The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc.* 3802 North Kenneth Avenue Chicago Illinois 60641

RUSSELL SOCIETY NEWS
No. 42
May 1984

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ANNUAL MEETING (1984)

(2) The time, June 21-24. The BRS Annual Meeting is timed to coincide with a Conference on Russell at Trinity College, Toronto. The Conference is jointly sponored by the Russell Editorial Project (at McMaster University), The Higher Education Group, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, and The Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology (at University of Toronto).

The Conference is titled:"Bertrand Russell: His Early Technical Work". Last year's Conference, at McMaster University, was on Russell's non-technical ("humanistic") writings.

The Program. The Conference begins with a reception on Thursday evening, June 21st. There will be 9 or 10 talks on Friday and Saturday, starting at 10 A.M; and a panel discussion Sunday noon, the 24th. W.V.O. Quine will speak at the banquet Friday evening, at the U. of T. Faculty Club.

Some expected participants, and their topics:

Sir Alfred Ayer	Panel Discussion
I. Grattan Guinness	Russells Logical Manuscripts
Alastair Urghart	Russell's Ramified Theory of Types
Nick Griffin	The Proposed Encyclopedia of the Sciences
Bob Tully	Neutral Monism
Joan Richards	The Foundations of Geometry
Michael Bradie	Russell's Scientific Realism
Daniel O'Leary	Propositional Logic in the Principia

The BRS Meeting will be held Saturday evening at 7:30, when no Conference talks are scheduled.

Costs. The Conference fee of $45 (Can), $35 (U.S.) covers talks, coffee breaks, Friday night banquet, and Saturday lunch. (Other meals are available at Trinity's Buttery Cafeteria and at public restaurants on Bloor Street, within a few blocks of Trinity.) Single rooms are $23 (Can),$18 (U.S.) per night; a limited number of single rooms and double rooms are available at $15 (Can),$12 (U.S.) per night per person. Rates include linens, tax, etc. These figures may change somewhat, depending on the rate of exchange on June 21st, but are suitable as deposits.

To make a reservation, do 4 things: (1) Have a check or money order for the Conference fee — $45 (Can),$35 (U.S.) — made out to OISE (Russell Conference '84). (2) Have a check or money order for one night's lodging — $23 (Can),$18 (U.S.) or $15 (Can), $12 (U.S.) — payable to Trinity College. (3) Specify which nights you want the room (Thursday? Friday? Saturday>? Sunday?) (4) Send it all to Professor Ian Winchester/OISE, Suite9-196/ 252 Bloor St. West/Toronto, Ontario/ Canada M5S 1V6.

How to get there: Like the old recipe for rabbit stew which starts,"First catch your rabbit..." we are saying,"First get to Toronto Airport." There are 3 ways of getting to Trinity College from the Airport:

(1) Gray Coach bus,Airport to Islington Subway, fare $2.75. Take Islington Subway (90 cents), Bloor West Line, to St. George. Exit at Bedford Street end of station, walk one block south on Devonshire to Trinity College.

(2) Airport Limousine, to Trinity. $21 one way.

(3) Taxi, to Trinity. $22 (approx.) one way.

On arrival at Trinity College: Check in at the Porter's Office at the main entrance of the College facing south on Hoskin Avenue, up to 11 P.M. Trinity College consists of only 2 buildings, the older College itself, and the new Gerald Larkin Building (classrooms, offices, Buttery Cafeteria). See map on next page.

Come if you can!

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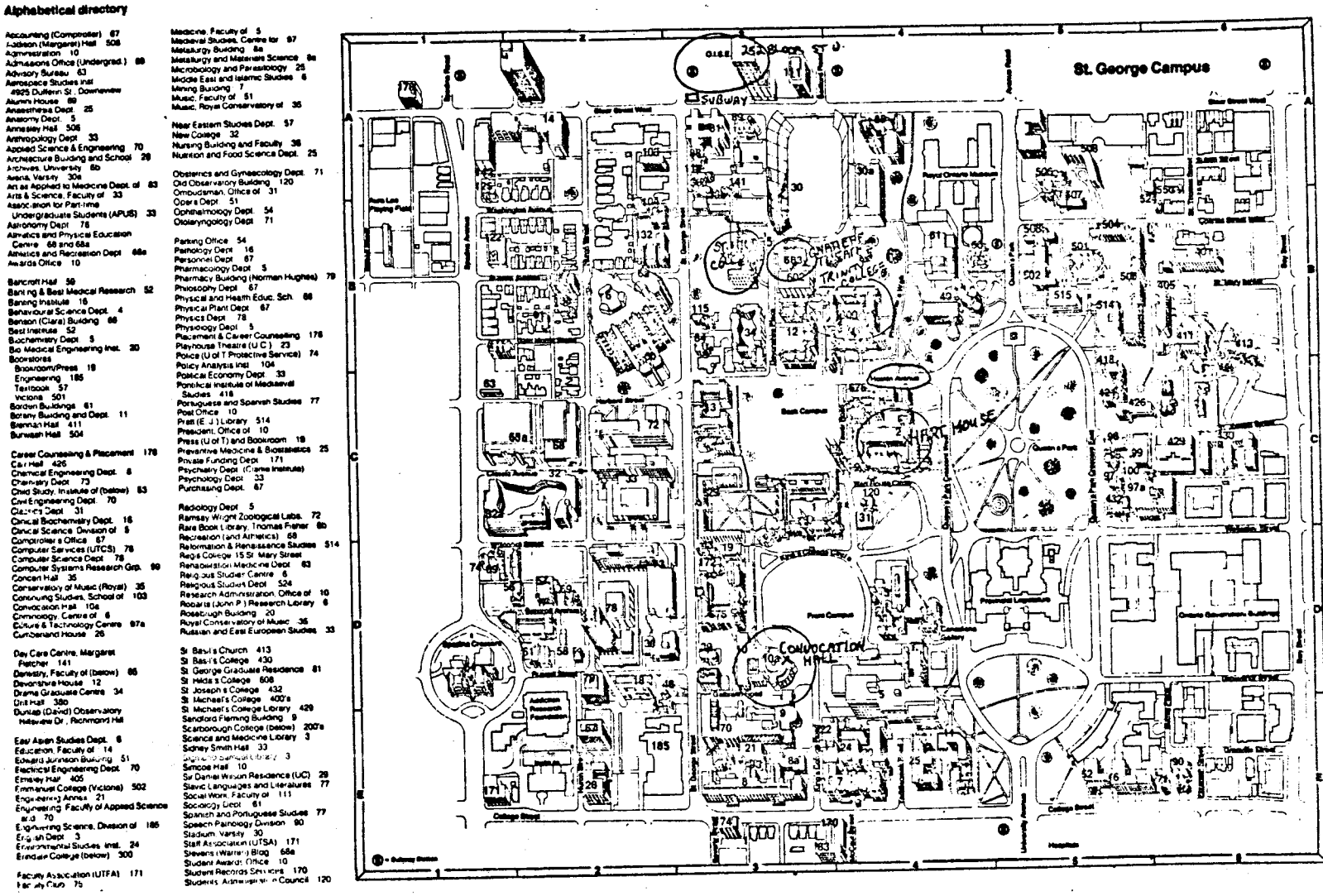
*Russell Society News, a quarterly (Lee Eisler,Editor): RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036
BRS Library: Jack Ragsdale, Librarian, 4461 23rd St., San Francisco, CA 94114

The University of Toronto



(3) Tax-deductible expenses. Some BRS members are entitled to deduct — on the federal income tax — the cost of travel, lodging and meals, to attend the Annual Meeting. These members fall into 2 groups: (a) professionals — including philosophers, educators, psychiatrists, psychologists, etc. — who benefit in the field of their professional competence through membership in the BRS; (b) essential members, whose presence is essential to the conduct of the Meeting. This includes Directors, who elect Officers at the meeting; Officers who conduct the meeting; Officers, Committee Chairmen and Committee Members who report to the Meeting. Keep receipts for your expenses, and a copy of the Meeting's program.

REPORTS FROM OFFICERS

(4) President Don Jackanicz reports:

Now is the time for all of us to be making travel plans for the June Toronto Russell Conference/BRS Annual Meeting. Last year's Meeting, which coincided with last year's Russell Conference (at McMaster University), was a good one, and we expect this to be a good one too. I earnestly suggest that every member consider making the trip, especially those who don't have to travel a great distance to get there. In past years, some members have crossed a continent or an ocean to participate; that's something that most of us — who don't live that far from Toronto -- ought to keep in mind.

Dora Russell's 1984 BRS Award acceptance letter appears elsewhere in this issue (34). We are pleased that the Award can be thought of as part of the celebration of her 90th Birthday. It was my unforgettable pleasure to have met her briefly in 1980 in London, at the at the unveiling of the BR bust in Red Lion Square. Those who want to learn more about this remarkable woman should read The Dora Russell Reader: 57 Years of Writing and Journalism, 1925-1982, London: Pandora Press, 1983. It contains 15 articles and excerpts from longer works on historical, political and feminist topics. As her acceptance letter says, she continues to write. I look forward to her next book.

American Humanist Association held its 1984 Annual Conference in Washington, April 20-22. I attended 2 sessions, and enjoyed being there, particularly for the following: (1) Presentation of awards to Stephen Jay Gould, paleontologist and evolutionary theorist, and Isaac Azimov, the celebrated polymath and author whose output long ago overtook Russell's in number of books published. Both men spoke eloquently yet humorously about their work and the menace of creationism. Asimov in particular endeared himself to a totally receptive audience by telling of the lengthy fundamentalist-oriented letters he often receives,explaining how he must renounce his views or suffer bitter after-death consequences. In response, Azimov jots off a terse postcard message quoting a powerful biblical passage stressing tolerance and humility. (2) A talk by Actor Dana Andrews on "How I Became A Humanist." Andrews, now 75, gave his autobiographical review, which interested me considerably because of both the philosophical and film-history references. (3) An hour long "Evening with Albert Einstein", in which Actor David Fenwick, appropriately costumed, presented a lecture which sometimes seemed to be taking place in 1950 when it wasn't in 1984. He did a convincing job, stressing Einstein's commitment, along with Russell's, to strive for peace in the nuclear age before it is too late.

(5) Treasurer Dennis J. Darland reports:

For the year ending 12/31/83:

Balance on hand (12/31/82)			521.35
Income:	90 new members	1517.50.	
	195 renewals	3842.48	
	total dues	5359.98	
	contributions	633.69	
	sales of RSN, books, stationery, etc.	295.90	
	total income	6289.57	6289.57
			6810.92
Expenditures:	Information and Membership Committees	2812.47	
	BRS Doctoral Grant	500.00	
	BRS Library	6.89	
	subscriptions to "Russell"	1442.00	
	bank charges	52.69	
	other	262.46	
	total spent	5076.51	5076.51
Balance on hand (12/31/85)			1734.41

For the quarter ending 3/31/84:

Balance on hand (12/31/83)			1734.41
Income:	20 new members	320.00	
	140 renewals	2851.60	
	sale of RSN, books, stationery,etc	89.28	
	total income	3628.88	3628.88
			5363.29
Expenditures:	Information and Membership Committees	1270.20	
	BRS Library	2.97	
	subscriptions to "Russell"	966.00	
	bank charges	3.91	
	other	66.61	
	total spent	2309.69	2309.69
Balance on hand (3/31/84)			3053.60

REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES

(6) Philosophers' Committee (David E. Johnson, Chairman):

The Philosophers' Committee sponsored a meeting in conjunction with the Eastern Division of the American Philosophical Association, in Boston on December 28, 1983, from 10 A.M. to noon. An average of 30 persons attended. One paper was read, and commented on, each hour of the meeting.

The first paper, "Russell on Names," was by Jane Duran of Hamilton College. She described a shift in Russell's views on names from the time of "The Philosophy of Logical Atomism" to An Inquiry Into Meaning and Truth. Russell shifted from the demonstratives "this" and "that" being names, to names picking out or referring to bundles of qualities. The difficulty of referring to something which

cannot be completely described in terms of percepts is obviated, and the problem of the continually changing designation of "this" vanishes. Sets of qualities and relations also satisfy the ontological requirements of contemporary science. The resulting epistemology involves the establishment of non-inferential propositions, i.e., first-person statements about percepts.

The commentator, Professor Fred Guy of University of Baltimore, argued that Russell could not rationally solve the problems he dealt with in epistemology, and in ethics acted on beliefs he could not show to be well-founded. Specifically, Guy argued that Russell's belief that the world does not depend on our awareness is shown to be irrational on his own methods. Much like some medieval philosophers, Russell's mind takes him so far, and then his beliefs take over. Guy proposed the following logical demonstration of his point: Naive realism leads to physics; if physics is true, naive realism is false; so if naive realism is true, it is false, and therefore false.

The second paper, by Douglas Lackey of Baruch College, CUNY, was titled,"Russell's Contribution to the Study of Nuclear War." He drew lessons both from what Russell said and from what he did not say. The gaps in Russell's treatment of the subject help us recognize the historic limitations of even the most enlightened mind. Russell's lapses here do not compare with Aristotle's defense of slavery, Hume's remarks on the imbecility of Negroes,Rousseau's condescensions about women, Hegel's rhapsodies about the purifying effects of war, or Heidegger's endorsement of the Nazi program. Russell's ideas about nuclear war occur in four phases:

I.The speech on nuclear war before the House of Lords on 28 November 1945 in which he predicted (i) that atomic weapons would soon become more destructive and cheaper to produce; (ii) that a fusion bomb would be constructed, and (iii) that the secret of the atomic bombs could not be kept.

II. 1946-48, the anti-Soviet phase with proposals for a preemptive nuclear strike against the Soviet Union.

III. 1949-1962, the even-handed denunciation of the Cold War ("in which Russell made an enduring contribution both to world peace and to the study of nuclear strategy"),

IV. The anti-American phase, from Cuban missile crisis in 1962 to Russell's death in 1970.

In Phase III, his great innovation was to compare the nuclear standoff and the Cold War with the game of Highway Chicken. His omission (in Common Sense And Nuclear War) was to overlook a decreased chance of nuclear war through development of mutual deterrence. Lackey then speculated about the applicationsm of the points in the 1915 essay, "War and Non-Resistance"to the contemporary nuclear scene and whether unilateral disarmament would be feasible on those terms.

The commentator was Douglas McLean of The Center for Philosophy and Public Policy at the University of Maryland. He deferred on Russell's exegesis and focused on (i) the analogy of the game of chicken, and (ii) some of the policy suggestions. McLean argued that "Chicken"was not as good an analogy for the present superpower standoff as the game,"Prisoner's Dilemma". In both, rationality undermines cooperation. On policy, McLean argued that, no nation desires a genuine international authority to secure peace. Further, an authority with strong enforcement powers looks as frightening as the world in which security is based on deterrence. Finally, unilateral nuclear disarmament depends on knowing whether or not the Soviet Union would be deterred from aggression against us by consequences other than nuclear retaliation — economic, political, and otherwise. McLeans' own "wild suggestion"was to sell Cruise Missiles to the Soviets "because, being mobile, they would be invulnerable to the dangers of a counterforce first strike potential. This would restore the currently threatened stability of classical deterrence that is the goal of the policy of mutual assured destruction. We could then proceed to try to achieve meaningful negotiations. "Failing that, he endorses unilateral reductions on a smaller scale.

ABOUT BR'S VIEWS

(7) Unilateral Disarmament according to Hook. In Sidney Hook's review of Cambridge Essays,1888-99 (RSN41-25), he quotes this statement by BR:

> I am for controlled nuclear disarmament but if the Communists cannot be induced to agree to it, then I am for unilateral disarmament even if it means the horrors of Communist domination.

We wrote Professor Hook, saying we had liked his review, and learned things we had never known before, including the Russell statement, above.

We asked him for the date of issue of the New York Times in which the statement appeared. Here is his answer:

> This sentence was not published in the New York Times. It was made to Joseph Alsop, the newspaper correspondent,and was the occasion of my exchanges with Bertrand Russell in the New Leader in 1958 which continued for some time...R. himself in the course of the correspondence acknowledges he made it but implies he was tricked into doing so and that I misunderstood his real intent.
>
> You may also be interested in my article,"Bertrand Russell: Portrait from Memory," in the March issue of ENCOUNTER MAGAZINE, LONDON. Your library probably subscribes to this magazine. If not, it should.
>
> P.S. You seem to be unaware of Ronald Clark's biography of Russell. I recommend it.

Too bad he added that P.S. It detracts from his credibility. Did he really think we were unaware of Clark's biography?

