RUSSELL SOCIETY NEWS
No. 43
August 1984

((1)) Highlights: Volunteer needed (36). 1984 Annual Meeting in Toronto (2,49,50). Two anti-nuclear letters (24). 4 books reviewed (13,25,26). New BRS Book Award; nominations wanted (8). Members to vote on revised bylaws (54). Doctoral Grant doubled (9). Hook's portrait of BR (6). Tapes to lend (28). Membership list (51). Time to vote (34,54). Index (53). An asterisk in the left column indicates a request.

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## ANNUAL MEETING (TORONTO, 1984)

((2)) This report is in 3 parts. Part 1: The Conference. Part 2: The Society's Annual Meeting. Part 3: The Board's Annual Meeting.

Part 1, the Conference. It was titled "Russell Conference 84". It was sponsored 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). It dealt with BR's early technical work.

Here is the program:

**RUSSELL CONFERENCE 1984**
**On Russell's Early Technical Philosophy**

**Trinity College, University of Toronto**
**June 21-24, 1984**

**Thursday, June 21 Registration and Reception**

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| 5:00-8:00 | Registration 5:00-8:00 at Trinity College, Porter's Lodge, at 6 Hoskin Avenue<br>Reception 7:00-8:00 in Senior Combination Room, Trinity College |

**ALL CONFERENCE SESSIONS IN IGNATIEFF THEATRE, TRINITY COLLEGE**

**Friday, June 22 Welcome, General Remarks and Information on the Conference**

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| 9:30-10:00 | Welcome and Information on Conference - Ian Winchester<br>Opening Remarks and Welcome - Kenneth Hare, Provost of Trinity<br>The Russell Editorial Project - Richard Rempel, Director |

**Session I: From the Foundations of Geometry to Leibniz**

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| 10:00-11:00 | Russell's Conception of Philosophy - John Slater (Toronto) |
| 11:00-11:15 | Coffee |
| 11:15-12:30 | Russell's Foundations of Geometry - Joan Richards (Brown) |
| 12:30- 1:30 | Lunch: The Quadrangle, Trinity College |
| 1:30 - 2:30 | The Tiergarten Programme - Nick Griffen (McMaster) |
| 2:30 -3:30 | The Picture of Physical Science in 'Leibniz' and 'the Principles'- Ian Winchester (OISE) |
| 3:30 - 3:45 | Coffee |
| 3:45 - 4:45 | The Roots of Russell's Discovery of the Paradoxes in Logic and Set Theory - Greg Moore (Stanford) |
| 7:00 -10:00 | Banquet: The University Faculty Club, 41 Willcocks Ave.<br>Speaker: W. V. O. Quine<br>(All registrants and participants) |

**Saturday, June 23**

**Session II: Early Work on the Theory of Knowledge and the Philosophy of Mind**

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| 9:00 -10:00 | Russell's Scientific Realism - Michael Bradie (Bowling Green) |
| 10:00-11:00 | Neutral Monism - Bob Tully (Toronto) |
| 11:00-11:15 | Coffee |
| 11:15-12:15 | Russell's Re-Evaluation of Meinong - Janet Farrell-Smith (U. Mass.) |

**Session III: Philosophy of Logic and Language From the Principles to Principia**

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| 1:30 - 2:30 | The Propositional Logic of Principia Mathematica and Some of Its Forerunners - Daniel O'Leary (Maine) |
| 2:30 - 3:30 | Russell's Zigzag Path to the Ramified Theory of Types- Alasdair Urqhart (Toronto) |
| 3:30 - 3:45 | Coffee |
| 3:45 - 4:45 | Russell's Logical Manuscripts: An Apprehensive Brief - I. Grattan-Guinness (Middlesex Polytechnic) |
| 4:45 - 5:45 | Extension to Geometry of Principia Mathematica and Related Systems - Martha Harrell (St. John's) |
| 6:00 - 7:30 | Supper - Open |
| 7:30 -10:30 | The Bertrand Russell Society, General Meeting in the Boardroom, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor St. W. |

Sunday, June 24, 1984
Session IV: Logical Questions in the Principia

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| 9:00-10:45 | The Referential Uses of Definite Descriptions - Michael Seymour (Université de Québec) |
| | On the Efficacity of Substitutional Quantifiers for the Elimination of Classes in Principia Mathematica - Jocelyne Couture (Université de Montréal) |
| 10:45-11:00 | Coffee |
| 11:00-12:30 | Panel Discussion on the Tenability of Russell's Early Technical Philosophy - A.J. Ayer, Nicholas Griffin, Robert Tully, I. Grattan-Guinness |
| 12:30- 2:00 | Lunch: Open |
| 2:00 - 5:30 | Russell Editorial Project Meeting, Project Meeting in the Boardroom, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education |

The locale was the University of Toronto, with its handsome English-university-style buildings. From the attractive green campus, you would never guess that it is located in the center of a great city.

The facilities were excellent. All BRS members were housed in the same building, located just across the street from the site of the Conference. The BRS Annual Meeting was held in the splendid Conference Room at the Institute (OISE). We are indebted to Prof. IAN WINCHESTER (who, we are happy to report, joined the BRS during the Conference) and to his colleagues at the University of Toronto for many courtesies.

23 members were there: KEN BLACKWELL, JOHN DALE, DENNIS DARLAND. BILL EASTMAN, LEE EISLER, ALEJANDRO GARCIADIEGO, DAVID HART, DON JACKANICZ, MARVIN KOHL, GLADYS LEITHAUSER, JOHN LENZ, ARTHUR LEWIS, BOB LOMBARDI, STEVE MARAGIDES, HUGH MOORHEAD, DAN O'LEARY, FRANK PAGE, PAUL PFALZNER, STEVE REINHARDT, HARRY RUJA, CARL SPADONI, and JOHN VAN WISSEN; plus two who joined during the Annual Meeting, STEFAN ANDERSSON and IAN WINCHESTER. Also present were Honorary Members KATE TAIT and A. J. AYER, the latter as a participant in the Conference.

Part 2, the Society's Annual Meeting. Here are highlights. The Minutes provide more details (49).

- KEN BLACKWELL reported that LESTER DENONN is gravely ill. President Jackanicz will write a letter to his wife, Bess.
- DENNIS DARLAND reported that the BRS is solvent, with a year-end balance of $1734.41.
- LEE EISLER reported on a questionnaire he had sent to dropouts, that had brought some of them back.
- BOB LOMBARDI moved that we send letters to world leaders, mostly against nuclear weapons. The motion carried (in part).
- STEVE MARAGIDES moved that a 1986 Meeting in Britain be seriously considered. The motion carried.
- HUGH MOORHEAD reported that the amount of the BRS Doctoral Grant will be doubled, to $1000 in 1985. Hugh also praised the newsletter, as had a letter from PAUL ARTHUR SCHILPP.
- HARRY RUJA named the Officers elected for 1984-85, and invited members to submit names for the new BRS Book Award.
- JOHN VAN WISSEN moved that we thank IAN WINCHESTER for planning the Conference and providing us with excellent facilities. The motion carried, with warm applause.
- IAN WINCHESTER will place BRS notices (ads) in journals read by educators, at no cost to the BRS.

Part 3, the Board's Annual Meeting. Here are highlights. For more, see the Minutes (50).

- The BRS Doctoral Grant was increased from $500 to $1000, for 1985.
- The BRS Book Award will be given for the first time in 1985. Members should submit books for consideration.
- The work of the Human Rights/Int'l Development Committee (Alex Dely, Chairman) was authorized for another year.
- JOHN JACKANICZ was named the BRS Corporate Agent in the State of Illinois.
- Society Officers were elected for 1984-85.
- Board Officers were elected for 1984-85.
- Proposed revised Bylaws for the Society were reviewed, and will be submitted to the members for approval.
- Revised Bylaws for the Board were submitted to the Board, reviewed, and approved.

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## REPORTS FROM OFFICERS

(3) President Don Jackanicz reports:

With the fine 1984 Annual Meeting behind us, we can now look forward to a June 1985 Annual Meeting in Washington, DC. I had hoped 1985 would see us making plans for an Annual Meeting in Britain. To that end, I contacted representatives of the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, and London, and also received encouragement from Dora Russell. Such a Meeting, I feel, is feasible. Perhaps in 1986 it will happen.

At this time I ask all members to note the last weekend in June 1985 on their calendars, to consider the possibility of attending the '85 Meeting, and to inform me of agenda proposals, including proposals to present a paper. I would also benefit from hearing your thoughts on a 1986 Meeting in Britain.

I would like to thank Lee Eisler and Steve Reinhardt who worked with me to review and suggest improvements in the Bylaws. There are 2 sets of Bylaws, the Board's and the Society's. The proposed changes in both sets were reviewed at the Toronto Meeting. The Board formally adopted its own new Bylaws, subject to the Society's approval of the new Society Bylaws. Such work can be technically demanding, and at times may resemble medieval theology, but it can result -- as I trust it has in this case -- in a firmer organizational basis for the Society.

Hearty thanks, too, go to Jack Ragsdale who has headed the BRS Library for the past several years. He has decided to step down from his post as BRS Librarian, and now we must find a successor. If you might be interested, let me know . (901 6th St., SW(712A)/Washington, DC 20024).

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## REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES

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

The Bertrand Russell Society announces a call for papers to be presented at its meeting at the Eastern Division of the American Philosophical Association in December 1985. Papers may be on any aspect of Russell's philosophy. They should have a reading time of about one half-hour, and should be submitted in triplicate, typed and double-spaced, with an abstract of not more than 150 words. The name of the author, with his address and the title of the paper, should be submitted on a separate page. The submission deadline is May 15, 1985, and the papers should be sent to David E. Johnson, The Bertrand Russell Society, Sampson Hall, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD 21402. Those desiring the return of their papers should enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

The above announcement appears in journals read by professional philosophers.

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## BR, WRITER OF LETTERS

(5) A 1963 letter, with thanks to OPHELIA HOOPES:

From: The Earl Russell, O.M., F.R.S.,
PLAS PENRHYN,
PENRHYNDEUDRAETH,
MERIONETH.
TEL. PENRHYNDEUDRAETH 248.
28 September 1963

Mrs. Mary E. Edling,
Recording, Secretary,
Everglades Chapter,
American Humanist Association.

Dear Mrs. Edling,

Thank you very much for your letter. I should wish to send the following message:

"The danger of dogma and of cruelty which results from dogma is best illustrated by the "Holy War" now being conducted by the United States and the Soviet Union. The two sides have stockpiled the equivalent of 320,000 million tons of T.N.T. To exhaust this arsenal of death it would be necessary to employ all of the destructive power used in the Second World War each day for 146 years.

The United States has stockpiled as well 130,000 nerve gas bombs, which, if used, would eliminate life on the land areas of the earth eight times over.

All of this barbaric cruelty is the result of the dogma which obsesses men concerning the "evil" of the Power designated as the enemy of the moment. Free thought entails the responsibility to challenge cruel myths. I hope you will carry on this struggle which is essential to the survival of mankind."

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Bertrand Russell

Bertrand Russell.

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ABOUT BERTRAND RUSSELL

(6) "A Portrait from Memory". We are indebted to KEN BLACKWELL for alerting us to the following article by Sidney Hook, which ran in "Encounter"(U.K.,March 1984). It is sometimes fascinating and sometimes nasty, wit the kind of nastiness sometimes found in gossip columns. Hook is clearly ambivalent about BR. As he says,"O all the persons I have known, the one I have come closest to hero-worshipping has been Bertrand Russell." Nevertheless, he accused BR of anti-Semitism and of being a "spokesman for appeasement and surrender to Communism", in an article in "Commentary"(July 1976) (RSN NL12-62). Hook is an ex-Communist, a reformed sinner, so to speak, who -- as often happens with reformed sinners -- swings to the opposite pole: after leaving the Communists, become an anti-Communist hard-liner. He says:"So long as we keep our guard up and do not capitulate [to Communism] as Kennan or Russell would have us do...etc."(RSN39-10)

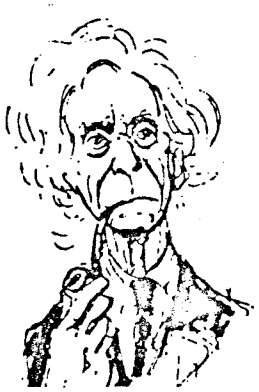
The Hook article follows, after a brief excerpt from Ken Blackwell's Editor's Notes in "Russell"(Vol.4, no. 1. Summer 1984, Page.v).

*Editor's notes* v

**Sidney Hook's "Portrait from Memory".** In the March 1984 issue of *Encounter* there is an essay by Sidney Hook on Russell's character. Hook knew Russell well over a period of twenty years and before that, as early as WWI, had been influenced by Russell's *Justice in War-Time*. The essay reveals many fascinating details about Russell, although to Hook "they seem too irrelevant to Russell the philosopher". This material will reappear in Hook's forthcoming autobiography. I have had the opportunity of editing a transcript of Hook's 1953 BBC discussion with Russell on "The Nature of Liberal Civilization". By this time their disagreements were becoming sharper, and Hook came to regard Russell's political writings as "even surpass[ing] the political libels of the Communists in the darkest days of the Cold War". The story of Russell's concern over McCarthyism has yet to be investigated thoroughly, though a start has been made in Volume 2 of Feinberg and Kasrils' *Bertrand Russell's America*. His dictation of the early 1950s—which I am currently indexing—includes this advice in a letter of August 1952 to a Mr. Latey, who had asked him for assistance in studying the threat to U.S. civil liberties: "There is another thing that you must be on your guard against. Unpopular opinions, if avowed, make it almost impossible to earn a living, but economic as opposed to legal penalties are usually ignored by those who maintain that America is a free country." Also helpful in understanding Russell's conception of economic as opposed to political terror is a large file of F.B.I. documents on Russell, acquired through Harry Ruja at the suggestion of John Slater.

# Bertrand Russell

## *A Portrait from Memory*



THERE ARE SOME individuals of whom it would not be unjust or even unkind to say that they had outlived themselves. They do not have to be historical personages. We all know men and women who have become so transformed by age and experience that they no longer exhibit those distinctive traits of thought, feeling and character that have defined their personality in our recollection of them. Their physical presence blurs the memory of what they used to be. I am not referring to any pathological changes associated with premature senility. The individual is as rational and coherent as ever but the pattern of judgment and behaviour is so different from what we have been accustomed to that we could easily imagine we are hearing or observing another person.

Bertrand Russell used to say that Socrates was the luckiest of men. He died at the right time and in the right way for a noble cause. And had Russell died at about the same age as Socrates there would have been no puzzle to decipher about his subsequent judgments and behaviour. No one who knew him during the first 80 years of his life would have thought it conceivable that before he died Russell would hail the régime of the ruthless Communist dictator Ho Chi Minh as the hope of progressive mankind, or lavish fawning compliments on Nikita Khrushchev, who crushed the Hungarian Revolution, as a token of his high regard during the Cuban missile crisis which Khrushchev precipitated by introducing nuclear weapons into Cuba.

I have already written a critique in my *Philosophy and Public Policy* (1980) of this sad chapter in Russell's life and shall not discuss his final years except peripherally. The Bertrand Russell who meant so much to me has little in common with the shrill and querulous anti-American who was quite prepared (or so he said) to accept the horrors and terror of universal Communist domination should the Kremlin refuse reasonable measures of disarmament. The image of the Bertrand Russell I shall write about still lives in me (and only the personal and philosophical influence of John Dewey was greater).

I HAVE NEVER BEEN a hero-worshipper, not even when young. Of all the persons I have known, the one I have come closest to hero-worshipping has been Bertrand Russell. This was not because of his moral traits but purely because of his intellectual virtues among which his matchless courage, expounding and defending unorthodoxies in theory and practice, was the most inspiring. My ardour and boundless admiration were all the more remarkable because, except for a brief interlude towards the end of my undergraduate studies, when I was attracted by the earlier vintage of his Platonic realism, I have never shared Russell's philosophical views.

My first encounter with Bertrand Russell was in his role as a publicist. As a student in a New York City high school, embattled with all my heart and soul against United States participation in World War I, I stumbled upon Russell's *Justice in War Time*. Atrocity-mongering against the Germans was at its height, and Russell's cool demolition of the myths about Teutonic frightfulness against Belgian children and other horror stories confirmed my scepticism of wartime propaganda. His passionate lucidity and dedication to the truth sustained me in the difficult years immediately after the Armistice when it was extremely hazardous to life and limb in the United States publicly to espouse the socialist cause, which was automatically equated with being "pro-German" and "anti-American", and then with "Bolshevism."

My first glimpse of Bertrand Russell in the flesh came from the gallery of Carnegie Hall in 1924 when he debated with Scott Nearing on the desirability of a Communist revolution in the

West. Nearing's simplistic mind failed to grasp the force and logic of Russell's argument. So much so that, fortified by the applause of a partisan audience consisting mostly of C[illegible]nist sympathisers (the hard-core members were just em[illegible]g from the underground to form the then Worker's Party), Nearing imagined that he had carried off the honours. He remained simple-minded to the end of his days.

My second glimpse of Russell was at the dinner in honour of my teacher, Morris R. Cohen, in the fall of 1927—a dinner arranged to protect Cohen from anticipated administrative reprisals at the hands of the President of the College of the City of New York (CCNY), Frederick B. Robinson. The issue was Cohen's intellectual independence and support of the agitation of his son, Felix, a student leader, against compulsory military training (ROTC). In a burst of political and collegial solidarity with Cohen all the speakers and celebrants exaggerated Cohen's philosophical stature and pedagogical gifts.[1]

Russell, who was in New York that fall, was approached to serve as one of the speakers. He had never heard of Morris R. Cohen (Harold Laski to the contrary notwithstanding) and wanted to know why he should speak at a dinner in Cohen's honour. He was not impressed by the report of Cohen's intense intellectual admiration of him or of the academic political atmosphere at CCNY. But when he was told that he would receive a fee of $50 for some brief remarks, he promptly accepted with the observation: "Those are fifty good reasons!" Some of Cohen's philosophical reprints were left with him and at the dinner he made a clever little speech saying that he had discovered that he had something in common with Cohen, that they were both members of one of the smallest minorities in the world, viz, those interested in symbolic logic. (Cohen's interest in the subject at that time was actually quite peripheral.) Cohen himself was deeply moved by Russell's presence. I shall never forget, however, the look of unfeigned astonishment on Russell's face when Cohen in his reply turned to Russell and said: "If any man has been my philosophical Allah, it has been Bertrand Russell." Those of us who had studied with Cohen knew that his tribute was quite genuine. Although Cohen was n[illegible]a disciple nor a devotee of any of Russell's doctrines, w[illegible]r in mathematics or epistemology, his homage to Russell as a thinker was unqualified. Those of his students who had not, like myself, already acquired this admiration on their own, absorbed it from Cohen, so to speak, by classroom osmosis.

MY FIRST FACE-TO-FACE MEETING with Russell took place in the spring of 1930—I am not sure of the exact date—at the home of V. F. Calverton whose daughter, Joy, was a student at Russell's school in England. Because of my own inhibitions at the time, the meeting was a shattering experience. Calverton, a literary entrepreneurial talent, knew and cultivated everybody of importance in those days. Aware of how I felt about Russell—he had gone out of his way to arrange the meeting—he may have been trying to impress me with the degree of his familiarity with Russell.

[1] Cohen, by the way, believed every word that was said of him that night. The rest of his life was bathed in the afterglow of its euphoria. Incisively critical of all large claims, sceptical with a devastating humour of all rhetorical exaggeration by or about others, Cohen took the holiday tributes rendered him as literally true.

[2] *Commentary* (New York), September and November 1952.

I arrived before Russell did. He appeared a few minutes later. No sooner had we been introduced than Calverton turned to him and said: "Well, you old s.o.b. What have you been up to? I was in the 'john' with Joy the other day. Do you know what she told me after she watched me peeing? 'Daddy, Uncle Bertie's wee-wee is larger than yours.'"

"Bless her little heart", Russell responded without turning a hair, "for her generous commendation."

"Well", grumbled Calverton with a kind of mock indig[illegible], "I hope she's learning more than this kind of b[illegible]logy."

The rest of the details of this bantering colloquy were lost on me. Russell complained about the financial cost of the school and the difficulties of recruiting new children. I made several efforts to change the conversation, but they were turned aside. Calverton, who regarded me as somewhat of a prude because I had expressed disdain for his sexological excursions—in this area he was 30 years ahead of his time—seemed to enjoy my discomfiture. Russell puffed away on his pipe until the time came for him to leave for another appointment. Calverton promised to arrange another meeting for philosophical conversation, but it never came off. My guess at the time was that Russell hadn't even heard my name and I was therefore somewhat surprised, when my *Towards the Understanding of Marx* was published in London a few years later, to learn from Calverton that Russell had written to him about its reception.

I GOT TO KNOW Russell rather well on the occasion of the disgraceful incident of the cancellation of his teaching post at CCNY in 1940. The Committee for Cultural Freedom, of whose Executive Committee I was co-chairman, called a public meeting on Russell's behalf and organised a large protest movement that resulted in many letters to the press and wide editorial support for him. It was of no avail because of Mayor Fiorello La Guardia's defection from the liberal principles he had previously mouthed. After Russell lost his post at CCNY, John Dewey arranged for him to give lectures at the Barnes Institute of Fine Arts at Merion (Pennsylvania). I have described elsewhere[2] the incidents that led to Albert C. Barnes' animosity towards Patricia, Russell's third wife, and then towards Russell himself who in the circumstances had to stand by his wife. It ended in Russell's peremptory dismissal and a period of acute financial distress for him. By this time, having arranged for some lectures for Russell at the social-democratic Rand School where I acted as a kind of educational advisor, I learned from Russell himself the details of the rift. I was wholeheartedly on the side of Russell, having met Barnes and been repelled by his ruffianly treatment of anyone who took issue with him. I advised Russell, who in these matters was an innocent, on how to behave in order to have a watertight legal case against Barnes. (Having served on the Council of the American Association of University Professors a few years earlier, I had learned a great deal about procedure.)

