews of its battleships, and, its infantry divisions, must each severally be composed of men of many different nations; there must be no possibility of the development of national feeling in any unit larger than a company. Every member of the international armed force should be carefully trained in loyalty to the international government.

The international government must have a monopoly of uranium, and of whatever other raw materials may hereafter be found suitable for the manufacture of atomic bombs. It must have a large army of inspectors who must have the right to enter any factory without notice; any attempt to interfere with them or to obstruct their work must be treated as a casus belli. They must be provided with aeroplanes enabling them to discover whether secret plants are being established in empty regions near either Pole or in the middle of large deserts.

The monopoly of armed force is the most necessary attribute of the international government, but it will, of

course, have to exercise various governmental functions. It will have to decide all disputes between different nations, and will have to possess the right to revise treaties. It will have to be bound by its constitution to intervene by force of arms against any nation that refuses to submit to the arbitration. Given its monopoly of armed force, such intervention will be seldom necessary and quickly successful. I will not stay to consider what further powers the international government might profitably possess, since those that I have mentioned would suffice to prevent serious wars.

#### PEACE THROUGH POWER ALLIANCES

There is one other method by which, in theory, the peace of the world could be secured, and that is the supremacy of one nation or of one closely allied group of nations. By this method Rome secured the peace of the Mediterranean area for several centuries. America, at this moment, if it were bellicose and imperialistic, could compel the rest of the world to disarm, and establish a world-wide monopoly of American armed force. But the country has no wish for such enterprises, and in a few years, the opportunity will be gone. In the near future, a world war, however terrible, would probably end in American victory without the destruction of civilization in the Western hemisphere, and American victory would no doubt lead to a world government under the hegemony of the United States — a result which, for my part, I should welcome with enthusiasm.

But if, as seems more likely, there is no world war until Russia has an adequate supply of atomic bombs, plans for world peace will have to reckon with Russia and America as roughly equal Powers, and an international government, if it is to be established before the outbreak of an utterly disastrous war, will have to be created by agreement rather than by force.

Short of actual force, however, the government of the United States, with the support of Great Britain and a number of other Powers, could do a great deal toward the creation of an international government. An alliance could be formed, consisting in the first place of all North and South America, the British Commonwealth, France, Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia, and Spain (after dealing with Franco). This alliance should proclaim certain international purposes, and declare its willingness to be joined by any other Power that subscribed to those purposes. There should be both military and economic inducements to join the alliance: military, in that the alliance as a whole would undertake the defense of all its members; economic, in a lower tariff for trade within the alliance than for trade with countries outside it, and also in advantages as regards loans and access to raw materials. There should be a gradual increase in the closeness of the alliance, and a continually greater amalgamation of military resources. Every possible effort should be made to induce Russia to become a member of the alliance. In this way international government might grow up gradually.

#### PEACE THROUGH THE UN

There is, however, a strong body of opinion which favors a different course. Instead of trying to create a strong organization which would at first not include Russia, those who favor this opinion prefer a weak organization, the United Nations, of which Russia is already a member. If this is to be anything more than a weak evasion of the problem, it must be supplemented by a vigorous attempt to alter the constitution of the United Nations. At present, there is machinery for preventing Finland from attacking Russia, but none for preventing Russia from attacking Finland. There is, in fact, nothing to hinder a Great Power from waging aggressive war, whether against another Great Power or against a small defenseless neighbor. The only wars prevented by the organization of the United Nations are those that are not at all likely to occur.

If the United Nations Organization is to serve any useful purpose, three successive reforms are necessary. First, the veto of the Great Powers must be abolished, and majorities must be declared competent to decide on all questions that come before the organization; second, the contingents of the various Powers to the armed forces of the organization must be increased until they become stronger than any national armed forces; third, the contingents, instead of remaining national blocks, must be distributed so that no considerable unit retains any national feeling or national cohesion. When all these things have been done, but not before, The United Nations Organization may become a means of averting to great wars.

All this may seem Utopian, and perhaps it is. Politicians and diplomats are trained in evasion and ambiguity; most of them will prefer to offer a sham which can be obtained with little effort rather than an effective measure that is sure to encounter strenuous opposition, but they will dress up the sham so skillfully that many people will be deceived. Those to whom the survival of mankind is more important than victory in the next election must strive to enlighten the public while there is still time, and perhaps we can succeed.

The men of science, to whom politics is an alien art, find themselves suddenly faced with great responsibilities which they do not know how to fulfill. By their discoveries they have put immense powers, for good or evil, into the hands of ordinary men who have not the training required for a rapid change in age-old mental habits.

The political world is complex, and understanding nuclei is no help in understanding diplomacy. But the same intelligence which enabled physicists to understand nuclei will enable them to understand politics, provided they realize that the problems are complex and that slap-dash solutions will not work.

#### "THE BIG TWO"

Although people speak of the "Big Three" or the "Big Five", there are in fact two Powers, the United States and the U.S.S.R., which far surpass all others in strength. Other Powers are, some of them, satellites of the one, some of the other, some hesitantly neutral. All other important Powers, including Great Britain, are, I

think, prepared to acquiesce in the limitations of national sovereignty that are called for by the atomic bomb. This is not owing to any superior wisdom, but because their national sovereignty is already at the mercy of the Big Two. (E.g. the British have to submit to Bretton Woods and the Chinese, unless vigorously supported by America, to the loss of Port Arthur and the South Manchurian Railway.) The problem of establishing an international authority is therefore a problem of which the solution rests with America and Russia.

Russia, since it is a dictatorship in which public opinion has no free means of expression, can only be dealt with on the governmental level. Stalin and Molotov, or their successors, will have to be persuaded that it is to the national interest of Russia to permit the creation of an effective international government. I do not think the necessary persuasion can be effected except by governments, especially the government of the United States. Nor do I think that the persuasion can be effected by arguments of principle. The only possible way, in my opinion, is by a mixture of cajolery and threats, making it plain to the Soviet authorities that refusal will entail disaster, while acceptance will not.

#### THE EDUCATION TASK IN AMERICA

Persuasion in the United States, where there is freedom of propaganda, is a different matter. If things do not go as we might wish, the fault is not with the politicians, though they get the blame; the fault is with public opinion, to which the politicians, as democrats, quite legitimately give way. What is needed is an immense campaign of public education. The average American voter, very naturally, is annoyed by the way in which the follies of Europe and Asia compel America to go to war; in his emotions he is an isolationist, even when hard facts have convinced his reason that isolationism is no longer practicable. He wishes the Atlantic were still as wide as in Washington's day, and is apt to forget the arguments against isolationism whenever business is prospering.

To meet this difficulty it is necessary to bring home, not only to administrators or Congressmen, but to the average American citizen, the dangers to which, within a few years, America will be exposed, and the impossibility of warding off the dangers except by a partial surrender of sovereignty. The first reaction of nine people out of ten will be to urge that America should have more bombs than anyone else, so that an attack by any other nation would be obviously folly. The fallacy in this point of view must be made plain to all and sundry. It must be pointed out that America has already been involved in two world wars as a direct result of the fear of being involved: both in 1914 and in 1939 Germany would not have gone to war if America had pronounced in advance against neutrality. It must be made clear that the same thing would inevitably happen again: a war between Russia and China, or between Russia and Great Britain, would be sure to involve the United States. Next, the utter disaster of an atomic war must be made clear, and it must be demonstrated that there is no defense against a surprise attack. Finally, it must be proved that there is no hope in a Kellogg Pact, declarations of universal good will, or paper prohibitions of the use of atomic bombs. All this must be set forth in speech and in writing throughout the length and breadth of the land, by men having no motive except public spirit and the hope that the world in which they have lived may still exist in their children's time.

If such a campaign is to succeed, it requires three things: a definite programme, an organization, and the enthusiasm of a great moral crusade. Without this last nothing can be achieved, for although, from a purely rational point of view, self-preservation is a sufficient motive for all that needs to be done, self-preservation alone will not overcome the obstacles of rational thinking that are presented by ancient habits of hatred, suspicion, and envy. We shall have to realize that what injures a foreign nation does not necessarily benefit our own. We shall have to learn to feel a little uncomfortable if we wallow in plenty while millions die of hunger and cold. We shall have to feel that domination brings less happiness than cooperation, and that mutual hostility, which was always wicked, has now become suicidal folly.

But I would not have it thought that our campaign should be mainly negative or based entirely on an appeal to fear. The appeal to fear has its function, especially in providing an initial shock which may compel attention. But the ultimate and most valid appeal should be to hope. There is no need of great wars, no need of the horror of populations reduced to utter misery, harried and starved in a vast campaign of retribution. There is no reason why poverty and want should continue anywhere in the world. There is no reason why national education, in almost every country, should encourage false beliefs which promote warlike feeling. There is no reason why increase in the efficiency of production should be used, not to raise the standard of life, but to increase the proportion of human effort that is devoted to mutual extermination. All these evils depend for their continued existence upon war, and the national hostilities bred by the fear of war. If once the fear of war were removed, the whole human race could quickly attain a level of happiness and well-being surpassing that of the most fortunate in any earlier time. If the atomic bomb shocks the nations into acquiescence in a system making great wars impossible, it will have been one of the greatest boons ever conferred by science.

But it is time to return from these high hopes to the very different world in which for the present we have to live. I shall assume that such a campaign as I have indicated has had [will have?] a considerable measure of success in America and Great Britain. (It will encounter less opposition in Great Britain, because the British realize that Great Britain will be wiped out in the next great war, if it occurs.) It remains to ask ourselves what, in that case, we ought to do about Russia.

#### ANGLO-AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS RUSSIA

The policy most likely to lead to peace is not one of unadulterated pacifism. A complete pacifist might say: "Peace with Russia can always be preserved by yielding to every Russian demand." This is the policy of appeasement, pursued, with disastrous results, by the British and French Governments in the year before the war that is now ended. I myself supported this policy on pacifist grounds, but I now hold that I was mistaken.

Such a policy encourages continually greater demands on the part of the Power to be appeased, until at last some demand is made which is felt to be intolerable, and the whole trend is suddenly reversed. It is not by giving the appearance of cowardice or unworthy submission that the peace of the world can be secured.

In dealing with the Soviet Government, what is most needed is definiteness. The American and British governments should state what issues they consider vital, and on other issues they should allow Russia a free hand. Within this framework they should be as conciliatory as possible. They should make it clear that genuine international cooperation is what they most desire. But although peace should be their goal, they should not let it appear that they are for peace at any price. At a certain stage, when their plan[s] for an international government are ripe, they should offer them to the world, and enlist the greatest possible amount of support; I think they should offer them through the medium of the United Nations. If Russia acquiesced willingly, all would be well. If not, it would be necessary to bring pressure to bear, even to the extent of risking war, for in that case it is pretty certain that Russia would agree. If Russia does not agree to join in forming an international government, there will be war sooner or later; it is therefore wise to use any degree of pressure that may be necessary. But pressure should not be applied until every possible conciliatory approach has been tried and has failed. I have little doubt that such a policy, vigorously pursued, would in the end secure Russian acquiescence.

#### THE CONSEQUENCES OF FAILURE

The issue is the most momentous with which mankind has ever been faced. If it is not solved, war will exterminate the civilized portion of mankind, except for such remnants as may have been engaged in exploring the Arctic Continent or investigating the theology of Tibetan Lamas. These will be the few to reestablish civilized communities. If mankind, in the course of a millenium or two, slowly climbs back to its present intellectual level, it is to be presumed that it will again inflict a similar catastrophe upon itself. If any of the things that we value are to survive, the problem must be solved. How it can be solved is clear; the difficulty is to persuade the human race to acquiesce in its own survival. I cannot believe that this task is impossible.

- (6) I. F. Stone on BR on the Atom Bomb. This seems like a good time to take another look at some of what I. F. Stone said at the Russell Centenary Celebration, at McMaster in 1972. What follows is from "Russell: the Journal of the Bertrand Russell Arch-ives" (Summer 1981, pp. 15-20):

He predicted in the 1936 obituary that he was going to sit out the next war, and so he did. He went to America and didn't come back to England until late in the war. He didn't change his position until May 1940, after the European war started,<sup>10</sup> and I think that this coloured his position in the next period. You know how the life of Oliver Wendell Holmes (the father of the justice) was very much affected by his experience in the American Civil War. (Our Civil War is one of the few wars that Russell discussed in his 1916 book *Justice in War-Time*: he says that it was a war of principles, and it was to some degree; not enough, unfortunately, but to some degree). Holmes said: "Not to take part in the great struggles of your time is not to have lived." It is a hard saying for men like Russell, for a lot of us who in our smaller ways are like Russell, because to stand aside from the madness out of the desire to perpetuate human sanity certainly has its validity; and yet not take part in the struggle is not to live, and it was in many ways a great hour for England. Then we have Russell coming back to England and, as if belatedly, taking an anti-appeasement position *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union, which brings us to this dark corner of the Westminster Address in November of 1948, which unfortunately was not a minor aberration.