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(8) Science Committee & Human Rights/International Development Committees (Alex Dely, Chairman);

A press conference will take place, as described in the opening paragraphs of the following announcement:

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
TUCSON, ARIZONA 85721

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
315 SOCIAL SCIENCES TEL. (602) 621-7600

Dear ------

The Project on Defense and American Society, in conjunction with the local chapter of the Federation of Atomic Scientists, the American Friends Service Committee and Alex Dely, co-author of the forthcoming book, Accidental Nuclear War: The Growing Peril are planning an information session for the press and the general public to take place on Saturday morning May 26, 1984 at a place to be announced, in Tucson.

We are providing this open forum to bring to the attention of the press and public the consequences to our national security of the decreasing time for decision making that new strategic policies and the deployment of new Euro-strategic weapons represents. The session will include a description of new weapons (USSR and US), the nature of the command-and-control systems; recent errors and computer-related accidents; and review proposals by the French and by Senators Goldwater and Hart for the establishment of crisis control communication centers.

As for the Human Rights/International Development Committee: The Bolivia Project is taking shape. Paul Pfalzner is doing a medical needs assessment, Terry Hildebrand is working on the urban/regional planning aspect, and Adam Paul Banner is looking at cottage industry development (mineral based), as the Bolivian highlands are rich in many strategic minerals. I oversee the paperwork. We send out about 10 packages a month with blueprints for agricultural applications of easy-to-make solar systems (passive), photovoltaics, solar ponds and windpower. Many South American groups are requesting computer information. Since our University has thousands of such items, I photocopy batches and send them on.

BRS LIBRARY

(9) The BRS Library Campaign is lagging. Please give it your best efforts. This is what we said about it a year ago, in RSN38-21:

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

That's a big order.

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

If you have a book by or about BR that you've read and are not likely to read again soon, if ever, please donate it to the Library. If you have several copies of the same book, perhaps in different editions, please donate one of them.This will make it available to all our members. If the book you donate is out of print — as some books by BR are — it will be specially welcome.

If there's a book by BR that's a particular favorite of yours, and that you'd like to see reach more people, buy it — if you can — and donate it to the Library.

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

Help us fill the gaps — there are many! — in the BRS Library. Send books to the BRS Library, address on Page 1, bottom. Book postage: 1st lb. 63 cents; thereafter 23 cents per lb.

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(10) Thompson on Bradley, in the Dartmouth Alumni Magazine (March 1984, p. 15):

La condition humaine

NO PLACE TO HIDE, 1946/1984
by David Bradley '38.
Foreword by Jerome B. Wiesner.
University Press of New England,
1983. 217 pp., $18.00 cloth,
$8.95 paperback.

The most extraordinary thing about this wise, lucid, and beautifully-written book is that it has been so long out of print. First published in 1948, it met with instant attention. But then attention flagged: as T. S. Eliot warned us, "humankind cannot bear very much reality." It is now republished with an even wiser, temperately-expressed, yet anguished, epilogue.

In 1948 David Bradley was a young medical officer assigned to monitor the Radiological Safety program at the Bikini Tests, "Operation Crossroads," an extraordinary naval laboratory of radiological hazard whose findings (together with those of Hiroshima and Nagasaki) still offer us some of the most sombre data ever collected.

What is remarkable is this book is not the scientific evidence preserved in a daily "log" (even today some of the monitoring is classified as secret), but the fact that the event found, in David Bradley, a chronicler with the compassion and command of language to match its historical significance. It is the log of a poet as much as of a medical man. Monitoring radioactivity on the rocks of Cherry, a small atoll ("even the great Pacific itself cannot wash out a *roentgen* of it"), Bradley had time to pause and cast a reflective eye over the whole scene:

> The lagoon side of little Cherry has more to tell of the Bikini tests than incidental radioactivity. There the full story of man's coming is spread out on the beach: boxes, mattresses, life belts, tires, boots, bottles, broken-up landing craft, rusting machinery and oil drums, all the crud and corruption of civilization spread out over the sands, and smeared over with inches of tar and oil.

Bradley's observant eye had time to notice these things: time also to notice the comedy of all great military operations (the vast difference between the pomp and professions "for the record" and the haphazard exigencies of execution), as well as the tolerant comedy of human relations within a military structure in which most of the performers felt themselves to be misfits playing roles.

Yet if there were roles being played, there was nevertheless, a dreadful reality as backdrop. Hiroshima punctuated history with a question-mark. *No Place to Hide* is balanced at that moment of questioning, and looks directly into the question itself. In his 1948 prologue, Bradley wrote: "Bikini is not merely a ravaged and useless little atoll deep in the Pacific. Bikini is our world." The conclusions that he drew then, 35 years ago, do not require the revision of one syllable or comma today. He knew all about *The Fate of the Earth*, and he warned us about it then, although we did not listen. "It is not the security of a political system but the survival of the race that is at stake in the indiscriminate use of atomic energy for political coercion." And the problems, as he listed them then, are those that tower above us today: (1) There is no real defence against atomic weapons; (2) There are no satisfactory countermeasures and methods of decontamination; (3) There are no satisfactory medical safeguards for people of atomized areas; (4) The devastating influence of the Bomb and its unborn relatives may affect — through radioactivity — the land, and its wealth and people, for centuries.

To have seen this, in 1948, might seem to have left David Bradley with little more to say in his Epilogue of 1983. Yet he has found the words for the historical moment once again, and has shown that the poet still co-exists with the doctor. The simple, powerful images which display the human predicament — "a solitary spark, so far as we know, among the numberless lights and queer electrical sounds of black space" — summon us once again to deal with our times and our responsibility to the future. Even the doctor's optimism refuses to admit defeat: "Come, Ivan, let us meet and try again. I'll bring the quahogs. You bring the vodka."

It is the very humanity of this book which recommends it to the reader. Bradley pierces the veils of ideology and of partisan national or political sentiment: he confronts us with a human, and not a local, issue. And in a new appendix, he offers a guide to the dangers of radioactivity in which his literary skills combine with his scientific expertise to create an account so lucid that every reader (even my own unscientific self) can understand what needs understanding. These virtues commend the book as the essential starting-point in any non-partisan course in "peace studies," placing the issues in a way which is, in one moment, both academically respectable and relevant to every human interest.

E. P. THOMPSON

E. P. Thompson, one of the leaders of the nuclear disarmament movement in Europe, is the author of The Making of the English Working Class. *He spent the summer term of 1983 at the College as Visiting Professor of History and Montgomery Fellow.*

FOR SALE

(11) Existence of God debate between BR and F. C. Copleston, S.J.,took place on the BBC in 1948. A portion of it — "The Argument from Contingency" — is available on cassette from Gould Media, Inc., 44 Parkway West, Mt. Vernon, NY 10552. $15 plus $5 service charge on orders under $50. About 15 minutes of actual debate. These 2 men — one an agnostic, the other a Jesuit — respected each other greatly, as is evident from the 3 chapters on BR in Copleston's A History Of Philosophy (RSN34-15) and from BR's remark reported in Ronald Clark's Life of Bertrand Russell p.497, that "one can criticize Copleston for having become a Jesuit, but not for the detailed consequences of being one."

Gould offers cassettes on philosophy and on literature and would no doubt sent their literature to anyone interested. The BR-Copleston audio cassette will be in the BRS Library.

(12) 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. Order from the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.

BR ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

(13) BR and the (Vietnam) War Crimes Tribunal, according to Robert Scheer, in "Ramparts" (May 1967). Starts on next page.

I was ambivalent about taking the train that cold February day up past the surly coastal towns and trailer camps of North Wales to Penrhyndeudraeth, where I was to interview Lord Bertrand Russell. The prospect of meeting Russell was exciting enough,but as I respect his work, I didn't relish the possibility of having to send back an interview with a man I fully thought could be mad. Perhaps mad is too harsh a word, but it is in the spirit of most journalistic accounts of Russell's activities.

The American press works continuously away at its captive audience , and I had come, despite myself, to accept the plausibility of our media's recent and massive denigration of Russell. The object of the attack was his call for an International War Crimes Tribunal on America's actions in Vietnam. The bleaker accounts had it that Lord Russell was all but stuffed and under the control of a wicked puppeteer -- the American Ralph Schoenman, whose only passion was a hatred of the country which had raised him. The more responsible New York Times merely inquired editorially if "this unsavory business [is] the work of Bertrand Russell, or, in reality, that of Ralph Schoenman? Some will say it makes no difference whether the aged philosopher has become a mere stooge of a bitter propagandist; but it adds a poignant touch to this episode that the answer cannot be known."

I was intrigued by the harshness of the Times' language and the mystery it implied. Since I had come to think of Lord Russell as a kind of international ombudsman concerned with the dangerous global games played by the more recognized heads of state, I was disturbed by the charges. And then, too, why didn't one ever hear any answers to the questions posed by the Times?

It was tea time when I arrived at the old Welsh home with its magnificent view of an agriculturally useless valley, rocky but beautifully green. Chris Farley, one of Russell's aides, ushered me into the Lord's sitting room, the one with the flower-print chair. Farley functions as Russell's personal secretary and spends more time with him than does Ralph Schoenman, who is usually trotting around the world somewhere, as he was that day. Russell had not yet descended from the upstairs room where he does most of his work, and I began to scan the bookcases lining the walls, one third of which were entirely filled with his own contributions.

One of the volumes, The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism, had established Russell as a staunch anti-communist. He persisted in this view during the years that followed its publication, which allowed Life magazine on Russell's 80th birthday in 1952 to excuse his occasional transgressions. In a flattering editorial entitled, "A Great Mind is Still Annoying and Adorning Our Age," Life held: "No intellectual in the world has a better anti-communist record; he went to Russia in 1920 and called the turn in The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism so ccurately that the book could be reissued unchanged and unchallengeable 20 years later."

But that was 15 years ago, and I was reflecting on the ups and downs of the Lord's relations with the Luce empire when he shuffled into the sitting room to shake hands and offer me China tea and the sandwiches which had been set out on the little table near the fireplace. He was older and weaker looking than I had expected from those fiery pictures of him that one sees. There is some initial shock in recognizing that the man is, after all, to be 95 years old this May. His body is marked by the fragility of age, his walk is more shuffle than stride, and as he goes up and down the staircase, it seems a point of pride for him to rely on the bannister and shun all assistance. It is also clear that he tires easily. But once one is over the impact of Russell's age, it seems a remarkable thing that he has held up so well. There is none of the nervous shaking or doubled-up posture that is associated with the old. The famous Russell head juts out aggressively, just as it does on the bust in the hallway, and when he speaks, his voice dominates the listener and is uncomfortably lucid.

Russell dictates most of his books, and his logic is quite clear, as I discovered as we talked. But he is terribly shy, and that quality combined with his age cause him to speak in a low, distant tone. I was told that his interviews frequently remain on this level, which may account for some of the negative press reports.

After adjusting my little Japanese tape recorder, I began by asking Russell the inevitable question: why was he no longer as hostile to communism as he was in The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism? He answered: "Well, I think that communism now is a very much better thing than it was in 1920. It was in 1920 that I condemned and in 1920 it was already the embodiment of whatshisname— Stalin. I visited the Soviet Union in 1920 and they all seemed to have a kind of personal bitterness, and, well, a punitive psychology, which is not the right one."

Russell's attitude toward the Soviet Union began to shift with the death of Stalin and the liberalization under Khruschev. He told me: "It is the effect of Bolshevism that it entirely depends on the individual leader. You think it doesn't, but in fact it does. The Soviet government under Khrushchev was a very different thing from the Soviet government under Stalin." I interjected that the Soviet government had suppressed the Hungarian uprising and that Russell had condemned him rather severely for that. He replied,"Yes. Well, I thought it deserved condemnation." And as the old man went on, one was drawn into his world of terribly simple logic and moral consistency.

Professor Sidney Hook and others who now attack Russell had been pleased with his earlier indictment of the Russians. Those Cold War intellectuals had loved Russell on Hungary, but when he came to turn the same moral and logical guns on U.S. involvement in Cuba and Vietnam, they pronounced him a "non-person."

This was the main issue in Bernard Levin's article on Russell which appeared in the New York Times Sunday Magazine, on February 19 of this year. Levin, a hawkish English intellectual, was outraged at Russell's refusal to use a double standard in his judgments of the Cold War. The article bore none of the usual marks of obvious restraint which has been the Times' most saleable commodity.

What, then, has happened to Russell, grandson of one of Queen Victoria's most distinguished Prime Ministers ...relentless critic of communism in theory and practice, friend and associate through three-quarters

of a century of many — perhaps most — of the world's greatest statesmen, writers, thinkers?

How has it come about that a man possessed of one of the finest, most acute minds of our time — of any time — has fallen into a state of such gullibility, lack of discrimination. twisted logic and rancorous hatred of the United States that he has turned into a full-time purveyor of political garbage indistinguishable from the routine products of the Soviet machine?

Could Levin have been serious in accusing Russell of "rancorous hatred" in the sentence in which he himself uses the words "full-time purveyor of political garbage"? But Levin is serious, as are the New York Times, the London Times, Newsweek, Look, and Time, which have scorned Russell and held him in contempt.

What the critics cannot accept, psychologically or politically, is Russell's bent for defining the U.S. role in Vietnam as analogous to the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, the French colonialists in Algeria, and the Russians in Hungary.

Levin could hardly be expected to accept this analogy since he had co-signed a letter to the London Times some weeks before his New York Times article was printed, which offered "unequivocal support" for the U.S. position in Vietnam.

It is certainly his prerogative to offer himself up in that way, but it strikes me as dishonest for him to pretend that his support for the war has nothing at all to do with his criticisms of Russell. It is worth noting here as typical of a favorite ploy of Russell's critics who prefer to dwell on the "unreasonableness of Russell's style" rather than confront the issues which he has raised.

Some of the criticism has been humorously beside the point. A recent article in Look magazine developed a psychological critique of Russell, centering on his personal relations. The magazine wrote of Russell's ties with his wife:"In her youth Russell had preferred her sister. She was 52, he was 80, when at last her dream came true." Which is a significant detail, no doubt, but a spokesman for Russell's office pointed out that Lady Russell had no sister.

Russell remains unperturbed by his critics and responds only when it serves to extend his forum, as is the case with his innumerable letters to the press. He is deadly serious about the Vietnam war and keeping the peace, and regrets that he does not have as much time as he used to for indulging the more obvious apologists. I reported on Sidney Hook's most recent criticisms of Russell and he answered:"Well, I never...I can't be bothered with Sidney Hook." And when I asked why there are so many attacks on him, Russell responded,"I suppose they think I'm effective. I cannot see any other reason, but it is the only thing that encourages me."

Since Russell has been accused of being myopic about the government of North Vietnam and simplistic in his support for its position vis à vis the United States, I found the following exchange with his assistant, Chris Farley, interesting.

FARLEY: In underdeveloped countries — for example, Ho Chi Minh in North Vietnam has power in a small country, but he has devoted nearly all that state power to development programs, to education, housing, agriculture, that sort of thing. That's not a very dangerous form of state power, do you think, sir?

RUSSELL" No, except for the Vietnamese."

Russell then went on to argue that although the North Vietnamese had been beleaguered by the West and "I support them because of that," their rigorous development programs had been overemphasized. It was the same mistake the Russians had made earlier: "You see, the Russians in 1920 and following years developed their military entirely, and the result was that when they finished they were all militarists."

Russell has been attacked by many in the peace movement for allegedly having abandoned his earlier concern with the dangers of nuclear war, great power rivalry and chauvinism to the peace. He was quite clear in refuting this assertion:

I think that nuclear war is the greatest peril facing the world. I think it is a greater peril than communist dictation or conservative dictation, and I should certainly oppose anything that would involve a difficult nuclear war...On the whole I think people make too much of the difference between nations. I think the Americans are bad. I think the Russians are bad. I think the Chinese are bad. I think everybody has some badness in them,and I think as they get more power it will get worse. I can't be too enthusiastic about any scheme that involves one power to be given greater power than another.

But, for all his generalizations, in Russell's view, the United States is currently the excessive power in the world. Russell was very shaken by the lengths to which the U.S. was willing to go during the Cuban missile crisis to express that power. He was, of course, rather centrally involved in that dispute, becoming at one point a middle man in the exchange between Kennedy and Khrushchev. The behavior then of the Americans — coming as it did after the Bay of Pigs and the increased involvement in Vietnam — convinced him that the United States had assumed primary responsibility for the continuation of the Cold War,.

Russell's political categories all deal with power and the personalities who have misused it. In viewing the America of the '50s, he recalls that he disliked John Foster Dulles most of all: "He was a plain prosecutor. It was quite simple. You could have put him in the place of Robespierre, or you could have put him in the place of Bloody Mary. As long as there was someone to prosecute, he was very happy." And his counterpart in the '60s is Lyndon Johnson: "I think he is just an ordinary murderer."

