

RUSSELL SOCIETY NEWS
No. 37
February 1983

- (1) '83 Annual meeting, details and reservations (33). BR Peace Foundation's Berlin anti-nuclear meeting in May (39). Boy interviews philosopher (38). Science Committee sends briefing papers to Congress (6). BR's 1959 BBC Interviews (7,37). Anti-nuclear bishops (10). Renewal heroes and sluggards (20). Money reserves are down (22). Humanist poem (42). Linus Pauling's 1966 talk to science teachers (40). An asterisk indicates a request. The index is on the last page.

REPORTS FROM OFFICERS

(2) President Don Jackanicz reports:

Four months remain before our 1983 annual meeting, perhaps a bit early to make travel plans; but especially for members who've not been to Hamilton before, it might be a good idea to get out maps or timetables and do some planning. Recent airlines price wars have driven fares quite low on many routes; these could help, if you have to travel far and low fares remain available. For us Chicagoans there is a new option, a US\$96 round trip, Chicago to Toronto, Amtrak. (Hamilton is an hour's bus trip from Toronto.) This will be an unusual BRS annual meeting, as the Archives is preparing a major program, described elsewhere in this issue (33). Two other annual meetings have been held at the Archives, and were highly satisfactory. If you've never attended a meeting or visited the Archives, I suggest you give it careful consideration! See you there, I hope.

(3) Vice-President/Special Projects Bob Davis reports:

My activities for the last quarter have been mostly in connection with meetings. In November I attended the Popper conference, "The Open Society and its Friends" (RSN35-24). My role was principally a passive one. Most people in attendance were students or close followers of Popper. I did, however, take part in the discussions aimed at establishing a Popper Society. My experience in the BRS shed light on some of their problems. I have joined the organization -- assuming it comes into existence.

I was to attend the North American Humanist Leadership Conference, but did not, due to the time of year and my just-completed trip to New York. However, I did submit a "Humanist Blue Book" proposal for a cheap pamphlet series based on the famous Blue Books of years ago. Sherwin Wine and I came up with the idea in October at the Voice of Reason conference in Los Angeles (30).

Please note the information about the Wilberforce meetings and events in England this year. I expect to attend the August conference at Cambridge. In '81 I had tried to arrange a joint BRS-Wilberforce meeting in England for '82; it did not materialize, partly because the BRS did not support the idea very well. But perhaps our efforts were not wholly wasted; they may have resulted in Jack Lennard's coming up with the '83 conference. I hope some of you will make the trip with me. See (31).

I have been providing Dora Russell with some material for her new book on the years 1945-50 and the origins of the Cold War. It seems to be going well. She will discuss BR in it, but writes that "it is time that someone did a thorough bit of research about what Bertie said at that time, starting from the Lord's speech. He did about 70 broadcasts for home or over-seas, and it may be said that he did much to influence opinion. He is accused of favoring the idea of atom-bombing Russia before she got the secret. No one has taken the trouble to find out the exact position. It is clear from the Soviet reaction to his hostility to totalitarian regimes and his passion for the individual that this was enough to make them think of him as a 'howling wolf of capitalism'."

(4a) Treasurer Dennis J. Darland reports:

For the quarter ending 12/31/82:

Balance on hand (9/30/82).....	1750.58
Income: 10 new members.....	155.00
9 renewals.....	142.50
total dues.....	297.50
contributions.....	262.40
sales of RSN, books, etc.....	36.75
total income.....	596.65

Total of balance on hand (9/30) + income during quarter.....	2347.23
Expenditures:Membership & Information Committees.....	1523.71
"Russell" subscriptions.....	297.50
bank charges.....	4.67
total spent.....	1825.88
Balance on hand (12/31/82).....	<u>521.35</u>

(4b) For the year ending 12/31/82:

Balance on hand (12/31/81).....	1136.77
Income: new members.....	1140.50
renewals.....	3587.95
total dues.....	4728.45
contributions.....	1406.40
sales of BSN, books, etc.....	1340.32
total income.....	7475.17
Expenditures:Information & Membership Committees.....	4796.18
"Russell" subscriptions.....	1088.50
BRS Doctoral Grant.....	500.00
Bertrand Russell Memorial*.....	50.00
BRS Library.....	268.15
'81 annual meeting.....	1257.37
bank charges.....	46.15
other.....	84.24
total spent.....	8090.59
Balance on hand (12/31/82).....	<u>521.35</u>

*received from members for the Russell Memorial in London

REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES

(5) Library Committee (Jack Ragsdale, Co-Librarian):

This month I received 65 new books for the BRS Library, as a gift from Don Jackanicz. Much appreciated!

I want to appeal to members to make donations of books of possible interest to BRS members. Ramon Suzera has kindly given us several volumes, as have Bob Davis, Lee Eisler, and Harry Ruja. The Library's address is on Page 1, bottom.

Next issue I expect to provide details on a portion of the Library's holdings.

(6a) Science Committee (Alex Dely, Chairman):

In the near future we hope to have a first draft of our "Accidental Nuclear War" book, commissioned by Canadian Peace Research Institute and Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (U.N. affiliated).

We have sent 6 briefing papers on National Security to the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees. The response has been very encouraging.

We have another Congressional briefing paper ready: "Accidental Nuclear War Assessment Center."

We have 2 more briefings coming out soon: one on Latin America, the other on a model providing scenarios of potential conflicts at 3 different sites: Warsaw Pact vs. Nato Europe; Warsaw Pact vs. India/Pakistan; and Nicaragua/El Salvador vs. Honduras.

Our BRS Science Committee Report on Nuclear Testing/Earthquakes (RSN35-9) was partially reprinted by the MX Information Center (Salt Lake City) in their publication, "Nuclear Issues" (1/83).

The following 2 "call for help" papers outline what this Committee will be doing in the next 6 months:

"The good life is one inspired by love and guided by knowledge"

January 3, 1983

THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY, INC.

TO: All Nuclear Weapons Researchers
RE: Call for information and coauthors for a book evaluating the probability of an accidental nuclear war.

Need Most national security experts today discuss nuclear war in terms of strategy. To our knowledge, no book length analysis has been written to identify the numerical probabilities technical and social/psychological factors contribute to the possibility of an accidental nuclear conflict. We have been commissioned to produce such a study by two U.S. Congressmen. Part of this assessment will be published as a book by Peace Research Institute, Dundas, Ontario, Canada.

Content

- It is planned to discuss, among others, the following factors:
1. **Accidental misfiring of one's own weapons.** As computerization grows, the chance of computer program errors, electronic chip failures, etc. increase.
 2. **Decreasing time allowed for error corrections.** In the next generation of weapons (e.g. Pershing II), there will only be a few minutes for error corrections by party launching and party being attacked.
 3. **Increasing number of nuclear weapons.** The U.S. alone is building 17,000 more nuclear weapons in the next few years.
 4. **Growing number of nations with nuclear weapons.** At least 17 nations, on all continents, are building weapons, many in trouble spots such as the Middle-East.
 5. **Dependability of people handling nuclear weapons.** The greater the degree of mental problems, alcoholism and drug abuse among those handling nuclear weapons the greater the chance of an accident.
 6. **Inaccurate plutonium accounting.** The U.S. monitoring system for keeping track of weapons-grade uranium is incomplete and inaccurate according to the General Accounting Office. The GAO also says the International Atomic Energy Agency has only carried out 50 percent of its inspections.
 7. **Technology is spreading.** Technical knowledge for converting civilian nuclear power plant waste into weapons-grade materials is spreading rapidly.
 8. **Expanding arms sales.** Greatly expanded arms sales by the U.S., U.S.S.R., France and Britain is increasing the spread of weapons technology.
 9. **Terrorist possession of nuclear warheads.** As the knowledge and materials for nuclear weapons spread, the opportunity for terrorist groups to acquire them is growing. If a terrorist group explodes a nuclear bomb, it could trigger a holocaust since the direction of the attack is unknown. Some nations have "little to lose" in threatening nuclear blackmail.
 10. **Secrecy.** Each nation's secret testing of new nuclear weapons increases uncertainties.
 11. **Technological advances.** The growing advantage of some offense weapons over defense capabilities makes nations increasingly edgy. For example, verification technology (NAVSTAR Satellite) is being outstripped by new weapons development (Cruise Missiles)
 12. Age of conventional weapons stock.
 13. Length of civilian/military command chain.
 14. Vulnerability to blackmail via dependence on foreign sources of strategic minerals.
 15. Sabotage of key energy network systems (power plants, pipelines, etc.
 16. Communication mechanisms between nations.
 17. Financial market instabilities.
 18. Type of government (democratic/military).
 19. Conflict resolution mechanisms.

The book will consist of 4 parts.