Going back over the records, there are about a dozen articles that really called for preventive war, beginning within ten days of the dropping of the bomb on Hiroshima when Lord Russell had an article in the I.L.P. Socialist paper, the *Glasgow Forward*.<sup>11</sup> There is a strong resemblance between the Westminster speech, the transcript of which was published in *Nineteenth Century and After*,<sup>12</sup> and the speech made by Churchill at Llandudno at the Conservative Conference earlier that month, in which Churchill called for a showdown with Russia now while we have the bomb and before they have it. There is an illuminating passage, because it shows the delusions to which we are all subject, in another of the articles Russell wrote at that time. You know the Romans had a wonderful saying: "nothing too much". And one can have too much even of reason, strange to say. The application of undue rationality to human affairs sometimes leads to very horrible

conclusions. Not because rationality is wrong, or there is something wrong with rationality, but because every rational analysis, by the very nature of the case, is an abstraction from and a simplification of an enormously chaotic and complex situation of perpetual interaction with so many imponderables and so many unknowns, that for us merely to think about it requires us to abstract-out a tremendous amount of living reality. I know in Jewish affairs the Stern Gang, who were not right-wing terrorists like the Irgun, but left-wing terrorists like the Narodnicks in Russia and very, very rational, and therefore very, very lunatic, had themselves a remarkable syllogism. They said: "Look, Hitler and we are both against the British Empire, a common enemy; Hitler and we both want to get the Jews out of Europe; therefore, we are allies against the British." It was *meshuga*. It was mad. It was impeccable logic, and it was crazy. And it stands as a warning if after you construct a beautiful syllogism, a beautiful truth, and then something ought to be done that is necessary, though horrible—if there's a "horrible" in it, don't do it. Forget it. Put it off. Procrastinate. Don't be rational. Don't be logical. And to have even Russell, who was so incisive and so astringent, so clever, so ungiven to taking even reason too seriously on most occasions, say during one of these preventive war speeches (this was for the New Commonwealth, a British Society for the Promotion for International Law and Order, presided over by the Right Honourable Winston Churchill), to have Lord Russell say, in the autumn of 1947, "The argument that I have been developing is as simple and as unescapable as a mathematical demonstration", (God help us! Down with mathematics!) "I will summarize it", as he continued, "in the following propositions:

1. Mankind can not long survive, in this age of scientific warfare, unless great wars can be prevented.
2. The only way to prevent great wars is to create a single government possessing a monopoly of the more formidable weapons.
3. The first step in this direction—for which governments and public opinion are ready in most parts of the world—is the creation of

an international authority for the control of atomic energy. [That was the Baruch Plan.]

4. This step has been advocated by the United States and resisted by Russia.
5. If Russia's resistance can be overcome by diplomatic pressure, full international government may come peacefully by gradual degrees.
6. Diplomatic pressure is more likely to succeed if many nations join in it than if it is left to the United States.
7. If diplomatic pressure fails, war, sooner or later, is inevitable. [Beware of the word "inevitable".]
8. If there is war, it will be less destructive if it comes soon than if it comes late, and if many nations support the United States than if few do so.
9. If there is war, the main issue should be the creation of an international government; and if this is its outcome, the next great war may be the last. [How many dreamers have said: Just give us one more war, one more blood-letting, and then we will be in paradise.]
10. If peace can be made secure, there is every reason to expect that mankind will be happier than ever before; if not, unhappier.

This momentous issue is to be decided during the next few years by the collective will of mankind. No issue of equal importance has faced our species since it emerged from the ape.<sup>13</sup>

But this, I must say, with all due respect for the memory of our very great friend, and one of the greatest men that ever lived, was monkey business. It is very interesting that, in the last few months, the American government has released more of the secret documents dealing with what to do about atomic energy, and last year they released some of the preliminary documents.<sup>14</sup> To read them against the background of the debate in which Churchill and Lord Russell and the Labour Party and so many people engaged in proposing preventive war makes you realize the prospect of the destruction of our planet made it seem logical and rational—why not drop one more bomb on Russia before it is too late, and make them consent to world government and save mankind from what's coming? It is all very logical and rational. I must say that out of the secret documents the man who comes out best is Henry L. Stimson. Stimson pleaded with Truman; he said the Russians will have a bomb within four to twenty years, there is no secret about it. (Actually they got it in four years and one month.) Let's give them the secret. It isn't much to give anyway; see what they can do with it, and try to negotiate an entente with which we can rebuild the world after the war. And that was the course of wisdom.

In Russell's writings you will find, foreshadowed before they happened, the Baruch plan and the Truman doctrine. Now Russell had a curious love affair with our country. He both loved it and hated it. He was fascinated by it and repelled by it. As a British aristocrat and a Whig, he felt that America and Russia were both going in the same direction towards a mass-production, industrial civilization, a danger to individuality. But very early, at least as early as his book with Dora Russell on *The Prospects of Industrial Civilization*,<sup>15</sup> he felt (and this idea kept recurring in his work) that perhaps it was hopeless to try to bring about international order by voluntary consent. For justice in ancient times there had to be a Rome; as Roman power established itself, Roman citizenship spread, and you had a real *pax Romana*—in which Spaniards, Yugoslavs, and North Africans all felt they were *cives Romani*, Roman citizens. You had Spanish emperors, and even a Yugoslav Serbian emperor late in the empire. Russell felt that America was the country that would have the preponderance of power and could force a *pax Americana* on the world. The idea reappears in his 1936 book, and it reappears in his writings after the war. He also outlined the idea of NATO. As a matter of fact, when he had that accident in Norway in 1948 when he had to swim through the icy water at Trondheim, he was in Norway on behalf of the British

Government to speak to students and try to win Norway for NATO. Finally, in despair, he felt that the only way to bring about an international order was to have America impose it on the world, and that if it was going to be imposed, it would be better to impose it before Russia got the bomb and get it over with. It is a horrible idea, and it shows how all of us are fallible, even the greatest of us, but when you read the documents, you really understand it better. You appreciate his anguish.

In the *Nineteenth Century and After* they printed not only the transcript of Russell's speech but the text of the questions afterwards and the answers he gave. This was at his request because he felt he had been "widely misrepresented in the press", and wrote to various newspapers to say so.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately he was *not* misrepresented, I am sorry to say. Let's look at the transcript of the question period. I think there is no better way to honour our friend, our great friend, than to fearlessly examine weak spots in his own career for the lessons they hold for the future of mankind. He himself would have done so with any great man he revered. One of the questions was:

Had not Lord Russell a more encouraging message to give to young people? Two succeeding generations had been desolated by war. Was all that he could offer to a third generation yet another devastating war? It seemed a most hopeless and gloomy prospect to be offered by so brilliant and distinguished a speaker. It was a deplorable picture for young people to have to contemplate.

The reply did not really deal with it:

Earl Russell replied that he had come to tell the truth as he saw it, and while he agreed that the picture was a gloomy one as far as the immediate future was concerned, he thought that we should prefer to face facts. For the present state of the world other people, not he, were responsible and he could not help it. He was sorry that he could not give a more hopeful survey, but it would not have been a true one.<sup>17</sup>

If you read an early article after Hiroshima that Lord Russell wrote for the *Forward* on the question of what would be the future of Russian-British relations,<sup>18</sup> you would see that he himself should have seen the answer. He pointed out that from the time of the Crimean War until the naval race with Germany that foreshadowed the First World War, British policy was obsessed with the supposed Russian danger to India and that, after the War, the old psychosis of the Russian bear revived until once more Germany was strong enough to endanger England. He might very well have thought *that* first of all (one of the great delusions of the time).

I must say in the new documents that came out in March, which very few scholars have noticed and little has been written about, there is a long document by our Joint Chiefs of Staff with much to do about the new world. But there is not a goddamn word about the atom bomb, and you might think they were still running the horse cavalry. They had universal military training, and all the bases they wanted around the world, including Saigon, but the atom bomb just passed right over their heads. The idea that it required new tactics, new strategy, new formations, new kinds of armed forces, just wasn't there. They were still speaking about the Civil War and Sherman's march through Georgia. But there is a document by General Groves, who ran the Manhattan project which developed the atom bomb, and he was quite a troglodyte. He used to call Robert Oppenheimer his "white Jew" to show his liberal attitude. Groves said that if mankind only knew the power in this bomb, they would rise up and demand an end to war.<sup>19</sup> But his own formula was that America should impose its power on the world and destroy the atomic plans of any other country that might be making a bomb and have a worldwide espionage system. The Baruch plan, if you look at it carefully, was a phoney. I must say that in *The Nation* I had a piece called "Atomic Pie in the Sky"

that analyzed it when it came out, and I still think the analysis holds up today.<sup>20</sup> What was phoney about it was that it was asking the Russians to handle all their resources and factories through an American-dominated commission, on the promise that in stages, and at some future date, they would get the secret of the bomb, but not the right to produce it. It really meant handing over the control of the Soviet Union to another power, many of whose leaders were thinking of preventive war, as Churchill was and even as Russell was. There is a document newly released that puts the giving of the bomb as perhaps in seventy-two months, which would be six years after taking over the uranium mines and the atomic plants in the Soviet Union and other countries. Now the Russians got the bomb in four years and one month, which was better than waiting for Baruch. Of course Nixon's recent visit to Moscow is really the fruit of meeting brutality with brutality in this brutal world, and it paid off, I am sorry to say. So that on closer examination, even then without the secret documents, the real nature of the plan should have been clear to Russell.

<sup>10</sup> *Autobiography, 1914-1944*, p. 357.

<sup>11</sup> "The Bomb and Civilization", *Forward*, 18 Aug. 1945, pp. 1, 3.

<sup>12</sup> "Atomic Energy and the Problems of Europe", *Nineteenth Century and After*, 145 (Jan. 1949), 39-43.

<sup>13</sup> "International Government", *New Commonwealth*, 9 (Jan. 1948), 80.

<sup>14</sup> *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946*, vol. 1, *General: The United Nations* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1972).

<sup>15</sup> New York, 1923, p. 76.

<sup>16</sup> "Resisting Russia", *The Observer*, 28 Nov. 1948, p. 3; "Lord Russell's Address", *The Times*, 30 Nov. 1948, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Nineteenth Century and After*, p. 43.

<sup>18</sup> "What Should be British Policy towards Russia?", *Forward*, 29 Sept. 1945, p. 4; reprinted as "Britain and Russia", *Manchester Guardian*, 2 Oct. 1945, pp. 4, 6.

<sup>19</sup> *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946*, vol. 1, *General: The United Nations*, p. 1201.

<sup>20</sup> *The Nation*, 162 (6 Apr. 1946), 390-1.

#### REPORTS FROM OFFICERS

##### (7) President Don Jackanicz reports:

Work on the June 1985 Washington meeting goes on. In the May RSN full details will be available. For now, I feel we can all look forward to a good meeting, and I very much hope for a sizeable member turnout. If you are planning on attending, it is not too early to make travel plans. Accommodations will be available near the meeting site (more on that in May). Of course the attractions of a city like Washington will also contribute to a decision of making the trip. If you have agenda items to be considered for the Society Business Meeting, please write to me as soon as possible. Any proposals or suggestions you may generally have for the meeting should also be addressed to me.

As the meeting program has not yet been finalized, there may yet be room for an interested member to make a formal presentation. If you would like to participate in this way, please contact me with your proposal.

I again urge each member to consider making a nomination for the BRS Award. Recipients in past years have been well chosen and in one instance--in 1980 with Paul Arthur Schilpp--the awardee was able to attend an Annual Meeting. The Award Committee will be making its decision well in advance of the June meeting, so the time for you to act is now.

In late March I will make a trip to Britain to investigate further the possibilities of holding a future BRS meeting in an appropriate setting such as Cambridge or London. Such a meeting has been discussed for some time and perhaps 1986 will be the year. The advisability of meeting in Britain has been questioned as the majority of our membership is American and Canadian. But there is also a substantial amount of support. Having exchanged letters with British contacts this past year, it is now time to learn more in person about meeting facilities, possible co-sponsorship, etc. I will report my findings to the Society and the Board of Directors in June. Member comments and suggestions on this issue are welcome.

## REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES

(8) Library Committee (Tom Stanley, Chairman):

I have certainly not found my short tenure as Librarian burdensome. Only three requests for audio tapes and six requests for video tapes have arrived since November. I enjoyed making back up copies of the cassettes and am looking forward to hearing from any member who can suggest sources for additional A/V material.

On the grounds that our films are irreplaceable and subject to stress when used, we are withdrawing them from circulation. They will be reserved for use at annual meetings or other special occasions. All except one are available on VHS format tape. We now have several copies of each, but I would like to request that you limit your requests to one or two items.

In order to recoup some of the expense involved in purchasing films and in keeping our inventory of books for sale current, we will now levy a fee for borrowing tapes:

Videotapes.....4.00 PP. Borrower pays return postage/insurance  
Audiotapes.....1.00 PP. Borrower pays return postage/insurance not necessary

In the past we rented films for \$25-\$40. The use of the same material on cassette will contribute about \$2.50 to the Library.

Since most of the films are interviews I have dubbed audio cassettes of each. Two other interviews are available thanks to Nathan Salmon and Lee:

- 217 Donahue Interviews Gore Vidal. Also Jonathan Miller Interview
- 218 BBC'S "The Life and Times of Bertrand Russell"
- 219 Woodrow Wyatt Interviews Russell.
- 220 Speaking Personally: Bertrand Russell. John Chandos's interview.
- 221 BBC'S "Bertie and the Bomb"
- 222 David Suskind speaking with Russell

W.W. Norton has donated a copy of Bertrand Russell and His World for our lending library. We hope to be able to offer Norton's Russell titles in the near future.

Contemplation and Action: 1902-1914, Volume XII of the COLLECTED PAPERS OF BERTRAND RUSSELL, should be available April-May 1985

## RELIGION

(9) Mark Russell's prayer, from the Congressional Record.