When asked if the United States currently bears the major blame for the continuance of the Cold War, he replied;

"Yes I do...but that's just talk. I think the Cold War, is essential to the success of the American people on top, and they have to keep it up into a hot war if necessary. They can't live without it because nothing else will keep them in power. They are in power because they are able to fight those wicked communists, and then the wicked communists have a purpose. Otherwise America would go liberal."

While he holds the Americans responsible for the current impasse and condemns them vociferously for the Vietnam war, Russell retains his libertarian suspicions of any governmental power: "I don't really feel inclined to favor any party or nation, or anybody at present -- they all seem to be ruffians." Assuming my best college debater stance, I challenged him as to whether he would include the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) with those he placed in the category of ruffians. H replied:"No, not including them, but they haven't been in power. The big nations, the ones that have power, all seem to engage in betraying one another."

Towards the end of our session Russell apologized. "I'm afraid I've given you a very inconclusive interview, but I can't help that because my views are inconclusive. We've come out of one crisis into another." Which, I think, adequately sums up the problem of the two Russells. There have always been two: Russell in contemplation, and Russell in combat. Events of the past ten years have forced him to be in sustained combat while the world reality has changed so rapidly that neither he, nor his peers, has had time to work out a systematic overview or grand theory. Russell has been forced to rely heavily on the political liberalism of the last century. And it is difficult to readily encompass the problems of revolution, underdevelopment and nuclear violence within that frame-work. The one principle that does clearly apply is that of self-determination, and Russell clings to it with ferocity. He supports the NLF against the Americans because the NLF is fighting for self-determination in Vietnam, whereas the Americans are neo-colonials.

Strangely enough Russell has turned out to possess a great deal of intellectual humility. This, perhaps, is one of the reasons he surrounds himself with youthful aides in the twilight of his life. Contrary to reports in the press, Russell was not "captured" by these young men. It is quite clear he chose them, and primarily for their intellectual as well as physical vitality. They include David Horowitz, author of Free World Colossus and Shakespeare: An Existential View. He is energetic and humorous and has a great deal of difficulty keeping his creative and prolific outpouring within any specific intellectual or political boundaries. They also include Chris Farley, a solid, hardworking Englishman who was assistant editor of the respectable English publication Peace News before joining Russell's staff.

Though Russell's aides are certainly more inclined toward Marxism than their chief, and more radical left than liberal, they are not as entirely predictable as American press reports would have it. (Even the Olympian London Economist allows that Russell's young men "do not fit the conspiracy theory of history.")

The aides commute between the house in Wales and the London office of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. The entire organization is terribly amateurish and amazingly poorly financed for what is supposed to be a worldwide operation. For all the talk of puppeteers,the fact is that very often Russell does not have any assistants on hand at all. Often they are needed in the London office because the staff there is so thin.

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation is run out of two dilapidated rooms on Shavers Place, and one could boost the efficiency of the operation a good deal by donating a decent Xerox machine. It is sad to think that people throughout the world expect this one-woman office to save the peace, and ironical that it has actually done a better job of it than the more highly endowed peace operations throughout the world.

In addition, the Peace Foundation has become a sort of world ACLU, but one which relies on tough letters from Russell to various heads of state in place of legal briefs. A casual visitor to the Foundation office gets the impression that every time an Iranian peasant, a Russian poet or a Chicago negro is harassed that a call is placed to the Peace Foundation.

Any discussion of the Peace Foundation would be incomplete without the political attitudes of Ralph Schoenman, who is the most influential of Russell's aides-de-camp, and has figured so prominently in the American press's criticism of Russell.

Schoenman's politics began with his undergradulate years at Princeton, where he was beaten up by his fellow classmates for attempting to integrate the eating clubs. He had been drawn to Princeton because H. H. Wilson, who taught there, had developed a reputation for independent radicalism. Schoenman recalls that Wilson later told him," You have an innate capacity for erecting brick walls and using your head as a battering ram." This remains as good a capsule description of Schoenman's politics and personality as one can provide.

The young Schoenman read Russell voraciously and, as he records in an autobiographical sketch,"was determined to acquire the Russell touch -- to become deft and light and devastating."But whereas Russell's iconoclasm was developed within the bosom of the English Establishment, his writings were used by an alienated Schoenman "to do battle with America's cruelty, crassness and impenetrable, superior manner of the chosen Princetonian." It is a phrase which captures his shrillness. Both men are intensely active and involved -- but Russell's activity seems part of a natural flow, whereas Schoenman's has a forced intensity which breaks all rhythm.

Schoenman has met many heads of state, and is even rumored to have run a country or two for brief periods, yet he seems a perpetual intruder. It is Russell's letters of recommendation, Russell's intercession and Russell's correspondence which pave Schoenman's way. Without the majesty of Russell, Schoenman would have the appearance of a hustler. But the appearance would not be accurate.

Schoenman may be thoroughly obnoxious and insolent, as most people who meet him seem to conclude, but he is committed. Russell is one of the few people who can actually stand him, and it is a source of wonder in the British peace movement that Russell is able to spend so many hours in his presence. Perhaps Russell recognizes that much of Schoenman's insolence is warranted. Most people "sell out" their convictions short of

risking all. Schoenman seems to risk all several times a month, every month of the year.

He pops up continuously in the most obscure countries with barely legal papers (the United States government has called for his passporrt several times), an easy target as he plunges determinedly into the hottest sectors of local political life. He slips in and out of countries where he could easily be detained, and has probably demonstrated more courage in the James Bond sense than the most covert operator in the CIA. He is well informed about the specifics of the political scene in various countries, and in particular about the United States' role there. Knowing too much of this sort of thing can make one terribly hard-bitten, and Schoenman is that. But he hangs tough, and perhaps that's what Russell was looking for in April of 1960 when Schoenman first approached him for a job. The British peace movement was mushy at that point, and Russell was working towards firmer ground from which to resist the compromisers.

Schoenman came to play an important role because he pushes himself hard (literally 18 to 20 hours a day), is a totally committed radical, bears enormous respect for Russell's work, is bright and easily informed, and in general has the sort of activist's energy which a 95-year-old man must find complementary.

Russell and his chief aide hardly share a common philosophical base, but they do share a sense of immediacy about the world crisis, alarm about the enormous power of the United States and a disgust at the uses to which it is being put throughout the world — particularly in Vietnam. Schoenman and the other Russell aides hold a variant of Lenin's theory of Imperialism — the United States is the most advanced capitalist nation and controls and exploits the world, Vietnam being a striking example of this.

Russell's own view is closer to Lord Acton than to Lenin. He holds that every national power is a danger to world peace and that the United States and the Soviet Union have switched roles in the Cold War. In the first years following the second world war, Stalin's Russia was the most aggressive nation and therefore rightly had to be contained, even as Russell once suggested , with the threat of nuclear weapons. But with destalinization,the Russians ceased to be so threatening and the ensuing years brought McCarthyism, Dulles, the Bay of Pigs, and finally Vietnam, with Johnson replacing Stalin as the major threat to world peace.

There are real differences,however, in the basis of their positions and certainly in matters of rhetoric. Those close to the operation claim that Russell gets to see or hear every statement issued in his name. But the pace is at times frantic, and one can imagine hurried calls from the London office to Wales that do not receive the consideration they deserve. The most glaring example of this was Russell's message to the Tri-Continental Conference in Cuba which took a pro-Chinese line in the Sino-Soviet dispute. Russell agrees with Schoenman's position that the Russians are eager to compromise with the West, but he is not as disapproving of this as his aide, for his own fear of accidental nuclear war is more conducive to compromises of this sort.

However, Russell did personally chew out the Russian ambassador for his country's failure to "adequately support" the Vietnamese.His position on the question is not consistent. The problem is that the enormous power of the United States can be used to blackmail the rest of the world into accepting the political status quo, involving a moratorium on revolution in exchange for one on nuclear war. But for most of the underdeveloped countries, the political status quo assures an economy of desperate poverty and hopelessness. Russell refuses to barter the right of revolution for "peace", but he remains enormously concerned with the threat of nuclear destruction.

The documents issued over Russell's signature are consistent as to content, but there are clearly two styles. The statements drafted and worked over by Russell have elegance, logic and restraint while Schoenman's are terribly crude. It would be better if Lord Russell issued fewer statements.

Schoenman has done Russell a serious disservice in his handling of the mass media. He is petty, overprotective and embittered, qualities least fortunate in a PR man. And his judgment is bad. For all his protection, some of the worst reporters slip through while more objective ones are kept at arm's length. There was even a very fat man from Chicago who arrived at the Russell home unannounced and managed somehow to fall, literally, on Lord Russell who was walking in the garden. Because of Russell's age it was a serious incident, but the fat man from Chicago slipped away unquestioned.

There can be no doubt that in their relationship, Schoenman has had an impact on Russell's thinking and that Russell has, during this period, moved toward a more radical and more anti-American stance. But it is terribly parochial for Americans to assume that this is because Russell has been manipulated rather than because of what has happened to America during the past six years. The '50s are remembered by most of us, correctly or not, for Korea, Hungary and Berlin — for Stalin and the vestiges of Stalin. But the '60s are Cuba and Vietnam, and it is during the '60s that Russell has become increasingly anti-American. Russell is a voracious reader of the press and has a steady stream of visitors of all political persuasions. It is impossible that Schoenman could have made up or denied Russell relevant facts. Nor would it have been necessary. If Russell had selected an assistant who attempted to soften the implications of the United States position in Vietnam, he would have verbally cut him up and sent him packing. In the New York Times article criticizing Russell, Levin states the relevant question:"Russell is not <u>senile</u>...What Russell puts his hand to, he believes. What we have to decide is why he believes it..."

Throughout this century and a good portion of the last, Russell's thin, reedy voice has called the powerful to task for their excesses, and his War Crimes Tribunal is in that spirit. It is the fight he loves best, and one can imagine him up at eight with this first morning tea, shuffling about in slippers, dictating at a furious pace his calls to conscience and letters to heads of state and the London Times, urging that the logic of the matter be considered. It is a pace that is maintained with the aid of four Red Hackle Scotches, Metrecal, and innumerable cups of tea (he is no longer permitted solids) until after ten at night, when the Lord often arises from his bed to add a particularly incisive point before the day's mail is sent out.

The irony is that for all the vaunted Marxism of some of the leaders of the War Crimes Tribunal — Ralph Schoenman, Jean-Paul Sartre, Vladimir Dedijer, Isaac Deutscher and others — it is nevertheless an event which falls squarely within the English liberal political tradition. The standards to be used are those of Western "democracies"— the Geneva Convention, the Nuremburg Trials, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. The very act of lone intellectuals, devoid of the power of party, movement, or state, "judging" the real powers that be should appear somewhat ludicrous to an old European Marxist. But the official call to the War Crimes Tribunal is in a language more reminiscent of the great documents of Western democracy.

> We command no state power; we do not represent the strong; we control no armies or treasuries. We act out of the deepest moral concern and depend upon the conscience of ordinary people throughout the world for the real support -- the material help, which will determine whether people in Vietnam are to be abandoned in silence or allowed the elementary right of having their plight presented to the conscience of Mankind.

Russell himself supplied the basic "material" help for the Tribunal by lending it the $200,000 advance which he received from the American publishers, Atlantic-Little Brown, for the rights to his autobiography. In his initial statement about Vietnam to the Tribunal, he said:

> As I reflect on this work, I cannot help thinking of the events of my life, because of the crimes I have seen and the hopes I have nurtured. I have lived through the Dreyfus case and been party to the investigation of the crimes committed by King Leopold in the Congo. I can recall many wars. Much injustice has been recorded quietly during these decades...I do not know any other conflict in which the disparity in physical power was so vast. I have no memory of any people so enduring or of any nation with a spirit of resistance so unquenchable.

Lord Russell is joined on the Tribunal by Jean-Paul Sartre, who is its executive president. These two great philosophers respect each other for mutual integrity and courage, but not for their philosophies. Sartre is notably absent from Russell's A History of Western Philosophy. Russell is of course totally unappreciative of Sartre's Marxism , or of any other variety. When interviewed by NBC on his 80th birthday, he remarked: "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 hate element that his philosophy produced disaster."

Sartre, for his part, considers Russell to be one of the best of the bourgeois thinkers, and lets it go at that.

The attitude of the various members of the Tribunal towards their colleagues is a mixture of wariness and admiration. When Russell appeared at the first meeting of the Tribunal with most of its members present, he turned to one of his aides and asked,"Which one do you suppose will abandon us first?" Sartre accepts the work of the Tribunal as useful but not revolutionary. In an interview which appeared in the English New Left Review he stated,"We have been reproached with petty bourgeois legalism. It is true, and I accept that objection."

Sartre's defense of the Tribunal involves a notion of "limits". "The whole problem is to know if, today, the imperialists are exceeding the limits...Our Tribunal today merely proposes to apply to capitalist imperialism its own laws."

In the process Sartre then accepts, as do the other members of the Tribunal, what he defines as "an international jurisprudence which has slowly been built up." In this sense, it is Russell who has influenced the Marxists and not the other way around, for the notion of international jurisprudence would seem to conflict with that of class struggle and revolutionary ethics.

The Tribunal is not concerned with pronouncing on the wisdom of the war in Vietnam, which is properly the subject of political analysis and polemic; it is concerned with whether specific acts of the United States have violated the international law which American society itself has accepted and applied freely to others.
One of the major charges leveled against the Tribunal by the Western press centers on its refusal to judge the NLF as well as the Americans. The response of the Tribunal has been that a resistance movement, almost as a matter of definition, cannot commit war crimes. Sartre has stated:

> I refuse to place in the same category the actions of an organization of poor peasants, hunted, obliged to maintain an iron discipline in their ranks, and those of an immense army backed up by a highly industrialized country of 200 million inhabitants. And then, it is not the Vietnamese who have invaded America nor who have rained down a deluge of fire upon a foreign people. In the Algerian war, I always refused to place on an equal footing the terrorism by means of bombs which was the only weapon available to the Algerians, and the actions and exactions of a rich army of half a million men occupying the entire country. The same is true in Vietnam.

It seems to me that the critics of the Tribunal have difficulty accepting not the logic of this argument, but the analogy. For surely they would not have had the Nuremburg Commission investigate the resistance fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto, or the Dewey Commission the behavior of tthe victims of Stalin's purge. Obviously, Levin and others who support the war in Vietnam cannot accept this analogy, but they would be more honest to argue about that than the lack of "neutrality"on the part of the Tribunal members.

The Tribunal has done important work, particularly by sending teams to North Vietnam to investigate the effect of the American bombing. It was through the work of one such team that the world learned of the extensive use of "pineapple" and "guava" fragmentation bombs against the civilian population of North Vietnam. At the time, the Defense Department denied it was using such weapons, but it has recently owned up.

But the Tribunal has to date failed in its potential for confronting America with the enormity of its actions in Vietnam. The responsibility for this failure must be traced to the poor organization of the Tribunal, which has

fallen into the nightmarish world of little left sects and, in the center of all the confusion -- and apparently enjoying every minute -- is Ralph Schoenman.

The Tribunal offices in London and Paris are in very bad condition. The four members of the London staff spent the better part of the afternoon of my visit in a room of cracked green paint fixing the inevitable mimeograph machine on which so many hopes rested.

Given the poverty and limited manpower of this operation, I hesitate to make any criticisms, particularly of Ralph Schoenman, who has struggled to hold the whole thing together. But he has also been its worst enemy. He is the sort of political organizer who determines the purity of his organization by its ability to resist members.

The whole operation of the Peace Foundation and the War Crimes Tribunal has been devoid of cadres. One member of the Foundation defined it as a political party of four. The Paris and London offices of the Tribunal until recently had no more than 25 volunteers between them. These were drawn almost exclusively from one of the Trotskyist groups and from a splinter of the Paris Maoists who, as is the nature of such people, tended to fight inordinately and were constantly walking out. At one point in March, when I was in Paris, there simply was no working staff in the office. It would seem that Schoenman's whole method of operation is geared to driving out anyone who will not be subjected to his discipline.

The tension between Schoenman's sectarianism and the broader purposes of the Tribunal as publicly defined by Russell and Sartre broke out into the open last March, when Paris members of the Tribunal asserted their prerogatives. The members of the Tribunal, outside of Russell, are generally critical of Schoenman, and the main work of the Tribunal is now in Paris. Schoenman has been barred from entering France by the De Gaulle government.