- Part I: An overview will be made of available data on each of above mentioned factors.
- Part II: An estimate will be made for when an accidental nuclear war can be expected if no corrections are made in present trends. The estimate will include the analytical model used for combining factors studied. A mathematical estimate for each factor's contribution to chance of an accidental war will be presented. The probability estimates will need to be periodically updated in a rapidly changing world. The estimates will need to be continually refined as better data becomes available.
- Part III: An analysis of proposals made in the past 10 years by scientists, statesmen and informed laymen to alleviate the above mentioned factors will be described. Based on our probability analyses, recommendations to Congress on the most effective methods to deter an accidental nuclear war will be made.
- Part IV: An annotated bibliography of nuclear weapon accident materials for the last 10 years will be developed.

We intend to report the study's progress in Briefing Papers for purposes of immediate impact and feedback.

Sharing

We are writing the book because there is a great need considering our present world conditions. Yet, though many relevant publications exist, to our knowledge, no comprehensive and specific mathematical risk study has been made of these factors and their prevention.

We therefore invite your suggestions as to additional factors to be considered, data analysis techniques, relevant literature, sharing of mailing lists, etc.... If you are interested in writing on a specific topic, we shall appreciate your help as a coauthor. A more detailed initial overview paper is available upon request. Thank you beforehand for your help! Please contact any of the following:

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"The good life is one inspired by love and guided by knowledge"

January 3, 1983

THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY, INC.

TO: All Nuclear Weapons Researchers

RE: Call for information and coauthors for a "Nuclear Weapons Treaty Verification Methods" Book.

Need

Much of the arms race is based on distrust and growing technical complexity. The lack of understanding of verification procedures provides one of the main difficulties in controlling the nuclear arms race. This lack leaves the public unsure if agreements can be verified. Technical arguments between specialists, at times, further confuse the issue. The purpose of this paper will be to describe in a concise and understandable manner verification procedures so that citizens, legislators and researchers can better assess arms reduction proposals for themselves.

Content

It is planned to write a section for each of the following verification procedures:

- Acoustic signal detection
- Electromagnetic signal detection
- Seismic signal detection
- Satellite X-ray signal detection
- Country's resource allocations
- Country's buying patterns for radioactive materials
- Conventional spying techniques
- Other procedures

For each procedure, there will be a section describing technique, equipment needed, what type of verification data can be collected, over what distance, in how much time, at what relative cost, and with what comparative strengths and weaknesses.

The book will be written in two parts:

1. A short popularized part that can be used alone.
2. A large parallel appendix for those who want greater detail on any one procedure.

Sharing

We shall be writing the book because we know of no such book and there is a great need. If you are planning a book of this type please let us know so that we will not duplicate but rather complement each other's efforts. If you are interested in writing on a specific procedure, we shall appreciate your help as a coauthor. If you have any materials you would like to call to our attention, we shall appreciate them. Thank you in advance for your help!

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- (6b) Accidental War Assessment Center is the title of the Science Committee's latest paper (dated 1/14/83), by Dean V. Babst and Alex Dely. Here is its "highlight" page:

One way to estimate when an accidental war is likely to happen, unless corrections are made, is to determine when false alarms will take longer to clear than time allowed for stopping launch sequence. False alerts may be more frequent than is generally realized. Senators Gary Hart and Barry Goldwater in 1980 conducted an investigation. It was discovered that during one 18-month period the computers of the North American Air Defense Command experienced 151 false alarms, one lasting 6 minutes. If Pershing IIs are placed in operation in early 1984 as planned, the first false alarm after that taking longer than 5 or 6 minutes to clear may be too much. The false alarms of other nations are not known but if they are similar to ours it doubles the risk.

We urge Congress to speed up its current efforts to develop a multinational crises center for preventing an accidental war.

We urge Congress to create an Accidental War Assessment Center to help it assess planned major changes in weapons systems and policies as soon as possible. The Center could help Congress assess whether each major change adds more to our security than it detracts by increasing the chance of an accidental war. Cost for the Assessment Center will be minuscule compared with defense costs. Does it make sense to spend hundreds of billions of dollars for defense and nearly overlook the greatest growing threat, accidental war?

Factors found by the Center to be contributing most to the chance of an accidental war could be widely published so that other nations can join in prevention efforts.

Alex is taking a leave of absence from the University of Arizona Physics Dept. and Law School to work full time on the above. For more on accidental nuclear war, see (34).

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

- (7) BR's BBC Interviews (1959) were published in the USA as a 50¢ paperback by Avon in 1960, under the title "Bertrand Russell Speaks His Mind", long out of print. Later it became available in a hardbound library edition published by Greenwood, originally at \$9.75, now at \$17.50. In February 1977 we reported that a paperback version printed in Germany, in English, was available from Germany at DM9.80 (NL13-22). But this doesn't exactly make it readily available.

We are fond of it because it presents BR's views on a dozen topics (a baker's dozen, actually) interestingly and succinctly.

Now fortunately "The Humanist" has printed the interviews in its November/December 1982 issue. They have shortened each interview and omitted two, which is just as well: the Avon paperback is 144 pages long.

We are going to reproduce the shortened Humanist version here. It's a good refresher, a good sampler of BR's views, and a good indicator of the range of BR's interests.

Two of the interviews are transcripts of films the BRS owns: "BR Discusses Philosophy" and "BR Discusses Happiness".

If you want to see the unshortened original version, it's in the BRS Library.

WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY?

WOODROW WYATT: Lord Russell, what is philosophy?

BERTRAND RUSSELL: Well, that's a very controversial question. I think no two philosophers will give you the same answer. My

own view would be that philosophy consists of speculations about matters where exact knowledge is not yet possible. That would only be my answer—not anybody else's.

W.W.: What's the difference between philosophy and science?

B.R.: Well, roughly, you'd say

science is what we know and philosophy is what we don't know. That's a simple definition and for that reason questions are perpetually passing over from philosophy into science as knowledge advances.

W.W.: What good is philosophy?

B.R.: I think philosophy has two uses really. One of them is to keep alive speculation about things that are not yet amenable to scientific knowledge; after all, scientific knowledge covers a very small part of the things that interest humankind and ought to interest them. There are a great many things of immense interest about which sci-

ence, at present at any rate, knows little, and I don't want people's imaginations to be limited and enclosed within what can be now known. I think that to enlarge your imaginative view of the world in the hypothetical realm is one of the uses of philosophy. But there's another use that I think is equally important, which is to show that there are things which we thought we knew and don't know. On the one hand, philosophy is to keep us thinking about things that we may come to know, and on the other hand to keep us modestly aware of how much what seems like knowledge isn't knowledge.

W.W.: Now in this way philosophy, in a sense, becomes a kind of servant of science.

B.R.: Well, that's part of it, but of course it isn't only a servant of science—because there are a number of things that science can't deal with. All questions of values, for example. Science won't tell you what is good and what is bad—what is good or bad as an end, not just as a means.

W.W.: But what change has there been over the years in the attitude of philosophers and the public to philosophy?

B.R.: That depends upon the school of philosophy that you're thinking of. In both Plato and Aristotle the main thing was an attempt to understand the world, and that, I should say personally, is what philosophy ought to be doing. Then you come on to the Stoics and their emphasis was mainly on morality—that you ought to be stoical, you ought to endure misfortunes patiently—and that came to be a popular use of "philosopher."

W.W.: Would you say that Marx was a philosopher?

B.R.: Well, he was certainly in a sense a philosopher, but now there you have an important division amongst philosophers. There are some philosophers who exist to uphold the status quo, and others who exist to upset it—Marx of course belongs to the second lot. For my part I should reject both those as not being the true business of a philosopher, and I should say the business of a philosopher is not to change the world but to understand it, which is the exact opposite to what Marx said.

W.W.: What is the main trend of philosophy today?

B.R.: Well, one would have to distinguish there between English-speaking countries and continental European countries. The trends are much more separate than they used to be. Very much more. In English-speaking countries and especially in England, there is a new philosophy which has arisen, I think, through the desire to find a separate field for philosophy. In what I was saying a moment ago, it would appear that philosophy is merely incomplete science, and there are people who don't like that view. They want philosophy to have a sphere to itself. That has led into what you may call linguistic philosophy, in which the important thing for the philosopher is not to answer questions but to get the meaning of the questions quite clear. I myself can't agree to that view, but I can give you an illustration. I was once bicycling to Winchester, and I lost my way, and I went to a village shop and said, "Can you tell me the shortest way to Winchester?" and the man I asked called to a man in a back room whom I couldn't see—"Gentleman wants to know the shortest way to Winchester." And a voice came back, "Winchester?"—"Aye"—"Way to Winchester?"—"Aye"—"Shortest way?"—"Aye"—"Don't know." And so I had to go on without getting any answer. Well, that is what Oxford philosophy thinks one should do.

W.W.: What practical use is your sort of philosophy to a man who wants to know how to conduct himself?