Our Father or Mother, who are either in heaven, nirvana, Mecca or Salt Lake City, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, providing thy will is that America is always the big winner over the foreign heathen. Give us this day our daily white bread, black bread, Italian bread, Jewish rye, English muffins or tacos, and a quarter-pounder with cheese and large fries to go. And lead us not into temptation, or into school buses that take us to neighborhoods where the kids are different. For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, especially for people who still use words like "thine".

(Thanks to "Humanist Quest for Truth Newsletter", Jane Conrad, Editor, PO Box 625, Brighton, CO 80601.)

## RECOMMENDED READING

(10) James Maki is not making recommendations; rather, he is requesting them:

I would like to see the members send in a list of the best 10 books they have read, other than books by BR, and regardless of whether in or out of print. Then have the Society make them available to the members.

\* Not a bad idea. How about telling us your Best Ten? And if it's fewer than 10, that's OK; we'll take what we get. Send the names of your Best Ten (or Less) to the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.



## ABOUT BERTRAND RUSSELL

- (11) Classical?, The following remark, sent to us by JOHN WILHELM, appeared in Humanist Century & Calendar (August 1984, p.3):

Would Bertrand Russell ever have developed his intellect to its fine-honed heights had he not had a full classical education?

We asked HARRY RUJA whether he thought BR had had a "full classical education"?

Doubtful. He probably studied some Latin and Greek in his youth, but he rarely refers to Latin & Greek authors in his writings. He kept a journal in English written in Greek letters (to keep his thoughts hidden from his elders) but not in Greek, which I'm sure would have been beyond him. He was fluent in both French --and German; he lectured and answered questions impromptu in French, and reviewed many long and tough books in German, in the 1900s. He also knew some Italian. But Latin and Greek?...very doubtful.

He was well read in literature and could recite long passages from poems he favored from memory. Details of what he read are given in Collected Papers-I (pp. 347 ff.) Over a hundred are in French or German. There is only one in Latin -- a mathematical treatise by Gauss. None of the Greeks are represented except Plato -- in translation. There's a lot of Browning, Shelley, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Henry James, and a great variety in various areas -- but "classical"?

Keep in mind that in his last three years at Cambridge, he concentrated on math, and in his fourth on philosophy ("Moral Tripos").

As for what 'honed' his mind: (1) genes, (2) association with elders almost exclusively all through his childhood, and (3) solitude for uninterrupted study and reflection.

Q.E.D.

P.S. in "Bertie and the Bomb," you can hear BR saying, "I never liked the classics. Mathematics is what interested me."

- (12) Toronto editorial, 1931. Here is a portion of an editorial with a memory of the past, in the Toronto Daily Star (December 14, 1931, p. 2), with thanks to Harry Ruja:

A Hundred Years Ago and Now

Bertrand Russell lectured in Massey Hall on Saturday evening and it is interesting to note that on the same date one hundred years ago, December 12th, his illustrious grandfather, Lord John Russell signed the Reform Bill which brought about so many changes in the life of the British people.

The century that intervenes has witnessed no greater changes in British life than in the mental outlook of the Russells, for it would surely have been difficult for Lord John to imagine himself having a grandson with the opinions and beliefs of Bertrand. It must amuse the grandson, too, to look back upon a grandfather with the untroubled, conventional mind of Lord John.

To a daily newspaperman a hundred years is a long period of time, and naturally so, for in that time a vast number of newspapers are put forth. But to a philosopher like Bertrand Russell a century is but a brief space in that long flow of human events in which the tendencies of mankind slowly reveal themselves, take on meaning, and are seen to gain a possible direction and a perceivable purpose.

As regards news the century that intervenes between the one Russell and the other has given a prodigious output. The parliament in England, from being the most exclusive club in the world, is so changed that miners have come up out of the ground to be cabinet ministers. One prime minister has come from the home of a blacksmith and another from the home of a Welsh cobbler.

Lord John Russell, signing one hundred years ago Saturday the Reform Bill from which so many changes have come -- and one of the greatest of changes being the change in the Russells -- directs interest to another similar event. In the cablegrams of Saturday came the news that the Harcourt family is in difficulties through three successive deaths on which succession duties taxes had to be paid -- and it was Sir William Harcourt who fathered this succession duties tax nearly half a century ago.

etc.

## HUMANISM

(13) From the Washington Post (1/10/85, A19):

# Department Proposes Rule to Curb Teaching of 'Secular Humanism'

## Controversial Term Remains Undefined

By Felicity Barringer  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Education Department, following legislation approved by Congress last summer, has proposed a rule prohibiting school districts from spending certain earmarked federal funds on any course that a district "determines is secular humanism."

However, the proposal, which defines several other concepts ranging from "magnet school" to "minority group," offers no guidance on what it means by "secular humanism."

The rule, and the law that spawned it, apparently represent the federal government's first official use of the term—used pejoratively by some fundamentalist and conservative groups to describe everything from atheism to Darwinism—since a footnote to a 1961 Supreme Court decision included "secular humanism" on a list of religions that "do not teach what would generally be considered a belief in the existence of God."

A group of liberal constitutional rights activists is trying to stir up opposition to the rule by bringing it to the attention of the press and public. But Democratic congressional aides familiar with the negotiations over the law argue that the very lack of a definition makes the prohibition harmless. One aide to its author, Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee Chairman Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), calls the debate "a tempest in a teapot."

In a comment to the Education Department, Anthony T. Podesta, executive director of People For the American Way, said, "Now, with a federal law that uses the term [secular humanism] without defining it, the Department of Education is making local school districts even more vulnerable to attack from those who have a history of using the charge of 'secular humanism' to oppose anything they don't like about public education."

In a pamphlet entitled "Is Humanism Molesting Your Child?" for example, a Fort Worth, Tex., parents' group described secular humanism as a belief in "equal distribution of

America's wealth . . . control of the environment, control of energy and its limitation . . . the removal of American patriotism and the free enterprise system, disarmament and the creation of a one-world socialistic government."

According to Ed Darrell, a press spokesman for Hatch's committee, secular humanism "is almost a term of art. You get into value education and a bunch of touchy-feely stuff that came out in the '70s. Conservatives object because these things may get in the way of a Christian education . . ."

"That's a long way of saying there's no quick definition for it," he added.

Podesta's group, which was founded by television producer Norman Lear, urged the Education Department to define the term, saying it is unfair to place that burden on school districts. In comments on the regulation, he said, "Educators, scholars and theologians [could] share their research and views on the hoax of 'secular humanism.'"

But Paul Salmon, executive director of the American Association of School Administrators, said he was pleased "the department made the right judgment in allowing local school districts to define secular humanism."

Still, Salmon said he was "distressed that the federal government is trying to affect instructional programs . . . They're trying to get a philosophical base for dealing with, oh God, everything from abortion to prayer . . . People who criticize secular humanism are very fond of saying teachers are secular humanists."

The prohibition appears in a section of the Education for Economic Security Act that earmarked \$75 million in grants over two years for "magnet schools" in districts undergoing desegregation efforts. Many of these districts lost millions of dollars in federal funds as a result of 1981 block-grant legislation.

That section of the law was drafted by Hatch, and, according to his aides, originally included a long list of prohibitions that were designed, in the words of one aide, "to focus the money on real, concrete

academic subjects like biology or physics or real vocational subjects like auto repair, and to get away from the softer social engineering kinds of things."

However, according to Democratic and Republican congressional aides, most of the prohibitions were eliminated during a meeting between Hatch and Democratic Sens. Thomas F. Eagleton (Mo.) and Daniel Patrick Moynihan (N.Y.). For weeks before that June meeting, the pair of Democrats had blocked the legislation until they could win more aid for school districts such as St. Louis and Buffalo that were in the midst of massive, court-ordered desegregation efforts.

When the meeting was over, the only prohibition on curricula that remained in the bill was the one concerning "secular humanism."

In a statement issued this week, Moynihan said, "This was legislation essential to the desegregation of our schools. Preventing money for courses on secular humanism was a prime condition for Sen. Hatch's approval. Neither I nor anyone in that [meeting] room know of any school district that teaches secular humanism. I'm not sure anyone knows what secular humanism is . . . Certainly no schools affected by this legislation teach it."

"It should have had a definition . . . probably in the law," said a legal aide to Hatch. "But I don't necessarily think it was a mistake to prohibit it . . . In part it's a symbolic thing. It has put the federal government on record saying that federal funds should not be spent on propagandizing an atheistic philosophy to our kids. If Mr. Lear doesn't like it, tough noogies."

Another Hatch aide, Ed Darrell, pointed out that the proposed rule lets school boards decide what a course using "secular humanism" might be. "School boards depend on sane, reasonable people running them," he said. "There is no definition you can build into federal law that can keep crazy people from misinterpreting things . . ."

The absence of a working definition, he said, "was a glitch. But with a little luck it won't be a serious glitch."

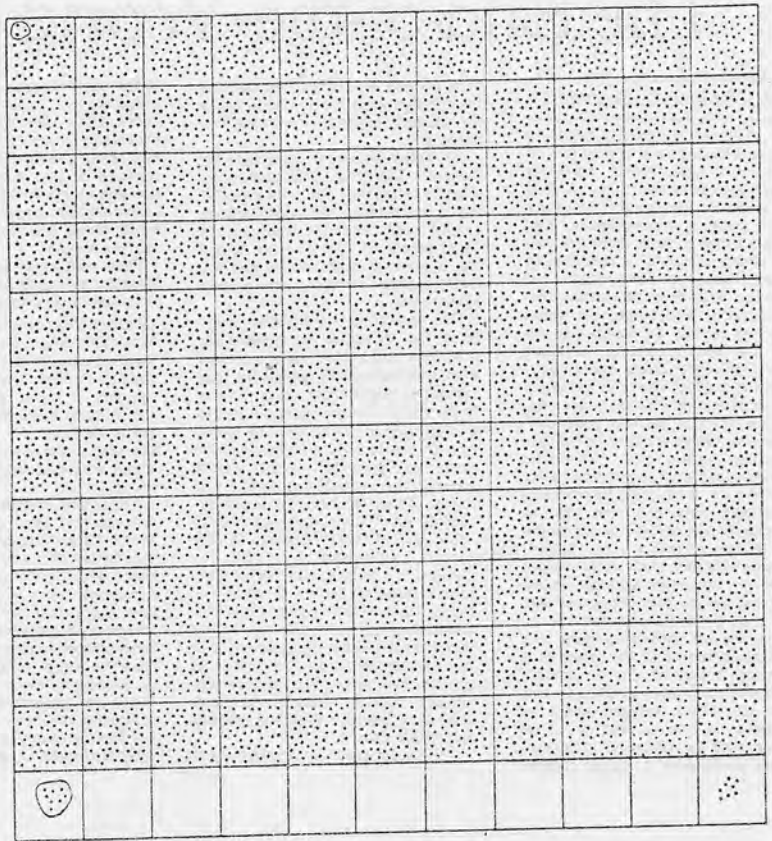
NUCLEAR AFFAIRS

(14) Horror story, told without words----->

The words merely tell what the picture represents, but they do not tell the story. The picture tells the story.

For more about Willens, see RSN43-12.

(Thank you, Bob Davis)



**THE PLUTONIUM LINK**

Plutonium is the most important common denominator between nuclear power and nuclear weapons. A typical 1,000-megawatt nuclear plant discharges every year, within its spent fuel, about 250 kg of plutonium. Less than 10 kg is needed to make a nuclear weapon.

Plutonium, which does not exist in nature, can be separated out from the other waste products in spent fuel by reprocessing the fuel. Reprocessing is delicate because of the intense radioactivity of the materials, but it does not require great technological sophistication. This technology is being developed by a number of potential nuclear weapons states, including India, Pakistan, and Argentina.

On current plans, up to 2,000 metric tons of plutonium will be created in nuclear power plants worldwide by the end of the century (enough for perhaps 300,000 nuclear weapons), and at least 600 metric tons of this plutonium will be separated through reprocessing. This quantity is three times the world's present inventory of military plutonium.

Alternatively, uranium-235 can be used in making a nuclear weapon. The technology required to produce weapons-grade uranium—enrichment of naturally occurring uranium from less than 1 percent uranium-235 to more than 90 percent—is high technology of a very sophisticated order, and about three times as much uranium as plutonium is required to make a bomb. Nevertheless, enrichment technology is being developed by such countries as South Africa and Pakistan, and its spread constitutes a serious proliferation threat.

(15)

**1 Nuclear Weapons Chart.**

The chart above shows the world's current firepower as opposed to the firepower of World War II. The dot in the center square represents all the firepower of World War II: 3 megatons. The other dots represent the world's present nuclear weaponry, which equals 6,000 World War II's or 18,000 megatons. The United States and the Soviets share this firepower with approximately equal destructive capability.

The top left-hand circle enclosing 9 megatons represents the weapons on just one Poseidon submarine. This is equal to the firepower of three World War II's and enough to destroy over 200 of the Soviets' largest cities. We have 31 such subs and 10 similar Polaris subs.

The circle in the lower left-hand square enclosing 24 megatons represents one new Trident sub with the firepower of eight World War II's. Enough to destroy every major city

in the northern hemisphere.

The Soviets have similar levels of destructive power.

Just two squares on this chart (300 megatons) represent enough firepower to destroy all the large- and medium-size cities in the entire world. (U.S. Senate staff have reviewed this chart and found it to be an accurate representation of the nuclear weapons arsenal.)

—From *The Trident Factor*, by Harold Willens (William Morrow)

<—From "Nucleus" (Fall 1984, p.6), published by the Union of Concerned Scientists.