This is probably the only organization of its kind in which the "big names" do the bulk of the work. Isaac Deutscher, the biographer of Stalin and Trotsky; Vladimir Dedijer, who is Tito's biographer; and Giselle Hamini, the beautiful French woman who is Sartre's lawyer and Simone de Beauvoir, meet every second or third weekend for the work sessions which set the policy of the Tribunal. Sartre himself has been more intimately involved than in any political activity since the Algerian war.

It is strange company for Lord Russell, who began his century of life on the knees of Gladstone and ends it by writing letters to Vladimir Dedijer, the Yugoslav communist partisan, concerning the failure of the leaders of the West to retain their reason. The journalists who came to query Russell at the Tribunal's press conferences were irritated that he did not accept questions and shuffled off after reading his text. They indicted him in their articles the next day for rudeness. Why were they not irritated with the other famous democrats of Russell's time who had left him to stand alone before the klieg lights burning his old eyes, to once again confront madness with logic? Perhaps it is the century that has been rude to Lord Russell by failing his hopes so completely that in the weariness of 94 years he was forced to travel once again the five bone-shattering hours from Wales to London to "prevent the crime of silence."

On the rare occasions when the mass media in America have been inclined to criticize the war in Vietnam, their critique has been marginal.Vietnam has always been referred to as that "dirty little war," something we were "dragged into," an "aberration," the result of a series of "mistakes." We can't take Russell, for he tells us that this is arrant nonsense, that we in fact bear total responsibility for Vietnam. And, as he reminds us in almost daily incantations, it was United States financing which made possible the return of French colonialism between 1948 and 1954 when we put Diem in power, which instituted the strategic hamlet program of putting the Vietnamese peasants in "camps," and which has systematically obliterated the countryside of North and South Vietnam.

It is a war nurtured within the Cold War bureaucracy which, like any other bureaucracy, must justify its activities in a perfectly "reasonable" and matter-of-fact tone. Even company critics like Arthur Schlesinger and James Reston talk of the anguish of the President and the loneliness of his decision-making, and newspaper editors universally shore up the image of American innocence by depicting the plight of a President who has been forced to wage war because the enemy will not let him wage peace. And this is actually believed.

Well, Lord Russell has cut through all that with his War Crimes Tribunal and, like it or not, there now exists an alternative frame of reference in which to place the specific incidents of the war. We are a people who with complete equanimity judged Khrushchev the Butcher of Budapest, but must now seek to destroy the reputation of a man who passes similar judgment upon us. We charge Lord Russell with having "betrayed" the values of Western civilization, with having been "captured," because we cannot accept the concept that it is we who are the "betrayers" and the "captured."

Lord Russell, the godson of John Stuart Mill, will die the quintessence of the democratic citizen -- the Citoyen Terrible. If in his last years he is "anti-American"and must now judge our President a murderer, then it is not his actions that ought to be scrutinized, but our own. We have lost face with Lord Russell and all the bombs of the B-52s will not change that.

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Robert Scheer wrote the article, above, in 1967. In 1982 he wrote With Enough Shovels, about which Solly Zuckerman wrote (RSN38-43): "But the whole concept of a nuclear war is nonsense, and the purpose of Mr. Scheer's book is to reveal the degree of nonsense it is. If the subject were not as serious as it is, parts of the book could be read as a skit on the Reagan administration's foreign and defense policies." Mr. Scheer might be said to be specializing in American Presidents who make disastrous decisions. (Thank you, DON JACKANICZ)

BOOK REVIEWS

(14) "Weapons And Hope"by Freeman Dyson (NY: Harper & Row, 1984). Reviewed here in "Science 84" (May 1984). It had previously run in The New Yorker in 4 weekly installments starting 2/6/84. For another review see (16). For an excerpt from a Dyson interview, see (27). For Dyson's remarks on Joseph Rotblat, see (25).

WEAPONS AND HOPE by Freeman Dyson, Bessie/Harper & Row, $17.50.

In one sense, Freeman Dyson's powerful new book, *Weapons and Hope*, is as much about deafness as it is about strategic thinking, military technology, moral outrage, and the peril of nuclear war. Not organic deafness but the mental, sociological sort that takes place when persons, political parties, or governments find themselves either unwilling or incapable of listening to their opponents. Thus afflicted, the task of perceiving meaning and intention, let alone making peace, becomes doubly difficult. Familiar examples abound. It takes great effort for evolutionists and fundamentalists, Republicans and Democrats, Arabs and Jews, and, most critical of all these days, Soviets and Americans to talk. Each of these groups will claim that they are willing to reason, to negotiate, to compromise. And yet, and yet. Differences mount, reactions rigidify, and swords cross. The deafness becomes thundering.

"I write because I live in two worlds," says Dyson early on in his book, "the world of the warriors and the world of the victims." Straddles them, he means. "One week," he goes on, "I listened to Helen Caldicott [a leading freeze activist] in Princeton. The next week I listened to General So-and-so in Washington. Helen and the general live in separate worlds. In a few minutes of conversation I cannot explain Helen's message to the general or the general's message to Helen. If Helen and the general ever tried to talk directly to each other, it would be a dialogue of the deaf."

If life has made Dyson bipolar, this is approximately how it happened: Born in England. Operations research for Bomber Command of the Royal Air Force in World War II. Professor of physics at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton since 1953. Consultant in recent years to the U. S. Department of Defense and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Published, in 1979, *Disturbing the Universe*, a scientific autobiography. Equally significant, in addition to his scientific work, Dyson has reared five daughters, a son, and a stepdaughter. Undoubtedly, his family—as well as his wide reading in the humanities, judging from his last book and this one—qualifies him for membership in the world of victims, just as his war and government work and his knowledge of mathematics and physics make him privy to the world of warriors.

Weapons and Hope does not attempt to predict. Rather it seeks to prevent. (Surely there can be little doubt as to *what* it seeks to prevent.) Thus, unlike Jonathan Schell's *Fate of the Earth*, it does not concentrate on describing nuclear horror. Rather it is analytic and prescriptive, a practical search for a way to coax the superpowers to phase out nuclear weapons and save the world. To his everlasting glory, Freeman Dyson never did think small.

To accomplish his quest, Dyson plunges into the evolution of modern weapons technology—from mules to jeeps to tanks; from the ponderous megatonnage of warheads in the days when bigger meant better to the ultra-accurate varieties of today, our Pershings and the Russians' SS-20s. And also into the societal milieu in which such evolution was and is fostered, focusing on the World Wars and their aftermath. Accordingly, his book is divided into three major sections: tools, people, and concepts.

By tools he means weapons, both offensive and defensive, including shelters. Here we are introduced to the economic and technical dynamics by which weapons development reciprocates with perceived needs of security, resulting in what is popularly known as the arms race. This is a contest that features obsession, folly, and surpise. No one in the 1950s, not even J. Robert Oppenheimer, dreamed that hydrogen superbombs would give way to smaller bombs of lower yield. Ironically, that is precisely what took place. It did so because military planners ran out of targets (Why use 10 megatons when a tenth of a megaton would do the job?), the accuracy of missiles improved, and new delivery systems tilted the balance of costs toward low-yield weapons. The race didn't stop, of course; it merely produced more efficient means. Meanwhile, over the same period, the U. S. embraced a predominantly offensive posture—deterrence—having decisively rejected both an antiballistics missile network and bomb shelters.

But where weapons lend potency to the clouds of war, it is people who either whip those clouds into storms or attempt to dissipate them. In this section we meet many of the human actors: the generals and the diplomats, the scientists and the poets, the scholars and the statesmen. We know most of them: Napoleon and Metternich, Rupert Brooke and Wilfred Owen, T.E. Lawrence and Remarque, Tolstoy and Gandhi, Einstein and Oppenheimer, Marshall and Kennan, Jodl and Balck. Balck? One of the more remarkable contrasts drawn in this richly populated section is between Alfred Jodl, Hitler's chief of military operations, and Hermann Balck, a Prussian field commander of the same vintage. "Jodl and Balck," writes Dyson, "exemplify two styles of military professionalism, the heavy and the light, the tragic and the comic, the bureaucratic and the human. Jodl doggedly sat at his desk, translating Hitler's dreams of conquest into daily balance sheets of men and equipment. Balck gaily jumped out of one tight squeeze into another, taking good care of his soldiers and never losing his sense of humor. For Jodl, Hitler was Germany's fate, a superhuman force transcending right and wrong. Balck saw Hitler as he was, a powerful but not very competent politician." In other words, the difference between soldiering as a cult and as a profession. One is fanatical, the other honorable.

Finally, the weapons and the people have interactively produced the concepts that have made the world as vulnerable to Armageddon as it currently is, the mind-sets that make for selective deafness, the strategies by which we collectively live or die. Like the individuals that have shaped our history and policies, the concepts are by now all too familiar. U. S. policy is currently dominated by two of them—"assured destruction" and "limited nuclear war." The Soviets operate with "counterforce," which says that to survive as a society you destroy the enemy's weapons and military capacity, not necessarily the citizenry itself. To these, Dyson suggests and examines four alternatives: "nonviolent resistance," the active pacifism practiced by Gandhi; "nonnuclear resistance," which is unilateral nuclear disarmament but with vigorous deployment of nonnuclear weapons; "defense unlimited," a massive shift of emphasis from offensive to defensive weaponry; and, last, Dyson's own preference, "live-and-let-live," a compromise between fighting nuclear war and unilateral disarmament. While it may sound simplistic and even Messianic, the concept is respectable among arms controllers where it is known technically as "parity plus damage-limiting." Dyson summarizes it this way: "We maintain the ability to damage you as badly as you can damage us, but we prefer our own protection to your destruction." Put another way: "We prefer live Americans to dead Russians." Presumably Russians prefer live Russians to dead Americans. Practically, it means using nuclear weapons only as bargaining chips and negotiating them all the way down to zero. Instead of the standoff of deterrence, it makes a more inviting path down which to bargain.

Dyson's advocacy of this concept is at once passionate and stringent, at once human and scientific, like his book. *Weapons and Hope* signals that it may yet be possible for the warriors and the victims to communicate. Despair is counterproductive. That is why Dyson uses as an epigraph a quote from the Pastoral Letter of Catholic Bishops last year: "Hope is the capacity to live with danger without being overwhelmed by it; hope is the will to struggle against obstacles even when they appear insuperable." To this, one can only add the hope that Dyson's book will be taken to heart by the Adelmans and Gromykos, the Reagans and Chernenkos.

—Alfred Meyer
Contributing editor, Science 84

BR QUOTED

(15) Source of Forbes' BR quote. RAMON CARTER SUZARA may have found the answer to WHITFIELD COBB's question about the cause of trouble in the world today (RSN41-8). Ramon quotes from New Hopes For A Changing World,p.5:

> One of the painful things about our time is that those who feel certainty are stupid, and those with any imagination and understanding are filled with doubt and indecision.

(16) "Weapons And Hope by Freeman Dyson, as reviewed in the New York Times Book Review (4/8/84, p. 7):'

Making the World Safe for Conventional War

WEAPONS AND HOPE
By Freeman Dyson
340 pp. New York:
A Cornelia & Michael Bessie Book/
Harper & Row. $17.95.

By Michael Howard

"I CHOSE the title 'Weapons and Hope' for this book," Freeman Dyson writes on his first page, "because I want to discuss the gravest problem facing mankind, the problem of nuclear weapons." The spirits sink slightly. Is this yet another of those works, of which Jonathan Schell's was the most publicized and Lewis Thomas's "Late Night Thoughts" the most recent example, that explain our predicament to us in beautiful prose, tell us how *stupid* we all are and exhort us to repent without being very specific as to what we should actually *do* about it?

For many pages of Mr. Dyson's book the spirits remain sunk. We are treated to some autobiographical information about his boyhood in Britain in the 1930's; about his experience as an amazingly youthful scientific adviser to the R.A.F. Bomber Command in the 1940's; to some heart-rendingly cheerful letters written home by Mr. Dyson's uncle from the trenches in World War I; and to interesting anecdotes about his contacts with the professional military, the "Peace Movement" and sundry Russians. As layer after layer of this wrapping is peeled off, one begins to wonder whether there is really anything very solid in the middle. To ask a currently popular question: Where's the beef?

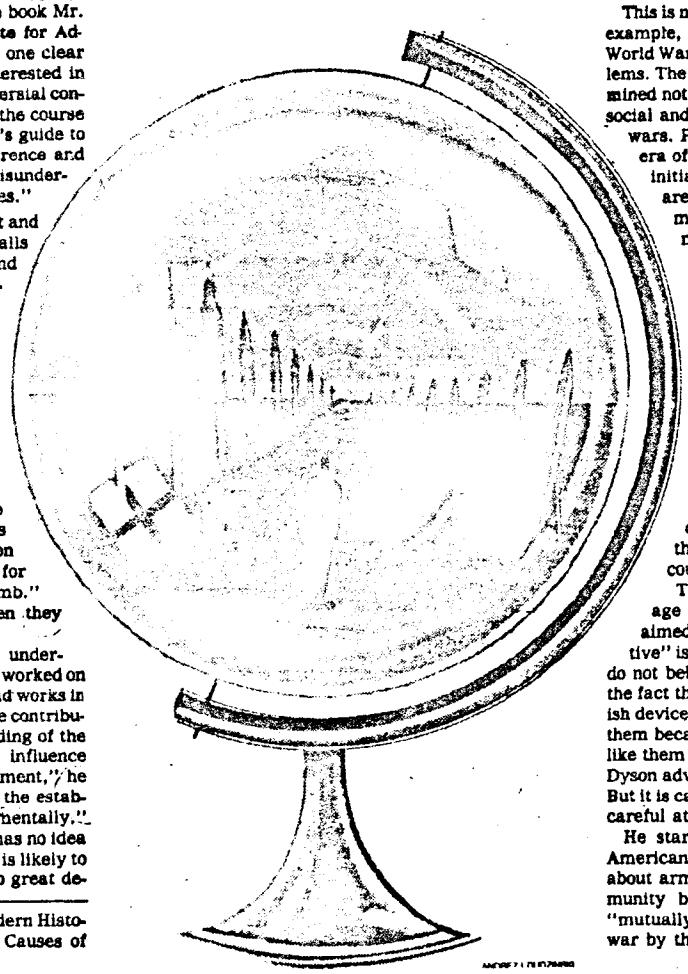
I can reassure the reader: There *is* beef in this package, and the wrappings are not simply wrappings but part of the sustenance. By the end of the book Mr. Dyson, a professor of physics at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, has put forward one clear and valuable principle to guide all those interested in arms control, and one interesting and controversial concept that will at least provoke discussion. In the course of doing so, he provides an excellent layman's guide to the problems and concepts of nuclear deterrence and talks a great deal of sense about that most misunderstood and complicated problem, "arms races."

Mr. Dyson starts by defining two relevant and mutually antagonistic cultures — what he calls somewhat misleadingly "the warriors" and "the victims." "The warriors" in his terminology are all those tough-minded policy makers and strategic analysts in and around the defense establishment who manipulate the calculus of power. "Warrior" is a misleading term, since the members of this group are as eager to avoid war as anybody else; but they do believe that this can be done only by working within the existing framework of power politics. Their cry therefore is, "Don't Rock the Boat!" "The victims" on the other hand are those more concerned with the consequences than the causes of war, with the destruction war inflicts than with the political rationale for that destruction. Their cry is "Ban the Bomb." Exchanges between the two groups, when they occur, are largely dialogues of the deaf.

Mr. Dyson speaks both languages and understands both cultures; indeed, anyone who has worked on weapons technology, has a wife and family and works in a university is bound to. He can appreciate the contribution that each group makes to an understanding of the issues. "In the short run, if you want to influence events, you must work within the establishment," he writes. "In the long run, if you work within the establishment, you will not change things fundamentally." The weakness of the establishment is that it has no idea how to change a situation that in the long run is likely to be catastrophic — and indeed usually has no great desire to do so. The weakness of the "Peace Movement" is that it fails to provide convincing solutions to the immediate and genuine problems with which the establishment has to deal. How can we reconcile the near-sighted with the far-sighted and produce total vision?

Mr. Dyson would achieve this synthesis by converting the military to nuclear disarmament, and this is the major goal he sets in his book. "It is not enough to organize scientists against nuclear war," he writes, "we need captains and generals against nuclear war." This should not be difficult: Most captains and generals, like most people, are already "against" nuclear war; but they need to be shown how to achieve their objective of providing national security without it. To do this, he says, they should disengage themselves from the heresy that has ruined them and so much of the world over the past 70 years — the assumption that military effectiveness can be equated with the capacity to deliver massive destruction. Mr. Dyson writes feelingly about his experiences serving with a bomber command to which huge resources had been diverted from more orthodox means of warfare, and whose objectives he considers to have been immoral, unattainable and ineffective. (This is a view I do not altogether share. The fact that from 1942 onward the Germans had to concentrate their air resources on protecting their cities meant that Allied surface forces enjoyed a freedom of operation without which they might not have been able to land on the Continent at all.) The desire to develop bigger and nastier nuclear bombs and aim them at the opponent's cities, he sees as the logical development of this heresy, and as a derogation from the military ethic he learned from his father and his uncle to admire — practical, workaday, committed, ingenious, above all economical — the ethic he sees embodied in the military skills of the blitzkrieg.