B.R.: A great many people write to me saying they are now completely puzzled as to how they ought to conduct themselves, because they have ceased to accept the traditional signposts to right action and don't know what others to adopt. I think that the sort of philosophy I believe in is useful in this way: that it enables people to act with vigor when they are not absolutely certain that that is the right action. I think nobody should be certain of anything. If you're certain, you're certainly wrong, because nothing deserves certainty, and so one ought always to hold all one's beliefs with a certain element of doubt and one ought to be able to act vigorously in spite of the doubt. After all, this is what a

general does when he is planning a battle. He doesn't quite know what the enemy will do, but if he's a good general he guesses right. If he's a bad general he guesses wrong. But in practical life one has to act upon probabilities, and what I should look to philosophy to do is to encourage people to act with vigor without complete certainty.

W.W.: What do you think is the future of philosophy?

B.R.: I don't think philosophy can, in future, have anything like the importance that it had either to the Greeks or in the Middle Ages. I think the rise of science inevitably diminishes the importance of philosophy.

W.W.: How would you summarize the value of philosophy in the present world and in the years to come?

B.R.: I think it's very important in the present world. First, because, as I say, it keeps you realizing that there are very big and very important questions that science, at any rate at present, can't deal with and that a scientific attitude by itself is not adequate. And the second thing it does is to make people a little more modest intellectually and aware that a great many things which have been thought certain turned out to be untrue, and that there's no short cut to knowledge. And that the understanding of the world, which to my mind is the underlying purpose that every philosopher should have, is a very long and difficult business about which we ought not to be dogmatic.

RELIGION

W.W.: Have you ever had religious impulses, Lord Russell?

B.R.: Oh, yes. When I was adolescent I was deeply religious. I was more interested in religion than in anything else, except perhaps mathematics. And being interested in religion led me—which it doesn't seem often to do—to look into the question of whether there was reason to believe it. I took up three questions. It seemed to me that God and immortality and free will were the three most essential questions, and I examined these one by one in the reverse order, beginning with free will, and gradually I came to the conclusion that there was no

reason to believe in any of these. I thought I was going to be very disappointed, but oddly enough I wasn't.

W.W.: Do you think it is certain that there's no such thing as God, or simply that it is just not proved?

B.R.: I don't think it's certain that there is no such thing—no—I think that it is on exactly the same level as the Olympic gods, or Norwegian gods; they also may exist, the gods of Olympus and Valhalla. I can't prove they don't, but I think the Christian God has no more likelihood than they had. I think they are a bare possibility.

W.W.: Do you think that religion is good or harmful in its effects?

B.R.: I think most of its effects in history have been harmful. Religion caused the Egyptian priests to fix the calendar, and to note the occurrence of eclipses so well that in time they were able to predict them. I think those were beneficial effects of religion; but I think a great majority have been bad. I think they have been bad because it was held important that people should believe something for which there did not exist good evidence and that falsified everybody's thinking, falsified systems of education, and set up also, I think, complete moral heresy; namely, that it is right to believe certain things, and wrong to believe certain others, apart from the question of whether the things in question are true or false. In the main, I think religion has done a great deal of harm. Largely by sanctifying conservatism and adherence to ancient habits, and still more by sanctifying intolerance and hatred. The amount of intolerance that has gone into religion, especially in Europe, is quite terrible.

W.W.: But then, if a religion is harmful, and yet humans have always insisted on having one, what is the answer?

B.R.: Oh, humans haven't. Some have, and those are the persons who are used to it. In some countries, for instance, people walk on stilts, and they don't like walking without stilts. Religion is just the same thing. Some countries have got accustomed to it. I spent a year in China, and I found that the ordinary average Chinese had no religion whatsoever, and they were

just as happy—I think, given their bad circumstances, happier than most Christians would have been.

W.W.: But I think a Christian would say that if he could convert them into being Christians they'd be much happier.

B.R.: Well, I don't think that's borne out by the evidence at all.

W.W.: Yes, but now doesn't humankind rather search for some cause of faith outside itself, which appears to be bigger than humankind, not merely as a question of cowardice or leaning on it, but also wanting to do something for it?

B.R.: Well, but there are plenty of things bigger than oneself. I mean, first of all there's your family, then there's your nation, then there's humankind in general. Those are all bigger than oneself and are quite sufficient to occupy any genuine feelings of benevolence that a person may have.

W.W.: Do you think that organized religion is always going to go on having the same sort of grip on humankind?

B.R.: I think it depends upon whether people solve their social problems or not. I think that if there go on being great wars and great oppressions and many people leading very unhappy lives, probably religion will go on, because I've observed that the belief in the goodness of God is inversely proportional to the evidence. When there's no evidence for it at all, people believe it, and, when things are going well and you might believe it, they don't. So I think that, if people solve their social problems, religion will die out. But on the other hand, if they don't, I don't think it will.

W.W.: Do you think that you and I are going to be completely snuffed out when we die?

B.R.: Certainly, yes. I don't see why not. I know that the body disintegrates, and I think that there's no reason whatever to suppose that the mind goes on when the body has disintegrated.

WAR AND PACIFISM

W.W.: Lord Russell, do you think it reasonable to say there have been just wars.

B.R.: Yes, I think it's quite reasonable, though, of course, you have to define what you mean by just. You could mean, on the one hand, wars which have a good legal justification, and certainly there have been quite a number of wars where one side had a very good legal justification. Or you could mean wars which are likely to do good rather than harm, and that isn't at all the same classification. Not at all.

W.W.: You were a pacifist in the First World War. Don't you think you were a bit inconsistent in not being a pacifist in the Second World War?

B.R.: Well, I can't think so at all. I'd never have taken the view that all wars were just or that all wars were unjust. Never. I felt some were justified and some were not, and I thought the Second World War was justified, but the First I thought was not.

W.W.: Do you think that people enjoy wars?

B.R.: Well, a great many do. It was one of the things that struck me in 1914 when the First War began. All my pacifist friends, with whom I was in time to work, thought that wars are imposed upon populations by the wicked machinations of governments, but I walked about the streets of London and looked in people's faces, and I saw that they were really all happier than they were before the war had started. I said so in print and I caused great heart-searchings among pacifist friends, who didn't like my saying this. I still think that a great many people enjoy a war provided it's not in their neighborhood and not too bad; when the war comes onto your own territory it's not so pleasant.

W.W.: But isn't it part of human nature to have wars?

B.R.: Well, I don't know what human nature is supposed to be. But your nature is infinitely malleable, and that is what people don't realize. Now if you compare a domestic dog with a wild wolf, you will see what training can do. The domestic dog is a nice comfortable creature, barks occasionally, and he may bite the postman, but on the whole he's all right; whereas the wolf is quite a different thing. Now you can do exactly the same thing with human beings. Human

beings according to how they're treated will turn out totally different, and I think the idea that you can't change human nature is so silly.

W.W.: But surely we've been a long time at the job of trying to persuade people not to have wars, and yet we haven't got very far.

B.R.: Well, we haven't tried to persuade them. A few, a very few, have tried to, but the great majority have not.

COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM

W.W.: What do you think are the similarities between communism and capitalism, Lord Russell?

B.R.: There are quite a lot of similarities which can result almost inevitably, I think, from modern technique. Modern technique requires very large organizations, centrally directed, and produces a certain executive type to run them. And that is equally true in communist and in capitalist countries, if they are industrially developed.

W.W.: Do you think that they produce a similar attitude of mind, these large organizations in, say, Russia and America?

B.R.: I think so, though not completely. I mean, there are differences in degree, but not in kind. . . . I think there is a very great similarity between a really powerful American executive and a Soviet administrator. There are more limitations upon what the American executive can do, but in kind they are the same sort of thing.

W.W.: After the First World War you went to Russia, and, at a time when most people of the Left were giving three cheers for Russia, you struck rather a discordant note. Do you still think that what was going on in Russia then was undesirable?

B.R.: Oh, I do, and I think the Russian regime that has resulted is not particularly desirable from my point of view, because it doesn't allow for liberty, it doesn't allow for free discussion, it doesn't allow for the unfettered pursuit of knowledge. It encourages dogmatism, it encourages the use of force to spread opinion, it does a number of things which as an old liberal I find

very, very distasteful indeed.

W.W.: Do you mean that the communists in Russia, having got hold of this apparatus of government, now no longer believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat?

B.R.: Yes, I do. The proletariat is a Pickwickian word, as it's used in Russia. When I was there I found that Lenin counted as a proletarian, but the absolutely miserable beggars in the street who couldn't get enough to eat were counted lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

W.W.: I see what you mean. But to move on to another area where communism is practiced on a very large scale—China—do you think that China is as great a threat to what I won't now call the free world, but the parliamentary, as Russia is?

B.R.: Yes, I should think, in the long run, perhaps a greater threat. China is newer to it than the Russians are and is still at an earlier and more fanatical stage than the Russians have reached. And China has a much larger population than Russia. It has a population which is naturally industrious—they have always been industrious; and it is capable of being a more powerful state than Russia, and I think has at least as great men.