- (16) End of the World? Edward Zuckerman -- author of "The Day After World War III" (RSN43-13) -- muses on the possible consequences of that war, according to various experts...in New York Times (November 25, 1984, op ed page):

## The End-of-the-World Scenarios

By Edward Zuckerman

All of those currently debating whether a nuclear war would be followed by a catastrophic "nuclear winter" agree on one thing — that their scientific conclusions have important political consequences. And they are happy to point them out. Nuclear winter presents "a real danger of the extinction of humanity," Carl Sagan has written in the journal *Foreign Affairs*. Therefore, we must move "as rapidly as possible to reduce the global nuclear arsenals below levels that could conceivably cause the kind of climatic catastrophe and cascading biological devastation predicted by the new studies."

Edward Teller, writing in *Nature* magazine, agrees that "scientific knowledge of the after-effects of a nuclear war... is of great importance in making political decisions." But he urges caution in rushing to act on the basis of the nuclear winter studies, his own evaluation finds those studies so full of "omissions and uncertainties" that the prospect of nuclear winter "must be considered dubious."

What we are witnessing here is a political argument in the guise of a scientific argument. In an article about nuclear winter in *Parade* last year, Mr. Sagan warned again of human extinction — and provided readers with the addresses of organizations working for a nuclear freeze.

(The *Parade* article omitted most of the qualifying statements included in the scholarly paper upon which it was based.)

Mr. Teller, who wrote an article for *Reader's Digest* in 1982 debunking what he called the "dangerous myth" that a nuclear war "would end life on earth," has for decades supported the development of new nuclear weapons, supported civil defense and actively opposed nuclear arms control agreements.

This pattern is an old one. Ever since the bombing of Hiroshima, scientists and others have put forward mechanisms by which nuclear explosions might bring about the end of the world. The poisoning of all life by radioactive fallout and the depletion of the earth's protective ozone layer have preceded nuclear winter among the end-of-the-world scenarios. Other scientists (usually including Mr. Teller) have leaped up to rebut each of these forecasts. A 1979 report co-authored by Jack C. Greene, the former director of post-attack research for the Federal Defense Civil Preparedness Agency, concluded that no probable nuclear war "could induce gross changes in the balance of nature" as great as those already wrought by human civilization, such as tiling the prairies, irrigating deserts and "even preventing forest fires."

All of those participating in the end-

of-the-world debates have access to precisely the same scientific evidence. The evidence is necessarily inconclusive. No one can know what the long-term, worldwide effects of a massive nuclear war would be. Yet the end-of-the-world camp and the life-will-go-on camp volley back and forth, citing one inconclusive study against another.

These differing interpretations of identical evidence may be explained by the fact that someone with a strong opinion about the likelihood of post-attack ozone depletion, say, will usually have an equally strong opinion about the MX missile. Those preaching the dangers of ozone depletion are attempting to win converts not only to their theories of exo-atmospheric chemistry but also to their views about strategic doctrine and deterrence.

Those who minimize the effects of nuclear war tend to have opposite views. "The decision to resist aggression by nuclear war requires a diplomacy which seeks to break down the atmosphere of special horror which now surrounds the use of nuclear weapons, an atmosphere which has been created in part by skillful Soviet 'ban-the-bomb' propaganda," Henry A. Kissinger wrote in 1957. Similar views are expressed today.

Politics thus run steadily beneath the surface of every debate about the effects of nuclear weapons, and it is

here, in their politics, that the doom-sayers are steadily correct. All who oppose the nuclear arms race are doing important work. But those who oppose it by asserting that any nuclear war would be the end of the world are resting their argument, unnecessarily, on shaky ground. There is no need to hold to debatable — and thus distracting — predictions of total doom to make a convincing case against nuclear war and against the policies of the Reagan Administration and its predecessors that have made nuclear war more likely.

For what if the debunkers of doomsday were somehow shown to be correct? What if we knew for a fact that the most wildly optimistic estimate of the effects of nuclear war (that of Federal civil defense authorities) was accurate, and just 45 million Americans would be vaporized or burned to death or burned under collapsed buildings or slashed by flying glass or condemned to a horrible lingering death from radiation sickness? And only 20 or 30 million more would suffer sublethal radiation sickness or broken bones or disfiguring burns or other injuries? And only a few million of those who survived the war would die of cancer later? But the world would not end. And life would be nearly normal in Uruguay and New Zealand.

Would nuclear war be acceptable then? Would there be any less need to rein in the arms race? □

(overleaf)

### INSIDE PUGWASH NEWSLETTER

Special newsletter for Bulletin readers on the Pugwash conferences

January vol. 2 no. 5

#### Pugwash sees possibility of nuclear freeze

##### Factors converging

As we reported in this space last month, the 10th Pugwash workshop and the first on "Proposals for a Nuclear-Weapons Freeze" has been held in Geneva.

In attendance were 42 prominent scientists and military advisors from all the key nations in the nuclear arms race, including China, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the U.K., the USA, and the USSR, as well as participants from Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Poland, and Switzerland.

In their statement, issued after the workshop, the participants declared that there was now a greater possibility of achieving a nuclear freeze than there had been previously. This was due, they stated, to the convergence of several key factors:

- essential equivalence in the overall nuclear forces of both sides
- high technical capabilities on each side for verifying the compliance of the other with a freeze agreement
- small potential gain from any clandestine activity that could escape detection
- new information leading to a higher degree of public concern with the risks of nuclear war

##### Finding the freeze practical

The scientists stressed that the nuclear freeze idea was finding more and more adherents because it was comprehensive — it relied on the stopping of testing, production, and deployment of bombs, warheads and delivery vehicles of all types. Because of this comprehensiveness, the idea escaped two major problems that have prevented the success of arms control for decades:

- over-specialized negotiations leading to endless disputes about the boundaries of the negotiations themselves
- channelling of the arms race into those weapons categories not yet covered

##### Timing is crucial

The statement went on to point out how important timing

will be to the implementation of a freeze. It said:

Crucial to both the desirability and achievability of a nuclear freeze are two aspects of its timing. First, as much of the freeze as possible should be put in place as quickly as possible, to achieve its purpose of cutting off dangerous developments and building rather than allowing them to continue while negotiations drag on. Second, the freeze must be understood to be an initial measure, beyond which deep and stabilizing reductions in nuclear forces are to be sought. This approach dispenses of the objection that the status quo is much too dangerous to freeze permanently into place. Proposing the freeze as an interim measure of say 2 to 3 years' duration initially, has the further merit of reducing concerns that intezero or clandestine activities could significantly affect the nuclear equilibrium while the freeze is in force. A period of 2 or 5 years is, at the same time, long enough to represent a meaningful interruption of dangerous trends, and to permit meaningful progress toward longer-term solutions, while short enough to maintain the pressure on decision-makers to work out these longer-term solutions promptly.

##### Suggestions about what can be done right away

The statement went on to discuss what measures might be taken right away, with little or no further negotiation. The importance of this part of the statement cannot be underestimated. After all, present at these discussions were key military planners, and scientists close to the decision-makers in their own governments. This the ideas put forth and debated have had a full and fair hearing by all interested parties, in an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect.

This kind of proceeding is what has made Pugwash so successful in actually getting things done.

##### Influence and action


For thirty years the informal meetings of prominent scientists called Pugwash have been one of the few forces actually accomplishing anything — actually making concrete breakthroughs in de-escalating the arms race and staying off the nuclear armageddon.

You know how perilous is our current situation; now, more than ever the work of Pugwash is crucial to our survival. Please, today, become a friend of Pugwash, and make possible the continuation of this work. By doing so you will contribute directly to one of the most important activities now going on — and to the future of all of us.

- (17) Pugwash reports, in an ad in Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (January 1985) —→

The coupon that appeared on the bottom of the ad appears on our next page.

Pugwash is worth supporting, aside from the fact that it was conceived and founded by BR, with the help of Joseph Rotblat----->

	<input type="checkbox"/> Please enroll me as a Friend of Pugwash and send me summaries of its major meetings. I enclose \$100 as my 1984 contribution.	Make check payable to AEPFF, Pugwash and mail to William M. Swartz, Chairman, Finance Committee, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, 1430 West Wrightwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60614. All contributions are tax deductible.
	<input type="checkbox"/> Please enroll me as an associate member of Friends of Pugwash and send me digests of its important meetings.	
I enclose \$ _____		
<b>EMBOSOGRAPH DISPLAY MFG. CO.</b> PUBL. REL. OFFICE CHICAGO ILLINOIS 60614		

- (18) Too much nuclear? Some BRS members have said they think the newsletter gives too much space to nuclear affairs.

We recall the incident in which a reporter asked BR, wasn't he being fanatical, always talking about the danger of nuclear weapons? BR answered, "It's hard not to be fanatical. The issue is so large."

BR thought the issue the most important of all possible issues, and spent the last 25 years of his life working on it, starting with his 1945 House of Lords speech (RSN35-14).

- \* What's your opinion? Do you think we are spending too much time on nuclear affairs? Write the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.

#### FUN

- (19) "Gödel's Doom". First, some background. As most of you know, BR believed that mathematics was a branch of logic. He -- and Alfred Whitehead -- set out to prove it, in Principia Mathematica (1910) ... and they thought they had done so. But in 1930 along came Gödel's Theorem, which proved it couldn't be done.

But don't hurry to throw away your copy of Principia. Although it did not accomplish the desired proof, it was a landmark work, and helped lay the groundwork for the logic of computers.

The following is from a letter from Dr. Warren L. Semon, Director of Systems and Information Science, Syracuse University, and Chairman of the Editorial Board of COMPUTER. His letter is reproduced in BRS Newsletter #3 (Sept. 1974, p.24)

In summary, it is true that workers in computing machine design are indebted to previous workers in logic and hence obviously to Russell for the monumental "Principia".

From A COMPUTER PERSPECTIVE by the office of Charles and Ray Eames, Harvard University Press, 1973, these remarks:

In 1910 "Principia Mathematica" by Bertrand Russell and Alfred N. Whitehead presented the idea that logic is the foundation of all mathematics. It develops the calculus of propositions, solving equations in terms of statements that are either true or false. (p. 121)

The methods of symbolic "true or false" logic described by Russell and Whitehead were, in 1937, shown to have practical application to the design of electrical circuits, in Shannon's thesis, "Symbolic Analysis of Relay and Switching Circuits." (Caption to a picture of Principia Mathematica) From BRS Newsletter #3 (Sept 1974, p. 7)

So much for background. Now for some fun...and a change of pace: a science fiction story that takes Gödel's Theorem into a wholly different realm.

\* \* \* \* \*

# Gödel's Doom

A WORK OF FICTION  
BY GEORGE ZEBROWSKI

"So what are you going to beg time for now?" I asked as Witter slid in across from me in the cafeteria booth. A thin, hyper type, he folded his hands in front of my coffee and said, "It's an experiment I want to run on the new AI-5." He spoke very precisely, very insistently, as usual. "I've been haunted by it all my life, but now it can actually be done."

"What do you mean?" I asked, picking up my coffee, afraid that he would knock it over.

"Well, previous Artificial Intelligences were too slow and not capable of complex inference. The question is how much time can you give me?" He brushed back his messy brown hair.

"How much do you need?" I sipped the coffee, sensing his restrained excitement. Witter had always been a valuable worker, so I had to listen and try to keep him happy, within reason, despite his nervous enthusiasms. But he was never satisfied with merely testing equipment and programs for industrial applications.

"I don't know," he said cautiously. "A lot maybe. More than a couple of days."

I put down my coffee, irritated. "You don't know? Can't you estimate?"

"Nope. I'd better explain."

"Go ahead."

"You know about Gödel?"

"I know Gödel's proof, but tell me from scratch. You might be doing some illegal reasoning."

He leaned forward as if he were going to tell me a dirty story. "Well," he said, lowering his voice, "you're familiar with the conclusion that no machine-like entity that proceeds by clearly defined mechanical steps can complete any system that is rich enough to generate simple arithmetic—that is, make it a consistent system in which we could not come up with new, true, and still unproven propositions, in fact ones that would be unprovable in the system, yet clearly true."

"I know, math can't be mechanized."

"Not completely mechanized. We've done it to a remarkable degree. . . ."

"What else is new?"

"Well, if Gödel's proof is true, and human minds can regularly generate true but unprovable propositions in

any potentially self-consistent system, then mechanism, or determinism, does not apply to us."

"But what is it that you want to do, Witter?" I was only half listening. It was late in the day. The cafeteria was nearly empty and the newly polished floor was a large mirror; our booth seemed to float on it.

"Well," he said, "I want to give the new Artificial Intelligence the command to complete mathematics."

"What?" I suddenly saw what he was getting at.

"Don't you see? We can do an experiment that might settle the nature of the universe—whether we live in a hard determinism or a soft one in which free will is possible."

I smiled, feeling superior. "But we know Gödel was right. Math can't be completed. He gave a powerful formal proof, one in which you can't have it both ways."

Witter, who had been looking away as we spoke, turned his head half around and fixed me with one glassy brown eye. "Come on, Bruno. Why not run the experiment anyway?"

I shrugged and sat back, looking around. "As you said, it might take a long time—forever, if Gödel's right."

"Maybe," he said, finally looking at me with both eyes. The combination of the blue and brown eyes had always given me the creeps. "According to Gödel, the computer will crank out mathematical statements forever, and we'll never know if the body of the system is a complete one. But if it is complete, then our AI will finish it off in some finite period of time. It's the fastest system ever developed, able to do involved operations that might take centuries otherwise."