Today, Mr. Dyson writes, too many people "have come to take it for granted that the deployment of nuclear weapons on a massive scale is essential to the security of their countries. They identify nuclear destructive power with national security and so become trapped in the cult of destruction." But with the development of technology this need no longer be necessary, he points out; in fact, the whole trend of weapons development in the past 25 years has been away from weapons of mass destruction toward those of greater accuracy, maneuverability and precision. Indeed, if in 1949, Mr. Dyson suggests, a treaty had been signed between the United States and the Soviet Union banning the fabrication of hydrogen bombs and had been faithfully observed by both parties, "the weapons deployed by the United States . . . would not have been noticeably different from those which we are now deploying." The multimegaton weapons of the 1950's were phased out of service almost as fast as they were phased in.



THE whole thrust of the arms race, he argues, is now toward miniaturization and accuracy to produce Davids rather than Goliaths, and if this continues "there is a chance we may see not only H-bombs but nuclear weapons of all kinds gradually becoming obsolete. . . . We will have a far better chance of achieving nuclear disarmament if the weapons to be discarded are generally perceived to be not only immoral and dangerous but obsolescent."

The object therefore, Mr. Dyson argues, should be not to "stop the arms race" but to guide it intelligently, to produce weapons with which the military can exercise its legitimate skills rather than blow the world up. He suggests indeed that "modern technology is taking us back towards the eighteenth century, towards the era when small professional armies fought small professional wars."

This is not an unfamiliar goal — it was expounded, for example, by B. H. Liddell Hart in his writings before World War II — but it is one with which I have two problems. The first is that limitations on warfare are determined not only by available technology but also by the social and political culture of the peoples fighting the wars. Political not technological changes ended the era of limited war, and the social transformations initiated by the American and French Revolutions are not reversible by technology. The second is more deeply troubling and I suspect will be more widely shared: Do we really want to make the world safe for conventional war — and if we did, how long would it take for war to become renuclearized?

This is a problem Mr. Dyson himself quite explicitly recognizes. "It is not obvious," he writes, "that [a nonnuclear world] would be more stable or less dangerous than the world in which we are living now." And he maintains that this is something that needs to be carefully considered. I do not profess to know the answer to this question, and I entirely accept that nonnuclear war at its worst is preferable to nuclear war at its mildest. My own fear is that the two are not so easily separable, and that we could end up with the worst of both worlds.

The principle, however, that we should encourage "technological development deliberately aimed towards making nuclear weapons unattractive" is one with which few would quarrel — though I do not believe Mr. Dyson gives sufficient attention to the fact that the people who today find these nightmarish devices "attractive" are not military men who like them because they are destructive but politicians who like them because they are cheap. The "concept" Mr. Dyson advocates is, however, rather more contentious. But it is carefully thought through and deserves equally careful attention.

He starts by explaining with great care why the Americans and the Russians disagree so profoundly about arms control. The American arms-control community believes fundamentally in the principle of "mutually assured destruction," i.e., the deterrence of war by the certainty that whoever provoked it would

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Making the World Safe

suffer as terribly as his victim and that neither would "win." The Russians, still profoundly affected by their own wartime experience, are determined at all costs to survive, as they have survived before and, if war comes, to fight it as best they can. They see the nuclear weapons of both sides as *weapons*, not as *deterrents*. Mr. Dyson succeeds in reconciling the apparently irreconcilable positions of the diplomat and historian George Kennan and the historian Richard Pipes. Like Mr. Kennan, he believes that the Russians' historical experience gives them a mortal dread of another war, whether nuclear or conventional; but like Mr. Pipes, he thinks, if war came, that that historical experience would nerve them to try to fight it through regardless of losses — and further, if they were convinced that it was coming, to strike a pre-emptive blow in order to cripple their adversary.

It is this Soviet will and capacity to pre-empt, Mr. Dyson says, that renders invalid all American "war fighting" doctrines. "Our war fighters," he writes, "with their elaborate plans of limited war have never been able to face the fact that Soviet doctrine of massive pre-emption makes such plans meaningless. Our arms controllers with their fixation on assured destruction have never been able to understand that the driving force of Soviet policy is a determination to survive, and that this deeply rooted will to survive makes assured destruction impossible." It is this incompatibility of concepts that has wrecked arms-control negotiations in the past and will continue to wreck them in the future. For "so long as the Soviet Union refuses to agree to assured destruction, Soviet counterforce weapons and Soviet civil defense will continue to create alarm in American minds, and doubts about the assurance of assured destruction will persist. So long as doubts about assurance persist, our assured-destruction weapons will be considered insufficient and arms-race stability will continue to elude us."

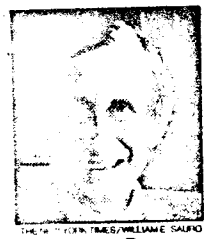
In Mr. Dyson's view, we should ourselves move closer to the Russian position: "The danger of nuclear war can be reduced by an explicit recognition on both sides that counterforce targeting is inevitable as long as nuclear weapons continue to exist." Further, he believes that, like the Russians, we should plan to save as many lives as possible without attempting the impossible task of estimating how many that is likely to be, much less basing any plans on that estimate. "There is no way, short of actually fighting a nuclear war, to find out whether anything worth preserving would survive it. . . . The effects of accurate and inaccurate weapons are equally incalculable." But we should be more concerned about saving American lives than destroying Russian — not so as to "prevail" in a nuclear conflict, but in order to move away from the existing unstable situation, which gives each side the maximum reason for mistrusting the other, toward a defense-dominated equilibrium, or what Mr. Dyson terms a situation of "live and let live."

This is the "concept" Mr. Dyson wishes to see displacing such existing and inadequate ones as assured destruction, nuclear war fighting or unilateral disarmament. As he explains it, "We maintain the capacity to damage you as badly as you can damage us, but we prefer our own protection to your destruction." This would involve the development of *nonnuclear* antiballistic missile systems and their substitution for offensive nuclear missiles; this would be "like the substitution of precision-guided munitions for tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, a giant step in the direction of sanity." The MX missile would be scrapped. Strategic forces (unspecified) would be maintained, "making sure that they are as invulnerable as possible to Soviet attack *and that they are not aimed at anything in particular*" (emphasis added). The American plans for actually fighting nuclear war (the so-called SIOP) would continue to exist, "but the weapons will no longer be poised for its instant execution."

Well, there's the beef, and it should certainly nourish a lively controversy. Mr. Dyson sketches in the problems and implication of his proposals with a very broad hand. Strategic forces "not aimed at anything in particular" is an idea that I for one find difficult to assimilate, and the proposed abandonment of the hard-won agreement limiting anti-ballistic missile emplacement, welcome as it may be to the Reagan Administration, will infuriate most advocates of arms control. Mr. Dyson will need to spell out his ideas with much greater clarity if they are to be taken seriously by military strategists. It is not enough to shrug off the difficulties, as he does, by blandly asserting, "If we decide on moral and political grounds that we choose a defense-dominated world as our long-range objective, the diplomatic and technological means for reaching the objective will sooner or later be found." If things were as simple as that, we would have achieved general and complete disarmament many years ago.

But the flaws in the concept should not blind us to the value of Mr. Dyson's principle — to use technology to guide the arms race constructively, away from nuclear weapons of mass destruction toward *conventional* weapons systems that could be used with skill and precision by professionals so as to cause the least possible damage. So long, that is, as such a development does not lead anyone to believe — as the blitzkrieg led Hitler to believe — that he could once again win in a quick conventional war. □

A Physicist's 'Destiny'



THE NEW YORK TIMES/WILLIAM E. SAURO

Freeman Dyson.

In 1948, J. Robert Oppenheimer, director of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, appointed Freeman Dyson, a young English physicist, to the staff, and told him, "Follow your own destiny." Mr. Dyson is still there, "Disturbing the Universe," as the title of his 1979 book goes. He first began to do so in 1941 after being recruited by C. P. Snow to do research for the Royal Air Force when Britain was under siege by the *Luftwaffe*. In 1957, the physicist became an American citizen.

Occasionally, he serves as a consultant for the Defense Department. At one time he was against the test ban treaty, then came out in favor of it. Asked to define the central theme of his new book, "Weapons and Hope," Mr. Dyson said, "Nuclear weapons have lost any military justification and are purely political. The problem is the weapons that already exist. We have to learn to live without them." — *Herbert Mitgang*

BR REVISED

(17) BR on negroes. Last issue Cherie Ruppe reported that different editions of Marriage and Morals — the 1970 Liveright paperback and the 1976 Unwin paperback, for instance - did not have BR saying the same thing about negroes. (RSN41-7)

Cherie wanted to know who made the change, the author or the publisher? 3 BRS members provided the answer.

TOM STANLEY and RAMON CARTER each referred us to p.431 of The Life of Bertrand Russell by Ronald W. Clark:

> ...when it was about to be reprinted yet again Russell wrote to Stanley Unwin noting,"It has been drawn to may attention that on Page 209 of Marriage and Morals I say,"It seems on the whole fair to regard negroes as on the average inferior to white men." I wish in any future reprint to substitute for the words:"It seems on the whole fair", the words "There is no sound reason".

CALVIN MCCAULAY quotes from page 114 of Dear Bertrand Russell,Feinberg and Kasrils, editors:

> [from a letter to BR] ...do you still consider the negroes an inferior race, as you did when you wrote Marriage and Morals?
>
> [BR's response] I have never held Negroes to be inherently inferior. The statement in Marriage And Morals refers to environmental conditioning. I have had it withdrawn from subsequent editions because it is clearly ambiguous...

Calvin goes on to say:"As a black member of the BRS, I thought it my duty to rush to Lord Russell's defense."

BOOK REVIEWS

(18) Cambridge Essays 1888-99, Volume 1 of "The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell",ed. Kenneth Blackwell, et al,Russell Editorial Project, McMaster University (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983). Cloth - $70. 650pp. Reviewed here by JUSTIN LEIBER, Philosophy Department, University of Houston, Houston, TX 77009. (It was reviewed in the last newsletter by Sidney Hook. RSN41-25).

This is a most satisfactory beginning to the undoubtedly definitive collection of Russell's papers that is expected to amount to twenty-eight volumes. Very sensibly, the editors have chosen first to publish this volume, which contains a number of early unpublished papers, and the seventh volume, due June 1984, which contains The Theory of Knowledge, the 1913 Manuscript, the only unpublished book length piece.

Perhaps the most powerful impression that this first volume makes is how thoroughly false is the easy supposition (a similar mistake is often made about Noam Chomsky) that Russell began by thinking and writing about mathematics, logic, and philosophy, and then gradually, perhaps in fits and starts propelled by circumstance (e.g. World War One),descended into education, economics, and politics. As George Santayana summarized Countess Russell, who directed Russell's education until he went up to Cambridge University, "Bertie must be preserved, pure, religious, and affectionate; he must be fitted to take his grandfather's place as Prime Minister and continue the sacred work of Reform." As with many such preservation plans, matters went rather differently. Religion was perhaps the first to go: purity, reinforced by the shyness engendered by his solitary upbringing, persisted considerably longer. Indeed, this very shyness, which gradually developed a protective layer of iconoclastic clarity and wit, is perhaps all that prevented Countess Russell's plan. So instead of another John Russell we had another Voltaire who was also a distinguished mathematical logician.

Among the many helpful appendices of this volume is a list Russell kept of the books he read 1891-1902 (starting shortly after he entered Cambridge at eighteen). Interestingly, literary works remain predominant throughout. The philosophers with at least five entries, F. H. Bradley, Descartes, Kant, Leibniz, J. S. Mill, and Plato, are equalled by Jane Austin, Robert Browning, Lord Byron, Thomas Carlyle, Gustav Flaubert, Elizabeth Gaskell, Edward Gibbon, George Meredith, John Milton, Walter Pater, W. M. Thackery, and A. N. Tolstoi, and exceeded greatly by Ibsen, Henry James, Shakespeare, Shelley, and Turgenev (whose name Russell spells in four ways and whose books Russell apparently read in German).

The first part of this volume begins with "Greek Exercises," comments written while still at Pembroke Lodge, in English concealed in Greek letters. By the second page we find the sixteen year old Russell writing,

> I hold that, taking free will first to consider, there is no clear dividing line between man and the protozoon. Therefore if we give free will to man, we must give it also to the protozoon. This is rather hard to do. Therefore unless we are willing to give free will to the protozoon, we must not give it to man. This however is possible, but it is difficult to imagine, if, as seems to me probable, protoplasm only came together in the ordinary course of nature, without any special providence from God, then we and all living things are simply kept going by chemical forces and are nothing more wonderful than a tree...(p. 5).

We also see the Liberal aristocratic character of Pembroke Lodge in,

> Argyll alludes to a very strong argument against immorality, which is the inseparable connection of brain and mind. I think this almost makes it plain that the mind retains memory only by storing up motions or possible motions of atoms of the brain, which by being let loose, or by some arrangement or other now quite beyond science, produces recollection. I am getting quite resigned now to the idea of extinction after death, were it not for the restraint upon my speaking out which it imposes... Also it makes goodness a much finer thing, as it takes from it all possibility of reward beyond internal satisfaction For this reason also it makes goodness harder to practice, and is therefore not a religion I should wish to spread among the masses, who might relapse into excesses of immorality. (p. 13).

The rest of the first part consists of essays written for his tutor at Southgate, a cramming school for his entrance exams to Cambridge. These short set pieces are concerned with political and economic topics, they relate Liberal views, and they suggest considerable reading in political economy, including Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, Spencer, J. S. Mill, and contemporary political debate.

The second part is largely "A Locked Diary," mostly written during 1890, the year he entered Trinity College to study mathematics, though it contains entries from 1893-94, mostly concerned with Alys Smith, whom he met in 1889, and to whom he also wrote the next entry, "Marriage" (1893), attempting, with apparent success, to convince her that a feminist rationally might marry in a deplorably male chauvinist environment. Shortly after joining the Cambridge Moral Sciences Club in 1891, Russell had moved that "Women should be admitted to equal political rights with men."

The third part consists of papers read to the Cambridge Apostles between 1893, when Russell began graduate work in philosophy at twenty-one, and 1899, when he left the group. The first argued that political views were invariably held for sentimental rather than rational considerations, and the second argued for the admission of women to the Apostles. In the last of these we find Russell's prose with its characteristic flare,

> To maintain that "Home Sweet Home" gives less pleasure than a Bach fugue, would only be possible for one in bondage to a theory. Nor shall I adopt the really radical puritanical view , that beauty is good neither as means nor as end, but it is an invention of the fiend to tempt us to damnation. Though this is a view I have much sympathy with, and should like, outside the Society, to advocate. (p. 116)

Parts four and five consist of graduate philosophy papers on epistemology and the history of philosophy and on ethics. The first group are set pieces written for James Ward and for G. F. Stout. They are particularly concerned with Bacon, Hobbes, and Descartes, and they show a careful appreciation of these philosophers and of their differences, without displaying the views we have come to associate with Russell. Sidgwick set most of the ethics papers. These generally stem from the Utilitarian tradition, though they show the influence of G. E. Moore, and they are particularly interesting because, while Russell continued to write about ethics, he rarely subsequently addressed such a professional audience. The sumptuous Annotations provide the comments made by Russell's professors.

Parts six and seven consist of Russell's first professional publications, on geometry and on political economy. The geometric papers appearing in MIND and the Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, defend an apriori Kantian view of the common properties of Euclidian and non-Euclidian geometries. The political economy papers, also written in 1895-96, reveal the commitment to socialism and the quantity of research that was soon to lead to the publication of Russell's first book, German Social Democracy. These papers, of which only one has been previously published in English, also suggest a practical interest in political activity and an active and critical engagement with Fabian and Marxist thinking. Nonetheless the man was still diffident and where not visibly so, witty and iconoclastic. I quote from the lightest of these, "The Uses of Luxury,"

> There is a well-worn argument for equality of fortunes, much in favor with Socialists on account of its extreme individualism and atomism. This argument says, that the richer a man is, the less pleasure he can get out of a given amount of money; whence, by a brief and apparently conclusive piece of mathematics, we prove irrefutably that equal division gives the greatest aggregate happiness.
>
> I am far from denying a certain scope to this argument. If, for example, you had a box of chocolate creams to distribute among eighty children, you would do better to distribute them equally all around, than to make one child ill with the whole box, and the others envious. But if your eighty children were psychological novelists, it might be ultimately for the good of everyone to give them a taste of such poignant emotions as envy and indigestion... We may urge, as a possibility, that even if the aggregate of brute happiness, for the moment, were increased by equal division, there would be such a loss in the complexity and variability of individual lives as would counterbalance the mathematical gain. For human beings cannot safely be treated as separate atoms, and our argument took no account of such exquisite pleasures as Dr. Watts must have felt in thanking God that he was rich while others were poor. (p. 320)

So Countess Russell lost her Prime Minister and we gained our Voltaire.