W.W.: Do you think it is possible for communism and capitalism to learn to live side by side in the world together?

B.R.: Yes, it certainly is possible. It's only a question of getting used to each other. Now take the Christians and the Mohammedans. They fought each other for about six centuries, during which neither side got any advantage over the other, and at the end of that time some man of genius said: "Look, why shouldn't we stop fighting each other and make friends?" And they did, and that's all right, and just the same thing can happen with capitalism and communism as soon as each side realizes that it can't gain the world.

TABOO MORALITY

W.W.: Lord Russell, what do you mean by taboo morality?

B.R.: Taboo morality is characteristic of the primitive mind. It is the only kind, I think, in primitive

tribes where, for example, it would be a rule you must not eat out of one of the chief's dishes.

Of course a great deal of taboo morality is entirely compatible with what one might call rational morality. For instance, that you shouldn't steal or that you should not murder. Those are precepts which are entirely in accord with reason, but they are set forth as taboos; they have consequences that they ought not to have. For instance, in the case of murder, it is considered that it forbids euthanasia, which I think a rational person would be in favor of.

W.W.: Well, if you don't believe in religion, and you don't, and if you don't think much of the unthinking rules of taboo morality, do you believe in any general system of ethics?

B.R.: Yes, but it's very difficult to separate ethics altogether from politics. Ethics, it seems to me, arise in this way. A man is inclined to do something which benefits him and harms his neighbors. Well, if it harms a good many of his neighbors, they will combine together and say, "Look, we don't like this sort of thing, we will see to it that it doesn't benefit the man," and that leads to the criminal law, which is perfectly rational. It's a method of harmonizing the general and private interest.

W.W.: Is there such a thing as sin?

B.R.: No. I think sin is difficult to define. If you mean merely undesirable actions, of course there are undesirable actions. When I say *undesirable*, I mean that they are actions which I suppose do more harm than good, and of course there are. But I don't think sin is a useful conception. I think sin is something that it is positively good to punish, such as murder, not only because you want to prevent murder but because the murderer deserves to suffer.

W.W.: A large part of taboo morality affects sexual relations. And a very large part of your output in writing has been about sexual relations. What advice would you give now to people who want to conduct themselves sensibly so far as sex is concerned?

B.R.: Well, I should like to say, by way of preface, that only about 1 percent of my writings are concerned with sex, but the conven-

tional public is so obsessed with sex that it hasn't noticed the other 99 percent of my writings. I should like to say that, to begin with, I think 1 percent is a reasonable proportion of human interest to assign to that subject. But I should deal with sexual morality exactly as I should with everything else. I should say that, if what you're doing does no harm to anybody, there's no reason to condemn it. And you shouldn't condemn it merely because some ancient taboo has said that this is wrong. You should look into whether it does any harm or not, and that's the basis of sexual morality as of all other.

W.W.: To come back to the basis of what we've just been talking about—the unthinking rules of taboo morality. What damage do you think they are doing now?

B.R.: Taboo morality certainly is doing harm today. Take, for example, the question of birth control. There is a very powerful taboo by certain sections of the community which is calculated to do very enormous harm. Very enormous harm. It is calculated to promote poverty and war and to make the solution of many social problems impossible. That is, I think, perhaps the most important, and I think there are a number of others. Indissolubility of marriage is definitely harmful; it is based solely upon ancient tradition and not upon examination of present circumstances.

POWER

W.W.: Lord Russell, what are the impulses that make men want power?

B.R.: I should suppose that the original impulses, out of which subsequent power-loving people got their drive, came in times that were liable to occasional famine, and when you wanted to be sure that if the food supply ran short it wouldn't be you who would suffer. It required that you have power.

W.W.: What are the kinds of power that have developed since then?

B.R.: Well, there are different ways of classifying powers. One of the most obvious, I think, is that of

direct power over the body. This is the power of armies and police forces. Then there is the power of reward and punishment, which is called the economic power. And then, finally, there is propaganda power, a power to persuade.

W.W.: Can we turn a moment to another form of power—economic. Do you think that Marx put too much emphasis on the importance of economic power?

B.R.: Marx, in the first place, put too much emphasis on economic as opposed to other forms of power. Second, misled by the state of business in the 1840s in England, he thought that it was ownership which gives power and not executive control. Both those interpretations led him to propose a panacea for all the ills of the world which proved entirely fallacious.

W.W.: Do you think economic power needs curbing?

B.R.: Yes, I think every kind of power needs curbing because certainly the power to starve large regions is very undesirable. I think the economic power of certain regions in the Middle East to withhold oil if they like is not at all a desirable kind of thing.

W.W.: Now how important is this whole problem of use and abuse of power in a person's life.

B.R.: I think it's of quite enormous importance, and in fact I think it's almost the main difference between a good government and a bad one. In a good government, power is used with limitations and with checks and balances and in a bad government it's used indiscriminately.

W.W.: Do you think that, broadly speaking, the democratic systems of the West produce a roughly reasonable balance between the need of government to take action in a firm and decisive way and the need of the government to satisfy people that the action they're taking is in conformity with what people want?

B.R.: Well, certainly we are very much better than totalitarian governments. Very much better. For the reason that we have certain ultimate curbs on power. But I think there ought to be some rather more immediate curb than very oc-

casional general elections. In the modern world, where things are so closely integrated, that is hardly enough, and we ought to have more in the way of referendums.

W.W.: Don't you think that referendums would be a rather clumsy way of doing this?

B.R.: Oh, they'd be clumsy and slow. But I think they might be better than a system in which it's possible at any moment for a government to plunge its country into utter and total disaster without consulting anybody.

WHAT IS HAPPINESS?

W.W.: Lord Russell, you seem to be a very happy person. Have you always been so?

B.R.: No, certainly not. I've had periods of happiness and periods of unhappiness. Luckily for me the periods of happiness seem to lengthen as I grow older.

W.W.: What do you think are the ingredients that make for happiness?

B.R.: Well, I think four are the most important. Perhaps the first of them is health; the second, sufficient means to keep you from want; third, happy personal relations; and fourth, successful work.

W.W.: What are the factors that militate against happiness?

B.R.: Well, there are quite a number, apart from the opposites of the things we're talking about. Now one of the things that militates against happiness is worry, and that's one respect in which I've become much happier as I've grown older. I worry much less and I found a very useful plan in regard to worry, which is to think, "Now what is the very worst thing that could happen?" . . . And then think, "Well, after all it wouldn't be so very bad a hundred years hence; it probably won't matter." After you've really made yourself think that, you won't worry so much. Worry comes from not facing unpleasant possibilities.

W.W.: How important do you think boredom is?

B.R.: I think it's immensely important, and I think it's—I won't say

it's distinctly human, because I've looked at apes in the zoo and they seemed to me to be experiencing boredom—but I don't think other animals are bored. I think it's a mark of higher intelligence, but I think the importance of it is quite enormous. You can see it from the way that savages, when they first come in contact with civilized people, want above all things alcohol. They want it far more than they want the Bible or the Gospel or even blue beads, and they want it because for a moment it takes away boredom.

W.W.: But how is one to overcome boredom in people, say, girls

who are quite well educated? They marry and then have nothing else to do but look after the house.

B.R.: Well, it's a bad social system. I don't think that you can always alter it by individual action, but that example you give is nowadays very important. It shows that we haven't got a proper social system because everybody ought to be able to exercise whatever useful skill he or she possesses. Modern highly educated women after they marry are not so very well able to, but that's an effect of our social system.

W.W.: Do you think that it helps

people to be happy to have some cause to live for and with?

B.R.: Yes, provided they can succeed more or less. I think if it's a cause in which there is no success they don't get happy. But if they can get a measure of success from time to time, then I think it does help. And I think I should go on from that to another thing, which is that side interests, especially as one gets older, are a very important element in happiness. The more your interests are impersonal and extend beyond your own life, the less you will mind the prospect that your own life may be going to come to an end before very long. I think that's a very important ele-

ment of happiness in old age.

W.W.: What do you think of all these formulae that people are constantly issuing about how to live a long life and be happy?

B.R.: Well, as to how to live a longer life, that's a medical question and not one on which I should like to express an opinion. I get a great deal of literature from the advocates of these systems. They tell me that if only I took their drugs my hair would turn black again. I'm not sure that I should like that because I find that the whiter my hair becomes the more ready people are to believe what I say.

We are going to hold the 4 remaining BBC Interviews till later. If we have room, they will appear toward the end of this issue. They do. See (37).

(8)

On the obligations of scientists. We are indebted to OPHELIA HOOPES for the following article from "The Minority of One" (February 1964):

SCIENTISTS AND WORLD PEACE

Tests of nuclear weapons claim a higher toll in human lives and health than ever predicted. Government scientists obscure these facts. Men like Linus Pauling alert us to the universal hazards.

By Bertrand Russe!!