"No matter how fast it is, we won't disprove Gödel. He proved that independently of all need to do experiments! Now I know why you want a lot of time. We won't live long enough to learn the result, even if you're right, which you can't be." I started to get up.

"Look," he insisted, "why not do the experiment? If we live in a hard determinism, as so many believe, then it's already true—the AI will complete math or any system we give it. But if Gödel is right, the AI-5 will run on forever, unable to complete."

"We don't have forever. You've gone bonkers."

"Why don't we do it? We can do the experiment! Look, for the first time an experiment involving pure logic and math may yield knowledge of the world outside."

That part appealed to me, but I saw a way of being perverse. Was he presenting me with a choice or dictating that I authorize the experiment?

He smiled, anticipating my thought. "Either there's free will, or you're fated to let the experiment be done."

I sighed. "But there's still the matter of how long it will take, Felix. AI-5, no matter how fast it is, may keep running and we won't be able to tell whether it's an un-completable process or just a very long one."

He shrugged. "Aren't you willing to take the chance?"

"This just doesn't make any sense to me at all."

He smiled again. "But it gets to you, doesn't it? My point holds. Why not do it? Just to see. How often in the history of math or logic has there been a chance to do pure theoretical work that might reveal something about the real world?"

"But it's doomed to fail!"

He nodded. "Probably, Bruno. I'll grant you that. But even so, the experiment will be historic. Purely mathematical and empirical at the same time."

"Romantic mathematics, I call it."

"Or Kant's synthetic a priori!"

I'd read some of that metaphysical junk, and he seemed to be stretching it. Sure, synthetic meant acquiring new knowledge, and a priori meant that it wasn't derived from experience, strictly speaking, but from reasoning. Our experiment would give us new knowledge of the universe through nonempirical means. "But you're cheating," I said. "Whatever you call it, using the AI means only doing an empirical experiment."

He cocked one eyebrow and gave me a crazed stare with his blue eye. "Would you say that it would be more empirical if we did it by pencil and paper? That's all Gödel had to work with."

"Okay, I guess I'll have to say that there are no purely a priori activities. Even using the mind alone is a way of reaching out into the universe. What we call experiments are merely corroborations. Einstein himself said that if the experiments didn't come out as he expected, then he'd pity the God who made the universe that way."

"Okay, Bruno. I know you know more than most section chiefs, but are we going to do it or not?"

So we ran the experiment, if you could call it that. Witter was right about one thing. If Gödel's proof was somehow wrong, and we could complete even one system on our fast AI, then a lot of people would have to do a lot of rethinking in the groundwork of logic and math.

But I knew damn well that Gödel couldn't be wrong. Formal proofs do not fall easily. It would be a mistake of some kind if our AI-5 showed that completeness in a significant system was achievable.

All right. We both wanted to see what would happen if we tried it. We pieced the time together from a dozen other projects when people would be away or on vacation.

It was Friday night, after hours. We would be alone until Monday. I sat down at the keyboard and tapped in the command. Witter was sitting next to me, staring up at the bank of screens.

The AI began its run, building arithmetic up out of baby talk. Soon it was all going by in a blur, but the AI showed no sign of slowing down.

"There is one danger," I said as we sat back and waited. "If the AI can't complete arithmetic, it will sift through larger and larger banks of information. . . ."

"It can handle infinite amounts of data," Witter replied.

"Yes, but the power needed for that, Witter, the power! The cost!"

He shook his head. "Don't shout. That won't happen. It will all be over in a few hours at most."

But the AI-5 kept running. An hour went by.


"It's not going to stop, Felix. It can't. Gödel was right. But even if he was wrong, it may take more than our lifetimes to prove it."

"Take it easy, Bruno. Go polish the floor, or something." He was too serene.

Another hour went by. Witter stared at the screens, hypnotized by the blurred flow. Rivers of reasoning ran from their headwaters to a new ocean of well-formed propositions, and still the ocean was not filled; it would never be filled.

As I looked around at the clean right angles of the room, at the symmetrical terminals and easily accessed units, I began to think that maybe Witter was slightly stupid, that he didn't understand simple logic or the idea of a proof. Gödel's paradoxical conclusion could not be broken, unless it wasn't a double bind to begin with, because you can't have it both ways. Something was very wrong with Felix Witter.

And yet, I wanted him to have a point. This was an experiment, a recourse to more than personal opinion; it could do more, in principle, than reasoning, prediction, or guesswork. Set a powerful genie to do the impossible—not because you think the genie can do it, but because you can ask, and it has the power to do all that's possible. So why not ask, just to see; human beings have



always been suspicious of mere reasoning, no matter how powerful. Suddenly I wanted to see Gödel fail, to see the pride and arrogance of mathematicians crumble.

But as we watched the AI-5 chase the mirage, there was no sign of an end, no slowdown at all.

"I'm hungry," I said. "Want a pizza?"

He nodded without looking at me. I got up, went out into the hall, and called it in from the wall phone. Then I alerted the security guard downstairs and asked him to leave it out on a cart in front of our workroom.

"We may have to stop it," I said hours later, "even if it's close to completion." Though the pizza had been very bad, I thought as I eyed the empty boxes on the cart, a full stomach had taken some of the romance out of what we were doing. "We can't tie up all this power and time indefinitely. It's using more every minute, and it'll be my ass if we can't justify it."

"No!" Witter shouted maniacally. "It may be very close."

I burped, waiting for my heartburn to subside. The AI-5 hummed along.

"We can continue from this point onward at another time," I insisted.

"Be quiet!"

I reached over to stop the run. Felix grabbed my hand and pinned it to the panel.

"What's wrong with you?" I demanded.

"Just a few minutes more," he said, fixing me with his mismatched eyes. "We're at the edge of a major discovery!"

"Felix, this can't be done." I struggled to free myself, but his strength was that of a true believer.

"Be still, you fool," he said harshly. "Don't you see? This will be the culmination of our careers. We'll never match this no matter how hard we work. Gödel is one of the supreme monuments of mathematics, marking the limits of human minds. If we topple him..."

"You may not like what you get," I said, twisting my arm. "If his proof is right, then mechanism is false and minds are not machines. They escape the completeness of the purely mechanical. But if Gödel is wrong, then we're automatons! I'd rather not know."

He shook his head. "There's even more to it than that, Bruno."

"What?" I was breathing very hard, unable to free myself.

"We're opening up the very vitals of reality."

I had to laugh. "By manipulating man-made symbolic structures? You need a bucket of cold water to soak your head in. Let me go!"

"Completion may be only a few minutes away. Do you want to stop and then wonder what might have been?" He tightened his grip.

"But you can't know how far along it is."

He let go of my hand and seemed to cool down, and I found I didn't have the heart to reach over and stop the run.

"You're right," he said, "I'm sorry. It probably is all for nothing."

I massaged my hand. The AI continued its work run. "Don't feel too bad about it," I managed to say. "It was a nice idea, but it had to confirm Gödel. I'm glad we're not machines."

He was shaking his head. "You don't understand. There's no reason to fear that. It's not a problem."

"What isn't?"

"Free will," he said as the AI-5 stopped its run.

Witter and I looked at each other, then at the main screen. It read:

#### SYSTEM CAPABLE OF GENERATING ARITHMETIC COMPLETE

"It's a mistake of some kind," I said. Something strange seemed to pass across my eyes. I sat back, expecting to lose consciousness as the tension got to me.

"Maybe," Witter was saying, "but we can test to see if it's a mistake."

"How?" I heard myself ask, even though I knew the answer.

"By trying to make a true statement that is not prov-

able in the system. As long as the AI can show us that we can't make such a statement by proving it, then the system is complete."

We tried for the next 12 hours. I was relieved that our prime AI was no longer running a huge power draw. Witter brought a smaller AI on-line and had it question the alleged complete system achieved by the AI-5. It failed to come up with a single true proposition that was not provable in the complete system.

"There's no question about it," Felix said finally. "There's only one thing left to do," I replied. "We've got to run the whole thing again."

Witter looked at me, smiled strangely, then sat down and gave the command.

As the AI-5 began its second run at Gödel, Witter turned to me and said, "Funny about determinism. I always think of it as stuff outside me, pushing at my skin. But I feel free inside. When that second run finishes, we'll be certain that we're living in a hard determinism. No choice is our own, if we've understood the word correctly. Even our decision to run the AI-5 again was not made freely. We're automatons. No avoiding the conclusion, Bruno."

He was baiting me, I was sure. "But we resist the notion. Doesn't that suggest something?"

He shrugged. "That we're free in our minds but not in our actions. We can envision alternatives, but whichever one we pick is determined, right up through an infinite future."

"Witter, I thought you were intelligent. There can't be such a thing as unconditioned freedom. There are always initial conditions—necessary and sufficient conditions for every choice. Otherwise we could perform miracles, make happen things that are uncaused. The existence of free will cannot violate causality."

He grimaced at me and I felt stupid. "Yeah, I know all that. But do we have the freedom to choose between alternatives?"

"I think we do. Physical conditions make us both the determined and determinators in our own right. Things affect us and we affect them. Determinism goes right down into us, into our consciousness and will, and we send it back out. I couldn't prove it to you without a physiologist, though."

The AI-5 was still running its second completion smoothly. If it succeeded, then it might be that we were living in a universe where even choice among alternatives was an illusion.

Witter looked at me suddenly. "I wonder if our running this program can have an effect on the universe we live in?"

"What are you talking about?" I asked. He seemed to have a mind like a break dancer.

"Maybe our attempting what Gödel said was impossible can change the universe?"

"I don't think so, Felix. But there are other things you might like to consider."

He took a deep breath. "What's that?"

"Well, we began with the idea that no finitary deductive system can complete a rich, self-consistent system. But what if the AI-5 is not a finitary deductive system? Assume it can work outside the limits of the human mind, which is all that Gödel may have charted. It was all he could demonstrate because he had only his own mind to work with."

Witter nodded. "I see what you mean. If our AI reaches completion, then it follows, perhaps, that it's not a finitary deductive system, and we can draw no conclusions about the nature of the universe."

I smiled. "Right. And we don't have to worry about being automatons, or that our sense of inner freedom is a mirror trick of some kind. Free will is a special case of determinism. It's determinism from the inside. The means of determinism are also those of free will."

Witter was watching the screen with a worried look

on his face, as if he now expected the AI to fail. It didn't matter one way or the other, if what I had said was true. "Unconditioned free will would be omnipotence," I continued, "and that's an absurd state to be in. No law, no causal structures. It's just a conceptual extreme, like infinities."

"Something is working against us," Witter said softly. "What do you mean?"

He gripped the panel. "It won't come out the same way twice," he replied.

"You're still mistaking the maps for reality," I said.

"Look at the time, you fool! It's almost as long as before. If the AI doesn't repeat its completion in the same time, it will run on forever."

"So what. We have the first completion in memory, step by step, for whatever it's worth."

He swiveled his chair and glared at me. His eyes were bloodshot and had dark circles around them. The whole experiment, I saw, was eating up his entire energy. "You don't see, do you?" he said. "You think in terms of tricks of language, ways of speaking... you can't imagine worlds dying and others supplanting them. You don't give a damn about anything except apportioning time and keeping other administrators happy."

"What are you talking about, Felix? I'm here with you, and we're doing what you wanted. Have you lost your mind?" I almost felt hurt, as if he were questioning my loyalty.

He pointed to the clock on the wall. "Look, time's up and our AI is still running."

"So what? It was a fluke the first time, a mistake. You can't beat Gödel, and it wouldn't matter if you could."

He laughed. "You still don't see!"

"No, I don't."

The AI-5 was still running.

"It will run forever this time. Our decision to run the experiment puts us at a great juncture between possible universes. We collapsed the wave function reaching our minds."

"What are you saying?" I demanded.

"Proving that our universe was deterministic threw us into a freer one. Gödel proved his work in the wrong universe. Here the AI will run forever. But if we stop it and start again, something even stranger might happen."

"You're off the deep end now," I said, feeling sorry for him.

"We might be moving across a whole series of universes, drawing closer to the unconditional omnipotence that has the true freedom to

be everything..."

"Yeah, and can't become anything in particular. That's what I was saying. Witter, wake up. We have the other program. Go see for yourself. That system was completed. In this one there's obviously some kind of difficulty. Neither result means a thing. Get that through your stupid head!" Mathematicians were all idealists to some degree or another, always secretly believing in the literal existence of infinities, numbers, and tortured geometries. Witter was no exception.

He shook his head and smiled. "There's nothing in the memory, Bruno. See for yourself. Go ahead, punch it up!"

I leaned forward and punched in the order. Nothing came up. I went into search mode. Still nothing.

"We've left that universe behind," Witter said.

"It's got to be here," I said.

The screen remained blank.

"You erased the memory!" I shouted.

"I did not," he replied softly, and I knew he was telling the truth.

I glanced at the food cart; it winked out of existence. "Did you see that?" I asked.

"Bruno!" Witter shouted. "We've escaped a totalitarian cosmos. We're free!"

"Relatively," I said, shaken.

He was looking at me strangely, and I saw that both his eyes were now brown. As the AI-5 continued its endless run into a free infinity, I feared what we would find when we went outside... □

## NEWS ABOUT MEMBERS

- (20) Dong-In Bae sends New Year greetings to the Society from South Korea. He's been so busy, he hasn't had time to read the last newsletter, but hopes to do so during winter vacation. This semester he will lecture 12 hours a week, on 4 subjects.
- (21) Dan Bond -- responding to our inquiry -- has sent us a letter of a kind we don't expect to get very often:

*Holy Spirit Parish*



1396 Lynnhaven Parkway  
Virginia Beach, Virginia 23456-2798  
468-3600

January 17, 1985

Lee Eisler  
The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc.  
RD 1, Box 409  
Coonerburg, PA. 18036

Dear Lee:

Thanks for your letter of January 2, 1985. My ordination to the Catholic priesthood last May 12 completed my most recent, and I expect final, career change. I studied theology at St. Mary's in Baltimore from 1980 until 1984 when the requisite degrees were awarded.