ON NUCLEAR WAR

(19) On The New Kopit Play, musings by William McPherson in the Washington Post (4/16/84 approx.) The play's full title is,"End of the World with Symposium to Follow."

Being more caught up in the old day-to-day, I don't spend a lot of time brooding about the end of our little world. The rain seems depressing enough this morning, not to mention the IRS, without throwing in eschatology and its attendant dreadful events as well—which, barring divine inspiration, can be only speculation in any case.

The Day of Judgment is something I'd rather not speculate about, lacking the sublime confidence in my personal fate that some of my brethren possess, and I'm late with my income tax as usual. Not that Armageddon will affect the Internal Revenue Service. Filed under "Planning Ahead Department" is a yellowing clipping from one of my colleagues that describes what the tax system might look like under various nuclear war scenarios. No need to go into the details, except to note that taxes *will* be collected. (But then, the mail will be delivered, too, provided you've thought to fill in the emergency change-of-address form. You may, after all, want to receive your refund from the IRS. The Post Office has a 300-page plan telling how the whole thing will work, with priority at last given to first-class mail. I've not read the document.)

Looking on the bright side, if this really *is* "the terminal generation," as the Rev. Jerry Falwell suggested in an article in the Outlook section April 8 ("Does Reagan Expect a Nuclear Armageddon?"), and if you happen to be, like the Rev. Falwell, one of the saved, well then you may be driving to the post office with your tax return when —suddenly—the trumpet sounds and whoosh, you've gone up not in a nuclear blast but in the Rapture, leaving the others to fry—or deliver the mail. That's one eschatological view, anyway, and perhaps it will lessen the congestion on Key Bridge as all those Georgetowners strike out for Virginia under the government's emergency relocation program, provided they're raptured before they hit the bridge. (Or—dark thought—maybe the numbers of the saved are a little thin in Georgetown.) In any event, the true believers need not worry about nuclear war or Armageddon because, as Falwell said, "we're going up in the Rapture before any of it occurs." In the words of Revelation, "Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away."

Lucky them. But for those of us who may be stranded in the here and now, and who prefer to interpret the words of Revelation as more metaphorical than strictly prophetic, there is another kind of rapture that goes beyond the pleasure principle and is of more grave concern. It is the rapture caught—mordantly, and, I thought, brilliantly—in Arthur Kopit's play "The End of the World" at the Eisenhower Theater: the apocalyptic, seductive rapture of doom with all the beguiling—and equally seductive—logic that makes the unthinkable thinkable, and the impossible possible—like the Escher print in which the viewer is led, by the trickery of art, to believe what he knows to be untrue: that the water flows endlessly downhill *and* up, "a fail-safe, built-in breakdown machine" (the playwright's words).

"The End of the World" is about nuclear proliferation, but it is not a tract or a polemic; it is, rather, a totally believable and far from simplistic presentation of the irrefutable (and as irrefutably lunatic) logic that could bring us, in a moral system, to an immoral end: not a "pre-emptive strike" but "anticipatory retaliation." The difference, you may perceive, is largely semantical. Nonetheless, the play will give no more comfort to the proponents of a nuclear freeze than it will to those who believe in the possibility of a rational, limited, tactical nuclear war. It asks the question, "Why do we need more nuclear weapons?" And it answers it, not with the madness of a Dr. Strangelove but with the best available logic from the best available minds—minds which turn out to be oddly like Escher's, as visionary, as seductive and as brilliantly paradoxical. "They don't believe what they know," the protagonist says.

"The primal sin of scientists and politicians alike," the physicist Freeman Dyson says, "has been to run after weapons which are technically sweet." He wrote in "Disturbing the Universe" that "somewhere between the gospel of nonviolence and the strategy of mutual assured destruction there must be a middle ground . . which allows killing in self-defense but forbids the purposeless massacre of innocents." Somewhere there must be. I don't know where it is, nor does Arthur Kopit. But he does know something about the irresistible glitter of the apocalypse which is both its horror and its allure, and he gives comfort to no one, except the comfort of laughter, which is real enough. And he knows something about rapture, too, not the rapid transit of Rev. Falwell with its happy ending for some, but the rapture of evil and death, which, in the words of the play, is "very, very seductive."

George Bernard Shaw's theory in "Back to Methusaleh" was that people die because they want to die. The beguiling quality of apocalyptic thinking is that it solves all problems. It's rather like rapture—the rapture of the deep, which is, of course, deadly.

The writer is a member of the editorial page staff.

NEWS ABOUT MEMBERS

(20) Dong-In Bae has returned to South Korea from West Germany,where he had been given political asylum and had been living for a number of years. "The Korean Government had been hesitant about allowing me to return. They gave permission only when one of my friends, a member of Parliament and of the governing party, vouched for me. I have settled in Chuncheon, where I got a lectureship. When the slow bureaucratic process is finally completed, I expect to be a professor. I will give 'Introduction to Sociology'on Tuesdays, 'Theory of Social Welfare' and 'Introduction to Anthropology' on Wednesdays. I find this work very meaningful. I am also deeply conscious that it is a matter of great responsibility.

"As for the Korean Bertrand Russell Society: it is no longer incorporated (in accordance with the members' wishes, and my own). The group still exists in Germany, though it is smaller and its ability to fulfill its aims more limited. I think a few active members will continue to publish "The Torch".

"The Government here, as a sign of liberalization, has given autonomy to the universities, starting the beginning of March. Whether it will result in positive effects, I can hardly say, but I certainly welcome the political direction in which it points; but I do not think that it it alone is enough to bring about a democratic social order in this country.

"I have had no difficulties, such as repressions by the CIA or any other authorities in my personal every-day life because .of my political activities in Germany. Personally, I am content with my new job and my new life, and especially with this calm city of Chuncheon, called the Vienna of Korea, with its relatively clean air, few cars on the streets, beautiful rivers, lakes and mountains. I bicycle to the University and enjoy it, just as in Cologne."

(21) Adam Paul Banner is getting married (probably is married by now). He and his bride will move to Ann Arbor in the near future. "I have at long last been able to practice Lesson Number Two in life. What is Lesson Number Two? How not to forget Lesson Number One. What is Lesson Number One? How to be patient with life, with self, and with others..."

(22) Francisco Giron B. has returned to his native El Salvador, after studying in Hamburg and Glasgow for the past several years. He writes (1/30/84):"Last week the fourth congressman of the rightist political party,"ARENA", was murdered. Some PDC congressmen have also been killed, through this almost 4-year-old war.This disproves the argument of the Marxist-Leninists that to participate in the elections would be suicide for those belonging to their party. There is indeed the danger of getting killed for taking part in the electoral process, but this chance is equally high for those in the right, center or far left.

"Being a social democrat myself, I do not support PDC or ARENA; yet I consider it my obligation to expose the vices of the Marxist-Leninists, vices best described by Bertrand Russell in his short essay, 'Why I Am Not A Communist.'"

(23) Jim McWilliams tried his hand at driving a big rig (for big money, we assume.) It was not a success, from Jim's point of view. He suffered. Excerpts from his letters:

> My third day on the road, headed north toward Fort Worth, Texas, at 4:30A.M. The lout I was riding with turned the truck over at 65 miles per hour. He went to the hospital and I went on another truck. I felt like quitting but wanted to recoup the money I borrowed to go to the truck driving school.
>
> My second week on the road I got into a blizzard while driving through Chicago during the evening rush hour. Not much later that night, I was stuck in a snowbank on a closed highway in Ohio.
>
> I'm paid only 9 1/2 cents a mile, and for the last 24 hours I've been sitting in a cold,bleak terminal yard here in Baltimore, eating 80 cent doughnuts and making no money.
>
> [After driving in New England] I had always felt I would not want to live up here in this cold country, and now I know it. I am weary of snow- and ice-covered highways, of truck stops and freight yards filled with mud, diesel and slush. This is no life at all. It is a nightmare.
>
> Rummaging through a bag of dilapidated paperbacks and waste paper here in the driver's lounge,I found a coverless copy of The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell,1872-1914. How it got here, I'll never know. I am reading in the"Appendix:Greek Exercises." We have felt much alike, he and I. He says, in "Childhood", "What stays in my mind is the impression of sunshine." And earlier,"I grew accustomed to wide horizons and to an unimpeded view of the sunset. And I have never since beer able to live happily without both." It is what I have known and wanted and, when this nightmare is finished, it is what I will have again, sunshine and wide horizons,in South Texas.
>
> I have just retired from over-the-road trucking. My advice is: What ever you do, don't keep on truckin'. I'm not coming to the meeting in Toronto . I have to go to summer school and work on my teaching certification. Anyway, after this past winter, I do not want to see the Midwest and the Northeast for a long time.

(24) Warren Allen Smith has been his usual remarkably active self. His year-end letter mentions that: he will attend his Minburn (Iowa) High School's summer reunion; he is into his 35th year as high school teacher (English); he continues, with Fernando Vargas, to operate his recording studio; he continues to be active in Mensa's investment club, as stock selection chairman -- to mention some of the ways in which he manages to pass the time. "The West Indian I've been tutoring for over three years had to drop out of

Manhattan College because of money problems,so (despite the fact that he'd once stolen a TV set from me) I let him move in with me in Stamford — he's now on his feet, working as a chauffeur for a Mobil exec. (and as an assistant for their 18-year-old blind and retarded 'son' whom they picked up on the streets of Iran years ago — what an inspiring act on their part!), and this past week I've helped him register as a Democrat, and get his driver's license in Connecticut. If everything works out, he'll be paying 1/3 of my rent and supplying some welcome noise around the place..."

HONORARY MEMBERS

(25) Freeman Dyson on Joseph Rotblat, in The New Yorker (Feb. 20, 1984, p. 67):

> Some of the people who worked under Oppenheimer at Los Alamos asked themselves afterward, "Why did we not stop when the Germans surrendered?" For many of them, and for Oppenheimer in particular, the principal motivation for joining the project at the beginning had been the fear that Hitler might get the bomb first. The Germans had a large number of competent scientists, including the original discoverers of nuclear fission; and a secret German uranium project was known to exist. The danger that Hitler might acquire nuclear weapons and use them to conquer the world seemed real and urgent. But that danger had disappeared by the end of 1944, when it became known that the German uranium project had not progressed far enough to make the manufacture of bombs a serious possibility. Nobody imagined that Japan was in a position to develop nuclear weapons. So the primary argument that persuaded British and American scientists to go to Los Alamos had ceased to be valid long before the Trinity test. It would have been possible for them to stop. They might at least have paused to ask the question whether in the new circumstances it was wise to go ahead to the actual production of weapons. Only one man paused. The one who paused was Joseph Rotblat, from Liverpool, who, to his everlasting credit, resigned his position at Los Alamos and left the laboratory in December, 1944. Eleven years later, Rotblat helped Bertrand Russell to launch the Pugwash movement, an informal international association of scientists dedicated to the cause of peace. From that time until today, Rotblat has remained one of the moving spirits of Pugwash.

This excerpt is from a 4-part New Yorker series now published in book form. The book is reviewed in this issue (14,16).

BRS LIBRARY

(26) Books to lend. BRS Librarian JACK RAGSDALE lists the books on the next page. No charge for borrowing. Borrower pays postage both ways. Please send postage (in any form) when requesting books; any excess will be refunded in stamps. A schedule of postage within the USA is shown; those outside the USA can determine the weight from the postage schedule: 37 cents represents 2 oz (first class);63 cents, 1 lb.(book);86 cents, 2 lbs. (book). Beyond that, better consult Jack; his address is on Page 1, bottom. We will list books for sale in a future issue.

When no author is named, the work is by BR. The donor's name appears at the end.

1. History of Western Philosophy. Jack Ragsdale.
2. Mysticism and Logic.
3. Bertrand Russell's Best. Edited by R.E. Egner. Ramon Suzara.
4. An Outline of Philosophy. Ramon Suzara.
5. Autobiography of Bertrand Russell, Vol.1. Ramon Suzara.
6. Let Me Die Before I Wake. by Derek Humphry. The Author.
7. Essay on Bertrand Russell. Edited by E.D. Klemke. Bob Davis.
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9. Authority and The Individual. Don Jackanicz.
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33. Marriage and Morals. Don Jackanicz.
34. Dear Bertrand Russell. Jack Ragsdale.
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36. Human Knowledge: Its Scope and Limits. Jack Ragsdale.
37. Why I Am Not A Christian. Jack Ragsdale.
38. The Evolution of Conscience. Ralph Newman. Jack Ragsdale.
39. The Conquest of Happiness. Lee Eisler.
40. The ABC of Relativity. Lee Eisler.
41. Bertrand Russell, The Passonate Sceptic. by Alan Wood. Don Jackanicz.
42. Mortals and Others. Don Jackanicz.
43. Unarmed Victory. Don Jackanicz.
44. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation its aims and its work.
45. Yes to Life. by Corliss Lamont. The Author.
46. Russell. by A.J. Ayer. Ramon Suzara.
47. The Will to Doubt. Ramon Suzara.
48. The Life of Bertrand Russell. by Donald W. Clark. Ramon Suzara.
49. The Problems of Philosophy. Ramon Suzara.
50. Unpopular Essays. Ramon Suzara.
51. Human Society in Ethics and Politics. Don Jackanicz.
52. Principles and Perplexities: Studies of Dualism in Selected Essays and Fiction of Bertrand Russell. by Gladys Leithauser. Don Jackanicz.
53. Photos, 1983 BRS Annual Meeting at McMaster University, June 24-26, 1983. Jim McWilliams.
54. The Art of Fund Raising. by Irving Warner.
55. The Grass Roots Fundraising Book. by Joan Flanagan.
56. Dear Russell -- Dear Jourdain. by I. Grattan-Guiness. Bob Davis.
57. Why Men Fight. Bob Davis.
58. Grants. by Virginia White.
59. Fund Raising for the Small Organization. by Philip Sheridan.
60. The Grantsmanship Center Training Program. Bob Davis.
61. Nonprofit Organization Handbook. by P.V. and D.M. Gaby. Bob Davis.
62. Successful Fundraising Techniques. by Daniel Conrad.
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64. Great Americans Examine Religion. by Ralph de Sola. Jack Ragsdale.
65. But For The Grace of God. by Peter Cranford. Jack Ragsdale.

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TOWARD NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

(27) A Dyson Interview in the Washington Post (4/9/84, B1) throws some light on Dyson's remarkable ability to reconcile apparently irreconcilable points of view. In his new book ,Weapons And Hope, he demonstrates that he understands the outlook of each of the two adversaries, the the military and the peace movement, the "warriors" and the "victims",as he calls them — something no one else, as far as we know, has been able to do. What's more, he threads his way through all the arguments and shows how the opposing positions can eventually be reconciled, and a non-nuclear world achieved. Quite a feat!

Here is a brief excerpt from the Washington Post interview:

> At first, his sci-clan loyalties led to hawkish pronouncements like the one he wrote for Foreign Affairs in 1960: "Any country which renounces for itself the development of nuclear weapons, without certain knowledge that its adversaries have done the same, is likely to find itself in the position of the Polish Army in 1939, fighting tanks with horses." But by the mid-'70s, he was calling that statement "a desperate attempt to salvage an untenable position with spurious emotional claptrap" and arguing (in "Disturbing the Universe") that "somewhere between the gospel of nonviolence and the strategy of mutual assured destruction there must be a middle ground . . . which allows killing in self-defense but forbids the purposeless massacre of innocents."
>
> The conciliatory syntax is pure Dyson, who is never more comfortable than when wrapped in seeming antitheses. He first gained fame in his twenties by reconciling two apparently contradictory accounts of quantum electrodynamics and later tried to do the same for spin waves. "Oh yes. Physics is full of this idea of complementarity, which was the gospel according to Niels Bohr—that in order to understand something, you needed to look at it from two anithetical points of view." And "that style of description is very much a habit with me, so it's sort of natural to describe things that way outside of physics." As in the new book, which he begins by observing that the nuclear debate is divided into "warriors" and "victims" and that "my task is to explain them to each other, to fit together the split halves of our world into a single picture."