The struggle for peace has been very much dependent upon the willingness of those who know the truth to speak it. Scientists who have not been in the pay of governments have known and spoken the truth about the terrible danger with regard to radioactive fallout resulting from nuclear testing in the atmosphere. Governmental scientists, on the other hand, have been evasive and often openly dishonest in their remarks about these phenomena. It has been painful for those scientists who have experienced the use to which their work has been put by governments. It has been particularly exasperating to find that those remarks which have been made by governmental scientists and which ignored or suppressed the danger to mankind have received the widest attention and publicity from the mass media, whereas the painstaking efforts of non-governmental scientists to speak the truth and to alert the public have gone virtually unattended by those whose duty it is to inform the public of the truth.

In 1954, in response to a manifesto drafted by me and joined in by Albert Einstein, a very large group of Nobel scientists from East and West were brought together in a series of conferences which came to be known as the "Pugwash Conference." The purpose of these meetings was to enable scientists of East and West to discuss outstanding problems concerning the danger of war and to emphasize the social responsibility of scientists for their work and the consequences of the use to which it has been put by people who hold power. For eight years the Pugwash scientists have prepared reports, in which cooperation has occurred between scientists of East and West, of the

highest value and importance. It has been interesting to observe the extent to which these reports and the new information they revealed have been ignored by the press of the world.

One of the scientists who has made a major contribution in the struggle against nuclear war is Dr. Linus Pauling, who has been justly honored recently. In a recent article, "Would Civilization Survive a Nuclear War," published in the November, 1963 issue of *The Minority of One*, Dr. Pauling pointed out that the Soviet Union and the United States together possess a stockpile of nuclear weapons which is equivalent to the explosive power of 320,000 million tons of T.N.T. This arsenal of death is capable of destroying our planet a great number of times. To illustrate this, Dr. Pauling pointed out that in order to exhaust this stockpile it would be necessary to use all of the explosive power employed during the entirety of the Second World War each day for 146 years. Recently it has been revealed that the United States has, at the moment, a stockpile of 130,000 aerosol nerve gas bombs. This non-nuclear stockpile is as deadly as its nuclear counterpart. Each nerve gas bomb is capable of extinguishing life in an area of 3,500 square miles. The total stockpile is capable of eliminating life in an area of 455 million square miles. This is eight times the total land area of the globe and 151 times that of the United States of America.

These statistics give an indication of the gross immorality involved in the usage of the talent and the inventions of scientists by governments. The scientist has a peculiar responsibility to tell the truth about his work and to insist that his creative endeavor is not profaned in this way. Those scientists who have worked for governments have said that nuclear testing did not provide a

very grave danger to mankind. It has just been revealed, however, that the first cause of child mortality in the United States is now leukaemia, which only a short while ago was a comparatively rare illness. The second cause is congenital deformity which, only a short time ago, was virtually unheard of as an important cause of death. The radiation found in children of the State of Utah aged two to fourteen was 28 times the safe level for one year, and it was acquired within one month. Sir John Cockcroft of the Atomic Energy Commission in Great Britain has recently stated that, during the past two years, the level of radiation has reached such a height in Great Britain that at one point it was thought necessary to halt all supplies of fresh milk to children. Sir John further stated that, if testing in the atmosphere were to be resumed, it would be necessary to halt such supplies of fresh milk. These are truly shocking revelations and indicate the lonely courage of those scientists who have spoken out and the moral failure of those who have not.

It is only now being said that the recent increase in leukaemia in the State of Utah may be owing to radiation escaping from underground tests and that the spate of deformed children attributed to the thalidomide drug may, in fact, have resulted from the incredible increase of radioactive fallout during the large series of Russian and American tests which occurred in 1961 and 1962. No doubt we shall learn years from now, assuming that we are alive, more terrifying information concerning the negligence of governments and the silence of people who should have had the moral determination to speak. It is because of the efforts of a few honorable scientists who have worked incessantly for peace that the danger to mankind has become better known and the hope for human survival remains.

This article will also appear in the *Nobel Prize Magazine*, published in Sweden.

For more good work by Linus Pauling, see (40).

(Thank you BOB DAVIS, DON JACKANICZ)

PROMOTING BR'S PURPOSES

(10)

Let us all praise the Catholic bishops. It's not often that we are able to agree with the Catholic hierarchy. Its views on abortion and divorce cause unnecessary suffering. Its views on birth control cause overpopulation, which causes poverty and, in the long run, war. But let us not fail to notice that the bishops are on the same side as Bertrand Russell on that most important of issues: nuclear weapons. This is how it was written up in *The New York Times* (11/21/82, p. 4E):

White House Failed to Soften Bishops' Policy Criticism Last Week

Theology Gets Down to Cases on Nuclear Arms

By KENNETH A. BRIGGS

WASHINGTON — The nuclear age has ushered in what many of the nation's Roman Catholic bishops call a "new moment" in moral theology that demands a fresh way of thinking about the ethics of war and peace. Last week, at its annual meeting in Washington, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops took decisive steps to draft a pastoral letter that solidifies the church's opposition to nuclear arms, tentatively stakes out some new ground on deterrence and, in general, reflects a striking change in attitude.

The bishops' stance, as contained in the second draft of the letter that unofficially received a two-thirds backing, calls nuclear war "immoral." It condemns the use of nuclear arms as well as the threat to use them, and allows for their possession only if linked to earnest efforts to achieve negotiated disarmament. It also raises doubts about the possibility of fighting "limited" nuclear war and calls for a bilateral, verifiable nuclear freeze.

Criticism of the document came swiftly from the White House in a letter from William P. Clark, President Reagan's national security adviser. Mr. Clark tried with little apparent success to convince the bishops that American nuclear policy is compatible with the church's moral standards. Complaints from small groups of conservative Catholics also seem to have had little impact.

Despite the sudden attention given the draft document, much of it reflects stands taken in the past by Popes, church councils and the bishops. But where earlier statements tended to refer to the general state of the world, the American bishops this time spoke, too, to their homeland and to its military policies.

That trend has been evident for several years on other issues. The bishops are heeding the direction of the Second Vatican Council by applying the broad principles of the universe' church to specific issues and in so doing have become bolder critics of their own government. By 1971 they were opposing the Vietnam war and within another two years speaking out against the Supreme Court's decision to allow abortion. More recently, they have decried American military aid to El Salvador, fought cuts in aid to the poor and, most dramatically, rallied against the arms race.

The common theme is that all life is sacred. As Archbishop John F. Roney of Minneapolis, confid-

ence president, noted in his opening address, "Where the value in question is human life, the linkages go far beyond the surface and deeply influence the whole cast of our moral lives. Selective reverence for human life is a kind of contradiction in terms, not only as a matter of logic but also as a matter of existential reality."

Over the past decade, the relevance of that conviction to the arms race has engaged the attention of a growing number of bishops. At various points

few bishops still balked, but the vast majority were clearly on a course that surprised many in and out of the church. Their resolve was echoed in an apparent rebuff of the Administration's criticism by Bishop Sullivan, who called on the conference to "stay the course for peace."

On most every major point, the bishops stood together. The one area where they were challenged to go beyond previous church statements on nuclear arms concerned the justification for nuclear deterrence. At issue was what Pope John Paul II meant when he said that possessing nuclear weapons could be "morally acceptable" if tied to sincere efforts to bring about disarmament. The problems were twofold. One was that a questionable means, a nuclear stockpile, was being justified in the service of a patently good end, maintaining peace. To some that was a moral contradiction: Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Mil-

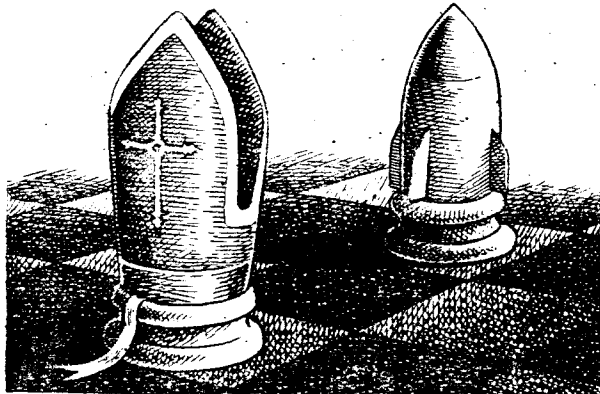
waukee asked the Vatican to provide clear definitions. The other problem was the feeling among many bishops that the Reagan Administration has not sincerely pursued negotiated arms reductions with the Russians. Thus present United States nuclear deterrence cannot be justified. Bishop Raymond Lucker of Wisconsin expressed that conviction on the floor.

The view is still considered radical among the bishops, but it raises the question and, in the opinion of some, has placed pressure on the Administration to demonstrate good faith efforts. Far from the bishops' being influenced by the Administration, some bishops believe the White House could increasingly respond to the moral arguments set forth by the church's hierarchy.