Lee, I think you would appreciate my feeling that much of my life has been spent trying to identify points of contact between the ordinary human experience and the transcendental reality -- i.e., those special sacred moments in life when virtually every person is convinced something very important, and out of the ordinary, is happening. To a great extent, of course, these experiences depend upon the receptivity of the subject person -- our attitudes need to be open, not closed, trusting, not doubtful. Science is limited by its requirement of skeptical objectivity and cannot fully address these moments of subjective experience.

My approach and methodology has been a little unorthodox, Lee. After doing my philosophy studies at William & Mary I vowed in 1958 to climb out of my 15 year ivory tower disposition and to work actively in the life of the world. Until 1966 I worked in restaurant and resort hotel management. In 1966 I made a major switch of career to data-processing. I had first reviewed all the primary available literature on cybernetics. The next fourteen years I spent in another service sector, the Virginia Division of Motor Vehicles Information Services, as manager of research, of operations and as administrator of information systems. During all of this, my original priority was not lost and I became increasingly able to see for myself and to verify the reality of a part of the human condition which we are poorly equipped to talk about and communicate. Although the language used by the church often leaves much to be desired, it is at least in the process of changing its language and the church would offer me the best setting from which to speak about the subject and to act out the principles which are implied by it. Along the path certain mentors have had a profound effect on my studies; in particular Marshall McLuhan, Buckminster Fuller, Ivan Illich and Paolo Soleri. Each of these theologians, philosophers and men of the world reached conclusions about the more-than-ordinarily expressed human capabilities of all peoples. As Fuller would say, we are more than the mere sum of our parts, we have an omni-directional synergetically operative future in universe.

My present work in Holy Spirit parish at Virginia Beach is very satisfying and allows me to grow and expand still more, and in ways that I pray will be useful to others.



I am not certain, Lee that this story will be pertinent to the readers of the newsletter. I'll leave that evaluation to you. Print as much as you like.

I want you to know Lee that what I find fascinating about Russell is his restless energy, his clarity of thinking and expression, and his very human ability to be occasionally wrong — not to mention his somewhat more than human ability to admit his errors and accept himself. A good model.

Sincerely yours,

(Rev.) Dan Bond

(22) Alberto Donadio writes from Bogota, Colombia:

I work as an investigative reporter with El Tiempo, the leading newspaper in this country. The year I spent in Geneva (1979) working for the International Commission of Jurists is memorable to me. The ICJ is a small and very effective human rights organization. It is not as well known as Amnesty International, a behemoth in the human rights field, but it does marvelous work.

Last month I published a book called "Por que Cayo Jaime Michelsen?", on the exploits of Colombia's former top private banker, now a fugitive living in Key Biscayne, Florida. The book did very well: half the edition was sold in the first month of publication. Last year my first book, "Banqueros en el banquillo", also on banking scandals, was on the best-seller list for several weeks. Some 20 banks and finance companies have collapsed in Colombia since 1982 for reasons having to do with fraud and other forms of criminal mismanagement.

Lest you classify me as a millionaire author, let me point out that authors here make very little. It's not like in the U.S. I wish I could make a living writing books. Although the two I have written have been local best-sellers, I could hardly buy a used car with the royalties. Still, I have a contract to co-author a third book, on pesticides.

\* If any member reads Spanish and is improbably interested in banking scandals in Colombia, I'll be happy to mail him the books.

(23) Gladys Leithauser teaches English literature at UMichigan, and it rubbed off on her son, Brad. His first novel, "Equal Distance", just published by Knopf, got a lengthy, glowing review by Anatole Broyard (and the author's picture) in the NY Times Book Review (12/30/84, p.4). Cause for celebration.

(24) Nathan Salmon has been the recipient of the 1984 Gustave O. Arlt Award in the Humanities, a considerable honor, as indicated by the letter from The Council of Graduate Schools in the United States (next page).

REPORTS FROM OFFICERS

(25) Treasurer Dennis J. Darland reports:

For the quarter ending 12/31/84:

Balance on hand (9/30/84).....	2425.97
Income: 17 new members.....	230.44
2 renewals.....	35.00
total dues.....	265.44
contributions.....	15.00
sales of RSN, bookx, etc.....	107.70
total income.....	388.14
	2814.11
Expenditures: Information & Membership Committees.....	2095.77
BRS Library.....	131.70
total spent.....	2227.47
Balance on hand (12/31/84).....	586.64



The Council of Graduate Schools in the United States  
One Dupont Circle, N.W. Suite 430 Washington, D.C. 20036-1173 Phone: 202/223-3791

Page Two  
Professor Nathan Salmon  
October 19, 1984

October 19 1984

Professor Nathan U. Salmon  
Department of Philosophy  
University of California, Santa Barbara  
Santa Barbara, California 93106

Dear Professor Salmon:

It is a great pleasure to inform you that you have been designated as recipient of the 1984 Gustave O. Arlt Award in the Humanities.

As you may know, the Gustave O. Arlt Award is given each year to a young scholar teaching in the humanities at an American university who has earned the doctorate within the past five years and who has published a book deemed to be of outstanding scholarly significance. The Award Committee was unanimous in its decision that your book *Reference and Essence* published by the Princeton University Press in 1982 clearly met the criteria for scholarly excellence.

You might be interested in some short quotes from supporting letters that were received by the Committee.

"It is, in my opinion, the best explication and examination of the theory of direct reference and its philosophical implications that has been written."

"I sincerely believe that Salmon's work will turn out to be one of the most important contributions to this area of research to appear in this decade."

"...the subtlety of Salmon's nuanced and sophisticated argument is unmatched by writers on similar topics who are Salmon's seniors by many years."

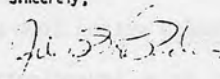
"Philosophically, the book is of great importance and the scholarship is impeccable."

"In my view, Salmon's book shows the mastery, clarity and judgment of a senior scholar combined with the enthusiasm and creativity of youth. Both substantively and methodologically *Reference and Essence* moves the discussion of reference and of essence to a new and higher plane."

The Award itself consists of a suitably inscribed certificate, a check for \$1,000 and a formal presentation made at the Annual Meeting of the Council of Graduate Schools of the U.S. This meeting will take place December 5-8, 1984 at the Capital Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. and the presentation of the Arlt Award will be made a lunch on Friday, December 7. The travel expenses you incur in attending this meeting will be reimbursed by the Council of Graduate Schools.

It was a pleasure to talk to you on the telephone and inform you firsthand of this Award. I will look forward to meeting you in December.

Sincerely,

  
Jules B. Lapidus  
President

JBL/ljs  
cc: Arlt Award Committee  
Victoria Frankin, UCLA  
David Simonett, University of California  
Santa Barbara  
Herbert Bailey, Director  
Princeton University Press

AMBA:  
Conference of Southern Graduate Schools  
Midwestern Association of Graduate Schools

Northeastern Association of Graduate Schools  
Western Association of Graduate Schools

#### CONTRIBUTIONS

- (26) Fourth Quarter Results. If you want to see how we are doing -- as givers -- take a look at the Treasurer's Report (25). There you will see a figure of \$15 for contributions. \$15 is not the average contribution per member. It is the grand total of all contributions from all members for the 3-month period ending December 31st. A grand total of \$15. It sets a record: the wrong kind.

Can we not do better?

Don't we need to?

Think about it. No psychic numbing, please.

- \* No contribution is too small to be useful. We also welcome large contributions.

Thanks.

## BR ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

- (27) JFK to BR, during the Cuban missile crisis (with our thanks to Don Jackanicz and the National Archives and Records Service, Kennedy Library, Boston):

October 26, 1962

Lord Bertrand Russell  
Penrynysudraeth  
Merioneth County  
Wales, England

I am in receipt of your telegrams.

We are currently discussing the matter in the United Nations. While your messages are critical of the United States, they make no mention of your concern for the introduction of secret Soviet missile weapons into Cuba. I think your attention might well be directed to the burglars rather than to those who have caught the burglars.

John F. Kennedy

Al Seckel discusses this response by JFK to BR's telegrams, in the latest "Russell" (Winter 1984-85).

## BR INTERVIEWED

- (28) BR at 80 This is a transcript of the Romney Wheeler interview, as it appeared in Atlantic Monthly (August 1952, pp. 51-54). The BRS Library has the interview on film ("Bertrand Russell", RSN44-13), on VHS videotape, and on audio tape.

## A LIFE OF DISAGREEMENT

*An Interview with Bertrand Russell*

WHEELER. — Lord Russell, as you celebrate your eightieth birthday, we'd like you to tell us what you think you have learned and what you think you will never learn in your career as a philosopher.

RUSSELL. — Well, there are some things that I don't think I shall ever learn and indeed I hope I shall never learn. I don't wish to learn to change my hopes for the world. I am prepared to change my beliefs about the state of the world, but not my hopes. About that I wish to remain constant. I think we might call the subject of our talk "Eighty years of changing beliefs and unchanging hopes."

It's very difficult for anybody born since 1914 to realize how profoundly different the world is now from what it was when I was a child. The change

has been almost unbelievable. I try as best I can, despite my years, to get used to living in a world of atom bombs; a world where ancient empires vanish like morning mist, where we have to accustom ourselves to Asiatic self-assertion, the Communist menace. The world is altogether different from what it was when I was young. It's an extraordinarily difficult thing for an old man to live in such a world. I was born in 1872. My parents died when I was still an infant. And so I was brought up by my grandparents.

WHEELER. — Can you tell us something about your grandfather?

RUSSELL. — Yes. He was born in the early years of the French Revolution. He was a member of Parliament while Napoleon was on the throne.

As common with Fox, he thought English hostility to Napoleon was excessive, and he visited Napoleon in France. It was he who introduced the reform in England which started England on the road towards democracy. He was Prime Minister during the Crimean War, during the Revolutions of 1848. I remember him quite well. But as you can see, he belonged to an age that now seems rather remote.

The world in which I was young was a solid world, a world where all kinds of things that have now disappeared were thought to be going to last forever. It didn't dawn on people that they might cease. English people have certainly regarded English naval supremacy as a law of nature. Britannia ruled the waves. It didn't occur to us that that

might stop.

WHEELER. — Even with Bismarck?

RUSSELL. — Bismarck was regarded as a rascal and we thought of him as a sort of uneducated farmer. But it was assumed that the influence of Goethe and Schiller would gradually bring Germany back to a more civilized point of view. Moreover, we thought of Germany as only a land power — it had no navy; and in fact we weren't at all afraid of Germany. Political opinion was more favorable to Germany than it was to France at that time. Bismarck himself compared Germany and England to an elephant and a whale, each formidable in its own element but no danger to each other. That was how we felt. We were not afraid of Bismarck at all. It was thought that there was going to be ordered progress throughout the world. Gradually every country was going to take to parliaments. There was going to be a bicameral legislature and two parties and it was all going to be exactly like England everywhere all over the world.

My grandmother used to laugh because one time she said to the Russian Ambassador, "Perhaps some day you will have a parliament in Russia." He said, "God forbid, my dear Lady Russell." Except for the first word, the Russian Ambassador of the present day might give the same answer. But that was the assumption. It was all going to be orderly and all quite nice.

The atmosphere, apart from politics, was one of puritan piety — very great piety, very great austerity. We always had family prayers at eight, and before family prayers I had to do half an hour's practice at the piano, which I hated. Although there were eight servants in the house, the food was always of the utmost simplicity, and if there was anything at all nice, I was not allowed to have it because it was not good for children to eat nice things. For instance, there would be rice pudding and apple tart. The grownups had the apple tart and I had the rice pudding. There was extreme austerity in all those ways. My grandmother, until she was over seventy, would never sit in an armchair until after dinner. Never. It has almost gone out, that sort of austere living by well-to-do people, which in those days was very common.

WHEELER. — When did you get to Cambridge?

RUSSELL. — I got to Cambridge when I was eighteen, and that of course was a new world to me completely. I for the first time met people who, when I said anything that I really thought, didn't think it absurd. I had learned at home to say almost nothing about what I really thought. My people had a horror of philosophy which interested me, and they would say every time philosophy was mentioned: "Philosophy is summed up completely in these two questions. What is matter? Never mind. What is mind? No matter." And at about the sixtieth repetition of this remark I ceased to be amused by it. When I got to Cambridge it was a great comfort to me to find people who didn't regard philosophy as absurd, so that I was very, very happy when I first got to Cambridge. I quickly got to know a great many people who became my life-long friends. Most of them, I am sorry to say, are dead now, but those who are still alive are still my friends.

WHEELER. — You started with mathematics, didn't you, and then moved to philosophy?

RUSSELL. — That is so, yes. I did three years' mathematics and one year's philosophy at Cambridge. I had done only mathematics before going to Cambridge.

WHEELER. — What caused your interest in philosophy?

RUSSELL. — Well, two things — two very different things — caused my interest in philosophy. On the one hand, I wanted to understand the principles of mathematics. I observed that all the proofs of

mathematical propositions that were taught me were obviously fallacious. They didn't really prove what they said they did, and I wanted to know whether there is any truth in the world that is known. I thought, "If there is any, it probably is in mathematics, but not in mathematics as I have been taught it." So I tried to find out some truth there. The other thing that made me interested in philosophy was the hope I might find some basis for religious belief.