I arranged weekly lectures for Russell at the Rand School, met him when he came in from Pennsylvania, spent the day with him, and dined with him before the lecture. Russell loved parties, and after his lecture we would go to the homes of Greenwich Village friends; Russell, drinking freely, would hold forth on topics I fed to him out of my insatiable curiosity concerning his past life and thought. Russell enjoyed every minute of it although years later he complained that I made him talk philosophical shop, which on similar social occasions in England was taboo. I often arranged, at considerable inconvenience to some of my friends—Herbert Solow, Houston Peterson, and others who were infected by my protective enthusiasm for Russell—for Russell to spend the night in New York. I once took him home to Brooklyn, but the trip was tiring for him. As Chairman of the "Conference on Methods in Science and Philosophy", I built a programme around him where he could confront Reinhold Niebuhr in a discussion of naturalism. Niebuhr took evasive action by writing his paper on "The Naturalism of F. J. E. Woodbridge", whose views were unfamiliar to Russell. But the discussion was sharp and exciting, although Russell complained that the basic terms like "faith" and "naturalism" were not precisely defined.

It was at this Conference that I unwittingly overheard some strong words between him and Patricia, who seemed to be concerned about his overtaxing himself. Russell was excessively sensitive about any behaviour towards him that seemed to take considerate notice of his age. He would sometimes react to a point of rudeness towards anyone who out of ordinary, conventional kindness treated him as an "oldster." The only time he lost his temper with me was when I tried to carry his Gladstone bag the six blocks from the subway station in Brooklyn to my home. Since I was 30 years younger and sported only a portfolio, it seemed natural for me to carry it. "Don't treat me like an old man", he growled, elbowing me vigorously away from his bag. Judging by his flirtatious behaviour towards any comely woman around who was impressed by his reputation or conversation, he certainly didn't act like an old man.

FOR ALMOST A YEAR I saw more of him than of anyone else among my friends; we talked mostly philosophy and some politics, and I drew him out (long before he wrote about them) on the philosophers of the past whom he had known, question[illegible] him on details of articles he had written (of which I was an avid reader) and about which his memory was surprisingly fresh and accurate. During all this time, I never heard him repeat himself on any matter of substance, although subsequently he wrote about the persons and incidents he discussed in almost the same words he used when talking about them with me. His spontaneous conversation had the same coherent structure, incisiveness, wit, and brilliant finish as his published prose. (The only thing I found disconcerting was that he laughed uproariously at his own jokes.)

It was intellectually the most exciting year I had ever experienced, although I confess it was not give-and-take, but mostly take, on my part. Russell seized every opportunity I provided to hold forth to admiring audiences. He once said to me: "I have never been made a fuss over before—I must say, it's rather pleasant." His remark at the time seemed odd to me. I assumed that as the greatest mind in England, he had always been lionised. Looking back, it now appears to me that he was enjoying some emotional recompense for the bitter experience of the First World War years, for his alienation from friends like Alfred North Whitehead (his co-author of the great *Principia Mathematica* of 1910) which grieved him deeply, and especially for the searing experience of the débâcle at CCNY and the injustice suffered at the hands of Albert Barnes which brought to fever heat his latent anti-American prejudices. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why a man so painfully and meticulously truthful about himself should, in reporting events in America, deliberately and maliciously invent and exaggerate incidents that even surpassed the political libels of the Communists in the darkest days of the Cold War. (I shall cite examples below.)

PERHAPS WHAT GAVE RUSSELL the greatest intellectual pleasure and satisfaction was the celebration I arranged for his 70th birthday at the Hotel Brevoort at the bottom of Fifth Avenue. He had never had a *Festschrift* (the Schilp volume had not yet appeared), and his 60th and 65th birthdays had gone unheralded and unremarked. It was a comparatively small and cosy affair. Patricia, his lustrous redhaired wife, was among the few wives present—very much *Lady* Russell, chain-smoking cigarettes out of a miniature pipe. I had invited about 25 philosophers from the metropolitan region, all of whom greatly admired Russell regardless of their technical disagreements. (Because John Dewey had sided with Barnes, I knew he would not attend even if he were invited.) After coffee and liqueurs had been served, we went around the long table twice, each philosopher putting a question to Russell about problems and difficulties in his views. I had briefed the participants on the procedure, and each one came well prepared.

How I regret that no record was kept! Russell was at the top of his form. The wine and the atmosphere gave him an exhilaration that intensified his normal effervescence. My recollection of the philosophical upshot of that evening was that it consisted of a kind of repudiation of all varieties of platonism and positivism, of epistemological dualism, of pacifism and utilitarianism, and a wry disavowal of the rhetoric of the "Free Man's Worship." The one or two political questions elicited Russell's unqualified opposition and fear of Communism despite the growing popularity of the Soviet Union as a wartime ally in the war against Hitler. He glossed over the fact that he had been in favour of the Munich settlement. Although a sceptical empiricist, there was no intimation that Russell would subscribe to the ontological assumptions subsequently developed in his book on *Human Knowledge* (1948).

The party broke up late. Everybody had enjoyed it, Russell most of all. Patricia, who had always held me at arm's length as a grubby little commoner, was particularly gracious. She had antagonised most of those present by explaining that she was anxious to get back to England as soon as possible because she feared that Conrad, her son by Russell, on whom Russell doted as his Benjamin (he once sadly told me that his children by Dora, his second wife, had turned out disappointingly), would acquire "that atrocious American accent." Most outraged of all at this remark was William Pepperil Montague, an unreconstructed Platonic realist, and an indigenous American who happened to speak English with an impeccable Oxford accent.

After the dinner, Russell invited my wife and me to his apartment at the Brevoort to have a nightcap. Russell was in a most mellow mood. He had enjoyed the evening immensely. But he soon turned dour, and then angry. I had casually remarked that some of the evening's discourse reminded me of

Plato's *Symposium*, and the conversation turned to the nature of love. Patricia asserted with more than her usual vehemence that all love, and especially romantic love, was based on pity. My wife and I demurred at this arbitrary view, and so did Russell with a few gruff words. He then lapsed into a moody silence, his jaws clamped on the stem of his pipe, as Patricia kept insisting in a rising voice on her viewpoint and denying that she had confused, as I suggested, compassion with love. The atmosphere became tense and painful, and we took leave as quickly as we could, fearing that our innocent observation would provoke a conjugal quarrel. It was not so much the absurdity of the sentiment Patricia voiced that angered Russell but what it revealed about her feeling for him which clashed with the image of himself as an irresistible gallant.

AS SOON AS HE COULD, Russell (invoking his status as a member of the House of Lords) returned to England and to a succession of triumphs that meant more to him than any honours the United States could bestow. Having surrendered his near-pacifism, he had caught up with the Establishment.

Russell had a profound love of England and especially of the English countryside. When I asked him why he was so eager to return to England he told me that he wanted to be buried there. He talked about the English past, speaking with less than his customary harshness of its social abuses and social inequality. I recall him once defending, to my amazement, the institution of monarchy as a symbol unifying the country in a common loyalty beyond the strife of party faction. He had words of praise for Winston Churchill and his Elizabethan prose, which surprised me in view of some of his previous pronouncements on Churchill's "warmongering."

[1] Subsequently I was to learn on good authority that this was because Russell himself, despite his advanced age, was pursuing anything in skirts that crossed his path, and that he was carrying on flagrantly even with the servant girls, not behind Patricia's back but before her eyes and those of his house guests.

AFTER HE RETURNED to England, I met Russell on three other occasions. Once he came to Columbia to deliver some lectures on "The Impact of Science on the Modern World." At a dinner tendered to him, he had asked Irwin Edman, then Chairman of the Philosophy Department, to invite me because his time was short in the US and we otherwise would not have met. I had heard his lecture which contained the same stale version of his attack on pragmatism that he had published almost 40 years earlier, and took issue with him on the ground that he was quite unfair to the actual texts of Peirce, James, and Dewey. I had been tempted to challenge Russell's remarks about pragmatism from the floor of the crowded lecture theatre; but knowing that we were to meet for dinner and fearing that my language would be too hard and indignant, I foolishly and uncharacteristically remained silent as did the rest of my colleagues at Columbia. Russell, who didn't want to talk about philosophy at dinner, claimed that William James and John Dewey were no clearer in their replies to his criticism than in their original papers. He spoke about how busy his life had become in England, welcomed as he was everywhere and in continual demand for speeches and articles. He also spoke glowingly about his son, Conrad, and indicated (with a frankness that had always made me uncomfortable when he discussed intimate details of his mother's and father's and his own sex life) that he was having some difficulties with Patricia. I was too embarrassed to press him but I gathered that there was another man on the scene.[1]

The second meeting with Russell was in Amsterdam at the XIth International Congress for Philosophy in 1948. I presented a paper and read one by John Dewey as his proxy. I hadn't expected Russell to appear and when we met I was surprised at the change in him. He seemed extremely nervous and irritable, and spoke with greater rapidity than usual. For the first time he grasped my arm as we spoke, and was obviously under tension. He said almost in passing that Patricia had gone off to Italy with someone, taking Conrad with her. We spent most of the Congress days together. It was as if he could not be alone. Although lionised by the participants, he seemed to be unacquainted with any of them. I was surprised to discover that Gilbert Ryle had never met Russell. When I introduced them I noticed Russell eyeing him with a kind of appraising glance, as if he were taking his intellectual measure. During the course of the sessions Russell and I sat side by side. We were intrigued by the presence of a huge figure with a Mosaic beard that swept down to his waist. He seemed to personify the presence of philosophical wisdom as he nodded or shook his head at the speakers' remarks. The only time I saw Russell smile at that Congress was when Professor Beth, one of the Congress organisers, informed us in reply to our inquiry that the bearded Socrates happened to enjoy a reputation as the leading abortionist in Amsterdam.

Whether it was because of his personal mood or intense political conviction, Russell let fly at the only official Communist spokesman present—a certain Kolman, originally Czech but nurtured in Stalinist Russia, who was purveying the Zhdanov line about "bourgeois philosophy in the service of imperialism", and who made some passing reference to Russell's view urging the US to atom-bomb the Soviet Union if it refused to accept the Acheson-Lillenthal proposals for international control and inspection of all sources of atomic energy. Commenting on Kolman's paper, Russell said: "Go back and tell your masters in the Kremlin that they must send more competent servants to carry out their programmes of propaganda and deceit. . . ." So vitriolic was Russell's rejoinder that it won some sympathy for Kolman not only among certain fellow-travellers but even among politically opportunistic Americans who always tried to keep in delicate balance their appreciation of both totalitarianism and democracy.

RUSSELL apparently recovered his psychological poise after his return to England. Patricia returned to him; he was awarded the Nobel Prize and received many other accolades of fame. For a few years after, our relations continued to be friendly. I induced him to accept the first Honorary Chairmanship of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, organised in 1950 in West Berlin. When Hugh Trevor-Roper wrote his flagrantly unfair account of the Berlin Congress, picturing it as a meeting of manic anti-Communists who allegedly wanted to treat Communists in the same way as Communists were treating non-Communists, Russell accepted my version of what had occurred and declined to resign.

THE THIRD AND LAST TIME I met Russell was in London in the fall of 1953. By this time Patricia had finally left him, and refused to let him see Conrad. After the divorce Russell married his fourth wife, an American woman who, I suspect (together with his daughter, who had married a clergyman and lived near Washington), was the source of some of his bizarre views about what was occurring in the United States. Russell had begun to take an increasingly critical attitude towards America and published articles implying that "reaction" was in the saddle. I wrote once or twice protesting against his exaggerations. For this and other reasons, and partly out of fear of presuming, I did not even let him know I was in England. Much to my surprise, the Third Programme of the BBC got in touch with me and proposed a debate or discussion on "American Democracy and Freedom." There were some difficulties about timing, but we finally met. Russell was quite general in his remarks about the danger of mass democracy to freedom. I took the line of my pamphlet entitled *Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No.* Tapes of the exchange exist.

After the BBC programme was over, Russell invited my wife and me to a late lunch at Hatchetts where we gradually warmed to each other until the level of "the old days" was reached and we gossiped away merrily, with Russell, as usual, doing most of the talking. He did indicate that he was not altogether satisfied with what he said during our exchange, but he pursued the matter no further. We talked about local British politics, his trip to Stockholm, and other matters. He made no mention, for once, of Patricia.

What was memorable about the occasion was to see Russell in his element. Already at the BBC studio, people had bowed and scraped when he appeared. Their tone of voice changed when they addressed him. When the taxi rolled to a stop at Hatchetts, the doorman ushered him out with a "Yes, m'Lord", and "The usual, m'Lord?" came in rapid fire from the head waiter, the waiter, the wine waiter, and others who clustered about us. Russell was quite well known at Hatchetts. The meal was too sumptuous for our appetites. Russell insisted on liqueurs and cigars—for once forgoing his pipe. I could not help reflecting on the contrast between the present and the lean years a decade ago. Not long before, Russell had received one of England's most coveted awards, the Order of Merit. He entertained us with an account of his visit with the King, and he mimicked the King's stuttering comment warning him in a friendly fashion about the dangers of living an adventurous unconventional life. "It was on the tip of my tongue," Russell recalled, "to say to him: 'Your Majesty is quite right—as your Majesty's brother learned some years ago'. . . ."

I twitted him about his new-found respectability, unsought as it had been. "How the world moves! I never expected that you would end up dying in the odour of sanctity." He laughed and replied: "Don't fear, Hook. In a few days I shall lose my respectability once more. . . . Hook, do you know how abominably cruel the English laws are on homosexuality? I am planning to come out and blast them." And he went off on a long disquisition concerning how oppressive they were. He must have been aware of the character of these laws for many years, and he himself had made some disparaging remarks about homosexuals in the past without deploring their lot or protesting the cruel laws against them. I couldn't help feeling that he was looking for another cause to preserve his role as a perpetual dissenter now that he was no longer an outsider. Before Russell managed to make a public statement on the issue, a few English bishops came out for the repeal or modification of the laws and took the headlines. Lost causes in Great Britain were getting scarce. A few years later, I believe, the Wolfenden Report was published and, in due course, the obnoxious laws were repealed.

After lunch we took a taxi to Richmond Park where we walked in the October sunshine as Russell pointed out the house in which he had spent his early childhood. His mood was quite nostalgic, and he spoke about his grandmother and especially his brother (of whom on other occasions he was wont to speak with bitterness) with some gentleness. Towards twilight, we walked to his flat where he prepared tea for us, complaining about the undrinkable tea he had been served in the United States. We were aware that there was someone else in the flat who seemed to help set out with invisible hands the materials. When we arrived at his flat, Russell had murmured something about his wife being indisposed, and it was either she who was hovering in the background or the

It was obvious that Russell had not anticipated having lunch or tea with us when he came to the broadcast. That had been arranged through third parties carrying messages between us as if we were principals in a championship boxing event. After our meeting, however, as I made polite inquiries about his writing plans, some sentimental recollection of our past meetings, or perhaps the presence of my wife whom he seemed to like (and who had never shared my awe of him and was given to pert and uninhibited comments on his stories), must have thawed his initial and rather distant reserve. He soon lapsed into the old pattern of gossipy, infectious gaiety with less than the usual irreverence and sting. We parted once more on the friendliest of terms, but I was acutely aware of the emergence of sharp political differences between us concerning what was happening in the United States. On the few occasions during the afternoon when I tried to tell him that someone was misinforming him about the cultural climate, and that there was much less "intellectual repression" in the United States than when he visited, he turned aside what I said with the observation that I was judging the whole country by what was happening in relatively enlightened places like Eastern universities. He, however, it seemed to me, was judging the whole of the United States either by some isolated incident sensationalised by the press (like the demand of a senile old lady in the mid-West that the tales of Robin Hood "who robbed the rich to pay the poor" be removed from the local library, on the ground that he was a Communist) or by some scare stories of McCarthyism. Although Russell granted that most of the Americans he had met were liberal, he was convinced that the overwhelming majority were either active supporters of Senator McCarthy, whom he tended to equate with Hitler and Stalin, or had been completely cowed by him. It was clear to me that in the back of his mind Russell was debiting the episodes at CCNY and the Barnes Institute to the general account of the United States as a whole.

In the *Manchester Guardian* (30 October, 1951) Russell asserted that the United States was just as much a "police-state" as Germany under Hitler and Russia under Stalin. He explicitly declared that in the United States "nobody ventures to pass a political remark without first looking behind the door to make sure no one [is] listening. If by some misfortune you were to quote with approval some remark by Jefferson you

would probably lose your job and find yourself behind bars. . . ." Russell was even willing to stake money on his f[illegible]s about the United States. He bet Malcolm Muggeridge f[illegible]nds that Joe McCarthy would become President of the United States, but when he paid it off after McCarthy died in disgrace, he didn't alter his views. If anything he became more vitriolic.

Even after McCarthy had been utterly repudiated by Congress, the law courts, and the people—he had always been defied by the universities—Russell continued to believe that the United States was in the fierce grip of a reign of terror exercised through the FBI. Although he did not explicitly always say that the United States was an outright Fascist country, his descriptions suggested it. In 1956, shortly before the FBI arrested and jailed Kaspar, a racist rabble-rouser, for encouraging violation of a Federal court order, Russell wrote in the preface to the English edition of Corliss Lamont's *Freedom Is as Freedom Does*: "Anybody who goes so far as to support equal rights for coloured people, or to say a good word for the UN is liable to a visit by officers of the FBI and threatened with blacklisting and consequent inability to earn a living." This brought a sharp criticism from Norman Thomas, the socialist leader who had led the fight for civil liberties in the US, protesting that Russell's exaggerations were hardly distinguishable from outright falsehoods (*New Leader*, 7 January 1957). Russell remained unmoved.

Within a few years, with the development of nuclear weapons, he returned once more to his old pacifist position, although, to do him justice, he had never been an absolute pacifist. Fearful that the Kremlin would never accept reasonable proposals of inspection to ensure multilateral disarmament, he publicly proclaimed that if the Communists refused to accept reasonable proposals, the West should disarm unilaterally "even if this meant the universal triumph of Communism and all its evils." Considering just how evil Russell had believed Communism to be this was quite a turnabout. It was at this point that I ventured publicly to criticise his position, and our debate on this and allied issues continued for some years in the pages of the *New Leader*, at the time an organ of democratic Socialism under the editorship of Sol Levitas. I exchanged a few letters with him before that. In his replies he found my criticism of his fantastic accounts of the American scene "unsatisfactory." As time wore on, he became more and more rabidly anti-American, accusing the United States of planning deliberate genocide, and going as far as to say that he was prepared to believe the old Communist canard that the United States had waged "germ warfare" in Korea. Towards the end he accepted, as gospel truth, atrocity stories about the US military compared to which the stories of German atrocities in Belgium, that had once caused him to blaze with indignation, were very mild indeed.

AT THIS POINT I return to the period when I first became acquainted with Russell, i.e., when the Committee for Cultural Freedom rushed to his defence against the efforts of the Catholic and Protestant hierarchy, who were using as a cat's-paw Mrs Kay, a Jewish housewife in Queens, to deprive Russell of his post at the CCNY. Mrs Kay, as a taxpayer, applied to the courts for an injunction to prevent Russell from teaching, on the grounds that the morals of her daughter (who was a student at Queens College) might be impaired if Russell were permitted to teach symbolic logic to the undergraduate students at CCNY, twenty or more miles distant. Her evidence consisted of certain passages cited out of context from Russell's *Marriage and Morals* (1929).

The inside story of the Russell appointment was told to me by Morris R. Cohen who together with Harry Allen Overstreet had retired from CCNY, leaving it without any distinguished philosophical figure. The remaining senior man who held the rank of an associate professor feared that the appointment of an able outsider to a full professorship—one of the senior [illegible]torial lines or "slots" had been dropped—would stand in [illegible] of his own promotion to that post. Whereupon, aware of the fact that Russell was crowding 68, and that retirement at CCNY was mandatory at 70, the associate professor who was Acting Chairman extended an invitation to Russell to join the Department with the rank of full Professor. His colleagues, who had nothing to lose and were aware of the distinction that Bertrand Russell's name gave their truncated department, endorsed the invitation. By the time Russell would have retired, the associate professor, who had published little or nothing of value, hoped to have in the works a book he was editing (consisting of contributions by other well-known philosophers) which would justify his own promotion. Cohen told me that despite his great admiration for Russell, he himself, when apprised of the contemplated appointment, had advised against it on the grounds that the students at the College were hardly prepared to profit from Russell's high-powered lectures, and that Russell himself would not feel at home among them. I confess I was taken aback by Cohen's judgment and disagreed with it. It seemed to me that whatever the students got out of Russell's lectures—and they certainly would have had to reach for them—Russell's presence by itself would shake up the department and certainly enliven the local philosophical scene.[4]

At the time, Russell was teaching at the University of California at Los Angeles. As he subsequently told me, he was more than content there, enjoying himself in the company not only of easy-going sun-worshipping students but of Aldous Huxley and his circle, who treated him with veneration as an intellectual guru, and also of culturally aspiring Hollywood starlets. He was earning $6,000 a year; CCNY offered him $7,000. When I asked him, after listening to his dithyrambic account of his life at UCLA, why in the world he gave it all up for "a lousy $1000", he replied that Patricia was extravagant and spent more money than he earned. None the less, he admitted that just as soon as he got wind of the opposition to his appointment at CCNY, he tried to withdraw his resignation from UCLA. But, according to his story, the administration at UCLA had suddenly been alerted to his radical proclivities in politics and other areas, and refused to accommodate him despite the intervention of his colleagues. Russell had no alternative but to accept the offer from CCNY—never expecting, however, that it would culminate in such a disastrous dénouement.