At the risk of being called naive or accused of meddling in matters beyond their competence, the bishops spoke boldly of being peacemakers. Warned that their actions could divide the church, they showed no inclination to back down. Bishop Kenneth Untener of Saginaw, Mich., said he had mailed copies of the draft letter to 18,000 members of his diocese and was convinced from the response that it was "an instrument of peace."

A Gallup survey, released today, indicates that the bishops have solid backing from the nation's 50 million Catholics on their proposal for a nuclear freeze. It shows Catholics favoring a bilateral freeze 82 percent to 13 percent, with 5 percent undecided. At the same time, they narrowly reject a universal freeze by 53 percent to 47 percent.

The bishops left Washington committed to voting on a final version in May. There was little likelihood that differences over the morality of deterrence could be ironed out to everyone's satisfaction, but the bishops seemed content to live with the disagreements. Declaring "our top priority must be the disarmament of the human spirit," Archbishop John R. Quinn of San Francisco called on the conference to endeavor to bring about "the creation of a psychology of peace."



Jean-François Allieux/Inx

along the way, certain bishops have led the movement in an evolutionary direction, through timely encouragement or example. Among the landmarks was the testimony favoring SALT II by John Cardinal Krol before a Senate subcommittee in 1978. Many believe the intervention by Cardinal Krol, a respected conservative from Philadelphia, helped foster a change in direction among many who had been reluctant to move away from the church's "just war" tradition.

Other bishops have set the tone and moved the issue along in their own dioceses. Among them were Humberto Cardinal Medeiros of Boston, who conducted talks with scholars from Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard before writing his own pointed assault on nuclear weapons, and Bishop Walter Sullivan of Richmond, Va., who became an outspoken critic of United States policy. Then there was the leadership of Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin of Chicago as head of the special committee entrusted with drafting the pastoral letter.

The bishops called for such a letter at their 1980 meeting, and many at this year's session showed signs of having undergone a recent conversion. A

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

- (11) Horrible, horrible, horrible. Dick Cavett was interviewing Jonathan Miller on PBS, and remarked, "Someone said, 'Once it is understood that life is horrible, horrible, horrible, one can get on with living and be happy with it.'"
- "Oh," said Miller, "that was Bertrand Russell."
- * JACK RAGSDALE would like to know where this appears in print. Please write c/o the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.

CREATIONISM

- (12) From The New York Times (11/23/83, p.A23):

Judge Voids Creation Law In Louisiana

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 22 (AP) — A Federal district judge today struck down a Louisiana law requiring the public schools to teach "creation science" with the theory of evolution. State officials said an appeal will be filed. A similar statute had been thrown

out in Arkansas, leaving Louisiana's the only such law in the nation.

The law here was challenged on the basis that creation science was religion in disguise and that the provision violated the First Amendment guarantee against establishment of religion.

Judge Adrian Duplantier today granted a summary judgment sought by the state Board of Elementary and Secondary Education.

Board's Authority Cited

The board said the law violated Louisiana's Constitution, because only the board is empowered to mandate the teaching of a particular course. It also argued that the Legislature overstepped its authority in imposing the study of creationism.

Judge Duplantier agreed, saying the Legislature exceeded its limits by "dictating to public schools not only that a subject must be taught, but also how it must be taught."

The measure, passed in 1981, was sponsored by State Senator Bill Keith of Shreveport, with the backing of fundamentalist religious groups.

"I think the judge is wrong," Senator Keith said today. "I think the judge's decision was a perfunctory one."

Decision to Be Appealed

Senator Keith and the state Attorney General, William Guste, promised an appeal of Judge Duplantier's decision.

The case had been filed by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of 45 plaintiffs, with the state board a defend-

ant. Later, the board switched sides.

The decision, coupled with one by Federal District Judge William Overton in Little Rock, Ark., "establishes a consistent pattern that creationism cannot be imposed on public schools," said Martha Eigel, the director of the Louisiana civil liberties union.

The creationism law required a school to teach "creation science" along with evolution. Creation science parallels Biblical accounts of the creation of the earth and everything on it instantaneously no more than 10,000 years ago. Evolution, as outlined by Charles Darwin and accepted by most scientists, holds that life on earth developed over millions of years.

NEWS ABOUT MEMBERS

- (13) Marvin Kohl wrote a letter to "The Humanist" (Jan/Feb '83):

Bertrand Russell Speaks

Bertrand Russell is clearly one of the great secular humanists of the twentieth century. Few philosophers have placed greater emphasis upon, and

been more personally devoted to, the ideals of love and knowledge. We should remember our great heroes and, therefore, I most welcome the "Bertrand Russell Speaks" interview.

I only wish to take exception to a statement made in the opening paragraph of the introduction. Strictly speaking, Russell devoted his life to

the pursuit of truth and not "the pursuit of scientific, philosophic, and moral truth." He did not believe that there were different kinds of truth. He certainly did not hold, as the interview itself reveals, that philosophic truth differs from scientific truth. What makes philosophy different is not that it has a different way of truth

but that it addresses the larger and more important questions and believes that, even where exact knowledge is not yet possible, greater understanding is...

Marvin Kohl
Fredonia, NY

- (14) Corliss Lamont is the subject of this article in "The Columbia Law Alumni Observer" (Oct/Nov '82):

Corliss Lamont Endows Civil Liberties Chair

Humanist philosopher and civil libertarian Corliss Lamont has given the Law School \$1 million to establish a professorship of civil liberties. The gift, announced in October by Columbia President Michael I. Sovern, was presented to Law School Dean Albert J. Rosenthal on September 13.

The endowed chair, established by the University Trustees at their October meeting, has been named the Corliss Lamont Professorship of Civil Liberties.

Lamont, an alumnus and longtime benefactor of the University and a former faculty member, is widely

known as a humanist philosopher and civil libertarian. An active supporter of civil liberties groups, he is the chairman of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. For more than twenty years he was a director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

"Columbia is once again the beneficiary of Mr. Lamont's exceptional generosity," President Sovern said in his announcement. "Too few of us recognize how critical civil liberties law is to the well-being of our entire society. I have long admired Mr. Lamont's abiding faith in the importance of these liberties and cannot conceive of a more fitting expression of that faith than this professorship."

"It is really a great privilege for me to establish such a

professorship at Columbia," Lamont said. "It solidifies the warm ties I have had with the University since I started teaching there more than fifty years ago in 1928. I believe that the professorship of civil liberties can be important for the study and advancement of these rights in the United States. The Columbia Law School has taken a significant step forward in accepting this endowment."

Law School Dean Albert J. Rosenthal said that the chair will serve as a focus and catalyst for the further enlargement of the school's activities in support of civil liberties. "Its occupant will be a leading scholar with a strong record of creative research and writing relating to civil liberties and civil rights as defined in the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights and elsewhere in federal and

state laws," said Dean Rosenthal.

"The Corliss Lamont Professorship will be a wonderful symbol of this dedicated humanitarian's lifelong commitment to the defense of freedom," said Dean Rosenthal, adding, "we are deeply grateful."

Lamont has long been a proponent of civil liberties causes. In 1965, in the U.S. Supreme Court, he won a First Amendment case against censorship of incoming foreign mail by the U.S. Postmaster General. In 1953, in the U.S. Court of Appeals, he won on constitutional grounds the dismissal of an indictment for contempt of Congress brought by Senator Joseph McCarthy's investi-

gating committee. Lamont has received numerous awards and honors, including the John Dewey Humanist Award, the Humanist of the Year Award and the Gandhi Peace Award.

Corliss Lamont graduated from Harvard *magna cum laude* in 1924 and did graduate work at Oxford University and at Columbia, where he received the Ph.D. in 1932. He taught philosophy at Columbia from 1928 to 1932 and from 1947 to 1959. He is the editor or author of some thirty works. Recent books include *Voice in the Wilderness*, a collection of essays written over a period of fifty years, and his autobiography, *Yes to Life*.

Lamont's family ties with Columbia began before his birth eighty years ago. His mother, Florence Corliss Lamont, earned the M.A. degree in philosophy from Columbia in 1898. She gave Columbia the estate that houses the University's Lamont-Doherty Geological Observatory in Palisades, N.Y. Mr. Lamont has given to the University Libraries important collections of major literary and philosophical figures, many of whom were his friends, such as Rockwell Kent, George Santayana and John Masefield. In 1979 he gave the libraries letters from his Columbia professor and friend, philosopher John Dewey. ■

- (15) **Joseph Nechvatal will be one of the "young emerging visual artists whose works will be on view and available for purchase on February 12th" at the Kitchen Center for Video, Music and Dance, 484 Broome Street (Second Floor), NYC. The occasion is a fund-raising inaugural concert celebrating a new Steinway B grand piano. It aims to raise money to match an NEA Challenge Grant. Tickets \$100.**

- (16) **Jack Ragsdale wrote this letter to "Free Mind", newsletter of the American Humanist Association (Jan/Feb '83):**

Deathbed Conversions

The letter of W. F. Harris to the *Johannesburg Star*, concerning the "conversion" of Darwin to Christianity (republished in *Free Mind*, November/December 1982), is an exposé of what is apparently a commonplace occurrence. I know of two other cases where famous men were said to have changed their beliefs of a lifetime on their deathbeds: George Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell.