WHEELER. — And did you find it?

RUSSELL. — No. In the mathematical part of my hopes I was fairly satisfied, but in the other part no, not at all. For a time I found certain satisfaction in the Platonic eternal world of ideas, which has a sort of religious flavor, but then I came to the conclusion that that was nonsense and I was left without any satisfaction, except for my desires. It remains so. So that as far as that goes, philosophy proved a washout to me, but not as a technical basis for mathematics.

WHEELER. — Wasn't it about here that you entered into what you call a life of disagreements?

RUSSELL. — Yes. I disagreed first with my people both about mathematics and about philosophy. They cared only about virtue. Virtue, they said, was the only thing of importance in the world. Mathematics was unimportant because it had no ethical content, and philosophy was positively pernicious because they thought it undermined virtue. So that on that point I had a strong disagreement with my people. It was solved by my living among academic people who did not take that view, so that I got again into a circle of people among whom I was quite at home.

But that was brought to an end by the first World War, when I took a pacifist line. I was against the first war. I was not against the second. Some people think that this is an inconsistency, but it isn't. I never, during the first war, said that I was against all war. I said I was against that war. And I still hold that view. I think the first war was a mistake. I think if that hadn't happened, you would not have had Communists, you would not have had the Nazis, you would not have had the second World War, you would not have had the threat of the third. The world would have been a very much better place, I think. Germany at the time of the Kaiser was not uncivilized. There was a certain amount of suppression of opinion, but less than there now is everywhere except in England and Scandinavia. So it really wasn't very bad. For propaganda purposes the Kaiser's government was represented as dreadful, but that was only talk. It wasn't really true.

WHEELER. — Your opinions today in regard to Russia are not altogether friendly. Did you always feel that way about the Bolsheviks?

RUSSELL. — Yes, and that caused another violent disagreement. Owing to my pacifism during the first war, I had become estranged from what you might call conventional people, and then I went to Russia in 1920 and found that I abominated the Soviet government. They were dreadful people — dreadful people already and becoming more so. I then had to break with all people who had endured my pacifism who liked Russia, or thought they did, so that I was left in a great isolation at that time. However, I escaped some of the pain of it by going to China, where I spent a very happy year. I liked the Chinese very much, and there I found people that I could agree with, that I could like.

WHEELER. — Any conclusions about China?

RUSSELL. — Oh, I don't know about conclusions. I don't think I came to any particular conclusions. I continued to think as I had thought before, that democracy is the best form of government where it

will work. It didn't work very well in China. It wasn't working at all. And one could see that it wouldn't work there. They hadn't the political experience. But I thought it would work there in time and I dare say it would have if circumstances had been a little more propitious.

WHEELER. — On your return, the focus of your interest changed, did it not?

RUSSELL. — Yes, owing to the birth of my two elder children, I became very much interested in education — especially, at first, education in the very early years. I didn't altogether like the progressive schools, though in some respects I thought them much better than the older ones. But there are some things about progressive schools, at least about most progressive schools, that I didn't feel were right. I thought they didn't pay enough attention to instruction. It seems to me that in our technically complex world you cannot play any important part unless you have a very considerable amount of actual knowledge, and I don't think that most children will acquire much knowledge unless there is a certain amount of discipline in the school. I think the real discipline required for acquiring knowledge ought to be insisted upon and isn't sufficiently insisted upon in a good many modern schools that I know.

WHEELER. — Did you change any of your opinions in that regard?

RUSSELL. — I suppose to some degree. I tried running a school of my own because I wasn't satisfied with other schools. I haven't the talents of an administrator and I wasn't satisfied with the school that I tried to run. Fortunately just about that time a certain modern school that I was interested in became, I thought, quite good enough, and I was satisfied with that. I have, I suppose, changed my opinions, not only about education, but about many things, as a result of seeing what people do.

I think that freedom is not a panacea for all things. I think there are a good many matters in which freedom should be restrained, some of them matters in which it is not sufficiently restrained at present. In the relations between nations there ought to be less freedom than there is. To some degree this applies to modern education too. I think that some progressive schools certainly have more freedom than they ought to have. There are some freedoms that I think are desirable in education. Now in the old-fashioned school, if a child uses a swear word, it is thought worse than if he commits an unkind action, and that seems absurd.

I think that the unkind action matters more. In that sort of way I don't like the old-fashioned way. I also think that children should be free to explore the facts of life to a degree that they're not allowed in an old-fashioned way. I think there should be free speech. There are a number of things that I like very much about modern education: but both in education and in other matters, I think freedom must have very definite limitations — for example, when things that are definitely harmful to other people are involved, or things, such as lack of knowledge, that prevent you yourself from being useful. Those are respects in which I suppose I should lay less stress on freedom than in former times.

WHEELER. — Do you still believe in the importance of abstract philosophy?

RUSSELL. — That's a very difficult question. I have myself a passion for clarity and exactness and sharp outlines. For some reason that I never understood, that makes people think that I have no passions, that I am a cold fish. I don't know why, but it does cause people to think so. I don't myself think that's altogether just. That's neither here nor there. But I do like clarity and exact thinking and I believe they are very important to mankind, because when you allow yourself to think inexactly, your prejudices, your bias, your self-interest, come

in in ways you don't notice, and you can do bad things without knowing that you're doing them. Self-deception is very easy. For that reason, I do think clear thinking is immensely important. But I don't think philosophy in the old-fashioned sense is quite the thing the world needs nowadays. I think the needs of the world are different.

WHEELER. — Just what do you feel today's needs are?

RUSSELL. — Needs depend, of course, on what a person's capacities are. But if I were now at this moment a young man, whether in England or in America, I should not take to philosophy. I should think there were other things better to take to. If I had the necessary capacity, I think I would be a physicist. If my capacities didn't run in that direction, I should think that history, psychology — mass psychology especially — theory of politics, things of that sort, would be much better to work at than pure philosophy. And it's that sort of thing that I should take to if I were now young.

WHEELER. — Lord Russell, what do you think the world needs to reach this happier state?

RUSSELL. — I think there are three things that are needed if the world is to adapt itself to the industrial revolution. The troubles we are suffering now are essentially troubles due to adapting ourselves to a new phase of human life — namely, the industrial phase; and I think three things are necessary if people are to live happily in the industrial phase. One of these is world government. The second is an approximate economic equality between different parts of the world. And the third is a nearly stationary population. I'd like to say a little about each of those.

As to world government. The world government should be, of course, a federal government, leaving a very great deal of freedom to the individual national governments, with only those things controlled by the world government which are absolutely necessary for the avoidance of war. The most important and the most difficult of these is armed forces. All the important weapons of war will have to be in the hands of the international government and of it alone. When that happens, war will become practically impossible; and if war were impossible, mankind could go ahead. If war is not impossible, every advance in scientific technique means an advance in mass murder and is therefore undesirable. But if world peace were once achieved, the situation would be just the opposite.

Now I come on to the question of approximate economic equality. As things stand at present, Western Europe and still more the United States of America have high standards of life. On the whole, the great majority of their people live fairly comfortably from the material point of view. Asia, on the other hand, lives in very great poverty. So does most of Africa. And the moment people are sufficiently educated to be aware of these facts, the inevitable result is a great development of envy in the poorer parts of the world. That envy is the cause of unrest and inevitably makes world peace precarious. The only way of dealing with it is to produce approximate economic equality. Of course it's a long story, but it can be done.

The third point, about population, is very vital indeed. The food supply of the world tends at present to diminish through the denudation of the soil. It also tends to increase through various technical advances; but those two about balance, so that on the whole food produce, as it were, does not increase appreciably. That means that unless everybody is to be very poor, there must be not more people to be fed, not many more, than there are now, and therefore you have got to get approximate equality of population and approximately stationary population. Otherwise those parts of the world where the population increases fast will want to go to war with those where it increases slowly.

WHEELER. — That raises the problem of Asia.

RUSSELL. — Well, Asia first of all has risen to the point of education — some Asians have — where it is not prepared any longer to be subservient to the white man. It hasn't noticed that Russians are white. If it had, it would have taken a different line, but it seems to think that Russians are yellow or black or some other color, and I think our propaganda ought to be mainly devoted to saying only Russians also are white. I believe that would be the effective propaganda to use in Asia, but

I'll pass that point by. Asia clearly is going to equality with the white man, and it's perfectly futile, absolutely futile, for the white man to resist that game. It will infallibly win — infallibly — and we ought to concede it graciously at once before we are driven to it to concede complete equality to Asia. But if Asia is not to overwhelm the rest of the world with a vast flood of population and poverty, Asia must live up to its responsibilities

and must learn the sort of thing we have learned in the West, which is how to maintain a roughly stationary population. If they can't learn that (and I fully believe they can learn and learn quickly, much more quickly than people think) they will not have won their claim to equality.

WHEELER. — Lord Russell, speaking as of today, can you see the influence of any one philosopher more than any other one?

RUSSELL. — I suppose in recent years the most important influence has been Marx — if you can dignify him with the name of philosopher. I should hardly like to dignify him so myself, but I suppose he must count in the list and he certainly has had more influence than anybody else.

WHEELER. — For those of us who reject Marx, can you offer any positive philosophy to help us toward a more hopeful future?

RUSSELL. — Well, you see, I think one of the troubles of the world has been the habit of dogmatically believing something or other, and I think all these matters are full of doubt and the rational man will not be too sure that he is right. I think that we ought always to entertain our opinions with some measure of doubt. I shouldn't wish people dogmatically to believe any philosophy, not even mine. No, I think that we should accept our philosophies with a measure of doubt. What I do think is this: that if a philosophy is to bring happiness, it should be inspired by kindly feeling. Marx pretended that he wanted the happiness of the proletariat. What he really wanted was the unhappiness of the bourgeois, and it was because of that negative element, because of that hate element, that his philosophy produced disaster. A philosophy which is to do good must be one inspired by kindly feeling and not by unkindly feeling.

WHEELER. — Summing up, Lord Russell, do you feel there is hope for the world today?

RUSSELL. — Yes, I do. I feel it very strongly, but how far that is a rational conviction, if one is temperamental, I can't say. I do most strongly feel that there is hope. There may be very dreadful times ahead of us, I dare say there are, but I still believe, I believe most firmly, that through whatever pain and suffering, mankind will emerge from these dreadful things and will emerge into some world that will be happier than any world that has existed in the past. I am firmly persuaded of that. What I don't know is how long it will take.

#### REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES

##### (29) Philosophers Committee (David E. Johnson, Chairman):

The BRS's annual session -- at the Eastern Division meeting of the American Philosophical Association -- was held on December 28th, at 10 a.m., in the New York Hilton Hotel.

David Johnson, of the Naval Academy, chaired the session. The paper was delivered by Professor Russell Wahl of Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. The commentator was Professor Justin Leiber of the University of Houston.

Professor Wahl explored two questions: Whether it is really correct to say a person can have merely descriptive knowledge of a thing, and whether truths can be known about things known only by description.

He argued that Russell's original intention in introducing the notion of knowledge by description was to account for the possibility that truths could be known about things with which one is not acquainted. This is the case despite some of Russell's later claims that such things as Piccadilly, physical objects and other things which are known only by description are really logical constructions of things known

by acquaintance. Far from being a consequence of the position in "On Denoting" and "Knowledge by Acquaintance, Knowledge by Description," this more constructivist view actually conflicts with it in some respects.

Professor Leiber had few critical comments, asking instead whether or not Russell just changed his view, on what we can be acquainted with, from his position in The Principles of Mathematics. Further, Leiber asked whether, in "On Denoting", Russell was just using "Scott" illustratively, and not as a genuine proper name. Wahl responded that by 1911 Russell had changed his view on acquaintance, but not on whether knowledge is only of objects of acquaintance. The exchange by the principals was followed by lively discussion from the floor.

Professor Johnson then spoke about a problem these Russell Society sessions (now in their 11th year) were having. He found it hard to understand why so few papers were being submitted — at a time when people are looking for employment and/or trying to become tenured.

There was a discussion about whether or not to change the format, with the consensus being that formal papers with discussion was the preferred style.

\* Deadline for submission of papers is May 15th for the meeting the following December. Members of the Society are encouraged to submit papers or to encourage friends engaged in Russell scholarship to do so.

The session ended with concluding remarks by Professor Leiber, titled "The Responsibility of the Profession: the Case of Russell and Wittgenstein". Leiber argued that for him Russell is a better model of how a philosopher should be engaged in the world (for instance, going to jail for his convictions), whereas Wittgenstein represents a danger that our profession faces (namely turning inward from the larger world.) What the profession has done is to treat Wittgenstein much more favorably than Russell, to the extent of developing a personality cult around the former. Leiber also discussed the personal relations between the two men, stressing how Russell repeatedly went to bat for Wittgenstein and in turn was treated shabbily by Wittgenstein. These remarks provoked a lively discussion, which carried the group to the end of the two-hour session.

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FOR SALE

(30) Books:

BOOKS FOR SALE FROM THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY LIBRARY

- This list and prices are current as of January, 1985. The discounts given provide considerable savings, especially for certain titles which are often difficult to locate.
- Prices include postage and other shipping costs.
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Each of these publications is a bargain. All are in short supply.

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Orders should be addressed to: McMaster University, Mills Memorial Library, 1280 Main St. West, Hamilton, Ontario, L8S 4L6. Prices are in Canadian dollars, payable to McMaster University Library Press.