Despite his personal disapproval of Russell's appointment, Morris R. Cohen fought manfully alongside John Dewey, then Chairman of the Committee for Cultural Freedom, and the rest of us on Russell's behalf. We had no difficulty in winning the literate and articulate organs of public opinion to Russell's side. *The New York Times* gave editorial support. We succeeded in arousing educators and administrators of other institutions of higher education to the dangers to academic freedom and integrity posed by the effort to bar Russell from teaching. I was able to induce the conservative Chancellor of New York University, Harry Woodburn Chase, to come out in strong condemnation of the action against Russell, but after some hesitation he vetoed my recommendation that New York University invite Russell to join the staff of the Graduate School of Philosophy. "It would seem like a provocation to Bishop Manning and to the Catholic Church", he lamely explained to me.

The action against Russell was sustained in the lowest New York court by an illiterate Tammany politician who had received his judgeship as a political reward and whose opinion in the case makes hilarious reading. Informed legal judgment was unanimous that when the Corporation Counsel of New York City appealed against the decision of Judge McGeehan to the court of higher instance, the case against Bertrand Russell would be thrown out. Everyone was surprised to discover that the Corporation Counsel did not appeal against the verdict. We subsequently learned on the best of authority that the Corporation Counsel had been ordered by the Mayor not to lodge an appeal. The Mayor at the time was none other than "the little flower", Fiorella La Guardia (who as Fusion candidate had defeated Tammany Hall in 1937 and who was running for re-election in 1941). Afraid that he might lose the Catholic vote if Russell was reinstated, he betrayed a liberal tradition much more important to the lives and minds of free men than any of his famous municipal reforms.

RUSSELL WAS MORE THAN A LITTLE PUZZLED by my zeal in his behalf, especially after the quarrel with Albert C. Barnes developed. He was aware that my philosophical allegiance was publicly pledged, so to speak, to John Dewey, and that Dewey and I were personally quite close. He also learned that in consequence of Barnes's enmity toward me, which flared up when Barnes discovered that I was openly helping and advising Russell, a temporary rift had arisen between Dewey and me. Barnes had written me that the issue between him and Russell involved belief in "democracy as a way of life." Barnes tried to convince Dewey that I had betrayed both democracy as a way of life and Dewey himself in my lectures on contemporary philosophy at the New School. He had sent one of his secretaries to take notes at some of the sessions, an edited version of which he sent Dewey. Although Dewey professed to be amused by Barnes's "shenanigans", especially his misreading of the report of his philosophically illiterate secretary, I myself felt that Dewey was much too indulgent towards Barnes. The notion of Barnes as a protagonist of "the democratic way of life" was fantastic to anyone who was aware of his brutal and feudal arrogance towards anyone who disagreed with him. Dewey used to bail him out of some of the worst scrapes he got into as a result of abusing and insulting people, by getting Barnes to make amends.[5]

With respect to Russell, Dewey admitted that Barnes had no legal case but insisted that he had a moral one because Russell had violated the terms of an oral contract not to lecture elsewhere. What Barnes had omitted to tell Dewey was that Russell had specifically exempted the acceptance of invitations from professional philosophical associations; and Barnes had agreed. Anyone who knew the two men could hardly be in doubt as to who was telling the truth. Although Russell was capable of the wildest exaggerations and untruths when writing about a people or a nation for political purposes, he was much too proud ever to lie where he himself was concerned. If anything, he was on the contrary much too uninhibited in revealing truths about himself. One could say of him what he himself once said of G. E. Moore: "The only lie Moore ever uttered was in reply to a question I once put to him, 'Moore, do you always tell the truth?' To which he answered, 'No.'"

Russell's puzzlement about my championship of his cause grew to a point that led him once to ask me outright why I had embroiled myself to the extent I had. For once too shy to tell him what his courage during the First World War had meant to me in my most impressionable years, I played up my resentment of Barnes's bullying. But the fun and intellectual excitement of the association with Russell undoubtedly were influences just as strong. I was gripped by an intense intellectual curiosity about the stages of his philosophical development and the occasions and causes of his dramatic shifts from one position to another. His conversation, even when largely a monologue, was absolutely brilliant. His discourse (which covered almost all fields of knowledge, high and low) was a sheer delight, full of arresting insights, striking phrases and unexpected observations. He had a prodigious memory, an inexhaustible stock of stories and anecdotes, unfailingly relevant to some point he was making, and an ability to recite not only extensive passages from the great poets of the past but also the most obscene limericks which he attributed to Dante Gabriel Rossetti and his circle but some of which, I was convinced, were original with him.[6] He would tell me things I never knew before about John Stuart Mill, his godfather, and about T. S. Eliot whom he had known in the dark days of Eliot's despair before his conversion to Christianity.

Russell had often been befriended in the past when in need. But he had developed, probably on the basis of some unhappy experiences, an ill-concealed hostility against being put under obligation to anyone. Sooner or later, he implied, those who had helped him, especially if they were women, expected something of him in return. He found this quite annoying even if all they wanted was praise or compliments, for Russell had always been extremely chary of lavishing praise on anyone or anything unless he felt it was deserved. After a while, he seemed convinced that my help, whatever it was worth, was really disinterested. On several occasions, one of the few times he did repeat himself to me, he would say, after a hearty laugh at one of his own quips or a witty *bon mot* I had provoked by dredging up some person or incident from his past for him to comment upon: "Do you know, Hook, what I like about you? You don't expect anything of me!" This was perfectly true. The only thing I ever asked of him was to autograph a portrait picture of himself taken by Sylvia Solow, the photographer. He did this cheerfully, obviously most relieved that he was not being asked to inscribe it with anything more than his signature.

[4] Professor Philip Wiener, to whom I have related Cohen's version of why Russell was invited (and who was then in the Department of Philosophy) denies it. Professor Lewis Feuer, who at that time was in the Department, also questions the validity of Cohen's account to me. Since Cohen was not present during the deliberations of the Department, his view was based on his reading of the events.

The fact that Russell realised that I had no expectations made it easier for me to ask him questions about anything, to challenge positions he had taken in the past, or his judgments on men and events, and even to criticise, sometimes sharply, some things that he did or failed to do during the period that I knew him. He never seemed to resent any of my questions, which were limited only by my own inhibitions. He, on the other hand, was completely and embarrassingly uninhibited. He volunteered confessions about his sexual powers, and related matters about which I would no more have inquired of him than I would of my own father. He seemed always on the prowl when attractive and vivacious young women were around and he assumed that my interest in extracurricular matrimonial activity was as keen as his own. On occasions I was rendered speechless by his unsolicited advice on how to "make" a girl and what to do after one made her. "Hook", he once advised, "if you ever take a girl to an hotel and the reception clerk seems suspicious, when he gives you the price of the room have her complain loudly, 'It's *much* too expensive!' He's sure to assume she is your wife. . . ." At another time when I commented on his remarkable memory, he mildly demurred and observed that it was not what it used to be. Seconds later, as if to illustrate his point, he turned to me and asked: "Hook, what's been the most embarrassing moment of your life?" Without waiting for a reply from me, he went on, "Mine was the failure to remember at breakfast the name of an attractive woman to whom I had made ardent love the night before. I really knew it, of course, but it came to mind too late!" Like George Bernard Shaw, Russell apparently was an eloquent vocaliser in his love-making ecstasies.

[5] That was how he explained to me his relationship with Barnes—as if Barnes were an overgrown shaggy grizzly bear who really meant no harm when he embraced people. The real Barnes to Dewey was the man of aesthetic genius and remarkable sensibility from whom he had learned most of what he knew about European art and painting.

[6] I recall one of them which he recited with glee:

*There was a young girl from Aberystwyth*
*Who took sacks to the mill to fetch grist with,*
*But the miller's son, Jack,*
*Laid her flat on her back,*
*And untied the things that they pissed with.*

ONE THING I FOUND I could not do was to argue with Russell about basic philosophical issues. I was more interested in drawing him out. Whenever he did develop a philosophical position in answer to some difficulty I raised, he was so fluent, subtle, and detailed that my rejoinders seemed little more than stuttering comments. I have never been at a loss for words with anyone else and no one else ever affected me this way, not even Morris Raphael Cohen, who was a merciless polemicist and with whom I often crossed swords. It was only when we talked philosophy that I felt tongue-tied with Russell. Until we engaged in written debate, I would not have been surprised if, in his heart of hearts, Russell had regarded me as an amiable person with a tenth-rate mind consumed by an insatiable curiosity about his past which he was perfectly willing to supply. At any rate, it must have appeared to him a fair exchange for the fuss-and-feathers made over him and especially the parties he so much enjoyed. To be sure, he was sometimes put out to find his *tête-à-tête* with some luscious girl interrupted by a query about whether he still believed in the theory of types, or what he thought of Henri Poincaré or Couturat or Gödel, or why he felt so strong an animus against Lenin or G. B. Shaw, or whether there was any truth in the rumour that Cyril Joad, one of his minor philosophical critics, was his natural son—a flattering rumour which Russell attributed to Joad himself. But although sometimes surprised, Russell was never really annoyed or at a loss for an answer that more often than not provoked some merriment in himself and others. George Santayana somewhere says that Russell laughed like an hyena, but although I have never heard an hyena laugh, I doubt it, for Russell's laugh was infectious if one understood what he was laughing about.[7]

[7] Incidentally, Russell's stories about Santayana left little doubt that even in his younger days Santayana had been a suppressed prissy queen and a prig. He gave Santayana full credit, however, for convincing him of the untenability of his Platonic theory of value but he lacked appreciation of the great wisdom of Santayana's masterpiece, *The Life of Reason*.

Because Russell was perfectly himself with me, I saw sides of him that I would in retrospect have preferred not to have seen, although they have no bearing upon the quality of his mind and the magnificence of his achievements. There is hardly a philosophical doctrine of Russell's which he himself had not abandoned or which critics, armed with methodological tools that he originally forged, have not rendered questionable. Yet his life-work as a whole exemplifies that perpetual quest for knowledge and self-understanding that one associates with the great philosophical tradition. Intellectually, there are many Bertrand Russells—testifying to his venturesomeness, originality in outlook, and ingenuity in the execution of detail. He could restate stale and familiar positions on the perennial problems of philosophy in a way that made them seem fresh and challenging. He was not a "hedgehog" who saw only one great thing, but a "super-fox" who could turn himself inside out to glimpse different visions in a pluralistic world.

Russell was a great mind, and a great man if greatness of mind is enough to ensure greatness in a human being. But it is not enough. Hobbes was a great mind but not a great man; Spinoza was a great mind and a great man. Had I known Russell only by his writings, I would have unhesitatingly classified him with Spinoza and other great minds who were great human beings. Knowing him in other ways, there were three things about him that prevented me from doing so.

The first was Russell's vanity. He once told me that whenever he met a man of outstanding intellectual reputation, his first unuttered reaction was: "Can I take him, or can he take me?" He was most fearful of John Maynard Keynes, but he got over it. He greatly respected Whitehead's intellectual powers and was aware of canniness or shrewdness behind the foxy-grandpa benignity of manner that made him a "dear old soul" to adoring Americans. He felt that Whitehead's thought had been derailed by his cosmic and social piety. He was fond of G. E. Moore, and admired the purity of his character, but exclaimed with some asperity after reading Moore's criticism of his theory of descriptions that he had always suspected that Moore had missed his calling: "He should have been a classics scholar!" Moore had used thousands of words—almost fifty printed pages—to correct the defects in Russell's analysis of "Scott was the author of *Waverley*." His chief criticism was that Russell was wrong in saying that if Scott was the author of *Waverley* this meant that Scott must have written *Waverley*. For Scott could have *dictated it*! This was not only minute philosophy; it was trivial. Russell was irritated and frustrated by Moore's unconcealed dislike of him, but was not deeply hurt by it.

He was caustic about John M'Taggart primarily for political reasons, and regarded C. D. Broad, despite his immense abilities, with distaste. He once referred to him as an "intellectual bully" with "the malice of his kind", and agreed with the appraisal by Susan Stebbing, made in a conversation with me during the 1930s, that Broad was "absolutely the first second-rate mind in contemporary philosophy." There was hostility in the glance with which Russell sized up Gilbert Ryle when I introduced them, which he subsequently gleefully indulged in when Ryle unfortunately announced to the world that he would not permit Ernest Gellner's first book to be reviewed in *Mind* because of its offensive personal tone towards the ordinary-language analysts for ignoring the genuineness of some great philosophical problems.

While at Barnes's Institute, Russell had begun writing his *History of Western Philosophy* which in some ways tells more about Russell than many of the figures he discusses. When he talked about the progress of the book (which was not seldom) I got the impression that, somewhat like Hegel, he was rating his predecessors with respect to how close they had come to anticipating Russellian truths. He had an unalloyed admiration for Albert Einstein as a physicist but did not take his philosophical excursions seriously, nor, at least in the period I knew him, Einstein's post-War appeasement politics. He made no secret of his intellectual contempt for all politicians.

Although Russell suffered unpopularity in some quarters for his role as a political dissenter, he enjoyed that role immensely. There was more than a touch of exhibitionism in the riskless sit-downs of his last years when he made well-publicised gestures to "Ban the Bomb" that were as futile as they were ill-advised. I once wondered aloud to him whether his temperamental bias towards nonconformity and dissent was an expression not so much of intellectual courage as of the aristocrat's disdain of the commoner and his desire to *épater le bourgeois*. He replied with a disarming frankness: "Hook, I think you have got something there. . . ."

Despite occasions when he employed the rhetoric of modesty, I never sensed the presence of any genuine intellectual humility in Russell. He knew he was first-rate and assumed you knew it too. That is why he was also free of the taint of intellectual arrogance. He never behaved like Morris R. Cohen who would *tell* you how extraordinary he was or how brilliant others (like Einstein) thought he was, and then cover up his shocking display of conceit by proclaiming: "Blessed are those who are not modest, for they shall not have to devise measures to call attention to their modesty. . . ."

Russell's vanity about other than intellectual matters was more quaint than offensive. When I once told him that I refused to accept Max Eastman's challenge to a public debate on the meaning of Marx, to be chaired by John Dewey, unless I had a guarantee that not more than half of the audience would be made up of women, he murmured with a sly grin: "You surprise me. Eastman doesn't seem so formidable. I'd take him on at any time for any woman's favour." Russell was then close to seventy. (My guess is that even in Russell's prime this would have been a vain boast were Max Eastman on the scene, except perhaps with some blue-stockings.) One day in a rare, depressed mood, he suddenly turned to me and observed without any preliminaries, "Hook, don't let anybody ever tell you about the consolations of old age and the serenity that comes from the release from desire." I mentioned something about Tolstoy and Gandhi. "Hypocrites both!", he snorted. This was the only negative judgment he ever made of Tolstoy. Concerning Gandhi he was always mordantly critical. I never could determine whether Russell's hypertrophic sexual activity was more a matter of aspiration than of power. The memories of his passions seemed to feed his desires. Oddly enough, Russell's final rift with Patricia, his third wife, when he was approaching eighty was (according to her letter to Freda Utley) a direct result of his refusal to make a pledge of mutual marital fidelity which she proposed. That was the last straw for Patricia who had suffered humiliation enough because of Russell's roving eye and affections. To do him justice, Russell had tried to live up to his own conception of ideal marriage—"monogamy with romantic episodes." But he had underestimated the strength of the jealousy of women in love. And when the shoe was on the other foot, he admitted he had underestimated the strength of his own jealousy.

THE SECOND TRAIT that I found hard to take in Russell was his greed. I was shocked to find what Russell was prepared to do for a little money, and often do unnecessarily, for with a little effort he could have raised the funds in other, less objectionable ways. He always seemed strapped for money and tended to blame it on Patricia's extravagance which seemed hardly plausible to me. He left UCLA for CCNY for a measly sum he could easily have earned by giving a few extra lectures. The real source of his quarrel with Albert Barnes was his wife's detestation of Barnes, her stiff-arming of him, and her foolish (because uninformed) running-down both of Barnes's private art collection and his judgment about modern painting. Barnes first tried to bar her from Russell's lectures on the ground that her knitting was distracting the class. Russell naturally tended to stand by his wife and got the class to vote that Patricia's knitting was unobjectionable, which only intensified Barnes's fury. He then used as a means for for further harassment Russell's desire to earn a little more money through commercial lectures. Russell's salary at the Barnes Institute was the same as at UCLA. Barnes offered Russell an extra $2,000, provided Russell did not lecture elsewhere for money. Russell agreed, but made an oral exception for academic appearances. Barnes untruthfully denied he had consented to the oral exception.

Although Russell was perfectly within his rights and his behaviour could not be legally or morally faulted, he showed poor judgment. His position at the Institute was a sinecure, created especially for him at John Dewey's personal request. He could have easily earned by writing what he did by ing. When he became aware of Barnes's search for a pr get rid of him, evident in Barnes's objection to his lecturing elsewhere, he could have forsworn commercial lecturing while at the Barnes Institute without exacting a compensating emolument. But the lure of quick, ready cash was hard to resist. There were other occasions when this was apparent.

At the height of the controversy at CCNY, I chanced across an article headlined on the cover of an issue of *Glamour* magazine, entitled "What to Do If You Fall in Love with a

Married Man—by Bertrand Russell." I expostulated with him on the grounds that this was not the place and time for him to be writing on these themes when his case was still undecided in the and when we were attempting to counteract the -inspired campaign against him—as a sex-obsessed and prurient old man—by stressing his international eminence as a scientific scholar and profound philosopher.

"Why did you do it?", I asked.

"I did it for $50", he replied.

"We could have given you the money ourselves", I retorted, speaking for the Committee, "if you needed it that badly."

Russell bridled and reddened. "I'm tired of hearing people talk that way but who do nothing. Meanwhile my obligations continue to be heavy. Whatever assets I have are tied up in England because of the War." When he cooled off he promised not to write pieces like that again. I assured him I could easily get serious books for him to review that would earn much more than $50.

The article itself contained quite sensible advice on what a young woman should do if she fell in love with a married man. (It advised that she move away!) But to me the real shocker about the article was Russell's avowal, a few days later, that he had not written the article at all. He had only signed it—Patricia had written it! Some time later I expressed surprise to him at finding a book, by an author of whom Russell had spoken rather disparagingly, advertised "with an introduction by Bertrand Russell." Russell had not altered his judgment of the author's competence. "Why, then, did you write the introduction?" I inquired. "For fifty dollars", he replied.

He would not agree that it was unfair to readers, who would naturally assume that Russell approved of the book and its author. "When they read the book they will see that it contains no praise", he countered. "But they will have already bought the book by then", I objected, "probably on the strength of your introduction." I cannot recall the words of his laughing rejoinder, but my distinct impression is that he felt that the experience would enhance their discretion or caution in the future.

re were occasions on which his attitude towards money out of keeping with his principled moral positions. He once told my wife and me that a relative had become an Orthodox Jew, or rather had undergone the ritual of conversion, in order to inherit some money from her Orthodox Jewish father-in-law—although, Russell assured us, she was as secular-minded as he was himself. When we expressed doubt about the moral propriety of such action, Russell stoutly defended her right to act as she did and made us feel as if we were rather simple-minded members of the Rationalist Society.

There was another incident that involved his friend and publisher, W. W. Norton, whom Russell would occasionally visit and of whom he had spoken warmly several times as someone who had befriended him in the past. After he had conceived of making a book of his lectures on "The History of Western Philosophy", Russell wrote to Norton asking for a contract and a substantial advance. Norton was willing to publish the book but was doubtful whether it would sell (in the light of Will Durant's phenomenal success, this was a bizarre judgment), but sent an advance of $500, "for friendship's sake." Russell then sent off a letter of inquiry to Simon & Schuster, whom he had referred to as "vulgar publishers" because of the character of some of their advertisements. The return mail brought a cheque for $2,000 as an advance even before the contract was drawn up. He then returned the cheque of $500 to Norton, breaking off all personal relations with him on the grounds that he didn't want an advance "for friendship's sake." Russell related the story with gusto as if he had scored a triumph. Although I knew from personal experience that "friendship" with publishers was a rather tenuous sort of thing, I could not help feeling that Russell had treated Norton rather shabbily.

FINALLY, ANOTHER TRAIT of Russell's gradually came to light. I reluctantly came to the conclusion that Russell's religion of truth overlaid a strong streak of cruelty. There are some truths which, when they are gratuitously told, are not expressions of a desire for knowledge or justice but an expression of cruelty. Russell was not unaware of this in others. It was Shaw's cruelty that aroused Russell's intense moral indignation even more than his cynical apologias for Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin. But Russell himself would often and needlessly deliver himself of the most devastating things about some individuals, and enjoy it.