Shaw was unconscious and did not recover, so he could not deny the story; but Russell did. Let me quote

him:

... I am interested in the recrudescence of an entirely fictitious story which began in 1921 and which I had supposed had died down by this time.

In that year, I had double pneumonia in Peking and only one English nurse was obtainable. She was a lady of great piety who told me when I was convalescent that she had had great struggles with her conscience on the ground that she thought it her duty to let me die although professional instinct proved too strong for this virtuous impulse. I was delirious for a fortnight, and, as soon as the delirium ended, I had

no recollection whatever of the two weeks that had passed. During these two weeks the aforesaid nurse looked after me at night and my wife looked after me by day. It appears that when I coughed I was in the habit of lapsing into profanity in ways which the nurse mistook for serious appeals to the deity. This, at least, was what my wife told me. . . .

Stories of this sort are always spread about unbelievers. . . .

All this is found in *Dear Bertrand Russell* (Houghton and Mifflin, 1969)
Jack Ragsdale
Co-Librarian

Bertrand Russell Society
San Francisco, CA

Editor's note: Several years before his death, a prominent Christian publication opined that Russell, now approaching his hundredth year, was rumored to be "turning to religion." I wrote to him at his home in Wales to advise him of this news. He shot back a very angry letter, the substance of which stated, "It seems there is a lie factory at work on behalf of the afterlife. My views on religion remain the same as they were when I was sixteen. I consider all forms of religion not only false but harmful."

- (17) **Warren Smith sent us his usual, pleasant, chatty, year-end letter telling what he's been up to lately. Here are a few highlights of his activities as...**

Investment counsellor: "As chairman of Mensa's stock selection committee, I've had great fun supervising the portfolio of what I believe is the largest investment club -- we even number an oil worker in Saudi Arabia and a rabbi in Australia. Although there's no correlation between IQ and making money, we can certainly thank the Reagan Market for having covered up our worst mistakes.

High school teacher: "Not only did we bring the school philosophy up-to-date and upgrade sophomore English, but also so many of my ex-students are reporting exciting successes -- two from Harvard and Princeton taught my classes recently. The first essay I ever saw was written with a steel pen-point dipped into a bottle of ink. The most recent essay was completed by one of my 10th graders on his own Apple II. He'd stored drafts in his computer, made all the necessary corrections (I'm a severe taskmaster), then instructed the machine to print the final copy. If word processors replace typewriters by the time I retire, I'll not be at all surprised. Although in my 34th year of teaching, I still look forward to getting to school by 7:30 a.m., not being absent, getting student papers back before the next class, and loving every moment.

Owner of recording studio in the Big Apple: "What a time we've had with our new 24-track MCI and accompanying console! We completed soundtracks for 2 nightclubs often in the news (Indigo and Club Versailles) as well as for Robert Whitehead's production of "Medea" -- David Amram's music highlighted performances by Zoe Caldwell and Dame Judith Anderson, Irving Burgie (who wrote Barbados's national anthem) just completed an album. During the year I must have done layouts for a hundred labels and LP jackets, many in French and Spanish, and one in Russian, for a Jewish dissident group that had left the USSR only a few months ago and had already mastered jazz. Try to see "Charlotte", the one-woman telecast shot in Ireland by Julie Harris about the Brontes, and for which David Amram recorded the sound track with us. By all means, if you're in Times Square on a Friday night, Saturday or school vacation, visit me at Variety Recording, 130 West 42nd Street."

(18)

NEW MEMBERS

We warmly welcome these new members:

STEPHEN E. ANDREWS/English Village Apts. (20-C4)/North Wales, PA 19454
 OSMANE BENAHEMED/3006 S. Royal St.(28)/Los Angeles, CA 90007
 OWEN CHARLES/PO Box 3-18/Grinnell College/Grinnell, IA 50112
 NAT P. CORNER/1122 Manzanita St./Los Angeles, CA 90029
 DANIEL J. DE AMARAL/94 Salisbury St./Rehoboth, MA 02769

PAUL FIGUEREDO/2929 Rolido Dr. (167)/Houston, TX 77063
 ARTTIE GOMEZ/1674 Stephen St.(1R)/Flushing, NY 11385
 BILL GREGORY/505 Oakway Road/Eugene, OR 97401
 PROF. DAVID JOHNSON/Sampson Hall/U.S.Naval Academy/Annapolis, MD 21402
 VICTORIA KOKORAS/20 Greenwood Road/So. Peabody, MA 01960

JACK KRALL/113 N. Lambert St./Philadelphia, PA 19103
 W. ARTHUR LEWIS/PO Box 23/Fishers, NY 14453
 OSWALD SOBRINO/401 - 28th St./New Orleans, LA 70124
 WILLIAM H. SPERBER/5814 Oakview Circle/Minnetonka, MN 55343
 JIM SULLIVAN/1103 Manchester Drive/South Reno, IN 46615

MICHAEL J. WEBER/229 Pueblo Drive/Salinas, CA 93906
 KATHLEEN WINSOR/8115 El Pasea Grande/La Jolla, CA 92037
 JANIS YAKOPOVIC/8344 Vassel Drive/St. Louis, MO 63123
 HAROLD W. & LUCILLE B. ZARSE/1417 Columbia St. (2)/Lafayette, IN 47901
 JAMES D. ZEITHAML/Box 21025/Emory University/Atlanta, GA 30322

(19)

NEW ADDRESSES AND OTHER CHANGES

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

DONG-IN BAE/Wuellerstr. 100/D-5000 Koeln 41/West Germany
 JULIE BAITER/2000 Pearl (138)/Austin, TX 78741
 PASCAL BERCKER/7210 St. Andrews Rd./St. Louis, MO 63121
 FELIPE BERHO/PO Box 20454/Seattle, WA 98102
 JACQUELINE BERTHON-PAYON/463 W. 10th St./Claremont, CA 91711 (listed incorrectly in RSN36-41a)

BERTRAND RUSSELL PEACE FOUNDATION/112 Church St./Matlock,Derbyshire/England
 ENS LEONARD R. CLEAVELIN,JAGC,USNR/1936 N. Clark St.(812)/Chicago, IL 60614
 THOMAS FRINK/321 A 72nd St./Newport News, VA 23607
 JUDITH ANNE GIVIDEN/1936 N. Clark St.(812)/Chicago, IL 60614 (wife of Leonard Cleavelin)
 TIM HARDING/454 Wellington St./Clifton Hill, Australia 3068

KEN KORBIN/300 Jay St.(914)/Brooklyn, NY 11201
 PROF. PAUL KURTZ/1203 Kensington Av./Buffalo, NY 14215
 JOHN M. MAHONEY/208 South Blvd./Richmond, VA 23220
 ROBERT PATRICK/PO Box 1768 c/o TX Board of Pardon/San Antonio, TX 78296
 GREGORY POLLOCK/1501 Sth Farmer St./Tempe, AZ 85281

ROBERT SASS/121 Spruce Dr./Saskatoon, Sask./Canada S7N 2J8
 DANIEL TORRES/RFD 2,Box 228A/Hilltop Dr./Putnam Valley, NY 10579
 VINCENT DUFAUX WILLIAMS/PO Box 1197/San Antonio, TX 78294 (listed incorrectly in RSN36, p. 25)

MEMBERSHIP RENEWALS

(20)

Renewal heroes and sluggards. About 100 BRS members paid their membership renewal dues before they came due on January 1st. That was most helpful of them -- heroes! -- and is appreciated.

A number of other members have paid their renewal dues since the first of the year, which is fine.

* As for the rest of you -- sluggards! -- the grace period ends the last day of February. On March 1st, non-payers become non-persons. To escape this fate, send your renewal dues to the newsletter (address on Page 1, bottom), and sleep well tonight. Dues, in US dollars: regular 22.50, couple, 27.50, student 12.50. Outside the USA, Canada and Mexico, add 7.50. Thanks!