- (31) 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." \$6 for 90 sheets, postpaid. Order from the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.

## NEW MEMBERS

- (32) We are pleased to welcome these new members:

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(33)

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## ABOUT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

- (34) The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, which was founded by BR to work for peace and human rights, is asking for some help in dealing with its annual deficit. Here is how Ken Coates puts it:

Founding President: the Earl Russell, OM, FRS (1872-1970)

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 The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Ltd.
 

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Bertrand Russell House,  
 Gamble Street,  
 Nottingham NG7 4ET,  
 England (Reg. Office)  
 Reg. No. 891690 (England)  
 Telephone: 0502 734504  
 Cables: Russfound Nottingham

2nd November, 1984.

*Dear Mr. Fisher,*

As an admirer of Bertrand Russell, we think you will not mind receiving this letter, which comes from the Foundation which he established in 1963.

It has been no easy task to carry on Russell's work for peace and disarmament in the years which have followed his death. The arms race has run away with the two great nuclear powers, so that the number of nuclear weapons now emplaced around the world outnumbers even the wildest fears of 1970. The worsening of relations between East and West is accompanied by growing conflicts within the bloc systems themselves. As a result of the efforts of the non-aligned countries, the 1978 Special Session of the United Nations did make workable proposals for nuclear disarmament, but all of these were nullified last year when, at the Second Special Session in New York, the nuclear powers were able to reverse engines away from any kind of disarmament.

At the beginning of this decade, the Russell Foundation helped to launch an Appeal for European Nuclear Disarmament, which has brought together all the major peace movements in Europe, and very representative groupings from the United States as well. As a result of this work, the Russell Foundation is in demand all over the world, and finds that its telephone and communications bills increase at the same moment that its income is being reduced. Although we have accumulated a quite remarkable range of contacts and expertise, we find ourselves in the situation that there is a shortfall in our income of approximately £20,000 each year. If we can't meet this shortfall, we shall have to cut back our operations at precisely the moment when they are becoming more effective than ever before. This would be a desperately bad service to the memory of our founder.

\* Can you help us? Any donations will be very gratefully received. If you could undertake a regular annual donation, this would be even more useful, in enabling us to budget sensibly.

If you would like to have further information about the Foundation, or lists of our publications and activities, please do not hesitate to write. We will be delighted to answer any of the questions which may occur to you.

Yours sincerely,

*Ken Coates*  
 Ken Coates



- (35) Hemlock Society's newsletter, "Hemlock Quarterly" (January 1985) includes an article on the Koestler double suicide, "Why Cynthia Joined Arthur." (PO Box 66218, Los Angeles, CA 90066-0218)
- (36) National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee ran this ad in the (Sunday)New York Times Review of the Week (2/3/85, 21E, op ed page). The ad was somewhat larger than shown here.

## THE WORLD COURT AND THE RIGHT TO KNOW

### *An Open Letter to the American People*

In his Inaugural Address January 20 President Reagan spoke eloquently of the great American ideals that he and his fellow-citizens must strive to uphold. Yet only two days previously the President had directed that the U.S. Government take no further part in the World Court proceedings dealing with Nicaragua's suit against the United States for violating international law by supporting paramilitary attacks by rebels in Nicaragua and by mining its harbors. This dishonorable boycott of the World Court betrays America's historic ideals for international peace and for the rule of law throughout the world. President Reagan is clearly a man of many contradictions.

As Anthony Lewis states in his excellent article on Presidential powers without accountability (*New York Times* Op-Ed Jan. 21), "The Reagan Administration feared that the court proceeding would bring out the facts of its aid to terrorist activities and focus attention on its violation of treaties." Thus the U.S. withdrawal from World Court jurisdiction means that President Reagan is again trying to avoid accountability by concealing the truth and is violating the American people's basic civil liberty, *the right to know*.

Corlles Lamont, *Chairperson*  
Edith Tiger, *Director*  
Leonard B. Boudin, *General Counsel*

### National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10160

(212) 673-2040

#### NEWSLETTER MATTERS

- (37) Copyright. We've changed our mind about the desirability of copyright for the newsletter. We don't want to stop others from using newsletter material. We'd like others to use it. We copyrighted the last issue (RSN44), but we will not copyright this issue or future issues.

## BOOK REVIEWS

- (38) Theory of Knowledge by Bertrand Russell. The 1913 manuscript, edited by Elizabeth Ramsden Eames in collaboration with Kenneth Blackwell. Allen & Urwin, 1984. 258p ill (The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell, 7) Reviewed by Marvin Kohl, SUNY College at Fredonia. (CHOICE Jan '85 Philosophy)

Russell never completed this book, and of the 16 chapters he did complete saw fit to publish only the first 6. The major virtues of this resurrected book are the almost paradigmatic way Russell proceeds to justify his claim that some beliefs are self-evident; his useful, often brilliant characterizations of the nature of human understandings, belief, and knowledge by acquaintance; and Elizabeth Eames introduction which provides both an overview of Russell's epistemological development and an explanation of why he did not complete the manuscript. But one reason why it may be of limited contemporary interest is that many empiricists now hold that intuitive self-evidence of nonlogical beliefs cannot possibly be claimed to yield indubitable knowledge. CHOICE urged (Apr '84) that Volume 1 was essential for all college collections and highly recommended it for general libraries who wished to have a partial autobiography and other fascinating information about a man who is clearly one of the greatest, if not the greatest, intellectual, of our century. This reviewer still thinks that the collection as a whole should prove to be a major editorial achievement. But for libraries limited to purchasing individual volumes, the present book is recommended only for graduate collections.

## CREATIONISM

- (39) From the Washington Post (11/24/84, p. A11):

## In School, Science Seems to Be Leading Creationism

*'It Looks as if the Tide Has Turned,' Evolutionist Says*

By Bryce Rensberger  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Even though the theory of evolution continues to prompt vigorous controversies among scientists, most of its backers agree that they seem to be winning their battle against religious creationism.

Despite attempts by religious fundamentalists to force the teaching of biblical creationism in public schools, advocates of evolution theory say that no state still enforces such laws.

"It looks as if the tide has turned," said Karl Fezer, who edits a pro-evolution newsletter that circulates among a growing number of scientists and others fighting creationism.

Fezer, a biology professor at Concord College in Athens, W.Va., and others credit the turnaround to two factors.

One was a Supreme Court decision that declared Arkansas' so-called equal-time law unconstitutional. In that case, the court

agreed with the American Civil Liberties Union, which had filed suit, that a state law requiring schools to teach biblical creationism illegally favored one religion. The court also ordered the state to pay ACLU's court costs.

The decision cost Arkansas about \$500,000, a factor evolutionists say may have discouraged other states from passing "equal-time" laws and facing similar suits, despite mounting pressure from the religious right.

The second factor has been a reversal in the fortunes of scientists who volunteer to debate creationists in public forums.

For many years, creationists challenged evolutionists to debate them before college audiences and community groups.

"The scientists who volunteered to take them on usually figured it would be easy to beat somebody who was just quoting the Bible," Fezer said. As it turned out, the creationists were skilled debaters with well-honed lines of argumentation that the scientists could not

immediately counter. By their own admission, the evolutionists were roundly beaten in the minds of the spectators.

When it became apparent that such forums helped sway public opinion, several scientists elected to study the creationist positions and prepare the documentation needed to refute them. They proved successful, winning more and more debates.

"The creationists aren't so interested in debating anymore," Fezer said.

Evolutionists also point to a more concrete victory. The state school board in Texas, a bastion of religious fundamentalism, was declared unconstitutional by the state attorney general and replaced by a board more receptive to the teaching of evolution. The move followed a report critical of the quality of public education in Texas by a commission headed by industrialist Ross Perot.

The new board recently completed its selection of textbooks for use by the state's schools. Of the five biology texts approved, none

offers a word about biblical creation.

"This was a real turnaround," said Wayne Moyer of People for the American Way, a Washington-based organization active in textbook censorship cases. "For the first time, we felt that science was on the inside and creationism was on the outside."

Moyer and Fezer said that although organized creationism is less conspicuous, many of its advocates remain active on local school boards.

Moyer said this pressure was being met by growing numbers of citizen groups protesting textbook censorship to local school boards. Moyer said his organization has more than 120,000 members nationwide.

"All in all, I would say the situation is markedly better than it was just a couple of years ago," he said. "Schools are getting back to teaching science as science."

## BOOK REVIEWS

- (40) Rowse doesn't like Russell. From the Wall Street Journal (1/15/76), a review of "The Life of Bertrand Russell" by Ronald W. Clark, "The Tamarisk Tree" by Dora Russell, and "My Father, Bertrand Russell" by Katharine Tait. With thanks to Paul Garwig. Reviewer: A. L. Rowse.

These three books under review give us all, and rather more than all, that one needs to arrive at a proper estimate of the life and work of Bertrand Russell, one of the supposed sages of our time. But why should anyone have supposed him a sage? That is the problem. Why should people have been so ready to follow anyone so obviously erratic, so wrong-headed and irresponsible in every sphere in which he pontificated?

Wherein lay the appeal? That question is easier to answer. Russell had all the appeal of extreme intellectual vivacity, sparkling intelligence and wit, a naughty sense of fun, an irresistible charm for women. He was tremendously good company, never a dull moment with him all his 98 years -- what a record! -- as these witnesses testify. Whatever one thinks of Russell's views and his record, this makes him fascinating to read about.

Mr. Clark's is, in a sense, the official biography based on the immense Russell archive and all the sources -- some 2000 letters to Lady Ottoline Morrell alone -- and yet the interest never flags. Mr. Clark's portrait of the man and narrative of the extraordinary career are fair and reliable: he presents Russell as Oliver Cromwell wished to be painted, "warts and all." The other two books, by Russell's second wife Dora, and their daughter Kate, corroborate the picture. The young Girton don at Cambridge (Eng.), upon whom Bertie pressed marriage in the hope (fulfilled) of having children, has not always presented a dignified front to the world -- I remember her speaking at Oxford in the last stage of pregnancy -- but her autobiography gives a much better impression: courageous and gallant, generous, full of spirit and spunk. Evidently, from her Bertie got as much as he gave: he met his match. Their daughter's book -- a convert to Christianity, after all -- tells the story of the effect of all this free-thinking, of modernist theorizing about morals and society, upon the progeny in spreading unhappiness, alarm and despondency all around.

One can appreciate the fun and stimulus, even the charm, of Bertie's company, provided one did not have to live with it. But why regard him as a sage, a reliable guide or mentor in regard to anything?

The author of "The Conquest of Happiness" simply created much unhappiness for others. As the second most important woman in his life -- after Ottoline -- his mistress for years, Lady Constance Malletson, wrote: "A man exhausting other men by his intellect; exhausting women by his intensity; wearing out his friends; sucking them dry, passing from person to person, never giving any real happiness -- or finding any." (I hope he found it, all passion spent, in his eighties and nineties.)

The author of guides to "Marriage and Morals," and the education of children, admitted in his autobiography that he had "failed as a parent" and that he was "blinded by theory."

"Anybody could have told me this in advance," he says blithely; there he puts his finger on the source of the trouble -- but of course he would never take telling, he remained as cocksure and arrogant as before, though convicted again and again of having been wrong.

Bertrand Russell is the most outstanding example in our time of the wrong-headedness of doctrinaires and the damage they can do. He was wrong over the first German war -- though he never admitted it -- as his change of front over appeasement and the second German war showed. Of course he was in favor of peace, but why should that have been crowned by a Nobel Prize? We are all in favor of peace, some of us more so than Russell, who advocated a war against Russia, taking advantage of the nuclear bomb at the time, and then said he had forgotten all about it! Why take the political views of such a man seriously?

He was completely wrong about Cuba, as President Kennedy brought home to him: "Your attention might well be directed to the burglars rather than to those who have caught the burglars."

Russell's original reputation was made in mathematical logic and analytical philosophy: he should have stuck to those -- but they did not qualify him as any guide in morals or politics, history or sociology. For one thing, arrogant aristocrat as he was -- as these books bring out -- he did not understand human beings very well. So he was the last person to provide for their well-being -- a mixture of genius and folly, little ordinary common sense.

No philosopher myself, I begin to have my doubts as to the value of the philosophy when Russell himself lays down, "The belief that metaphysics has any bearing on practical affairs, is a proof of logical incapacity." He himself regarded the 10 years that he and Whitehead spent on "Principia Mathematica" as a blind alley, leading nowhere. The philosopher Broad pointed out that Russell changed his philosophy every three years or so. And a young Oxford critic has summed up that Russell left no philosophical masterpiece, "but, instead, umpteen flawed and superseded books."

Then why did they give him a Nobel Prize? I can only suppose from the leftist slant vitiating that award. I can think of far better candidates: Robert Frost and Samuel Eliot Morison, for poetry and history. Those are at any rate real subjects.

As a Cornishman I cannot but be pleased by the lyrical enthusiasm Russell and his family felt for their

home in Cornwall, by the coast near Land's End. They all have nostalgic descriptions of summer days there, bathing in those paradisaical beaches they had very much to themselves in those days before trippers and coachloads of tourists. All the same it is significant that the Russells never made any real contact with Cornish people or the life of Cornwall going on outside their ken. Somehow, wherever they were, they were outsiders, doctrinaire foreigners, alienated from the common stream of humanity -- yet always prepared to lay down the law about it.

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CONTRIBUTIONS

- (41) Recent contributors will be acknowledged in the next issue (RSN46). Sorry about the delay, which is due to a computer foul-up.
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