"Whatever happened to W.C.?", I once asked him. "He was discovered molesting little girls and disappeared from England", he replied, going off into a gale of laughter. The man in question had been of great help to Russell when Russell had been threatened with jail. At another time, out of the blue: "Hook, did you ever read William Temple's article in *Mind* on Plato's theory of ideas? No? Well, he traces it back, with all the flourishes of scholarship, to the Greek practice of pederasty. Now wasn't that a peculiar article for the future Archbishop of Canterbury to write? . . ." The implication was plain. I looked up the article; Russell was right as usual.

I must admit that I enjoyed Russell's sallies at other people's expense even when I felt somewhat uncomfortable. But in retrospect I wondered what moved him. His short stories are macabre in their monotonous exposure of human cruelty and hypocrisy but they are told with relish rather than compassion. He seemed convinced that any man who passed as a good man was really a fraud. Sensitive readers of Russell's *Autobiography* will have been revolted by the cruelty of some of its pages, not only his account of his treatment of the infatuated young woman who followed him to England but particularly by the reproduction of a letter from a harmless German savant who after making some contributions to the philosophy of mathematics had become insane. Publication of that letter was like jeering at a cripple.

What seemed worse to me was Russell's insensitiveness to his own unwitting cruelty when it was called to his attention. Usually chary of ever praising a book or manuscript on solicitation, Russell had made an exception and had written to Oxford University Press lauding Alfred Tarski's outstanding contributions to the foundations of logic and mathematics. The publishers used a few sentences from Russell's letter as a jacket blurb. Few people take blurbs seriously or literally. But as soon as Russell saw the blurb and became aware that Tarski was teaching at Harvard that year, he wrote a letter to C. I. Lewis (then Chairman of the Department) and requested that he call a meeting of the entire department and read a declaration from Russell to the effect that his remarks about Tarski's contributions were not to be taken literally or as derogating in any way from A. N. Whitehead's superior achievements. Tarski was present and felt completely humiliated. I learned about the incident from Ernest Nagel, to whom Tarski had bitterly complained. When I related the incident to Russell and described Tarski's hurt, Russell was altogether unmoved. "My withers are completely unwrung", he said (or words to that effect). "The blurb was unjust to Whitehead." It is quite true that Russell had a special regard for Whitehead and felt that ever since Whitehead had lost his son in the First World War, he had kept him at arm's length despite genial references to him in public.[8] Whatever the reason, it did not justify Russell's letter publicly downgrading Tarski—at that time a Jewish-Polish refugee smarting from lack of adequate recognition. A simple note to Whitehead would have sufficed to clear up matters, in the unlikely event that Whitehead had seen the blurb and in the unlikelier happenstance that he had taken umbrage at it. There was no need for Russell to make a federal case of it. Nor did it suggest itself to C.I. Lewis that he was not under the slightest obligation to carry out Russell's request. It is testimony to the professional respect and awe in which Russell was held by American philosophers, despite all the McGeehans and Barneses, that no one ever thought of not complying with his request.

THERE IS ONE LAST bite of toothless malice on Russell's part that I record with sorrow. Our published exchange over the "Better Red than Dead" line of post-War appeasement he advocated had been sharp but not vindictive. After he organised the Viet Nam War Trial of the United States in which the verdict was announced before the "trial", I wrote a critical analysis of his position in the *New Leader*, to which he had often contributed and in which our several exchanges had previously appeared. Russell made no rejoinder but in the third volume of his *Autobiography* he refers to my article as having appeared in a periodical that had been charged (falsely, let it be said) with having once accepted a subvention from the Chinese Nationalist régime years ago. Whatever the imputation was for contributors to the *New Leader*, and I see no relevant one, it extended to all contributors including Russell himself (who, in contradistinction to most other contributors at the time he wrote, used to receive $50 for his pieces even when they were reprinted from elsewhere). Years earlier he had referred to his "pleasant connection with the *New Leader* extending over many years." There is no doubt, unfortunately, that in Russell's own mind there was an intent to smear me rather than make a reasoned reply to my criticisms. Although towards the end of his life there is some evidence that he did not write all the things that appeared under his name,[9] I do not believe that this malicious footnote appeared without his knowledge and approval.

THERE ARE MANY OTHER THINGS I could say of Bertrand Russell the man. And yet they seem so irrelevant to Russell the philosopher, and (except for the last years of his life when he welcomed the victory of Communist North Viet Nam) to Russell the fighter for human freedom. It is as a philosopher that he should be and will be remembered.

It is not the greatest tribute one can pay to a philosopher to say that he is never dull. For there have been great philosophers who often are dull, like Aristotle and Kant. Nor is it a sufficient sign of great philosophy to be clear and lucid. Russell's prose has been compared by T. S. Eliot to that of David Hume's. I would rank it higher, for it had more colour, juice, and humour. But to be lucid, exciting and profound in the main body of one's work is a combination of virtues given to few philosophers. Bertrand Russell has achieved immortality by his philosophical writings. Everything else about him is of little consequence, except for its passing human interest.

[8] On the basis of advice received from friends at Cambridge, I volunteered information to Russell that, judging by what was actually said at the informal get-together with students and colleagues at the Whiteheads, it was Mrs Whitehead who was the source of the coolness to Russell, not Whitehead himself. Russell insisted, however, that he knew better.

[9] In his *Bertrand Russell and the World* (1981), Ronald Clark records an incident involving the "editorial" activities of Russell's personal secretary, Ralph Schoenman (p.110):

> "Russell intervened in the Cuban crisis which threatened to bring America and Russia to the brink of nuclear war. As an American blockade of the island appeared imminent a statement was issued to the press from Plas Penrhyn. As typed it began, 'Mankind is faced tonight with a grave crisis.' This was altered in Schoenman's hand to: 'It seems likely that within a week you will all be dead to please American madmen.' On Russell's suggestion, 'a week' was altered to 'a week or two', but otherwise the statement was issued as Schoenman had altered it."

(7) The Nobel Presentation Address was given by Anders Österling, Permanent Secretary of the Swedish Academy, on the occasion of the awarding of the Nobel Prize to Bertrand Russell in 1950. We printed this Address in the July 1975 newsletter, and perhaps it's time to take another look at it (next page). It is followed by remarks by Kjell Strömberg. With thanks to LOU ACHESON for reminding us about it as well as providing the text.

THE GREAT WORK on Western philosophy which Bertrand Russell brought out in 1946, that is, at the age of seventy-four, contains numerous characteristic reflections giving us an idea of how he himself might like us to regard his long and arduous life. In one place, speaking of the pre-Socratic philosophers, he says, "In studying a philosopher, the right attitude is neither reverence nor contempt, but first a kind of hypothetical sympathy, until it is possible to know what it feels like to believe in his theories, and only then a revival of the critical attitude, which should resemble, as far as possible, the state of mind of a person abandoning opinions which he has hitherto held."

And in another place in the same work he writes, "It is not good either to forget the questions that philosophy asks, or to persuade ourselves that we have found indubitable answers to them. To teach how to live without certainty, and yet without being paralyzed by hesitation, is perhaps the chief thing that philosophy, in our age, can still do."

With his superior intellect, Russell has, throughout half a century, been at the center of public debate, watchful and always ready for battle, as active as ever to this very day, having behind him a life of writing of most imposing scope. His works in the sciences concerned with human knowledge and mathematical logic are epoch-making and have been compared to Newton's fundamental results in mechanics. Yet it is not these achievements in special branches of science that the Nobel Prize is primarily meant to recognize. What is important, from our point of view, is that Russell has so extensively addressed his books to a public of laymen, and, in doing so, has been so eminently successful in keeping alive the interest in general philosophy.

His whole life's work is a stimulating defense of the reality of common sense. As a philosopher he pursues the line from the classical English empiricism, from Locke and Hume. His attitude toward the idealistic dogmas is a most independent one and quite frequently one of opposition. The great philosophical systems evolved on the Continent he regards, so to speak, from the chilly, windswept, and distinctive perspective of the English Channel. With his keen and sound good sense, his clear style, and his wit in the midst of seriousness, he has in his work evinced those characteristics which are found among only the elite of authors. Time does not permit even the briefest survey of his works in this area, which are fascinating also from a purely literary point of view. It may suffice to mention such books as the *History of Western Philosophy* (1946), *Human Knowledge* (1948), *Sceptical Essays* (1948), and the sketch "My Mental Development" (in *The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell*, 1951); but to these should be added a great number of equally important books on practically all the problems which the present development of society involves.

Russell's views and opinions have been influenced by varied factors and cannot easily be summarized. His famous family typifies the Whig tradition in English politics. His grandfather was the Victorian statesman John Russell. Familiar from an early age with the ideas of Liberalism, he was soon confronted by the problems of rising socialism and since then he has, as an independent critic, weighed the advantages and disadvantages of this form of society. He has consistently and earnestly warned us of the dangers of the new bureaucracy. He has defended the right of the individual against collectivism, and he views industrial civilization as a growing threat to humanity's chances of simple happiness and joy in living. After his visit to the Soviet Union in 1920 he strongly and resolutely opposed himself to Communism. On the other hand, during a subsequent journey in China, he was very much attracted by the calm and peaceable frame of mind of China's cultivated classes and recommended it as an example to a West ravaged by wild aggression.

Much in Russell's writings excites protest. Unlike many other philosophers, he regards this as one of the natural and urgent tasks of an author. Of course, his rationalism does not solve all troublesome problems and cannot be used as a panacea, even if the philosopher willingly writes out the prescription. Unfortunately, there are—and obviously always will be—obscure forces which evade intellectual analysis and refuse to submit to control. Thus, even if Russell's work has, from a purely practical point of view, met with but little success in an age which has seen two world wars—even if it may look as if, in the main, his ideas have been bitterly repudiated—we must nevertheless admire the unwavering valor of this rebellious teller of the truth and the sort of dry, fiery strength and gay buoyancy with which he presents his convictions, which are never dictated by opportunism but are often directly unpopular. To read the philosopher Russell often gives very much the same pleasure as to listen to the outspoken hero in a Shaw comedy, when in loud and cheerful tones he throws out his bold retorts and keen arguments.

In conclusion, Russell's philosophy may be said in the best sense to fulfill just those desires and intentions that Alfred Nobel had in mind when he instituted his Prizes. There are quite striking similarities between their outlooks on life. Both of them are at the same time skeptics and utopians, both take a gloomy view of the contemporary world, yet both hold fast to a belief in the possibility of achieving logical standards for human behavior. The Swedish Academy believes that it acts in the spirit of Nobel's intention when, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Foundation, it wishes to honor Bertrand Russell as one of our time's brilliant spokesmen of rationality and humanity, as a fearless champion of free speech and free thought in the West.

My lord — Exactly two hundred years ago Jean Jacques Rousseau was awarded the prize offered by the Academy of Dijon for his famous answer to the question of "whether the arts and sciences have contributed to improve morals." Rousseau answered "No," and this answer —which may not have been a very serious one—in any case had most serious consequences. The Academy of Dijon had no revolutionary aims. This is true also of the Swedish Academy, which has now chosen to reward you for your philosophical works just because they are undoubtedly of service to moral civilization and, in addition, most eminently answer to the spirit of Nobel's intentions. We honor you as a brilliant champion of humanity and free thought, and it is a pleasure for us to see you here on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Nobel Foundation. With these words I request you to receive from the hands of His Majesty the King the Nobel Prize for Literature for 1950.

IN 1950 the Swedish Academy had two Nobel Prizes to award, since the one for 1949 had been held in reserve. Everyone expected that one of the two would go to Sir Winston Churchill. The former Prime Minister of Great Britain had just published the third volume of his masterly epic on World War II, and he had several enthusiastic supporters in the Academy itself. Another very prominent candidate was Pär Lagerkvist, the Swedish poet, dramatist, and novelist, who had been proposed that year by all the Scandinavian literary societies. There was no shortage of other distinguished candidates, English, French, and American, some of whom were later to carry off the Prize. Having agreed on William Faulkner for the 1949 Prize, the Swedish Academy made a choice farther afield and awarded its 1950 Prize to an outsider who had been proposed that year for the first time, Bertrand Lord Russell, the English philosopher.

1928, the year in which Henri Bergson received the Prize, no philosopher had been chosen. The elderly English peer was now nearly eighty. Unlike his French predecessor, he did not show great artistic imagination in his style of writing, but he was very well known and popular as the witty and elegant developer and popularizer of the empirical, humanist philosophy of the great English thinkers of the eighteenth century, Locke, Berkeley, and Hume. He also had an affinity with the no less influential utilitarians of the nineteenth c Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mi Herbert Spencer.

We know that Herbert Spencer was particularly appreciated by Alfred Nobel, who would have been gratified to see him receive the first Nobel Prize for Literature, for which he had in fact been a candidate and a very prominent one. No doubt the Swedish Academy, on very

good grounds, wanted to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Nobel institution by paying tardy and discreet homage to the world of ideas represented by Russell as well as by Spencer.

According to the brief published account of the reasons for this choice, the Nobel Prize of 1950 was awarded to Bertrand Russell "in homage to his philosophical work, which is as rich as it is important and which makes him rank as a defender of humanity and the freedom of ideas." The Committee's adviser was a professor of philosophy at Stockholm University, and after a detailed analysis of Russell's vast philosophical, scientific, historical, sociological, and political works he came to the conclusion that Russell compared favorably with the other "non-literary" writers—Mommsen, Eucken, and Bergson—who had previously been honored with the Nobel Prize for Literature. If the Swedish Academy wanted to honor the intellectual culture of England in the same way, it could not have chosen a worthier representative than Bertrand Russell.

Anders Österling, the permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy, did not spare his praise in awarding the Prize to the noble lord.

Lord Russell did not make a formal acceptance at the award ceremony but on the following day he gave a public lecture on the current trends in world politics. He reaffirmed his unshakable faith in human intelligence, the only thing capable of making this world in which we live a better one. It should be remembered that this profession of optimistic faith was composed and spoken at the moment when a new struggle with far-reaching repercussions had just broken out—the Korean war.

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## BRS BOOK AWARD

(8) Nominations wanted for the 1985 BRS Book Award. This Award was proposed by Gladys Leithauser some years ago. We will follow this procedure: (1) Members may nominate books they feel have great merit; the books should deal with some aspect of BR's life, work, times, or causes. (2) The Book Award Committee will evaluate the nominations, and recommend a book to the members. (3) The members will vote their approval or disapproval of the recommendation, or perhaps indicate their preferance among several recommended books.

The members of the Book Award Committee are Gladys Leithauser, Hugh Moorhead, and Harry Ruja.

Please send your nominations to the newsletter (address on Page 1, bottom) for forwarding to the Committee.

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## BRS DOCTORAL GRANT (1985)

(9) Now $1000. The value of the BRS Doctoral Grant has been doubled. In 1985 the recipient will receive $1000. The aim of doubling the amount is to stimulate greater interest in the Grant. In announcing the 1985 Grant, we will mention that the Grant is open to non-members as well as members of the BRS, and that the money could pay for typing a dissertation, traveling to the Russell Archives for research purposes, or for any purpose whatever.

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## ON NUCLEAR WAR

(10) "Man's Peril" was BR's now famous BBC talk at Christmas 1954 about the danger to mankind of a nuclear war. It became the basis of the Statement (also known as the Russell-Einstein Manifesto) which BR had invited eminent scientists from both sides of the Iron Curtain to sign. They had done so. And they also attended a press conference on July 9, 1955 at which BR read the Statement and answered the press's questions. What followed, 2 years later, was the first of the Pugwash Conferences, attended by scientists from both sides of the Iron Curtain. The Library has a tape of the press conference, #213 (2B).

The radio talk was also the basis of an article for Saturday Review (4/12/55), with a new title, "Man's Duel With the Hydrogen Bomb." The text reproduced here is from "Humanitas International Human Rights Committee" (Spring 1984), which uses the Saturday Review version. "Man's Peril" is included in BR's Portraits From Memory and in The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell. Here it is, with thanks to HERB VOGT and ALEX DELY:

*Twenty-nine years ago, Bertrand Russell warned of the grave dangers the world faced if it continued to arm itself with nuclear weapons. His visionary article on "Man's Duel With the Hydrogen Bomb" appeared in the April 12, 1955 issue of* The Saturday Review. *When I recently discovered that magazine in a rack of discarded periodicals at the Menlo Park Library, I read the article and discovered that, despite the vast changes that have occurred over the past three decades, Russell's analysis held up very well indeed. It is interesting to note that his recommendation that the neutral nations act as mediators between the Soviets and the Americans has long been ignored, but has, in the past few years, stimulated new interest. Apart from the nature of Russell's specific recommendations, however, the article is most striking for two reasons: the elegance with which Russell presented the nature of the problem he perceived in 1955, and the irony with which we must view his unheeded warning three decades hence. It is a warning, we feel, that cannot be repeated often enough.*

*—Jim Wake*
Editor, Humanitas newsletter

I am writing not as a Briton, not as a European, not as a member of a Western democracy, but as a human being, a member of the species Man, whose continued existence is in doubt. The world is full of conflicts: Jews and Arabs; Indians and Pakistanis; white men and Negroes in Africa; and, overshadowing all minor conflicts, the titanic struggle between Communism and anti-Communism.

Almost everybody who is politically conscious has strong feelings about one or more of these issues. But I want you, if you can, to set aside such feelings for the moment and consider yourself only as a member of a biological species which has had a remarkable history and whose disappearance none of us can desire. I shall try to say no single word which should appeal to one group rather than to another. All, equally, are in peril, and, if the peril is understood, there is hope that they may collectively avert it. We have to learn to think in a new way. We have to learn to ask ourselves not what steps can be taken to give military victory to whatever group we prefer,

for there no longer are such steps. The question we have to ask ourselves is: What steps can be taken to prevent a military contest of which the issue must be disastrous to all sides?

The general public, and even many men in positions of authority, have not realized what would be involved in a war with hydrogen bombs. The general public still thinks in terms of the obliteration of cities. It is understood that the new bombs are more powerful than the old and that, while one atomic bomb could obliterate Hiroshima, one hydrogen bomb could obliterate the largest cities such as London, New York, and Moscow. No doubt in a hydrogen-bomb war great cities would be obliterated. But this is one of the minor disasters that would have to be faced. If everybody in London, New York, and Moscow were exterminated, the world might, in the course of a few centuries, recover from the blow. But we now know, especially since the Bikini test, that hydrogen bombs can gradually spread destruction over a much wider area than had been supposed. It is stated on very good authority that a bomb can now be manufactured which will be 25,000 times as powerful as that which destroyed Hiroshima. Such a bomb, if exploded near the ground or under water, sends radioactive particles into the upper air. They sink gradually and reach the surface of the earth in the form of a deadly dust or rain. It was this dust which infected the Japanese fishermen and their catch of fish although they were outside what American experts believed to be the danger zone.

No one knows how widely such lethal radioactive particles might be diffused, but the best authorities are unanimous in saying that a war with hydrogen bombs is quite likely to put an end to the human race. It is feared that if many hydrogen bombs are used there will be universal death—sudden only for a fortunate minority, but for the majority a slow torture of disease and disintegration.

I will give a few instances out of many. Sir John Slessor, who can speak with unrivaled authority from his experiences of air warfare, has said: "A world war in this day and age would be general suicide"; and has gone on to state: "It never has and never will make any sense trying to abolish any particular *weapon* of war. What we have got to abolish is *war*." E. D. Adrian, who is the leading English authority on nerve physiology, recently emphasized the same point in his address as president of the British Association. He said: "We must face the possibility that repeated atomic explosions will lead to a degree of general radioactivity which no one can tolerate or escape"; and he added: "Unless we are ready to give up some of our old loyalties, we may be forced into a fight which might end the human race." Air Chief Marshal Sir Philip Joubert says: "With the advent of the hydrogen bomb, it would appear that the human race has arrived at a point where it must abandon war as a continuation of policy or accept the possibility of total destruction." I could prolong such quotations indefinitely.

Many warnings have been uttered by eminent men of science and by authorities in military strategy. None of them will say that the worst results are certain. What they do say is that these results are possible and no one can be sure that they will not be realized. I have not found that the views of experts on this question depend in any degree upon their politics or prejudices. They depend only, so far as my researches have revealed, upon the extent of the particular expert's knowledge. I have found that the men who know most are most gloomy.

Here, then, is the problem which I present to you, stark and dreadful and inescapable: Shall we put an end to the human race; or shall mankind renounce war? People will not face this alternative because it is so difficult to abolish war. The abolition of war will demand distasteful limitations of national sovereignty. But what perhaps impedes understanding of the situation more than anything else is that the term "mankind" feels vague and abstract. People scarcely realize in imagination that the danger is to themselves and their children and their grandchildren, and not only to a simply apprehended humanity. And so they hope that perhaps war may be allowed to continue provided modern weapons are prohibited. I am afraid this hope is illusory. Whatever agreements not to use hydrogen bombs had been reached in time of peace, they would no longer be considered binding in time of war, and both sides would set to work to manufacture hydrogen bombs as soon as war broke out, for if one side manufactured the bombs and the other did not, the side that manufactured them would inevitably be victorious.