"Disturbing the Universe", referred to above, is Dyson's earlier book.

CONTRIBUTIONS

(28) We thank these members for contributing to the BRS Treasury: STEVE DAHLBY, RICHARD FRANK, DAVID GOLDMAN, TERRY HILDEBRAND, JOHN HARPER.JR., JOHN JACKANICZ, SUSANA IDA MAGGI, and RAMON CARTER SUZARA. Much appreciated!

(29) Giving is its own reward. Or is it? Find out! Make a contribution to the BRS Treasury and see if you don't get satisfaction from the realization that you are helping to support something you think worthwhile. Send your contribution — any amount — c/o the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.

NEW MEMBERS

(30) We welcome these new members:

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(31) These are the current addresses:

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JACK RAGSDALE/4461 23rd St./San Francisco, CA 94114
LUDWIG SLUSKY (previously misspelled)/903 19th St.(11)/Greeley, CO 80631
KENNETH SOLOMON & MONNYE GROSS/1052 Coddington Way/St. Louis, MO 63132

RELIGION

(32) O'Hair is gloomy, as reported in the New York Times (4/20/84, p. A10):

Leader of Atheist Center Sees U.S. Heading Into 'Legally Bound Theocracy'

By ROBERT REINHOLD
Special to The New York Times

AUSTIN, Tex., April 16 — Madalyn Murray O'Hair walked out to the parking lot of her American Atheist Center here and pointed at the six-foot fence topped with three strands of barbed wire and then at the front window. "We had 11 bullet holes in that window, our truck window was broken out several times, our tires punctured and they poisoned our beautiful palm trees with salt water," she scowled, shaking her head. "Christian people are nasty."

The sense of siege hanging over the center on the northwest side of this capital city of Texas, deep in the Bible Belt, is symbolic of the growing defensiveness of her atheist movement at a time of renewed entry of religion into American political and governmental affairs.

Just over 20 years ago, Mrs. O'Hair won a landmark Supreme Court decision that outlawed the recitation of officially sanctioned prayers in the public schools as a violation of the First Ammendment ban on establishment of an official religion. But today, long after she thought the battle was over, Mrs. O'Hair watches with dismay as new attempts are made to reintroduce prayer into the schools through a constitutional amendment, as the Supreme Court approves a city-sponsored Nativity scene in Pawtucket, R.I., and as the Reagan Administration appoints an Ambassador to the Vatican.

She Sees a Legal Theocracy

"I think church-state separation in the United States has been absolutely wiped out and we are headed into a legally bound theocracy that you would not believe," she said. "And as we head into that I feel more and more people are dropping away from religion."

This Easter weekend, with a flair for the provocative symbols that has marked Mrs. O'Hair's long crusade against what she sees as the "evil" forces of religion and idolatry, the American Atheists will hold their 14th annual convention in Lexington, Ky.

The convention will have much to discuss. And Mrs. O'Hair, not exactly a shrinking violet, seems almost to warm to the prospect of a new fight against what she sees as the pernicious intrusion of the church into public matters: school prayers, tuition tax credits for parents of parochial school pupils, tax exemptions for church property, the use of religious symbols on currency, and crusades against abortion and sex education.

But her strategy, she said, has changed. Her sharpest weapon, the judicial system, has been blunted. "We have totally abandoned lawsuits now," she said. "The courts are absolutely inhospitable to us. There's no way we can win."

What has changed in 20 years? "We have moved into a reactionary phase in our politics," she said. "It is totally reflected in our courts. Tell me any minority group that's having a good time. We cannot go to the President after Roosevelt. The legislative branch has always been under the domination of religious groups."

They Promise Big Ratings

Her new strategy is "education"; that is, publicity. "We have decided it is necessary for us to get on television," she said, and a regular television "forum" is shown on 32 cable outlets in the country. In addition, with a nose for controversy, the atheists distribute a "media handbook" that promises radio and television producers that an atheist speaker will "1. make those phones ring, 2. boost your ratings, 3. bring in the mail."

"I have been on more television and radio programs than other other person in the United States over this 20-year period," Mrs. O'Hair said, with characteristic understatement. "And there has been more written about me."

Not all of it has been flattering. Her combative approach has alienated some potential allies among religious groups that profess a belief in church-state separation, including the Seventh-day Adventists, Southern Baptists and Jews, and even some fellow atheists and agnostics. She has called the Bible an "idiotic" book and offended many Jews by her anti-Zionism.

Such allies are unwanted, Mrs. O'Hair says. "When you get down to the nitty gritty," she said, "and we say to a church, O.K., you want to play church-state separation, let's you voluntarily start paying an equivalent of what your taxation should be, they head for the door. They do not care to be involved with us at all, because we mean church-state separation. The Seventh-day Adventists have the greatest reputation as separationists. But they took more land from the U.S. Government tax-free after World War II. Thirty percent of all privately owned land is owned by churches and church institutions. What does that mean for my taxes?"

Small Donations Rise

Have her members been galvanized by the religious upsurge? Mrs. O'Hair refuses to disclose membership figures. "We don't want to play numbers games because it is not important," she said. She said that nearly all support came from "grass roots" memberships at $40 each, $15 for students and the elderly, and from small donations, which she said did seem to have increased in recent months. The center occupies a 32-room, 7,225 square-foot building and employs 11 people.

Mrs. O'Hair speaks out against almost every aspect of American government. Among the Democratic Presidential candidates, she notes that former Vice President Walter F. Mondale is a minister's son, Senator Gary Hart has a divinity degree and the Rev. Jesse Jackson is a minister. And, she points out, President Reagan regularly invokes religious themes to support his policies.

Behind all this she sees the culmination of nearly 40 years of anti-Communism. "After World War II," she said, "the U.S. Government said to the Christian community, 'We want you as allies, we're going to be Christian good guys, Christian capitalists in the white hats and we are going to be fighting the dark and nasty atheistic Communists.' And it worked."

Recently, Mrs. O'Hair said, Larry Flynt, the publisher of Hustler magazine, offered to sign over his assets, reportedly worth $300 million, to the Atheist Center. While she said she did not endorse pornography, Mrs. O'Hair supports Mr. Flynt's testing of the limits of free expression.

Mrs. O'Hair said she and her son, Jon Murray, considered the offer for a month but declined. "Religion is the reason for the perversion of human sexuality, with the sin and fear and guilt," she said, "There would be no pornography if sex were just as open as food. So we had this choice of profiting from the effect or fighting the cause of it. I admit to insanity. Think what I could so with $300 million — I could make the Supreme Court eat their decisions."

We think there's a lot in what O'Hair says, but why does she have to say it the way she does? Why kick the Seventh Day Adventists in the teeth — who are on her side for separation of church and state? Too bad she doesn't follow George Bernard Shaw's advice to social reformers: one thing at a time. "If you are campaigning against women's high heels, be sure to be wearing a smart hat."

---

(33) Epicurus puts the question this way ——→

(Thank you, HUGH McVEIGH)

HOW COMES EVIL?

Either God wants to abolish evil,
and cannot;
Or he can, but does not want to;
Or he cannot, and does not want to.

If he wants to, but cannot,
he is impotent.
If he can, but does not want to,
he is wicked.
If he neither can, nor wants to,
He is both powerless and wicked.

But if God can abolish evil,
and wants to,
Then how comes evil into the world ?

-EPICURUS
Greek Philosopher
341-270 B.C.

BRS AWARD

(34) Dora accepts the offer of the 1984 BRS Award (RSN41-49), we are delighted to report. Here is her letter of acceptance:

Carn Voel
Porthcurno
Penzance
Cornwall TR19 6LN

5 March 1984

Donald W Jackanicz
The Bertrand Russell Society INc
901 6th St SW — 712A
Washington
DC 20024
USA

Dear Donald Jackanicz

Thankyou very much for your letter of 23 February saying that the Bertrand Russell Society wishes to present me with their award. I feel this to be a very great honour and thank you and the Committee very much.

I doubt very much if my age will permit my coming to America. I am physically fit, but find travel difficult and tiring; I cannot walk far and almost need a wheelchair.

The other difficulty is commitments to writing here at home, which must be done - the third autobiography is not yet finished, due to the fact that the BBC and ITV have been visiting me with camera teams and taking up my time and energy.

I do thank you all very much. I would like to meet you, but I don't think this will be possible. I would like to congratulate the Bertrand Russell Society on the very fine work which it has done and is continuing to do.

Yours very sincerely

Dora Russell

Dora Russell

BR ATTACKED

(35) By Albert Barnes. After the CCNY incident, BR gave a series of talks at the Barnes Foundation. In the foreword to his best-seller, A History of Western Philosophy, BR wrote, "This book owes its existence to Dr. Albert C. Barnes, having been originally designed and partly delivered as lectures at the Barnes Foundation in Pennsylvania." Barnes owned a patent medicine, Argyrol, which had made him rich. Barnes fired BR in 1940. BR sued for breach of contract, and won. "Barnes then published this pamphlet in his own defense, to show just cause for his firing of BR. BR stated that, 'No doubt it was good reading.'" We are indebted to AL SECKEL for the remarks in quotation marks, as well for the pamphlet, which follows:

THE CASE OF

Bertrand Russell vs. Democracy and Education

by

ALBERT C. BARNES

Two years ago the newspapers of three continents informed their readers that Bertrand Russell had been ousted from a highly paid job and named me as the person responsible. More recently the same papers reported that Mr. Russell had won his suit for alleged breach of contract. *What they have not reported is that we were never given an opportunity to present in Court the circumstances which led to Mr. Russell's dismissal.* The purpose of this pamphlet is to put on record publicly the facts responsible for a serious break in the most vital strands in the fabric of American life.

My own connection with Mr. Russell's career began in 1940. In February of that year he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the College of the City of New York, and a bitter public outcry immediately arose that Mr. Russell was morally unfit to teach, that his appointment was a civic outrage. On March 30, Justice John E. McGeehan, of the Supreme Court of New York, voided the appointment, chiefly on the ground that Mr. Russell was an open advocate of immorality. Largely through political chicanery, Mr. Russell was *denied the right of his day in Court.* Convinced that this constituted a flagrant violation of the Bill of Rights, John Dewey and eight other scholars representing the Committee for Cultural Freedom prepared an account of the facts and the law involved, which appeared in a book entitled "The Bertrand Russell Case." To this I contributed a Foreword; also the cost of publication.

In this Foreword I wrote:

> "The book is simply the record of an inquiry into the *facts* of the case—an inquiry conducted by specialists qualified to examine its manifold aspects and to relate their findings to the principles of justice, law, humanity, and common decency, as these are set forth in the Constitution of the United States and in the Bill of Rights."

This Foreword, as quoted, is equally applicable to the present case; and the recital which follows is prompted by the same concern for justice and a full airing of the facts that prompted the book in question when Mr. Russell was the victim.

The plight of Mr. Russell, deprived by Justice McGeehan's decision of the constitutional right to a fair trial, came at a moment when the Barnes Foundation had decided to supplement its courses in the appreciation of art by a systematic course in the historical and cultural conditions under which the traditions of art developed. Mr. Russell's early training in philosophy, his knowledge of the history of ideas, and his gifts of exposition seemed adequate qualification for the position to be filled. Though I knew of Mr. Russell's propensity for getting himself embroiled with established law and order, and was aware that after brief engagements at Harvard, Chicago, and the University of California he had been permanently retained nowhere, I decided to take the risk of recommending him for the position at the Barnes Foundation. My friend, Professor Dewey, wrote to Mr. Russell to inquire whether he would be interested and, upon his receiving a favorable reply, I went to California to discuss the matter with Mr. Russell himself.

I explained fully to Mr. Russell that for more than twenty years we had been conducting a plan of adult education, putting into practice, by means of scientific method, the conceptions propounded in Dewey's classic volume, "Democracy and Education"; I told him that we employed the same method, not of authority handed down from above but of free discussion, in which staff and students participated by pooling their knowledge and endeavoring to achieve a genuinely shared experience. I told him that at a weekly staff meeting the teachers discussed problems presented by their students; that applicants for classes had to be approved by the Board of Trustees, and that those selected were required to attend classes regularly and were expelled if their behavior interfered with the rights of any other student.

Having thus put before Mr. Russell the program of the Foundation and the functions of its teachers, I asked if he approved and if he wished to become a member of the staff. He replied emphatically that he did approve and that it would be "a pleasure, a privilege and an honor" to be identified with the program. The plan outlined to coordinate Mr. Russell's course with those already in operation at the Foundation would take five years to complete, including preparation of a book embodying Mr. Russell's lectures. He asked for a contract to cover the entire five-year period and we agreed upon six thousand dollars as yearly salary. Four days after a contract embodying these terms was executed, Mr. Russell wrote me: "You have made the most enormous difference to my peace of mind and power of work—more than I can possibly express."

About a month later, Mr. Russell called at my office and told me that he would be compelled to abandon popular lecturing if he were to do his work for us properly, but that the sacrifice of income involved would present him with a serious financial problem. When I asked him exactly what the amount of the sacrifice would be, he told me that it would be two thousand dollars a year, and added that he was sick and tired of popular lecturing and wished to devote all his energies to serious work. Upon my further inquiry whether he meant that if I could arrange for an increase in his salary from six to eight thousand dollars he would agree to discontinue all popular lectures and give the time thus saved to work for the Foundation, he eagerly assented, reserving only the right to deliver, "a very occasional lecture to some university audience." On this basis, his salary was increased to $8,000.00 per year. Four weeks later he wrote me, "I look forward to a quiet life without popular lecturing, which I hate."

In my conversation with Mr. Russell in California, I had particularly emphasized the fact that our educational program was a joint enterprise, involving participation by all the members of our staff as well as our students. Accordingly, I arranged for a meeting of Mr. Russell and our other teachers at the earliest possible moment after he assumed his duties. The result of this meeting was completely barren: Mr. Russell showed not the slightest interest in what the other teachers were doing, or desire to acquaint them with his plans for his own course, or the purposes he intended to carry out in it. He evidently had no conception of what was implied in a cooperative undertaking and no desire to find out. This was our first intimation of the shape of things to come.

During the first five months of his stay at the Foundation, Mr. Russell lectured for the most part extemporaneously, with reference to his manuscript chiefly for topics or to quote *verbatim*. He was fluent, vivacious and witty, and the students were attentive and interested; on the other hand, he never attempted to relate the content of his lectures to the students' interest in art, and certainly not in the slightest degree to what they learned in our other courses. He lectured only once every week, from October 1 to May 31 each year. He was in the habit of entering the building just in time for the start of his one-hour lecture at quarter after two, devoting never more than fifteen minutes to answering questions after the class, and then leaving the building immediately. Never did he mingle with the students on informal terms or encourage those who were shy to ask him questions in individual conversation, or seek to discover angles of approach that they might find interesting or enlightening.

In one of his lectures, when a question of morals was raised, Mr. Russell roundly asserted that issues involving ultimate moral or social values could not be settled by the use of scientific method, but only by a "bash on the head"—by violence or terror. Nothing better illustrates Mr. Russell's substitute for scientific method than his procedure whenever a question relating to religion or morals came up for discussion. When, for example, he discussed the Jewish rituals, it was in a tone of ridicule and derision; and on one occasion he related with great gusto a story about an anonymous book, the thesis of which was that "the three greatest impostors in history were Moses, the Virgin Mary, and Jesus Christ." Mr. Russell added, gleefully, that since the author of the book is not known, "I would now like to put in my claim for its authorship."

In one of his books, Mr. Russell refers to a type of condescension "which delicately impresses inferiors with a sense of their own crudity." It was this manner of condescension which served as Mr. Russell's "bash on the head" to intimidate and reduce to silence anyone who might be disposed to submit his opinions to discussion, By it he established a reign of terror which isolated him from his students as effectively as he had already isolated himself from his colleagues.

Almost immediately upon Mr. Russell's arrival in Philadelphia, and before he assumed his duties at the Foundation, it became apparent that there was a disturbing factor in the situation of which we had had no previous inkling. This factor was Mr. Russell's wife. At the outset she made it known to us that she is "Lady Russell." Her demeanor contained more than a suggestion of imperiousness, and her manner with the members of the staff made it apparent that she expected to exercise distinctly unusual prerogatives. She arrogated to herself the right to attend classes without complying with the usual formalities, and at whatever time suited her own convenience. On one occasion she burst into the building and created a scene by a loud and imperious command to one of the members of the Board of Trustees. This tantrum was one of a series of disturbing events which began soon after Mr. Russell's course started and recurred frequently.