On both sides of the Iron Curtain there are political obstacles to emphasis on the destructive character of future war. If either side were to announce that it would on no account resort to war, it would be diplomatically at the mercy of the other side. Each side, for the sake of self-preservation, must continue to say that there are provocations that it will not endure. Each side may long for an accommodation, but neither side dare express this longing convincingly. The position is analogous to that of duelists in former times. No doubt it frequently happened that each of the duelists feared death and desired an accommodation, but neither could say so, since, if he did, he would be thought a coward. The only hope in such cases was intervention by friends of both parties suggesting an accommodation to which both could agree at the same moment. This is an exact analogy to the present position of the protagonists on either side of the Iron Curtain. If an agreement making war improbable is to be reached, it will have to be by the friendly offices of neutrals, who can speak of the disastrousness of war without being accused of advocating a policy of "appeasement." The neutrals have every right, even from the narrowest consideration of self-interest, to do whatever lies in their power to prevent the outbreak of a world war, for, if such a war does break out, it is highly probable that all the inhabitants of neutral countries, along with the rest of mankind, will perish. If I were in control of a neutral government, I should certainly consider it my paramount duty to see to it that my country would continue to have inhabitants, and the only way by which I could make this probable would be to promote some kind of accommodation between the powers on opposite sides of the Iron Curtain.

I, personally, am of course not neutral in my feeling and I should not wish to see the danger of war averted by an abject submission of the West. But, as a human being, I have to remember that, if the issues between East and West are to be decided in any manner that can give any possible satisfaction to anybody, whether Communist or anti-Communist, whether Asian or European or American, whether white or black, then these issues must not be decided by war. I should wish this to be understood on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It is emphatically not enough to have it understood on one side only. I think the neutrals, since they are not caught in our tragic dilemma, can, if they will, bring about this realization on both sides. I should like to see one or more neutral powers appoint a commission of experts, who should all be neutrals, to draw up a report on the destructive effects to be expected in a war with hydrogen bombs, not only among the belligerents but also among neutrals. I should wish this report presented to the governments of all the Great Powers with an invitation to express their agreement or disagreement with its findings. I think it possible that in this way all the Great Powers could be led to agree that a world war can no longer serve the purposes of any of them since it is likely to exterminate friend and foe equally and neutrals likewise.

As geological time is reckoned, Man has so far existed only for a very short period—1,000,000 years at the most. What he has achieved, especially during the last 6,000 years, is something utterly new in the history of the Cosmos, so far at least as we are acquainted with it. For countless ages the sun rose and set, the moon waxed and [illegible], the stars shone in the night, but [illegible] as only with the coming of Man that these things were understood. In the great world of astronomy and in the little word of the atom, Man has unveiled secrets which might have been thought undiscoverable. In art and literature and religion some men have shown a sublimity of feeling which makes the species worth preserving.

Is all this to end in trivial horror because so few are able to think of Man rather than of this or that group of men? Is our race so destitute of wisdom, so incapable of impartial love, so blind even to the simplest dictates of self-preservation that the last proof of its silly cleverness is to be the extermination of all life on our plant? For it will be not only men who will perish, but also the animals and plants, whom no one can accuse of Communism or anti-Communism.

I cannot believe that this is to be the end. I would have men forget their quarrels for a moment and reflect that, if they will allow themselves to survive, there is every reason to expect the triumphs of the future to exceed immeasurably the triumphs of the past. There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge, and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot [illegible] our quarrels? I appeal as a human being to human beings: remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, nothing lies before you but universal death.

(11) Pugwash reports:

## PUGWASH CONFERENCES ON SCIENCE AND WORLD AFFAIRS

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**A brief description, and activities 1984-85.**

The Pugwash Conferences resulted from the Bertrand Russell - Albert Einstein Manifesto of 1955 calling upon scientists of all political persuasions to gather in conference and devise ways to avoid the danger of nuclear war. These Conferences - from the first Conference in Pugwash*), Nova Scotia, in 1957 until today - have attracted the most respected representatives of the scientific communities, notably from the East and the West, and have created an important bridge between scientists of opposing political viewpoints which has been maintained for over 25 years.

Since 1957 more than 100 Pugwash Conferences, Symposia and Workshops, with the participation of over 2 000 natural scientists, scholars and various experts from all over the world, have been held in closed meetings in an atmosphere of free and informal discussion, without publicity and official responsibilities. The major findings have been transmitted to high levels of governments, the United Nations, and leaders of the world scientific community, as well as to the public.

Pugwash meetings have also made an important contribution towards establishing co-operative links between scientists from the industrial North and the underdeveloped South, aimed at removing the threats to peace which are a consequence of the growing gap between the affluent and the needy portions of the world, and the arms trade and militarism which affect many of these countries.

Discussions in Pugwash meetings have often had a direct and some times a crucial influence in the negotiation of arms control agreements, such as the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963; the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968; the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction of 1972; and the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Agreement of 1972. Pugwash exchanges have also helped to lay the groundwork for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks.

Because of the private, unofficial and informal manner in which they are conducted, it is difficult to measure precisely to what extent the Pugwash Conferences, Symposia and Workshops have been contributing to the solution of the vast and complex problems on their agenda. It is clear, however, that Pugwash has succeeded in providing an effective channel of communication between scientists of widely different political and social views for discussing highly controversial matters, often of a military or political nature, by finding a common approach based upon scientific objectivity and mutual respect.

Pugwash has identified major problems arising from scientific and technological innovation and has directed attention to them at an early stage. There is good reason to believe that in some cases conclusions drawn from meetings have had a direct influence on the decision-making process by national governments involved in actual or potential conflicts, particularly with relation to arms control and disarmament.

A case in point is the problem of intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in Europe and their relation to general strategic nuclear forces. Following the NATO decision of December 1979 to introduce Pershing IIs and ground-launched cruise missiles by the end of 1983, unless agreement on the problem of INFs was achieved before then, Pugwash initiated in January 1980 a series of Workshops to discuss this problem and the relation to general strategic forces. By December 1983, nine such Workshops were held in Geneva. These meetings are known to have exerted an influence on official negotiations, for example the promulgation by the USSR of a no first-use policy, a temporary moratorium on the deployment of INFs capable of reaching Western European countries, and an offer to remove nuclear battlefield weapons from a defined zone.

Other examples of recent Pugwash efforts include the chemical weapons field where particular attention has been given to problems of verification of destruction of stockpiles and on non-production of weapons, and to the investigation of allegations of use. Amongst the measures for crisis prevention and management proposed by Pugwash is space surveillance satellites for peace-keeping purposes under the aegis of the United Nations.

Although the main thrust of Pugwash's efforts is aimed at avoiding nuclear war by influencing favourably the formulation of nuclear and other military and political policies in the upper echelons of governments and alliances, for example on nuclear weapon-free zones in the Nordic, Central Europe and Balkan regions, it also recognizes the need to reach other population groups in seeking support for its goals. An example of this is the 1982 Pugwash Declaration signed by 111 Nobel laureates in the natural sciences, which outlines specific steps and calls upon all members of the world's scientific community, all governments and all peoples to help remove the threat of nuclear war. This declaration, issued in Warsaw on the 25th anniversary of the founding of Pugwash, was one of the first public statements by a large group of influential scientists calling for a "standstill freeze" on nuclear arsenals and a stop to the development of new weapons technologies. Pugwash has long stood for "no use" of nuclear weapons in conflicts under any circumstances, and for large cuts in existing nuclear arsenals leading to comprehensive nuclear disarmament.

Pugwash will continue its unique role in working towards comprehensive disarmament and ultimately general and complete disarmament.

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*) Pugwash, a fishing village in Nova Scotia, was the venue of the 1st Conference by invitation of Cyrus Eaton (1884-1979), Canadian benefactor.

(12) Hats off to Harold Willens, the man who put the nuclear freeze movement on the map. He was Chairman of the California Nuclear Freeze, which proved that people really wanted a freeze and that therefore the freeze movement had to be taken seriously. (The Quakers were there first, of course. They usually are. They had been calling for a "nuclear moratorium" before the word "freeze" took over, but not too many people heard them.) According to Willens, the most influential people in America are business executives, and therefore the way to bring about change is to convince business executives that a particular change is desirable. Years ago he had founded Business Executives Against the Vietnam War. Discussing his new book The Trimtab Factor, in a radio interview, he said this:

> Years ago the Ford Motor Company built a car called the Edsel. They put hundreds of millions of dollars into it, and then they realized they had misread the market and it was a mistake. If they had been too stubborn or too fearful to admit a mistake, there would be no Ford Motor Company alive today. That's what we have to do as a country. We have to say, "Nobody can win the nuclear arms race. We've been carrying it on for almost 40 years, and it's clear that one side catches up with the other and both sides come closer to the edge of doom. And so, it's an Edsel. Let's scrap it. Let's find another way."

Willens offers another way, in 5 steps, the first 4 of which (he says) "amount to an incremental weapons freeze." We recommend his book. The interview excerpt, above, comes from "In The Public Interest" (March 1984/ Vol.12, No.3), newsletter of "The Daily Nationwide Radio Voice of the Fund for Peace".

(13) "The Day After World War III" by Edward Zuckerman (NY:Viking) was reviewed in Newsweek (7/9/84, p. 72) by Walter Clemons. This is his review:

In case of nuclear attack, the U.S. Postal Service is prepared to trace the displaced (and dead) by issuing postage-free emergency change-of-address cards. Your local post office already has them. In its surreal absurdity, this detail stands out among many well-meaning bureaucratic lunacies Edward Zuckerman has gleaned from the files of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which coordinates planning for a postattack society.

Meticulously researched, sardonically written, "The Day After World War III" is more frightening than doomsday tracts like Jonathan Schell's "The Fate of the Earth" and Helen Caldicott's "Nuclear Madness, which portray nuclear war as a global cataclysm. While the civil-defense professionals and military planners in Zuckerman's book mostly pay lip service to the idea that nuclear war is undesirable, they are contemptuous of those who find it unthinkable. Nuclear war "would be a mess," Gen Louis Giuffrida of FEMA said in 1981. "But it wouldn't be unmanageable to the extent that we had a plan."

The plans are more comprehensive than we realize. They range from an order freezing wages, prices and rents -- ready for signing as the President circles above the fallout in his specially modified 747 -- to a revised tax system under which, if employers are unable to issue W-2 forms, the IRS may "forgive' income tax and substitute a 30% sales tax. The have-a-nice-day cheeriness of the documents sometimes lapses into unavoidable gloom when such subjects as the smell of corpses in fallout shelters are addressed, but optimism prevails. Life underground can be brightened by group singing and board games, a shelter-management guide advises, and "Arts-and-crafts products can be shown and admired."

Zuckerman traces the change from the post-Hiroshima belief that "this thing is so terrible...that there may not be any more wars," as Gen. "Hap" Arnold said in 1945, to an increasing confidence in the feasibility of limited nuclear war. By studying the "Ivy League" exercise conducted by the Reagan administration in 1982 and by interviewing Strategic Air Command officers, Zuckerman is able to provide a detailed scenario for a nuclear war that might begin with the release of "a relatively small tactical nuclear weapon" by the United States, perhaps only as a warning. Defense Secretaries Harold Brown and Caspar Weinberger have both admitted doubts as to whether a limited nuclear exchange could remain limited, and the Soviets have declared it impossible. "But policy debates are beside the point," Zuckerman observes, "The operational plans for limited nuclear war fighting have been made, and in place, for years."

Illogic: Zuckerman tells us in a reasonable tone where we seem to be heading. He does not suggest that nuclear-freeze marches will change anything. But the absence of exhortation in "The Day After World War III" has an eloquence of its own. Instead of the blinding flash of apocalyptic extinction, he invites us to consider nuclear war as its most optimistic planners envision it. With the possible exceptions of Edward Teller and Phyllis Schlafly ("The atomic bomb is a marvelous gift that was given to our country by a wise God"), the book contains no hissable villains. Zuckerman patiently untangles the illogic of bureaucrats and strategists acting in good faith. "What if FEMA were right about everything?" he asks. If only 45 million Americans were killed outright (FEMA's most hopeful estimate), only 20 million more suffered sublethal radiation sickness, only a few million of those who survived their shelter stays died of cancer later on, "and the world did not end? And things were nearly normal in Argentina and New Zealand? Would nuclear war be acceptable then?" As Zuckerman outlines the busy planning for such a war, one is aroused to rage.

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## CREATIONISM

(14) Creationism loses a round, thanks to the fine work of People for the American Way, as reported in the New York Times (4/15/84):

# TEXAS DROPS CURB ON SCIENCE BOOKS

## Limit on Teaching Evolution Lifted After Threat of Suit

By ROBERT REINHOLD
Special to The New York Times

EL PASO, April 14 — The Texas Board of Education today repealed a decade-old rule that required textbooks used in the state's public schools to describe evolution as "only one of several explanations" of the origin of human beings and to present it as "theory rather than fact."

Critics had charged that textbook publishers had to water down their treatment of evolution in books sold all over the country if they wanted to sell textbooks in Texas. Texas spends about $65 million a year on texts, making the state the fourth largest market in the country.

But, there was disagreement over what effect the repeal would have.

**Lawsuit Was Threatened**

"This is going to free publishers to write about science accurately, unhampered by religious dogma," said Michael Hudson, the Texas coordinator for People for the American Way, a national anticensorship group that had petitioned for today's change and threatened to sue if it was not made.

"It undoes 10 years of creationist influence on textbook content and it will spill over into every state," Mr. Hudson said.

"It won't make a bit of difference," countered Norma Gabler of Longview, Tex. She and her husband, Mel, representing the fundamentalist religious view of creation, have long exerted a powerful influence on the approval of textbooks in Texas and were the authors of the original evolution rule.

"This is rule by intimidation and threat," she said, referring to Mr. Hudson's group. She added that textbooks had not changed much under the rule and still presented evolutionary theory.

"They still show hunched-over men moving up to man from monkeys and fishes coming out of the water," she said. "If you want to believe you came from a monkey, that's fine, but I don't."

All textbooks in Texas must be approved by the state board in a procedure similar to that in 17 other states, most of them in the South and Southwest.

The move today, taken reluctantly, came a month after the state's Attorney General, Jim Mattox, declared the requirement on evolution an unconstitutional intrusion of religion into state matters. He indicated then that he would not defend the board against an expected lawsuit challenging the rule, and members of the board said today they had no choice but to repeal it.

Moreover, the board has been under heavy pressure from many Texas political and business leaders, uneasy over criticism of Texas schools.

The repeal came on a voice vote of the 27-member board with only one audible dissent. The panel then unanimously approved a new provision stating, without mentioning evolution, that "theories should be clearly distinguished from fact and presented in an objective educational manner."

The rule did not forbid the teaching of evolutionary theory or require any mention of creationism in texts. But books mentioning evolution were required to print a disclaimer identifying evolution "as only one of several explanations of the origins of mankind" and must "avoid limiting young people in their search for meanings of their human existence."

The rule also compelled text writers to "ensure that the reference is clearly to a theory and not to a verified fact."

In his ruling last month, Attorney General Mattox said, "The inference is inescapable, from the narrowness of the requirement, that a concern for religious sensibilities rather than a dedication to scientific truth was the real motivation for the rules."

(15) Creationism may or may not lose this one. The American Arbitration Ass'n arbitrator had not yet made his ruling, at the time this story appeared in the New York Times (2/21/84, p.A14):

# Drama on Scopes Trial Is Barred From Class

Special to The New York Times

ST. LOUIS, Feb. 20 — To some, it seems like the Scopes monkey trial all over again. James Dickerson, a teacher in a nearby suburb, has been trying for a year and a half to show his students a fictionalized movie account of the 1925 case in which another teacher, John T. Scopes, was arrested when he agreed to challenge an old Tennessee law prohibiting the teaching of Darwin's theory of evolution.

Mr. Dickerson is an earth science teacher at Oakville Junior High School in the Melville School District south of here. In November 1982 he announced plans to show the 1960 movie "Inherit the Wind" to 300 students in his class. The school district's assistant superintendent at the time, Donald C. Hoefelmann, said school officials would not allow the movie to be shown because it was historically inaccurate, poked fun at religious beliefs and was not appropriate for an earth sciences class.

**Tracy and March in Film**

Mr. Hoefelmann, who now works for an investment company, said he knew the decision would cause controversy. "Everyone knew it was going to be volatile," he said. "We all put a lot of thought into it."

The movie featured Spencer Tracy as a character based on Clarence Darrow, who was the attorney for Scopes, a teacher in Dayton, Tenn., and Fredric March as a character based on William Jennings Bryan, who was in effect a special prosecutor for the state of Tennessee.

Mr. Dickerson said the film would supplement class material on creationism and evolution. But he said the school's principal, Ronald Paul, said no to his request in November 82.

**Decision Not Binding**

In January 1983 Mr. Dickerson appealed to Thomas L. Blades, the Melville Superintendent, who upheld the principal's decision. Efforts at compromise were unsuccessful, and Mr. Dickerson then took the matter to the Melville Community Teachers Association. The association and the school administration were unable to agree on an arbitrator, and the American Arbitration Association assigned one. The arbitrator heard the case early this month and is to rule in the next several months.

But school district officials do not have to follow the arbitrator's decision. If they do not, the teachers association might sue to force a settlement, said Michael Skinner, grievance chairman for the association.

The whole dispute hints at censorship, said Joyce Armstrong, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Eastern Missouri. It was the A.C.L.U. that pressed Scopes to challenge the Tennessee law 59 years ago and hired Darrow to represent him.

"I would think the school district would be on very shallow ground," she said. "School officials have a certain control over the curriculum, but then it reaches a point of academic freedom."

Meanwhile, the original stage version of "Inherit the Wind" with Hal Linden in the role based on Clarence Darrow is to open in a St. Louis area theater March 23.

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ON EDUCATION

(16) "Neill and Russell" from Neill Of Summerhill: The Permanent Rebel by Jonathan Croall (NY: Pantheon, 1983 pp.158-160,167), with thanks to TOM STANLEY:

Russell and his second wife, Dora, had two children coming up to school age. She too was unhappy about existing schools, in particular their rigid timetables and intense competition. She was active in various movements for reform, but found that even the pioneer schools, though certainly more humane places than conventional public or state schools, did not go far enough: 'Nearly all the new type of schools, though outside state jurisdiction, were in tune with the established beliefs, psychology and customs as to conduct and class; they were not seeking to upset the social system.' In the belief that there would be other parents 'like ourselves who desired radical changes in education', she and Russell decided to start their own school. The idea, as the first prospectus made clear, was to produce 'not listless intellectuals, but young men and women filled with constructive hopefulness, conscious that there are great things to be done in the world, and possessed of the skill required for taking their part.' There was to be no corporal punishment; attendance at lessons was to be voluntary; there was to be frank and full discussion about difficult topics such as sex and religion; and both the rules and the timetable were to be decided upon by a School Council.

In preparation for opening the school, the Russells did some homework on the ideas of certain pioneers. One of their children spent some time in a Montessori day school in London. Both were taken for a half-day to the open-air nursery school in Deptford run by Margaret McMillan, while their parents talked with its creator, and observed the environment which she had created, aiming to allow children room to move and play. The Russells studied the theories of psychologists such as Freud and Adler, and the educational ideas of Piaget, Froebel and Pestalozzi. And, in 1927, Russell arrived in a Minerva limousine to stay for a week at Summerhill. The staff 'sat at the feet' of the two men as they discussed the problem children at the school. Though the great mathematician dropped in on some lessons, there was disappointment that he missed one in particular, as Neill wrote in a letter of 26 May just after the visit: 'I have it on my conscience that I docked you of that Maths lesson. Especially so when I learnt that Mrs Barton [Jonesie] was annoyed at me for not bringing you in. It transpired that she had a specially brilliant lesson that day. I think therefore that you'll have to come back again . . . bringing your wife next time.'

One night, when he and Russell went for a walk together, Neill defined the difference between the two of them: ' "Russell," I said, "if we had a boy with us now you would want to tell him about the stars while I would leave him to his own thoughts." He laughed when I added: "I maybe say that because I know damn all about the stars anyway." ' Neill was certainly right to see a fundamental difference in their attitude to children, despite the fact that he and Russell shared many views about the deficiencies of conventional schooling. The difference had first become clear when the two men had initially made contact by letter the previous year. But to some extent it was obscured by two qualities in Neill which were to be a source of amusement, puzzlement and irritation to many involved with Summerhill: a streak of mild if harmless snobbery, which allowed him to be impressed by titles and eminence; and a very Scottish respect for learning, which sat somewhat uneasily with a genuine hatred of 'book learning'. When Russell sent Neill a copy of his *On Education*, at about the time *The Problem Child* was being published, Neill wrote back saying that it was 'the only book on education that I have read that does not make me swear. All the others are morals disguised as education.' He ignored the fact that he had made similar comments on earlier books by Edmond Holmes, Norman MacMunn and Caldwell Cook during his *New Era* period. Here he confesses himself impressed by Russell's knowledge: 'To me the most interesting thing about your book is that it is scholarly (nasty word) in the sense that it is written by a man who knows history and science. I am ignorant of both and I think that my own conclusions come partly from blind intuition.' Only in a very tentative manner does he point to a difference between them: 'Possibly . . . I attach more importance to emotion in education than you do.'

This was indeed a crucial difference, and one that was underlined by Russell in a letter to H. G. Wells a year after his visit to Summerhill. In trying to persuade Wells to help raise an extra £1000 a year to keep his and Dora's school going, Russell wrote:

> I believe profoundly in the importance of what we are doing here. If I were to put into one single phrase our educational objects, I should say that we aim at training initiative without diminishing its strength. . . . You will realise that hardly any other educational reformers lay much stress upon intelligence. A. S. Neill, for example, who is in many ways an admirable man, allows such complete liberty that his children fail to get the necessary training and are always going to the cinema, when they might otherwise be interested in things of more value. Absence of opportunity for exciting pleasures at this place is, I think, an important factor in the development of the children's intellectual interests.

The distinction is clear: while Neill aims to release the emotions, Russell wants to train the mind. In anyone else Neill would have attacked this attitude, since it falls clearly into his category of 'moulding' adults at work. In the *New Era* days he had several times criticised the 'high lifers' of the progressive movement for placing Shakespeare above Charlie Chaplin, and trying to force their cultural values on children. Yet there is no direct evidence that Neill was overtly critical of Russell in this sphere.*

Neill certainly kept in touch for as long as Russell stayed with the school. When he left in 1931, Neill found in Dora Russell someone who was able to give him rather more practical support, and whose ideas were closer to his own. Like Neill, she was critical of other progressive schools for limiting self-government to older children, feeling that an undesirable

advocated by the diehards. Can't we get up a league of heretical dominies called the 'Anal'-ists?

The week before, he had outlined his apprehension in more serious and graphic terms:

> 'You and I will have to fight like hell against having a few stupid inspectors mucking about demanding why Tommy can't read. Any inspector coming to me now would certainly be greeted by Colin (aged 6) with the friendly words, 'Who the fucking hell are you?' So that we must fight to keep Whitehall out of our schools.

In April 1931 Neill and Mrs Lins decided to do some walking on the South Downs, and Neill suggested that they might call in at Beacon Hill 'and enjoy a blasphemous conversation on parents'. Russell replied that he and Dora would be 'overjoyed' at the prospect, and afterwards wrote to Neill: 'Your visit here was a bright moment to us both. There are so few people to whom one can talk without tedious explanations.' Neill replied the next day: 'Yes, we said the same about you two ... how fine to talk to people you haven't to explain and defend with'; and some months later he told Russell: 'Wish we could have a yarn again. You are one of the few people I like to talk to and hear talk. The other educational blokes and blokesses are simply not there. They have ideals, bless em.'

The arrival of Beacon Hill and Dartington Hall produced a surge of interest in the more libertarian progressive ideas. Neill, Curry and the Russells found themselves referring to each other interested teachers, parents and visitors, and comparing notes on their virtues and deficiencies. Neill was grateful to be able to pass on some of the increasing numbers descending on the school, as he confided to Curry in December 1932: 'Fact is that crowds of people come round asking for jobs, and to get rid of them I say sweetly, Now there is Dartington Hall. What about applying there? Sometimes I send them on to Beacon Hill; most of them I send to hell; but not audibly.' Yet Neill was both patient with and helpful to many who were looking for a job, especially any who he felt were 'genuine cases who want the new ideas and hate the old schools in which they teach.'

deference to authority might have become ingrained by that age. She believed that 'a child going on the rampage at the age of four or five would do less harm to himself and to others than in adolescence, while in so doing he would at the same time begin to evolve his own self-restraint and control.' Under the influence of Margaret McMillan, she placed much emphasis, as Neill did, on the child's need for free play. Over the next few years, when she ran the school without Russell, she aimed to let the children express themselves through unorganised play as well as through drama, art and movement. Though at first she felt unable to go all the way with Neill's libertarian ideas – 'it seemed to me that he might be too much concerned with a negative revolt against what he now condemned, rather than with a positive statement of what should be put in its place' – after a few years she came to the conclusion that his approach was a necessary one, since 'the gulf between the old and the new was too wide to bridge by compromise'. By the middle of the 1930s, Neill was telling her that he and she were 'the only educators'.

* * * * * * *

Neill took delight in speaking his mind to Russell, having quickly got beyond the formality of addressing him as 'Mr Russell'. There is an element of mischievousness in their correspondence, as Russell with dry wit and Neill with warm humour compare notes on the inadequacies of fellow-pioneers, government departments, parents, inspectors and visitors.

In December 1930 Neill looked ahead with some trepidation to the outcome of the deliberations of a new Committee on Private Schools, which seemed likely to recommend more stringent rules and regulations for schools outside the state system. He told Russell of his fears:

> They will call in all the respectable old deadheads of education as expert witnesses (Badley and Co.) and unless men of moment like you make a fight for it we (the out and outer Bolshies of education) will be ignored. Then we'll have to put up with the nice rules

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## NEWS ABOUT MEMBERS

(17) DEAN BABST, member of Alex Dely's Human Rights/Int'l Development Committee, and co-author with Alex and 2 others, of Accidental War, The Growing Peril was the subject of a feature story in the Sacramento Bee, (Sunday, 3/11/84).The article, which identified Dean as a "61-year old retired criminologist", was mostly about the Growing Peril, which is perhaps summarized by the following paragraph: "In the 1950s, Defense Early Warning gave the world's leaders 12 hours or so to determine whether a radar blip was bird or bomber and decide whether to counterattack . Today, reaction time is down to about 7 minutes, said Babst."

(18) DONG-IN BAE, who told us he had returned to South Korea from West Germany (RSN42-20), has been named Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Kangweon National University, Chuncheon, and it keeps him very busy!

(19) ADAM PAUL BANNER has also been busy: married on April 12th; sold one house, acquired another; with wife, Adele, took 8000 mile trip via Canada to California, and back to Michigan; saw children and grandchildren; received tentative appointment as "Executive Director" of the Third World group publishing "Approtech", Journal of the Int'l Ass'n for the Advancement of Appropriate Technology for Developing Countries. "Do not know how far we can go. As usual, funds are lacking, and perhaps a long term plan. In any case I am where I want to be, ready to write about Third World development in terms of the iceberg syndrome — everything looks beautiful, but oh! so rotten underneath."

(20) JOHN LENZ, the new BRS Secretary, has received a Fellowship in Classical Studies from Columbia University.

(21) HERB VOGT writes (6/3/84):"I feel great, but I'm a cancer patient at present. I had quite an operation (exploratory laparotomy)...lymph nodes are cancerous as well as prostate. However, I'm hoping for the best (mind over matter) & have resumed normal activities. Stay healthy. Herb". We join him in hoping for the best! His address: 2101 S. Atlantic Av. (307)/Cocoa Beach, FL 32931.

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## NEW MEMBERS

(22) We welcome these new members:

STEFAN ANDERSSON/Sandgatan 10/22350 Lund, Sweden
FRANK J. ANGILELLA/5593 Leumas Road/Cincinnati, OH 45239
WALT COKER/PO BOX 3164/Scottsdale, AZ 85257
WILLIAM K. FIELDING/PO Box 218/Ware, MA 01082

DR. LARRY M. HERSH/135 Ocean Parkway/Brooklyn, NY 11218
JAMES JOLLY/1206 Thomas Lane (5)/Renton, WA 98055
VINCENT DE PAUL KIRCHDOERFFER/10 Daniel Drive/Hazlet, NJ 07730
JOHN MALITO/105 Cactus Av./Willowdale, Ont./Canada M2R2V1

RALPH A. MILL/33405 8th Av. S.,C-3000/Federal Way, WA 98003
SANDRA PERRY/4415 Hedionda Ct./San Diego, CA 92117
PROF. IAN WINCHESTER/OISE,Suite 9-196/252 Bloor St. West/Toronto, Canada M5S 1V6
MARTIN G. ZAPATA/611 Carnathan Ct./Ft. Walton Beach, FL 32548

## NEW ADDRESSES AND OTHER CHANGES

(23) These are the current addresses. (When something is underlined, only the underlined part is new or corrected.)

J. M. ALTIERI/Box 892/Ensenada, PR 00647
RUBEN ARDILA/Apartado 88754/Bogotá, Colombia
DONG-IN BAE/Dept. of Sociology/College of Humanities and Social Sciences/Kangweon National University/ Chuncheon 200, S. Korea
ADAM PAUL BANNER/1306 East Preston/Mt. Pleasant, MI 48858

DEAN T. BOWDEN/current address uncertain
MARK E. FARLEY/318 Normal St./Denton, TX 76201
TERRY L. HILDEBRAND/107 Porteus Hall 'Un Manoa/Honolulu 96822
JERRY DEAN PEARSON/4207 Brazil Circle/Pasadena TX 77504

DORA BLACK RUSSELL/Carn Voel/Porthcurno, Penzance/Cornwall, England TR19 6LN
GREG SEDBROOK/6120 W. Vernon St./Kissimee FL 32741
KATHLEEN WINSOR/RD 1, Box 633 A/Fishkill, NY 12524-9756
LUCILLE B. ZARSE/1417 Columbia St. N./Lafayette, IN 47901

## FREEZE

(24) Letters to the leaders of the nuclear superpowers, the result of proposals made by BOB LOMBARDI ( ):

THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY, INC.

Donald W. Jackanicz, President
901 6th St. SW--#712A
Washington, DC 20024 USA

26 June 1984

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Reagan,

At its 1984 Annual Meeting, the Bertrand Russell Society adopted the following resolution which I am now respectfully submitting to you. Identical letters have been sent to President Konstantin Chernenko, Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr., Senator Robert C. Byrd, and Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.

Resolved, that there shall be a bilateral, verifiable, nuclear weapons freeze; a denunciation of any attempt to deploy nuclear and anti-satellite weapons in outer space; a call for a return to arms talks, if not a summit meeting; and a call to ban all chemical weapons; and that the United States shall withdraw Pershing II missles from Europe; negotiate with the Soviet Union to ban cruise missles; and prevent further appropriations for MX missles.

Sincerely yours,

Donald W. Jackanicz

THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY, INC.

Donald W. Jackanicz, President
901 6th St. SW--#712A
Washington, DC 20024 USA

26 June 1984

President Konstantin Chernenko
Central Committee of the Communist Party
4 Staraya Ploshchad
Moscow
USSR

Dear President Chernenko,

At its 1984 Annual Meeting, the Bertrand Russell Society adopted the following resolution which I am now respectfully submitting to you. Identical letters have been sent to President Ronald Reagan, Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr., Senator Robert C. Byrd, and Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.

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Sincerely yours,

Donald W. Jackanicz

BOOK REVIEWS

(25) "Accidental Nuclear War:The Growing Peril", as reviewed in "Humanist in Canada" (Summer 1984). The reviewe (PAUL PFALZNER) and 2 of the authors (DEAN BABST and ALEX DELY) are BRS members.

## ACCIDENTAL NUCLEAR WAR: THE GROWING PERIL

**by Dean Babst, Alex Dely, David Krieger, and Robert Aldridge**

**June 1984, Peace Research Institute, Dundas, Ontario, paper, 2 vols., $5 each.**

**Reviewed by PAUL PFALZNER**

***This review is based on pre-publication material provided by Dr. David Krieger, President, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, Santa Barbara, California.***

Unless the current direction of the arms race is changed, accidental nuclear war is a certainty. It is only a matter of time. Such is the terrifying conclusion drawn by the authors of this first comprehensive study of the complexities and uncontrolled dynamics of modern arms technology and strategy.

As described in their fully-documented report, the probability of accidental nuclear war is increasing for the following reasons:

**– Decreasing time for decision making**

The opportunity for a war to start by misjudgement, miscalculation or false alarm has greatly increased. The time available to the United States or the Soviet Union for deciding whether or not to launch a nuclear attack has diminished from 12 hours in the 1950's to *less than 8 minutes* today. This is all the time available for identifying and confirming whether an object is an approaching missile or not, and for deciding whether to launch nuclear missiles in response.

**– Sneak attack weapons being planned**

The present crucially short time for decision-making is becoming increasingly meaningless as the number of weapons systems *designed to attack without warning* grows. The US is spending more than $100 billion for B-1B bombers, for Advanced Technology Bombers, and for more than 9000 cruise missiles, over 5000 of these being nuclear. Other countries are now building similar weapons. Cruise missiles and stealth bombers are designed to evade radar and strike with no warning.

**– False warnings**

There can be little doubt that all countries with strategic warning systems have false alarms. During one 18-month period, the US had 147 false alarms, with one lasting a full six minutes. The false alarm experience of other countries is not known. Could the first false alarm that triggers a country to launch missiles, ignite a global exchange?

A number of US Congressional and General Accounting Office reports are concerned about the US warning system. A congressional committee chaired by Sen. Jack Brooks claims that "the severe and potentially catastrophic deficiencies found in the nation's missile-attack warning system are a result of significant and long-term management failings within the Air Force and Joint Chiefs of Staff". Yet a Department of Defense "Fact Sheet" (1983) describes the warning system as "very good". Could we have a false sense of security?

**– Arms build-up increases first-strike apprehensions**

As weapons systems grow increasingly accurate and powerful, fears of a first strike also increase. Because of growing weapons-complexity and secrecy, it is difficult for countries to determine with any accuracy the strength of their opponents. A country may strike first because it believes that an opponent is gaining an overwhelming superiority. From the Soviet point of view, the refusal by the NATO countries to reciprocate a nuclear no-first use pledge is bound to be seen as deliberately provocative.

**– Growing number of countries with nuclear weapons**

As the number of countries with nuclear arms increases (India, Israel, South Africa, etc.), the probability of nuclear war increases:

- the nearer countries are to each other, the less warning time they have for assessing a threat or false alarm
- since it takes fewer weapons to destroy a small country, it may respond more quickly to a threat or false alarm
- a local nuclear war may go global by accident. A nuclear exchange anywhere could create communications chaos and cause other countries to believe they are under attack.

Other destabilizing scenarios discussed by the authors include:

- how the arms race in space increases chances of accidental war
- how the growing complexity and workload of strategic warning systems may be making their tasks impossibly difficult
- how accidents and illnesses of national leaders can contribute to dangers
- how terrorists could trigger a nuclear war
- how weapons unreliability and accidents increase the peril
- how biological and chemical weapons can lead to greater insecurity.

It is clear that looking in isolation at each of the separate ways an accidental war could start may greatly underestimate the total magnitude of the danger.

The authors consider some ways to halt the otherwise inevitable drift into disaster. There needs to be a far greater sense of urgency to obtain at the very least a nuclear freeze and an initial arms reduction agreement, before further destabilizing technology becomes available. The US and SU need to be assessing each major planned change in weapons systems or policy to determine whether or not it increases the dangers of accidental war. Suggestions for establishing Accidental-War Assessment Centers are given by the authors. Does it make any sense to spend thousands of billions of dollars for arms and to know so little about the greatest threat to our existence?

Since increasing concern about accidental nuclear war could help prevent it, we also need to assess the reasons for low public awareness. Here lies an enormous challenge. Can the catastrophic danger of an accidental war be made so clear to humanity that there results a great surge in public consciousness demanding the abolition of all nuclear weapons? How content are you to make little or no effort to prevent the destruction of the earth as an inhabitable planet for human beings?

Clearly, in the face of these horrifying dangers, all p[illegible] and self-serving hectoring and posturing can only be seen as the ravings of madmen.

We owe thanks to the (Canadian) Peace Research Institute — neglected and starved for funds for so long — for sponsoring this book by the four US authors. We should also note that two of the authors, Dean Babst and Alex Dely, are members of the Bertrand Russell Society, whose Science Committee chaired by Dely contributed to this project over the last 2 years. David Krieger has recently contributed an article on peace issues to *Humanist in Canada* (No. 68, Spring 1984).

(26) ARSENAL: Understanding Weapons in a Nuclear Age by Kosta Tsipis and THE ABOLITION by Jonathan Schell, reviewed by Freeman Dyson, in Science 84 (June 1984):

These two books about nuclear weapons are superficially as unlike as two books could be, but alike in some of their basic preconceptions. Before examining them individually, it may be useful to examine the preconceptions they share.

All American thinking about nuclear weapons is strongly influenced by two popular myths. One myth says that nuclear weapons were decisive in bringing World War II to an end. The second myth says that if Hitler had got nuclear weapons first he could have used them to conquer the world. Both myths were believed by the scientists and statesmen who built the first nuclear weapons. They are still believed by most Americans today. Since we cannot explore the might-have-beens of history we cannot know for sure whether these myths are true.

I believe that both myths are false. Of course I cannot prove it. But it is important to look at the myths with a skeptical eye and to consider how different our view of nuclear weapons might have been if Hitler had in fact got them first. Suppose that the Americans had neglected to push nuclear weaponry seriously and that the Germans had pushed as hard as possible. Hitler might have had a bomb by 1943 at the earliest and perhaps a few tens of bombs by 1945. What difference would it have made? London and Moscow would no doubt have shared the fate of Hamburg and Dresden. Perhaps a few square miles of New York would have been demolished. A lot of people would have been killed. But it seems highly unlikely that the arrival of Russian soldiers in Berlin and of American solders in Tokyo would have been substantially delayed. Hitler's bombs would neither have changed the grand strategy of the war nor lessened our determination to fight it to a finish. What would have been changed is our post-war perception of nuclear weapons. Forever afterward we would have seen nuclear weapons as contemptible, used by an evil man for evil purposes and failing to give him victory. The myth surrounding nuclear weapons would have been a myth of contempt and failure rather than a myth of pride and success.

It is important for Americans to go through the mental exercise of looking at nuclear weapons as if they *had* been Hitler's weapons rather than ours, because this exercise enables us to come closer to seeing nuclear weapons as they are seen by Soviet citizens. To understand Russian strategy and diplomacy, it is necessary for us to distance ourselves from our own myths and to enter into theirs. An understanding of Soviet views is the essential first step toward any lasting amelioration of the danger in which the world now stands.

*Arsenal* and *The Abolition*, though they differ greatly in subject matter and style, are both aimed at educating the American public on the facts of the nuclear predicament. In *Arsenal*, Kosta Tsipis, a physicist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, explains in moderately technical language the characteristics of various weapons. He begins with a detailed account of nuclear explosions and their effects, then describes the main nuclear weapon delivery systems, and ends with a discussion of the apparatus of missile defense and antisubmarine warfare and intelligence gathering. His explanations are clear and, with minor exceptions, accurate. He firmly refuses to go beyond explanations. He is not taking a political stand. In *The Abolition*, Jonathan Schell, a staff writer for *The New Yorker*, is advocating a particular political solution to the problem of nuclear weapons. He proposes a formal abolition treaty, with

s withdrawal clause that explicitly de- es and regulates the right of every ntry to rebuild nuclear armaments the treaty is violated. He is concerned with human attitudes, not with technical details.

The books have different starting points. Tsipis starts from the technical facts of weaponry. Schell starts from the Pastoral Letter, "The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response," approved in 1983 by a solemn conclave of American Catholic bishops. Tsipis says we must get the facts straight before considering political remedies. Schell says we must get the moral foundations straight before building political superstructures. Their statements do not contradict each other. If a political arrangement is to be durable, it must pay attention both to technical facts and to ethical principles. Technology without morality is barbarous; morality without technology is impotent. But in the public discussion of nuclear policies in the United States, technology has usually been overemphasized and morality neglected. It is time for us now to redress the balance, to think more about moral principles and less about technical details. Tsipis gives us an up-to-date version of a familiar story. Schell gives us a challenge to conventional wisdom. Schell's thesis is harder for us to accept d therefore more necessary for us to listen to. The roots of our nuclear madness lie in moral failures rather than in technical mistakes.

Schell and Tsipis share a common weakness: Their thinking is permeated by American nuclear myths. Both of them accept without serious question the idea that nuclear weapons are militarily decisive. Both of them equate military effectiveness with destructive power. Neither of them examines critically the military purpose of nuclear weapons or the possible missions for which they might be used. Schell's case for the feasibility of abolishing nuclear weapons would be stronger if he treated them with less respect. The hope of successful abolition becomes more realistic if it is understood that nuclear weapons are absurd rather than omnipotent.

As an example of Schell's overrating of nuclear weapons, consider his discussion of the alleged restraint of the United States during the years when we held a monopoly of nuclear weapons. Schell writes, "The United States not only did not immediately annihilate the Soviet Union but did not even seek any drastic change in Soviet policy—by, for example, using nuclear blackmail to force the Soviet Union out of Eastern Europe." The idea that we could have annihilated the Soviet Union with our meager supply of bombs is totally unreal, and there was never a time when nuclear blackmail would have had much chance of success. Stalin himself said, "The nuclear weapon is something with which you frighten people with weak nerves." Stalin did not suffer from weak nerves. His perception of the function of nuclear weapons was more realistic than ours.

Tsipis likewise shows little respect for Soviet points of view. Both authors write within a narrow framework of American-style calculation and American strategic doctrine. Tsipis' emphasis on gross destruction as a criterion of weapon effectiveness and Schell's talk of "immediately annihilating the Soviet Union" are both symptoms of a peculiarly American insensitivity to the realities of war. Soviet military writers don't write in such a cold-blooded way about numbers of casualties and don't make the mistake of supposing that nuclear weapons alone are militarily decisive. In an odd way, Soviet nuclear doctrines come closer than ours to the point of view of the Catholic bishops. Soviet doctrine, like the Catholic bishops', forbids deliberate targeting of civilian populations, forbids the first use of nuclear weapons, and rejects deterrence as an ultimate strategic goal. The Soviet Union offered to negotiate an abolition treaty in 1946 and the United States rejected it. Schell goes through a long argument to prove that his program of an abolition treaty can be made consistent with the American doctrine of deterrence. His case would be stronger and his treaty more negotiable if he would drop the insistence on deterrence and make the treaty as simple as possible. Perhaps the best way to achieve an abolition treaty would be to pick up the negotiation of the Soviet proposal where we left it in 1946.

Tsipis and Schell both conceive nuclear weapons to be an invincible force of which we should be mortally afraid. Stalin knew better. If we are to succeed in abolishing nuclear weapons, it is not enough to be mortally afraid. We shall have a better chance if we understand that nuclear weapons are useless and dangerous toys—which we are free to discard if our nerves are strong.