A rising tide of complaint from members of the class testified that the normal management of the Foundation's affairs was being disrupted by her disorderly conduct—to put it mildly. A written report given to Mr. Russell called his attention to recorded details of this impossible situation and its lamentable incongruity with an educational program designed to embody equal rights for all. His reply was that he had not shown the complaint to his wife and that he hoped the matter would go no further—a reply which gave the impression that fear of his wife's reaction to the complaint deterred him from informing her about it, and that no remedial action could be expected from him.

Several months later, Mrs. Russell's continued defiance of law and order necessitated official action by the Board of Trustees. She was informed that—"The Foundation has never been a place where people may drop in occasionally, at their own volition, nor is any person whosoever allowed to do things that interfere with the rights of others or are harmful to the Foundation's interests."

Her reply to this was a tirade composed of arrogance, rage and self-pity. Mr. Russell's contribution to the incident was a curt and incisive note in support of his wife. The correspondence closed with a reminder to Mr. Russell that "when we engaged you to teach, we did not obligate ourselves to endure forever the trouble-making propensities of your wife." The question thus forced upon us was to settle whether autocracy or democracy was to prevail in the conduct of the Foundation's affairs. It was settled by a formal notice to Mrs. Russell to stay away from the Foundation.

With this dismissal of his wife, a steady deterioration in the quality of Mr. Russell's lectures set in. His manner in the classroom lost its animation and grew perfunctory, even apathetic. More and more he merely read from his manuscript, and more and more what he read consisted of matter accessible to all in standard works of reference. Often he spoke so fast that a skilled stenographer could not take accurate notes of what he said. During the discussion period after the class he was increasingly disposed to answer questions with a chuckle, a wisecrack, or a reply which subjected the questioner to ridicule.

The result showed quickly in the attendance figures, and became constantly more unmistakable. Absences multiplied; more and more members withdrew entirely from the class; it was the better students who went, the poorer who stayed. By December of 1942, of the sixty selected students originally admitted, only eleven were left.

Shortly after the beginning of the second year of his course, a fresh development came to light which compelled us to review the whole situation of which Mr. Russell was a part. It will be remembered that a few weeks after Mr. Russell was engaged and the amount of his salary fixed, his annual salary was increased by two thousand dollars, in consideration of which he was to discontinue popular lecturing after April 1, 1941, when a contract for popular lectures expired. Now we learned that at a time subsequent to that date Mr. Russell had gone back to popular lecturing; not to giving, in the terms he had used in his letter to me, "a very occasional lecture to some university audience," but to widespread popular lecturing even though, after his salary had been increased, he had written me, "I look forward to a quiet life, without popular lecturing, which I hate."

With this gross breach of contract in mind, we began to consider the question of his dismissal from the staff, but delayed action for several months while we submitted the entire evidence to a group of distinguished authorities in ethics and law. The legal experts' opinion was that he had broken his contract by popular lecturing and by his upholding of Mrs. Russell's disorderly conduct. The ethical support of the legal opinion was based upon Mr. Russell's performance as a member of the Foundation's teaching staff; that is, he never made any efforts to bring what he was doing into fruitful relationship with the work of his colleagues; his lectures appeared to be a task for him and had been a dreary ordeal for those who had abandoned the class; he had made not a single contribution to the solution of problems confronting the rest of the teaching staff or to the organization as a whole. Never, in short, did Mr. Russell in any manner or degree identify himself with the Foundation's program of democracy in education. His appearance for one hour and fifteen minutes, once a week, for which he received two hundred and fifty dollars each time, amounted to punching a time clock in order to obtain an inordinately large paycheck. Finally, in December, 1942, we decided that the farce could go on no longer and he was dismissed.

* * * * * *

The foregoing recital sets forth the circumstances under which Bertrand Russell joined the staff of the Barnes Foundation, the conditions to which he agreed at the outset, and the failure on his part to live up to those conditions which resulted in his dismissal. A brief summary now of the aims and methods of the Foundation's educational program will reveal the conflict between Mr. Russell's autocratic and authoritarian attitude toward life and the democratic and scientific attitude on which the Foundation's program has always been based.

The account of this program which follows consists of a simplified statement of the fundamentals of the philosophy of John Dewey as applied to education. This system rests on the axiom that the indispensable elements of the democratic way of life—scientific method as intelligence in operation, art, education—are all bound together in a single organic whole. To put the matter in other terms, all genuine experience is intelligent experience, experience guided by insight derived from science, illuminated by art, and made a common possession through education. This conception has implications of the most far-reaching import. When the common experience which ought to be the birthright of all human beings is broken by barriers of ignorance, class-prejudice, or economic status, the individual thus isolated loses his status as a civilized human being, and the restoration of his wholeness is possible only by reestablishment of the broken linkage.

Applied to the field of education, this conception implies that the prevailing academic methods of instruction in art are misdirected from the very beginning. What the student needs to know is not how men of genius produced immortal masterpieces long ago, but how in the world that his own eyes show him he can discover more and more of what lends

color and zest to what he does from day to day. The masterpieces have their indispensable function, but it is the function of guiding and training the student's own perception, not of standing in remote isolation as objects of worship or occasions for gush.

The misconception which identifies art with what is remote, high-flown or artificial is paralleled by another which confines science to the laboratory or lecture-hall. If the chemist is thought of as operating exclusively with balances and test-tubes, the astronomer as helpless without a telescope, or the historian as a reader of volumes or manuscripts in a library, the essential factor of scientific procedure is lost sight of. Science is science not because laboratory apparatus or words of a technical vocabulary are employed, but because observation and reflection are joined and correlated by methods that have proved themselves to be illuminating and fruitful. The problems with which science is concerned originate outside the laboratory—in the fields which must be tilled, the swamps that must be drained, the epidemics that must be controlled, the refractory human beings whose acts and purposes must be harmonized for the sake of a good social order. As the problems crystallize, possible solutions take form in the realm of hypothesis, and it is in the laboratory that these receive their first experimental test; but the testing is never complete until the course of reflection has flowed out into the world again, and human activities there have been given a wider scope and a richer meaning.

Education is growth, the development of the faculties with which every normal child is born. Growth is gradual, fostered only by means of communication between the individual and his world. Education provides an orderly progression of the means by which the avenues of communication are gradually widened in scope. It is a never-ending process that extends from the cradle to the grave. "Gradual" means a succession of steps or stages. If the learner attempts to vault over the stages through which natural growth inevitably proceeds, the result is pretense or self-deception, sham erudition masquerading as "culture." It is a view only too widely prevalent that what is "common" is commonplace, and hence contemptible; that distinction consists in avoiding and despising the common; and this is the view that inevitably leads in practice to the gentility which is only another name for vulgarity. In contrast, any work which proceeds from real living has its own integrity and dignity and whether it succeeds or fails never sinks into the meretricious or tawdry.

The interconnection of science and art becomes more fully apparent when we consider them both as means of communication, as indispensables in all educational movements. Born, as we all are, helpless and speechless and dependent upon others for all the necessities of life, we must acquire slowly and gradually the capacities which make life more than a sum of vegetative and animal processes. As the utterly self-centered and uncomprehending infant develops, the chaos which is his world begins to take on order and to mirror the objective world which lies about him. He learns to relate his cries, wails and random movements to what the things, and especially the persons, in his environment *do* to him. At some point in his growth he grasps the difference between things, which simply affect him, and persons who communicate with him. Throughout the rest of his life he elaborates the distinction. He learns that he must not treat persons as things: this is the dawn of morality. He learns that a more penetrating, a more comprehensive grasp of things enables him to do with them what he could never do by his untutored impulses: this is the dawn of science. He learns, for example, that with particular tones of his voice, gestures, combinations of words, he can make others aware of what he sees with his mind's eye: this is the dawn of art.

Morality, science, art, all alike, are forms of communication, possible only through the sharing of experience which constitutes civilized living. In its widest sense, education includes all of them; but only if education is conceived, not in the conventional sense, as preparation for life, but as living itself. To have conceived education thus, and to have developed the conception until it covers the whole field of human experience, has been the supreme achievement of John Dewey—an achievement rarely paralleled in scope in the entire history of education.

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The foregoing consideration makes it possible to state briefly the case against Bertrand Russell. If education is designed to enrich the experience of the student by making him an active participant in the widest and deepest experiences which art, science, and civilization have developed, then Bertrand Russell contributed little or nothing to the education of his class. The reason for his failure was that he himself had no conception of democracy as a sharing in significant experience. The history of ideas about which he lectured was a history of abstractions torn from their human context, with not the slightest recognition of the concrete fulness of experience throughout all its history. In the religious and moral history of the past Mr. Russell could see mainly an occasion for derision and contempt. Above all, he felt so little share in the desire of his students to relate the things he was talking about to their own experience, that the fear of his ridicule froze on their lips the questions that they would have liked to ask. If they learned anything whatever of democracy in education from him, it was because he presented them with the perfect example of its antithesis.

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RELIGION

(36) From the New York Times (3/18/84, 20E):

Letters

School Prayer vs. the Atheist Child's Civil Right

To the Editor:

The debate over the return of organized prayer to public schools has been disappointing for the silence of a group that ought to be among the most vocal: the atheists. Unfortunately, atheism is a political anathema, unjustly associated with Communism and immorality in the minds of most Americans, so that atheists hesitate to assert their rights for fear of public denunciation and scorn.

Proponents of school prayer claim that we all worship the same God, and ought to do so together in the classroom. Opponents object that no meaningful form of worship can be found that would satisfy everyone. While this objection is surely valid, the claim of atheists is far stronger.

Religious freedom includes the right to accept or reject any religious doctrine, including the existence of a God. To protect this freedom, we must not allow the state to encourage or discourage any particular religious belief. Any official sanction of organized prayer in public schools violates the religious freedom of atheists and must be prohibited. Of

course, individual students may pray in school on their own time, but no figure of authority should encourage or discourage such prayer. Then no student's rights will be violated.

Some people argue that in a democracy we must respect the wishes of the majority; if the majority wants school prayer, so be it. But democracy means more than just majority rule, which can lead to oppression of minorities. This has happened to blacks in America, Jews in Nazi Germany and various minorities in today's Iran.

To prevent such tyranny, the Constitution establishes strict limits on the application of majority rule. The basic civil rights of a minority must be respected, no matter how small the group or how unpopular its opinions. And one of these rights is that of an atheist to his or her beliefs.

It is sad to see our country moving away from these principles. The Supreme Court has decided that government may spend tax money to display religious symbols in public places and to pay armed services chaplains. Now some people would see the state coerce atheist children (they do exist) to pray to a God in which they do not believe.

ON DISARMAMENT TALKS

(37) From the New York Times (2/13/84, E19):

Poor Record on Arms

By Herbert Scoville Jr.

President's public-relations blitz

McLEAN, Va. — President Reagan has started his re-election campaign with a public-relations attempt to demonstrate that he and his Administration have been serious about controlling nuclear weapons and reducing the risk of nuclear war. But this public-relations blitz does nothing to change President Reagan's dismal record on the nuclear war issue, which is critical to our survival.

The blitz began with the President's own deceptively placatory speech designed to convince our allies that he really wished accommodation with the Soviet Union. Next, Paul H. Nitze, his negotiator for intermediate-range nuclear forces talks at Geneva, and then Edward L. Rowny, his strategic arms reduction talks negotiator, appeared in print and on television, arguing that the Administration's negotiating positions were sound and flexible. Secretary of State George P. Shultz said in Stockholm on Jan. 17 that Washington was ready "for early progress" once arms control negotiations were resumed.

In fact, the President deserves scant credit for any improvement in his arms control policy. Only under pressure from people in this country and Europe did he initiate any arms control negotiations. The talks on intermediate-range forces were started 10 months into his term and then only at European leaders' insistence — demands generated by the public outcry over the forthcoming deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. The strategic arms reduction talks were not begun until 17 months after Mr. Reagan took over and again only as a result of widespread American public alarm among freeze-movement activists, physicians, scientists, lawyers and other concerned organizations.

What in fact has the President done to curtail the arms race?

• He postponed indefinitely the negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty even though these talks had been supported by every Republican and Democratic President since Dwight D. Eisenhower. The need to do more nuclear testing was cited as the reason for putting off the talks.

• He sent the Threshold Test Ban and Peaceful Nuclear Explosion Treaties, signed by Presidents Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford, back to Moscow for revision.

• He refused to resume discussion on limiting anti-satellite weapons and, instead moved with high priority to begin testing an advanced weapons system for destroying Soviet space vehicles.

• He proposed vast and expensive programs for ballistic missile defense systems, which could require abrogation of the Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972, the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 and the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963.

Negotiations have been used not merely to cover inaction in real arms control but also to justify the procurement of new nuclear war fighting weapons as bargaining chips.

The President's original position at the intermediate-range forces talks — the so-called zero option for eliminating all Soviet nuclear weapons aimed at Europe in exchange for American agreement to forego the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles — was palpably nonnegotiable, and Administration spokesmen admitted that they expected no encouraging Soviet response until after the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles were deployed in Europe.

Now that such deployment has begun, the Russians have predictably broken off negotiations and begun to pursue an equally misguided course — deploying more missiles aimed at Western Europe. The only ray of light in these talks was the so-called walk-in-the-woods of Mr. Nitze and his counterpart, Yuli Kvitsinsky, in which the chief American negotiator privately offered to postpone deployment of the Pershing 2 missiles. Yet, in the aftermath of this unofficial move, the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Eugene V. Rostow, was forced to resign for his "overzealousness."

The Administration has been required to modify its original proposal several times under Western European pressure, yet it still has not faced up, even implicitly, to the real roadblock in these negotiations — the British and French strategic nuclear weapons aimed at the Soviet Union. It is not surprising for the Soviet Union, the only country in the Eastern bloc with nuclear weapons, to be unwilling to ignore these forces — 162 missiles being modernized with multiple warheads. Only now, when the Russians have broken off the intermediate-range forces talks and removed Mr. Reagan's cover for failure to deal seriously with this problem, has the Administration given even the slightest indication of being willing to merge talks about intermediate-range forces with negotiations about reducing intercontinental weapons — a possible politically acceptable tactic for dealing with this thorny issue.

The strategic arms reduction talks are also headed nowhere — Mr. Rowny's optimism notwithstanding. No date has been set for their resumption. In this case, too, our initial negotiating position was clearly unacceptable — and would have decreased American security had it been accepted. Its primary weakness — that it would have increased the vulnerability of the weapons by which both the Americans and Russians deter a first strike and thus would have made a nuclear war more likely — was recognized by the bipartisan commission on the MX missile. The American position was subsequently modified, but as long as Mr. Reagan insists that the MX and the Trident 2 missiles be the mainstays of the American force, he will be undermining the stability of the nuclear balance.

Now Mr. Rowny has expressed optimism that the Russians will soon return to the table and negotiate seriously. Yet he admits that our proposals, which he recently discussed with President Reagan, are no different from those presented last October and that the Russians have shown little interest in them. In fact, Yuri V. Andropov's death makes it even more unlikely that talks will be resumed.

Mr. Rowny also proclaims that Washington is at last willing to discuss trade-offs of Soviet and American advantages in certain classes of weapons. Such trade-offs are, of course, the essence of any successful arms control negotiations, and yet it is only after three years in office that Mr. Reagan is prepared to discuss such a deal.

Given this record of delayed action, cover-ups and political posturing, it is hardly surprising that the American people are skeptical about the President's seriousness about arms control. The President was successful in getting some gullible Congressmen to support the procurement of MX missiles because they did not want to be blamed for his arms control failure. But in the absence of any negotiations, it is unlikely that he will be equally successful in conning the American people in this election year. This explains his real concern about the suspension of all nuclear weapons talks with Moscow.

Herbert Scoville Jr., former assistant director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, is president of the Arms Control Association.

ELECTION OF DIRECTORS

(38) Nominations for Directors, please. We wish to elect 8 Directors this year, for 3-year terms starting 1/1/85, which will give us a total of 24 Directors. The August newsletter will provide a ballot for voting. In this (May) newsletter we seek the candidates who will be on the ballot.

We are asking you to nominate candidates. Any member may nominate any other member to be a Director-Candidate.

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

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

We would like to have more than 8 names on the ballot,so as to give members a choice.

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

Directors whose terms expire in 1984 are JACQUELINE BERTHON-PAYON, BOB DAVIS, ALEX DELY, LEE EISLER, HUGH MOORHEAD, JACK RAGSDALE, and HARRY RUJA. They are eligible for re-election.

To nominate someone — or to volunteer yourself — write the Election Committee,c/o the newsletter, address on Page 1,bottom.

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