I have dwelt at some length on the weaknesses of Tsipis and Schell. They share these weaknesses with almost all American experts who write about nuclear weapons. Their strengths are their own. Tsipis' strengths are a lucid style and a firm grasp of technical details. Schell's strengths are a bold vision of the future and a moral conviction that will move mankind to make his vision come true. If we can combine Tsipis' technical competence and Schell's prophetic zeal with a more skeptical attitude toward American strategic dogmas, we shall have the essential ingredients for a hopeful future.

The Day After World War III by Edward Zuckerman is reviewed elsewhere in this issue. See (13).

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## BRS LIBRARY

(27) BRS Library Campaign. As we've said before (RSN42-9), we think the BRS ought to own every book BR ever wrote. What could be more appropriate? Here is a list, prepared by BRS Librarian JACK RAGSDALE, of BR's books that the Library does not own. Can you send the Library any of these books?

The ABC of Atoms
The Analysis of Matter
The Analysis of Mind
The Amberley Papers
Bertrand Russell Speaks His Mind
The Collected Stories of Bertrand Russell
Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare
On Education
An Essay on the Foundations of Geometry
Essays in Analysis
The Good Citizen's Alphabet
Fact and Fiction
New Hopes for a Changing World
Nightmares of Eminent Persons
Our Knowledge of the External World
Philosophical Essays
Portraits from Memory
Power
The Philosophy of Leibniz
Principia Mathematica
The Principles of Mathematics
The Problem of China
Religion and Science
Satan in the Suburbs
The Scientific Outlook
Understanding History and Other Essays
Vital Letters of Russell
War Crimes in Vietnam
Which Way to Peace?
Wisdom of the West

(28) Tapes to lend are listed, next page. There is no charge for borrowing, but borrower pays postage and insurance both ways. Please send payment for postage (check, stamps, or cash) with your order, plus 45¢ for $20 insurance on an audio cassette and 85¢ for $50 insurance on reel-to-reel audio, and all video tapes. Sorry, we do not ship tapes out of the USA; too much of a hassle with customs.

Audio cassettes. Weighs about 3 oz.

201 HARRY RUJA. "BERTRAND RUSSELL'S ANTI-SEMITISM" (1979)
JACK PITT. "BERTRAND RUSSELL'S RESPONSE TO MARX"
202 JACK PITT continued. (1979)
203 LESTER DENONN. "BERTIE AND LITIGATION" PLUS GENERAL DISCUSION OF DENONN'S LIBRARY
~~203~~ 204 ALBERT ELLIS "PSYCHOTHERAPY AND BERTRAND RUSSELL" (1979)
~~204~~ 205 PRESENTATION OF BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY AWARD TO PAUL ARTHUR SCHILPP AND HIS ACCEPTANCE SPEECH (1980)
~~205~~ 206C KATE TAIT REMINISCES ABOUT HER FATHER (1974)
DOUGLAS LACKEY. "BR'S FIRST ENCOUNTERS WITH WITTGENSTEIN" (1974)
~~206~~ 207 KENNETH BLACKWELL. "RUSSELL'S ETHIC — A NEW LOOK" (1981)
~~207~~ 208 NICK GRIFFIN. "FIRST EFFORTS" (1981). (BR's intellectual developoment before Cambridge.)
~~208~~ 209 DAVID HART."DETOUR ON THE ROAD TO FREEDOM: BERTRAND RUSSELL AND TODAY'S NEW ENGLISH LEFT" (1981)
~~209~~ 210 DAVID HARLEY. "BERTRAND RUSSELL AND WELLS", "ON EDITING RUSSELL'S PAPERS" (1982)
212 NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO'S "SOUND PORTRAIT OF BERTRAND RUSSELL" (1980)
213 RUSSELL-EINSTEIN STATEMENT OR "MANIFESTO" (1955)
214 NBC INTERVIEW WITH BERTRAND RUSSELL (1952) (80TH BIRTHDAY)
215 BERTRAND RUSSELLL'S NOBEL PRIZE ACCEPTANCE SPEECH (1950)
216 RUSSELL-COPLESTON DEBATE ON EXISTENCE OF GOD (1948)

Reel-to-reel audio-tape. Weighs one pound.

250 "SINFONIA CONTRA TIMORE" (Symphony Against Fear) BY GRAHAM WHETTAM, DEDICATED TO BERTRAND RUSSELL (1965)

Commercial Television Viewing Tape. Weighs one pound.

260 DONAHUE INTERVIEWS GORE VIDAL
1967

VHS video cassettes. Weighs one pound.

260A DONAHUE INTERVIEWS GORE VIDAL. ALSO, A JONATHAN MILLER INTERVIEW
261 STEVE ALLEN'S "MEETING OF MINDS" #305 & 306 (BERTRAND RUSSELL, THOMAS JEFFERSON, ST AUGUSTINE, EMPRESSS THEODORA)
262 BBC'S "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BERTRAND RUSSELL" 1962
NBC INTERVIEW WITH RUSSELL 1952
263 BERTRAND RUSSELL INTERVIEWED BY WOODROW WYATT: "DISCUSSES THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL, HAPPINESS, THE FUTURE OF MANKIND, POWER" (1959)

Betamax video cassettes. Weighs one pound.

270 "MEETING OF MINDS" #305
271 "MEETING OF MINDS" #306

(29) Recommended. JACK RAGSDALE says this about a Phil Donahue program with Gore Vidal as its guest: "Vidal appears before an audience of Chicago housewives full of religion, astonished at meeting a real live atheist, wanting to condemn him, but ready to save him, if at all possible. The result is one hour of cool wit and good humor." We are indebted to AL SECKEL for removing the commercials and adding a Jonathan Miller interview to the tape. This VHS Video Cassette (#260A) is available from the Library.

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## TRIVIA

(30) Bertie at Dartmouth, from the New York Times Magazine (5/13/84, p. 86) →

**Dartmouth's philosophy department offers students studying logic either the choice of supplementing their classwork in the traditional manner or independently using a program called Bertie (Bertrand Russell's nickname). "We did a controlled experiment and found that those who used the computer did better," says associate professor James Moor.**

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## CONTRIBUTIONS

(31) Our thanks to these members who have recently made contributions to the BRS Treasury: DAVID GOLDMAN, CHARLES HILL, JOHN MAHONEY, KEITH THOMPSON, and DAN WRAY.

(32) We have failed to bring the message home to most members. The message: contributions to the BRS Treasury are essential to our financial well-being as an organization. Contributions have lagged seriously.We have beat the drum in every issue of the newsletter but only a few have heard it. Can you hear it now? No? How loud must we bang the drum? Louder? Louder? LOUDER? STILL LOUDER? Let us restore the quiet. Help us do it...by writing a check -- for, say, $10 or whatever you wish to send -- to the BRS Treasury, and mailing it. We are talking of course to members who can afford to do this, and do not wish to discomfort those who cannot, whose membership we value equally highly. Mail your check -- those who can afford to -- to BRS Treasury c/o the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.

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## BRS BUSINESS

(33) Revised Bylaws, or more properly, proposed revised Bylaws, have been developed by the Bylaw Committee, whose members are Don Jackanicz, Steve Reinhardt, and Lee Eisler.

The original Bylaws, under which we currently operate, have been unsatisfactory in a number of ways. While it is probably not possible for any set of Bylaws to provide detailed procedures for all possible contingencies, the revised Bylaws are clearly an improvement, and reflect our experiences of the past ten years. They are, for example, more precise in these areas: the various kinds of membership, expulsion procedures, duties of Officers and Chairmen.

To become effective, the revised Bylaws most be approved by a majority of the members voting. Please read the revised Bylaws (47) and then use the ballot at the end of this newsletter to indicate whether you approve.

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## ELECTION OF DIRECTORS

4) Please vote. Use the ballot at the end of this newsletter, to vote for Directors. BRS Officers are ex-officio members of the Board; that is, they become Directors automatically has a result of being Officers. This year we need to elect 6 Directors, to maintain a total of 24 Directors. These are the candidates:

JACQUELINE BERTHON-PAYON (Claremont, CA), currently a Director,member since 1978, former Vice-President, former Co-Chairman/Membership Committee. An "instant convert" to BR upon reading The Will To Doubt; and has since given away great numbers of Bertrand Russell's Best (Egner, ed.).

BOB DAVIS (Los Angeles), Founding Member, BRS President (1974-1982), former Vice-President and VP/Special Projects, currently a Director, business proprietor, former high school teacher.

ALEX DELY (Tucson), currently a Director, member since 1976, Chairman of Science Committee and Human Rights/International Development Committee, co-author of Accidental War: The Growing Probability and 4 papers submitted to Congressional Hearings on Dept. of Defense Appropriations, occupying 38 pages in the official record (RSN41-5a).

ALI GHAEMI (McLean, VA), member since 1979, Director (1981-1983),2nd year law student, interested in Russellian philosophy applied to politics of the Third World; author published in various political, religious and humanities journals; affiliated with human rights, civil right and int'l studies groups; publisher of special reports and books dealing with culture, history, business/economics and arts of Third World countries, with particular emphasis on Islamic and Middle Eastern countries.

HUGH MOORHEAD (Chicago), member since 1976, currently a Director, Chairman of BRS Doctoral Grant Committee, Professor of Philosophy, Northeastern Illinois University (Chicago).

DAN WRAY (Hollywood),member since 1975. Playwright and filmmaker (with Master's degrees in English and Theatre), his plays have been produced in NY, Los Angeles, and in the mid-West. Interested in history, especially in the effect of modern ideologies on states in conflict.

We suggest you turn to the last page and vote right now for the candidates.

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## FOR SALE

(35) Members' stationery. 8 1/2 x 11, white. Across the top:"The good life is one inspired by love and guided by knowledge.* Bertrand Russell" On the bottom:"*Motto of The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc." $6 for 90 sheets, postpaid. Order from the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.

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## VOLUNTEER WANTED

(36) BRS Librarian. As noted elsewhere (3), Jack Ragsdale is stepping down as BRS Librarian, after much fine work. If you wish to consider becoming the new Librarian, these are the requirements: (1) you will need space to store the materials, that Jack says will be shipped in 6 or 7 medium-sized cartons; (2) you would send the newsletter a list of items that members may borrow or buy. (There are 4 lists per year, one for each issue of the newsletter. The 4 lists are: books to lend, books for sale, tapes to lend, films for rent. These lists already exist; you would bring them up to date.) (3) You would mail to members the items that they wish to borrow or buy.

Actually there is not a great deal of activity in the Library. There are relatively few orders. We'd like to see more; maybe there will be more, as the Library acquires more books and tapes.

Please don't apply for this opening unless you expect to stay with it for quite a few years, for several reasons, one of which is that the cost to the BRS of shipping 6 or 7 heavy cartons is considerable.

On the other hand, if you love books, do apply. You'll not only be doing something useful for the Society, you'll also be keeping yourself from running out of good books to read for a long time.

Apply to Don Jackanicz/901 6th St. SW(712A)/Washington, DC 20024.

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## ABOUT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

(37) Center for War/Peace Studies (218 E. 18th St., NY NY 10003), in its Global Report No. 16 (March 1984), asks, "Are Circuits About to Blow a Fuse?", referring to the "present archaic international system", and citing various current crisis situations in the world. Its sponsors include Eliz. Mann Borgese, Stuart Chase, Norman Cousins, Alva & Gunnar Myrdal. It favors the Binding Triad proposal to amend the U.N. Charter. Here is an excerpt (with thanks to BOB DAVIS):

> The present precarious international situation appears at least in part to stem from the confrontational attitude of U.S. President Reagan, and with luck that problem may be solved by 1985. But the underlying problem is that the international system is ultimately based on war, so it is only natural that mass violence occurs regularly. The time in human history has come to convert from a war system to a peace system. But how to do it?
>
> There are many who argue that the way is simply to disarm, either unilaterally or by multilateral treaty. However, this approach treats armaments as the fundamental difficulty, whereas they are in reality more a symptom of the core problem—unlimited national sovereignty. As long as nations feel that they have no way to settle disputes with other states when negotiations fail other than by threat or use of force, they will insist on maintaining their armed might. Theoretically, the U.N. Security Council might fill this political vacuum between failed negotiations and war, but the veto power of the snarling superpowers makes this unworkable. In legal disputes, the World Court could bridge this void; however, there is no accepted body of world law applicable to the cases that today are threatening and causing wars. The U.N. General Assembly, with its one nation, one vote system of decision-making, is too politically skewed to be of significant help; moreover, its decisions are not binding.
>
> It is this analysis that led the Center for War/Peace Studies to advance the Binding Triad proposal for global decision-making. Regular readers will know that the Binding Triad system would amend two articles of the United Nations Charter so as to make General Assembly resolutions binding, not recommendations as at present, provided they were approved by the three simultaneous majorities of the Triad. Counting in each case only those present and voting, the first majority requires two-thirds of the countries; the second, nations representing two-thirds of the population; the third, members representing two-thirds of the contributions to the regular U.N. budget. Under the Binding Triad the General Assembly could employ peacekeeping units to implement its decisions, but use of military force would remain the prerogative of the Security Council. And of course the Assembly would be bound by the Charter's proscription of any interference into the internal affairs of a state.
>
> By now, the Binding Triad system has been given some rather rigorous test runs. For the past three years, each October during the U.N. General Assembly session, the CW/PS has organized simulated working groups on various international issues at its Conference on Global Decision-Making at Lake Mohonk, New Paltz, N.Y. We invite a busload of diplomats (including Americans and Soviets), U.N. Secretariat members, international journalists, and other experts to this singularly beautiful lakeside hotel for a weekend of hard work in seeking solutions to pressing problems on the basis of the Binding Triad system. We have the Binding Triad computer and computer programmer on hand so that the working groups at the end of their deliberations can put the vote they project on their resolution into the computer to determine whether it could win the three required majorities.
>
> In 1981 we had working groups on arms control/disarmament and Afghanistan; in 1982 we ran two working groups on the Middle East, both with the same mandate, so that we could compare the results of two groups working independently, and one working group on North-South (rich-poor) talks; in 1983 our three simulations were on outer space, Antarctica and Lebanon. (Originally, the latter was to have been on the hypothetical case of civil war in the United Democratic Republic of Problemia that is threatening to escalate to nuclear war between Greater Alphamania and Greater Betamania, but at the last minute it was changed to Lebanon at the suggestion of Ambassadors Amre Moussa of Egypt and Victor Gauci of Malta.)
>
> In my opinion, all eight working groups turned out products that were at least marginally better than those that actually have come out of the U.N. on the same issues, and in some cases—notably Afghanistan, the Middle East (Israeli-Palestinian conflict), Lebanon, and Antarctica—the resolutions were markedly superior to those that emerged from the real-life world organization.

(38) Croation National Congress (PO Box 152 — Midtown Station/NY NY 10018) is again charging that the Serbian majority in Yugoslovia is oppressing the Croatian minority. "An Open Letter To the U. S. State Department" claims that the U.S. is collaborating with "the Yugoslav government in persecuting the opponents of the inhumane and totalitarian Yugoslav regime." A letter to the Editor of the New Yorker claims that the author of a recent article on Yugoslavia relied "exclusively on Serbian sources, within Yugoslavia or in the U.S., or on the obedient apparatchicks of other nationalities."

(39) Friends of Robert G Ingersoll, in their Newsletter 13, provide the schedule of the Ingersoll Festival (August 11 & 12), which includes the 2nd Annual Freethought Fair, and Roger Greeley's performance as Ingersoll, speaking Ingersoll's own words, from Greeley's book, "The Best of Robert Ingersoll" (Prometheus Books). Their address: PO Box 5082, Peoria, IL 61601.

(40) Freedom From Religion Foundation has issued this attractive little folder (4 1/4 x 5 3/8). The other side is blank, and serves as stationery, for short notes. Their address: Box 40, Asbury, NJ 08802.

**THOMAS PAINE**

A lover of liberty, freethinker Thomas Paine (1737-1809) is best known for his political writings and for his resolve to change "the sentiments of the people from dependence to Independence and from the monarchial to the republican form of government." Without the pen of Thomas Paine, said one contemporary, the sword of Washington would have been wielded in vain.

A self-proclaimed deist, Paine still is vilified for his book *The Age of Reason*, an unabashed analysis of the bible which Paine labelled "a history of wickedness that has served to corrupt and brutalize."

Organized religion, Paine wrote, was "set up to terrify and enslave" and to "monopolize power and profit." He repudiated the divine origin of Christianity on grounds that it was too "absurd for belief, too impossible to convince and too inconsistent to practice."

"I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy," he wrote. "I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish Church, by the Roman Church, by the Greek Church, by the Turkish Church, by the Protestant Church, nor by any church that I know of. My own mind is my own church."

**Paine Portrait by Jo Kotula**

**FREETHOUGHT SERIES**, Number 3, 1981
Freedom From Religion Foundation, Inc.
P.O. Box 750, Madison, Wisconsin 53701


With thanks to LUCILLE ZARSE

The Foundation has just published "Reason, the Only Oracle of Man" by Ethan Allen (1784), "the first Freethought work in the New World" (10 years before Tom Paine's "The Age of Reason"). It has been "translated" from Allen's highly abstruse metaphysical language into readable everyday English. 16 pages.

(41) Hemlock Society, (PO Box 66218/Los Angeles, CA 90066). Its 8-page "Hemlock Quarterly" (Issue 16, July 1984) includes (1) an announcement of the Second National Voluntary Euthansia Conference in Santa Monica, California, February 8-9, 1985; (2) an article,"Pros and cons of suicide literature"; (3) books for sale; and more. Membership in Hemlock Society, $15 per year, includes the Quarterly .

(42) Humanist Ass'n of San-Diego's monthly publication, "The San Diego Humanist" (July) devotes its front page to Robert Ingersoll. PO Box 86446, San Diego, CA 92138.

(43) International Campaign — Orlov and Shcharansky has very broad academic support, including about 40 Nobel laureates, many heads and top administrators of universities (including Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame and Michael Sovern, President of Columbia), many members of the Royal Society (England), of l'Académie des Sciences (France), of the Royal Society of Canada, and of many organizations (including United Steelworkers of America, Canada). Orlov is a physicist, Shcharansky a computer scientist, both being very badly treated by the Soviet government for their human rights activities.

To help this Campaign, write: The Ambassador (name not needed)/Embassy of the U.S.S.R./capital city of your country), saying what you think of the treatment of Orlov and Shcharansky. For information about other ways you can help, write Nick Griffin/ RR #1, Troy/Ontario, Canada LOR 2EC.

(44) Palestine Human Rights Campaign, issued a Conference Statement (May 12, 1984) on "the crisis of Palestinian human and national rights" covering 5 topics; U.S. network of various goups; a reassessment of U.S. Middle East policy; a call for "trialogue" among American Christians, Muslims and Jews; the negative stereotyping of Palestinians and other Arabs in U.S.media; and international investigation into the Ansar Prison Camp. Their address: 220 S. State St.,One Quincy Court, Suite 1308, Chicago, IL 60604

(45) World Federation of Right to Die Societies, in its World Right-to-Die Newsletter (Issue No 4, May 1984) lists the 26 right-to-die societies in the world. There will be an International Conference of right-to-die societies in Nice, France, September 20-23, 1984. Newsletter Editor Derek Humphry's address: Hemlock Society, PO Box 66218, Los Angeles, CA 90066.

46) National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee ran this ad (shown less than half original size) in the New York Times (5/13/84, p.E7):

# Who is running the country?

"The President has asked us to back his foreign policy. Bill, how can we back his foreign policy when we don't know what the hell he is doing?...This is an act violating international law. It is an act of war."
*—Sen. Barry Goldwater to CIA Director William Casey, April 9, 1984*

"There is a lot of talk about not trying to overthrow the government, but the facts speak for themselves. Unless you're trying to do this, why else would you mine their harbor?"
*—Sen Patrick Leahy*

In early April, the press revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency was directly involved in mining Nicaraguan harbors. Senators Goldwater and Moynihan accused the Administration of concealing from their Senate committee the information about covert activities required by law. While members of Congress expressed outrage, the rest of us were left wondering "who is running the country: The President? The C.I.A.? The Pentagon?" Whatever became of government by and for The People? What happened to the open government we were promised after the Watergate break-ins and cover-ups?

From the invasion of Grenada to the not-so-secret war in Nicaragua, we see abuses of executive power and the exercise of an invisible government. This violates the American people's **right to know.**

We believe that there can be little doubt that this executive misconduct constitutes "high crimes and misdemeanors." Nor is Congress blameless in this matter. The press seems to know more about what is happening than does Congress. In its disinterest in the existence of both covert and overt war Congress has abdicated its constitutional responsibility to the American people.

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee demands an end to President Reagan's dictatorial abuses of executive power, to covert activities and secrecy in government. And we say that it is time the people know who is running the country. If you agree, join with us to bring an end to the invisible government.

Corliss Lamont, Chairperson
Edith Tiger, Director
Leonard B. Boudin, General Counsel
**National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee**
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 673-2040

**National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee**
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

*To the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:*

☐ I want to help you continue the struggle for the American People's **Right to Know.** Enclosed is my contribution of $_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____

STATE_____ ZIP_____

PERMISSION IS GRANTED TO REPRINT THIS ADVERTISEMENT

(47) BYLAWS OF THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY, INC. Page 1 of 3
Revised June 1984

## Article I. Name

The name of this organization shall be The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc. It may also be referred to as "the Society" or "the BRS".

## Article 2. Aims

The aims of this Society are: (1) to promote interest in the life and work of Bertrand Russell; (2) to bring together persons interested in any aspect of the foregoing; (3) to promote causes that Russell championed.

## Article 3. Motto

The Society's motto shall be Russell's statement: "The good life is one inspired by love and guided by knowledge."

## Article 4. Power and Authority

Ultimate authority resides in the Members. The Members elect the Directors. The Directors elect the Officers. The Officers make decisions and take action.

## Article 5.Membership

Section 1.General. Membership in the Society shall be open to all persons and organizations interested in Bertrand Russell and the Society's activities. Types of membership shall be: Individual, Couple, Student, Limited Income, Life, Organization, and Honorary. Dues shall be set by the Board of Directors,and are to be paid annually. Life members shall pay dues only once in an amount set by the Board. Honorary members pay no dues. Life and Honorary memberships are for life unless terminated for cause, as specified hereafter.

Section 2. Individual Membership. Individual membership shall be available to all persons.

Section 3. Couple Membership. Couple membership shall be available to two persons sharing the same mail address. Each person shall have one vote; 2 mail ballots shall be sent, but only one copy of other Society mailings.

Section 4. Student Membership. Student Membership shall be open to any student enrolled in an educational institution and who is less than 25 years old.

Section 5. Limited Income Membership. Limited Income Membership shall be available to a person who, as the name implies, is living on a limited income.

Section 6. Life Membership. Life Membership can be conferred on any person who meets the minimum dues set by the Board of Directors for Life Membership.

Section 7. Honorary Membership. Honorary Membership may be conferred on a person who has been nominated by a member and approved by two-thirds of the Directors voting, after having met one or more of the following conditions: (1) is a member of Bertrand Russell's family; (2) had worked closely with Russell in an important way; (3) has made a distinctive contribution to Russell scholarship; (4) has acted in support of a cause or idea that Russell championed; (5) has promoted awareness of Russell or of Russell's work; (6) has exhibited qualities of character (such a moral courage) reminiscent of Russell. Honorary Members have the same rights and responsibilities as Individual Members, but they pay no dues.

Section 8. Organization Membership. Membership of organizations — such as libraries, associations, corporations — is a available upon payment of dues and approval of the President. Dues shall be higher than for a Couple. Organizations may not vote or be on the Board. Only one copy of Society mailings shall be sent.

Section 9. Conditions of Membership. Application for membership shall be made in writing, submitting name, address, and correct amount of dues. The Board may refuse an application, in which case the President must notify the applicant within 30 days, stating why the application was turned down.

Membership terminates when a member fails to pay dues, resigns, dies, or is expelled.

Any member — including Life or Honorary — may be expelled for seriously obstructing the Society's business, misappropriating the Society's name or funds or acting in a way that discredits the Society. The expulsion procedure consists of 5 steps:

Step 1.A formal expulsion proposal shall be presented in writing to the Board by any member.

Step 2. The Board shall examine the evidence. If a majority of the Board Members voting decides,either by mail ballot or at a meeting, that expulsion may be appropriate, the matter will be submitted to, and decided by, the members. This shall be done by mail, or at an Annual Meeting if one is scheduled within 2 months.

If it is to be done by mail:

Step 3: The case against the member shall be presented in the next newsletter or by a special mailing.

Step 4. In the following newsletter, or in a second special mailing, the accused member shall present a defense against the charge. A ballot shall be included in the second newsletter or second special mailing, so that members can vote on whether to expel.

If the expulsion process takes place at an Annual Meeting:

Step 4'. The equivalent of Steps 3 & 4 shall be followed, that is, the case against the member shall be presented, after which the accused shall present his defense; and then the members present shall vote on whether to expel.

The President shall notify the accused member as soon as the result of the vote is known.

## Article 6. The Board of Directors

Section 1. Responsibilities. The Board of Directors (also referred to as "the Board") shall be responsible for Society affairs and policy, and shall elect the Officers. The Board shall be subject to these Bylaws and to the Bylaws of The Board of Directors of The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc.

Section 2. Constitution. The Board shall consist of not less than 6 nor more than 24 members. Society Officers are ex-officio Members of the Board. Elected and ex-officio Board Members shall have the same rights and responsibilities.

Members may nominate candidates for the Board, or volunteer to be nominated as candidates. Directors are elected to 3-year terms that start on January 1 of the following year; one-third are elected every year. Directors may be reelected. If a Director dies, resigns, or is expelled, the Board may fill the unexpired term with any member.

## Article 7. Officers

Section 1. General. The Society shall have the following Officers: President, Vice-President , Treasurer, and Secretary.There may also be other Vice-Presidents whose duties shall be specified by the Board. Officers shall be at least 18 years old and shall have been members for at least one year. They shall be elected by a majority of the Directors present and voting at the Board's Annual Meeting. An Officer's term of office lasts until the next election of Officers, the following year. No one shall hold. more than one Office at a time,except that the same person shall be Secretary of the Society and Secretary of the Board. An Officer may be removed or suspended by a majority of the Board members voting. An Officer may resign by notifying the Chairman of the Board in writing. If an Office becomes vacant, the Board shall elect a successor to fill the unexpired term. If an Officers is temporarily unable to serve, the Board may elect a temporary replacement.

Section 2. The President. The President shall be the Chief Executive Officer, coordinating the work of other Officers and Committees. Other Officers and Committee Chairmen shall consult the President about their activities, and submit a written report on their activities to him one month before the Annual Meeting, with a copy to the Chairman. the President shall promptly inform the Chairman of any major decisions. After the Board has selected the site and time of the next Annual Meeting, or of a Special Meeting, the President shall be responsible for making all Meeting arrangements, including compiling the Meeting's agenda. The President shall chair the Meeting. The President shall report regularly, through the BRS newsletter.

Section 3. The Vice-President. The Vice-President becomes President if the President's Office becomes vacant; and assumes the office temporarily if the vacancy is temporary.The Vice-President shall assist the President as requested.

Section 4. The Secretary. The Secretary shall: (1) record the minutes of Society and Board meetings;(2) handle Society and Board correspondence; (3) maintain a permanent file of Society and Board Bylaws and other corporate documents, including minutes of Society and Board meetings, Officers' and Committee Chairmen's reports, newsletters, correspondence; (4) maintain a permanent record of Society and Board decision, rules, motions made and carried; (5) have custody of the Society's corporate seal.

Section 5. The Treasurer. The Treasurer shall: (1) keep records of money received and spent; (2) safeguard Society funds; (3) invest funds, with Board approval; (4) submit an annual budget to the Board; (5) submit quarterly and annual reports, for publication in the BRS newsletter.

Section 6, Other Vice-Presidents. The Office of "Vice-President/..." may be created and filled by the Board. There is no connection between this Office and that of the Vice-President.

## Article 8. Committees

Section 1. General. There shall be standing (permanent) and ad hoc (temporary) Committees. Each shall have a Chairman, and may have a Co-Chairman and other members. A member may serve on, or chair, more than one Committee. Committee Chairmen shall consult with the President about their activities, and describe them in a written report to the President one month before the Annual Meeting, with a copy to the Chairman.

Section 2. Committees. The Board shall establish standing and ad hoc Committees, and appoint their Chairmen who, in turn, appoint Committee Members.Each Committee shall provide the Secretary with a written statement of Committee aims and procedures.

## Article 9, Meetings

Section 1.Annual Meetings. The Society shall hold an Annual meeting,at a time and site determined by the Board and in time to give the members at least 2 months's notice of the Meeting. As to time: it should suit the convenience of as many members as possible. As to site: it should be either (a) near locations of special interest to the BRS , or (b) near population centers having many members. Any member may propose agenda items,in writing, to the President, in advance of the Meeting. At Meetings, items may be added to the agenda with approval of the majority of the members present. Six members constitute a quorum.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Any member may write to the Chairman requesting a Special Meeting,claiming that an emergency exists requiring immediate action. The Chairman shall decide whether the request merits consideration by the Board; if it does, the Chairman shall promptly inform the Board, which shall decide, within 3 weeks, by mail ballot, whether, when and where to hold a Special Meeting. The Special Meeting shall be held no later than 6 weeks after the Chairman's initial receipt of the request. The Chairman shall announce the Special Meeting to all members by letter, as soon as possible. A quorum shall consist of the members present.

Section 3. Board of Directors Meeting. The Board shall hold its Annual Meeting during the Society's Annual Meeting and at the same site. The Board may also hold Special Meetings, in accordance with its own Bylaws. Board Meetings shall be open to Society members.

## Article 10. Publications

Section 1. Newsletter. The Society shall publish a newsletter at regular intervals.

Section 2. Other Publications. The Society may authorize other publications.

## Article 11. Voting

Section 1. General. All Members, other than Organization Members, shall be entitled to vote. All votes shall have equal value. Members may vote by proxy. In contests of more than 2 candidates or choices,a plurality shall be sufficient.

Section 2. Voting by Mail. Voting may be by mail. Ballots shall be sent to all eligible members, either in the BRS newsletter or by special mailing. The deadline for the return of ballots shall be not less than 3 weeks from the date ballots are mailed by first class mail, not less than 4 weeks if mailed third class. Ballots must go first class to Canada and Mexico, and by airmail to other foreign countries. Mail ballots shall be tallied by the Elections Committee, and verified by the Secretary. Ballots for the Board's voting by mail shall be tallied by the Chairman, and verified by the Secretary; the Chairman may designate a substitute for the Secretary.

## Article 12. Amendments to these Bylaws

Voting to Amend at a Meeting. These Bylaws may be amended at a Society Meeting by a majority vote of those members present and voting.

Voting to Amend by Mail. These Bylaws may also be amended by mail ballot. The proposed changes, with supporting arguments, will appear in the BRS newsletter or a special mailing. In the following BRS newsletter or second special mailing, other views, including opposing views, will appear, along with a mail ballot. To pass, the Amendment must be approved by a majority of the ballots cast.

(48)

# BYLAWS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY, INC.
Revised June 1984

## Article 1. Responsibilities and Obligations

The Board of Directors (also referred to as "the Board") has these responsibilities: (1) to set policy for the Society's affairs, and (2) to elect Officers of the Society and of the Board. The Board has these obligations: to be governed by these Bylaws and by the Society's Bylaws.

## Article 2. Membership

Membership shall be in accord with Article 5 of the Society's Bylaws.

## Article 3. Officers

Section 1. The Chairman. The Chairman shall be elected by a majority of the Directors present and voting at the Board's Annual Meeting. The Chairman's term of office shall start as soon as elected, and shall run till the next election, at the Annual Board Meeting the following year. The Chairman may be reelected. The Chairman presides at Board Meetings, and rules on procedure.

If the Chairman is absent, the Directors may elect an Acting Chairman. If the Office of Chairman is vacant,the Directors shall elect a new Chairman as soon as possible, at an Annual or Special Meeting or by mail ballot. The votes shall be tallied by the Acting Chairman and verified by the Secretary.The Chairman may be removed from office by a majority of Directors present and voting at a Meeting, with the Secretary presiding.

Section 2. The Secretary. The Secretary shall be elected by a majority of the Directors present and voting at the Board's Annual Meeting. The Secretary's term shall start as soon as elected, and shall run till the next election, at the Annual Board Meeting the following year. The Secretary may be reelected. The Secretary of the Board and the Secretary of the Society shall be the same person. If the Secretary is absent from a Meeting, the Chairman shall appoint an Acting Secretary.

## Article 4. Voting

Voting shall be in accord with Article 11 of the Society's Bylaws, except as follows: the Chairman's vote counts as one except in a tie, when it counts as two.

## Article 5. Committees

Committees may be created by the Board, to perform Board functions, and shall follow Board instructions.

## Article 6. Meetings

Section 1. Annual Board Meetings. The Board shall meet annually,at some time during a Society Annual Meeting, and at the same site. Society Members may attend Board Meetings.

Section 2. Special Board Meetings. A Special Board Meeting shall be called by the Chairman when at least three Directors request it, stating the purpose. In choosing the time and site, the Chairman shall aim to achieve the largest possible attendance by Directors.

Section 3. Agenda. The Agenda for Board Meetings shall be prepared by the Chairman. Additions to the Agenda may be made by any Director, with the concurrence of the Chairman.

Section 4. Quorum. The quorum for any Board Meeting is 3 Directors.

## Article 7. Amendments to Board Bylaws

Any Director may propose an amendment.

At an Annual or Special Meeting, a majority vote of the Directors present and voting shall carry the proposed amendment.

When an amendment is proposed to the Chairman, in writing, between Meetings, the Chairman shall decide whether to hold the proposal for the next Meeting or put it to an earlier vote by mail. For voting by mail, the Chairman shall promptly notify the Directors by a special mailing of the proposed amendment, with supporting arguments, requesting opposing arguments by 21 days after the date of mailing. Thereafter, the Chairman shall mail the opposing arguments, and a ballot, to the Directors,with a voting deadline of 21 days after the date of mailing. The votes shall be tallied by the Chairman, and verified by the Secretary, who shall notify the Directors of the outcome.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS(1984)

(49) Minutes of the Society's Meeting

The Eleventh Annual Meeting of The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc., was convened at 7:30 p.m. on Saturday, June 23, 1984, in the Board room of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, at 252 Bloor St. W., Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Members present were KEN BLACKWELL, DENNIS DARLAND, BILL EASTMAN, LEE EISLER, ALEJANDRO GARCIADIEGO, DAVID HART, DON JACKANICZ, JOHN LENZ, BOB LOMBARDI, STEVE MARAGIDES, HUGH MOORHEAD, DAN O'LEARY, FRANK PAGE, PAUL PFALZNER, HARRY RUJA, STEVE REINHARDT, JOHN VAN WISSEN...and STEFAN ANDERSSON and IAN WINCHESTER who joined the BRS at this Meeting. Guests were also present: Jane Lenz, Abe Najjar, Mrs. Frank Page, Lois Pineau, Robert Tully.

President DON JACKANICZ presided. DAVID HART read the 1983 Minutes ,which were accepted. DON read a letter from Dora Russell which expressed appreciation of the BRS's work (RSN42-34), and a letter from Honorary Member PAUL ARTHUR SCHILPP generous in its praise of the May newsletter (RSN42), with its excellent 1967 report on the War Crimes Tribunal, by Robert Scheer.

KEN spoke of the serious illness of Honorary Member LESTER DENONN, and of Lester's contributions to Russell studies and to the BRS. Ken's motion, that President Jackanicz write a letter to Bess Denonn on behalf of the BRS, was seconded, and carried unanimously.

DENNIS DARLAND gave the Treasurer's Report. The BRS is solvent.

LEE EISLER,VP/Information,told of his sending a questionnaire to members who had dropped out, in an effort to find out why, A number of the dropouts renewed membership. He also asked members to send him items they come across in their reading, for possible use in the newsletter.

IAN WINCHESTER, of OISE, offered to place notices about the BRS in journals which reach educators, and at no cost to the BRS.

HUGH MOORHEAD praised the newsletter,and echoed Professor Schilpp's words ("It is an admirable piece of work and I want to send you [DON] and the editor my personal congratulations and commendations. Actually it is a superb piece of work..."). STEVE MARAGIDES brought a formal motion of praise for LEE'S work, which was seconded by Hugh, and carried unanimously, with hearty applause.

Hugh reported that the Doctoral Grant Committee had doubled the amount of the Grant. Formerly $500, it will be $1000 in 1985. He noted with pleasure that two past Grant recipients were present at the meeting: Alejandro Garciadiego and Lois Pineau.

HARRY RUJA, Chairman of the Board, reported that the following have been elected (or re-elected)as Society Officers: DON JACKANICZ, President; DAVID HART, Vice-President; DENNIS DARLAND, Treasurer, JOHN LENZ, Secretary. MARVIN KOHL is the new VP/SPECIAL PROJECTS,replacing BOB DAVIS, who stepped down. Next year's Meeting will be either Dearborn or Washington. [It will be Washington.] The Bylaws have been revised, and will be submitted to the membership for approval. (See 33). Harry invited members to submit nominations for a new BRS Book Award. (See 8 ).

STEVE MARAGIDES moved that the Board seriously consider a 1986 Meeting in Britain (seconded by HUGH MOORHEAD), which among other things would provide the possibility of visiting Dora. KEN suggested having a trip to Britain for those interested, in addition to the regular meeting the same year in North America. Steve's motion carried.

FRANK PAGE asked about the possibility of arranging for the publication in paperback of KATE TAIT'S My Father, Bertrand Russell. HUGH noted the prohibitive cost of such a venture.

JOHN VAN WISSEN moved that we thank IAN WINCHESTER for his work in planning RUSSELL CONFERENCE '84, which we were attending, and for providing excellent facilities. IAN was thanked with warm applause.

BOB LOMBARDI proposed that the BRS President send letters to world leaders mostly on the subject of nuclear weapons. DAVID HART seconded. A number of objections were raised: the poor response to last year's letters (STEVE M.); the difficulty of reaching a consensus in the Society (HUGH); the newsletter could be used to canvass the membership (HUGH & HARRY) or urge individual appeals to Congressmen (JOHN V.). BILL EASTMAN & LEE urged the BRS to send the letters. "If the Russell Society cannot publicly state its position on the issue to which Russell devoted the last 25 years of his life, we ought to quit and go home."

HARRY moved for a vote on the proposals one by one. The motion carried.

The following parts of Bob's proposal were approved:

> The letters will go to President Reagan, Chairman Chernenko, House Speaker Tip O'Neill, Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, and Senate Minority Leader Jim Wright, urging the following:
>
> 1. a bilateral, verifiable nuclear freeze

2. A denunciation of attempts to employ any weapons in space.

3. A return to arms talks.

4. No funding for the MX missile.

The following parts did not carry: withdrawal of Pershing II missiles from Europe;withdrawal of U.S. forces from Central America; condemning the mining of Nicaraguan harbors; congratulating Lowell Weicker for his role in defeating the school prayer amendment in the Senate. Decision deferred on the following: a ban on chemical weapons, a call for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

The Annual Meeting of The Bertrand Russell Society was adjourned.

Submitted July 10, 1984

John Lenz, Secretary

(50) Minutes of the Directors' Meeting

The Board of Directors of The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc., met in 4 separate sessions, on June 23 & 24. The following report summarizes what took place in all 4 sessions. The actual minutes, written by DON JACKANICZ (with another set by DAVID HART) are in the keeping of BRS Secretary JOHN LENZ. Directors present at some or all of the sessions were: DENNIS DARLAND, LEE EISLER, DAVID HART, MARVIN KOHL, DON JACKANICZ, STEVE MARAGIDES, HUGH MOORHEAD, STEVE REINHARDT, HARRY RUJA. In the absence of BRS Secretary CHERIE RUPPE, DON JACKANICZ was appointed Acting Secretary by Chairman Harry Ruja.

The BRS Doctoral Grant was increased from $500 to $1000. Lee Eisler cited the lack of applications for the $500 Grant; $500 was probably too small an amount of money to be interesting. After some discussion, and confirmation that there is enough money in the BRS Treasury to cover the $1000 Grant, the increase was approved. The amount and conditions of the Grant will be reconsidered next year.

The BRS Book Award will be given for the first time in 1985. It had originally been proposed by Gladys Leithauser some years ago. There was discussion as to whether the Award should go only to a book that deals directly with BR or his work or could also go to one that furthered some cause that BR had thought important, such as the abolition of nuclear weapons. No final decision on this question was taken. The Book Award Committee will consist of GLADYS LEITHAUSER, HUGH MOORHEAD, and HARRY RUJA.. Members are encouraged to nominate books as candidates for the Book Award.

The BRS Award Committee consists of HARRY RUJA, DON JACKANICZ, BOB DAVIS, & LEE EISLER. Members, please submit candidates for the Award.

The Human Rights/International Development Committee's work was considered. Lee Eisler played a tape of a phone conversation he had had with its Chairman, Alex Dely, in which Alex had answered a number of questions Lee asked. Lee told Alex he intended to let the Board hear the tape. The Board decided to authorize the Committee to continue its present work for another year, and to inform Alex that it is"imperative that he be present at the 1985 Board Meeting, to discuss the work of his Committee."

The Society's Corporate Agent in the State of Illinois is now JOHN A. JACKANICZ, as a result of STEVE MARAGIDES motion, carried unanimously.

Society Officers for 1984-1985 were elected or re-elected by the Board: DON JACKANICZ, President; DAVID HART, Vice-President; DENNIS DARLAND, Treasurer; JOHN LENZ, Secretary. The Office of Vice-President/Special Projects, which had been held by BOB DAVIS, who stepped down, is offered to MARVIN KOHL (who was absent from this session).

Board Officers for 1984-85 were elected or re-elected by the Board: HARRY RUJA, Chairman; JOHN LENZ,Secretary.

Bylaw revision. A Bylaws Committee — consisting of DON JACKANICZ, STEVE REINHARDT, and LEE EISLER — had been working on proposals for revised Bylaws for many months. Their proposals were approved by the Board, after some modifications were made. The proposed revised bylaws will be submitted to the members for their approval (33).

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(51) MEMBERSHIP LIST

The list is in 2 parts. Part I lists those who were members on June 1, 1984. It was distributed at the 1984 Annual Meeting, in Toronto. Part II lists members who have enrolled since June 1st. Please check your name and address and notify us of any errors. This list is provided solely for your personl use, and is not to be given to nonmembers without permission from the President. Part I is on the next 3 pages, followed by Part II.

MEMBERSHIP LIST
June 1, 1984

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