FINANCES/CONTRIBUTIONS

- (21) We thank these members for their recent contributions — needed and most welcome — to the BRS Treasury: WHITFIELD & MARGARET COBB, ALICE DARLINGTON, BOB DAVIS, ALEX DELY, LEE EISLER, MARY GIBBONS, CHARLES HILL, CONNIE JESSEN, SUSANA MAGGI, KARIN PETERSON, HARRY RUJA, ANTHONY ST. JOHN, BOB SASS, JOHN SCHWENK, CAROL SMITH, CARL SPADONI, RAMON SUZERA, JOHN VAN WISSEN.
- (22) Money reserves are down. The Treasurer's Report for the year (4) shows that we have \$600 less in the Treasury than a year ago. And if one member had not made an unusually large contribution, we'd have no money at all in the Treasury. We are cutting it pretty close!
- In '82, dues covered only 58% of expenses.
- * Please contribute what you can spare whenever you can spare it.
- No amount is too small to be useful.
- Send it c/o the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.
-

FOR SALE

- (23) Members' stationery. 8½ 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." \$5 postpaid for 90 sheets (weighs just under a pound, travels 3rd class). Order from the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.
- (24) BR postcard. 4½ x 6. Philippe Halsman's handsome 1958 photo of BR with pipe. 50¢ each + 25¢. RSN30-44 shows it slightly reduced in size. Order from the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.
-

OBITUARY

- (25) Dietrich R. Moeller, of Waterloo, Ontario. The Canadian Post Office returned RSN36 with the notation, "Deceased". We have no further information.
-

CORRECTION

- (26) TWO Humanist chapters in San Diego. JOHN WILHELM advises that the Humanist Fellowship of San Diego is not the same as the Humanist Association of San Diego, despite what we said in RSN36-34. He is a member of both.
-

ABOUT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

- (27) American Atheists announces Volume II of "All the Questions You Ever Wanted To Ask American Atheists, with All the Answers", by Jon Murray and Madalyn Murray O'Hair. Volume I and Volume II, \$5 each, from American Atheists, PO Box 2117, Austin, TX 78768. Check, money order, Visa or Master Card.
- (28) The John Dewey Foundation and The Center for Dewey Studies (Southern Illinois University) announce the John Dewey Essay Project, open to undergraduates only, on the '83 theme, "Aspects of John Dewey's Philosophy". Length, under 10,000 words. Deadline 6/1/83. Decision by 9/15/83. Awards \$1000 and \$500.
- Perhaps the BRS should do something similar; but first we'd have to get hold of some prize money.

- (29) North American Committee for Humanism (NACH) — Sherwin T. Wine, President — "was established in Chicago in August 1982 at a special meeting of forty humanist leaders. This meeting was called to provide a unified course of action to promote humanism as a philosophy of life and to deal effectively with the assaults of its enemies."

Membership is by invitation of the Board of Directors, which invites acknowledged leaders in the humanist world of North America. BOB DAVIS is one of the Directors.

Plans include the following:

- . an annual summer conference
- . a quarterly newsletter (for members)
- . a humanist anthology (the best in humanist literature)
- . new Blue Books (inexpensive editions of humanist classics)
- . a Humanist Institute (see paragraph below)
- . a Summer Institute, sponsored by the Humanist Institute, accompanying the annual summer conference

The Directors of the Institute are the same as the Directors of NACH. Whereas members of NACH are present leaders of humanism, the Humanist Institute will train future leaders of humanism. The Leadership School program will take 3 years, if pursued full-time.

NACH's address is 28611 W. 12 Mile Road, Farmington Hills, MI 48018.

(Thank you, Bob Davis)

- (30) Voice of Reason — which we reported on previously (RSN34-37) — held a rally in Los Angeles on October 17th. Here's how the event was written up in the AHA newsletter, "Free Mind" (Jan/Feb '83):

A public rally introducing and publicizing the work and purpose of the Voice of Reason in its fight against the Moral Majority and the New Right was held at the New Bridge School in Los Angeles on October 17, 1982. The rally, hosted by the Los Angeles Ethical Culture Society and its leader, Dr. Gerald Larue, with input from other Humanist and free-thought organizations from the greater Los Angeles area and surrounding vicinities, marked the first step in extending the Voice of Reason's national network to the West Coast.

Formed in 1981 for the purpose of protecting and preserving "the historic American Principles of personal privacy, free inquiry, and good citizenship in a secular state," VOR has chapters currently operating in Michigan, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, Florida, Arkansas, Ohio, and Alaska.

The keynote speaker of the rally, Dr. Sherwin T. Wine, founder of the Voice of Reason, electrified his audi-

ence with the urgency at hand of alerting and awakening all Americans to the dangers that will confront us should the fundamentalist aims of the Moral Majority, led in Congress by such persons as Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, become the laws of the land.

Dr. Wine stressed vigorously the nation's need to reinforce by action and by vote the Jeffersonian ideal of a free and secular democratic America, guaranteeing separation of church and state, equal freedom for the religious and the nonreligious, and a free and religiously neutral system of public education.

Joining with the Ethical Culture Society of Los Angeles in support of the October 17 rally were representatives and members of the American Humanist Association, the Humanist Association of Los Angeles, the Bertrand Russell Society, the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, the Humanist Society of Friends, Atheists United, and the Society of Humanistic Judaism. Representatives of

these groups, having honored Dr. Wine at a luncheon preceding the rally, concluded the day's activities by forming a steering committee to plan and inaugurate new VOR chapters, a speakers bureau, and a training program for speakers and chapter leaders.

Members of this initial steering committee include: Dr. Gerald Larue, chairperson; Dr. Maxine Negri, organizer of the speakers bureau; Bob Davis (who, with Gerald Larue, co-planned the October 17 rally); Russell McKnight; Helen Colton; Larry Taylor; Ken Bonnell; Queen Silver; Edwin Peters; Norman Boehner; Jacqueline Page; Elsie Stenson; and Brenda Jeffreys.

It should be noted that a recent merger between the Center for Moral Democracy (originally working out of the New York Society for Ethical Culture) and the Voice of Reason (headed by Dr. Wine and VOR's chairperson, Lynne Silverberg, and by executive director Edd Doerr) occurred on March 29, 1982. The present board of directors of the newly en-

larged Voice of Reason includes AHA board members Stephen Fenichel and Dr. Gerald Larue and former board member Dr. Paul Kurtz.

It is fervently hoped that the concerted efforts of all the aforementioned Humanist and freethought organizations, as well as those now operating elsewhere and those yet to be formed on the West Coast, will more quickly enable the aims of the Voice of Reason to be brought to greater fruition, success, and prominence.

In conclusion, it must also be mentioned that, as part of the VOR rally, People for the American Way generously provided their own thought-provoking film documentary showing a forbidding and alarming array of fundamentalist leaders and organizers, vehemently promoting on television their aims, prophecies, and hatreds. This film, *Life and Liberty for All Who Believe*, having been revised and polished, is narrated by Burt Lancaster and will be aired over prime-time television throughout the country.

(Thank you, Bob Davis)

- (31) Wilberforce Council for Human Rights(England) will this year honor the memory of William Wilberforce, who worked successfully for the abolition of slavery. Slavery was abolished in the Commonwealth on July 26, 1833 (29 years before Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation). This is the 150th Anniversary Year of the abolition of slavery and of Wilberforce's death.

The Council will produce a book and video tape, "William Wilberforce and 3 Centuries", present a Freedom Concert at Royal Albert Hall by the London Philharmonic Orchestra on November 6th, and hold another special event in Westminster Abbey or the House of Commons, probably in November.

There will also be a weekend seminar, August 5-7 — "Cambridge Freedom and Peace Seminars in the Context of Human Rights" — at St. John's College, Cambridge (where Wilberforce had entered as a student in 1776.) This is the seminar or conference that Bob Davis refers to in (3), and hopes that a number of BRS members will attend.

On the next page are details and application forms. Jack Lennard thinks there will be more applications than can be accepted, so if you want to attend the seminar, better not postpone applying.

THE WILBERFORCE COUNCIL
for
HUMAN RIGHTS

Memo from
JACK LENNARD
Co-ordinator & Executive Director.

Salisbury Hall, Park Road,
Hull, North Humberside,
England, HU3 1TD.

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE - 150th ANNIVERSARY YEAR
CAMBRIDGE WEEKEND SEMINAR

Friday 5th August to Sunday 7th August 1983.

The Wilberforce Council is holding a Weekend Seminar at St. John's College, Cambridge, where in 1776, at the age of 17, William Wilberforce entered as a Student and where he first met William Pitt who became a close friend.

William Wilberforce, although his name is identified with the cause of the slave more than with any other public question, it must not be supposed that he was a man of one idea, or that it could be said of him in the words of Grotius, that he "spent his life in strenuously doing nothing." Everything which bore upon social and moral improvement could count upon his hearty support; every outrage upon toleration or freedom found in him an eloquent enemy. His superiority to party, while it exposed him to the charge of inconsistency, made his advocacy the more valuable, because it was known to be independent; and when he was fairly prepared, and the object was one that stirred him, his eloquence was of a high order. The purifying of elections, the relief of oppressed consciences, whether Nonconformist, Quaker, Jew or Catholic.

It is, therefore, fitting that the title of the Seminar should be 'Freedom and Peace' in the context of Human Rights.

There has already been worldwide a favourable response which will ensure a memorable occasion - from the USA, Europe and from many parts of Great Britain.

OUTLINE PROGRAMME

- Friday, 5th August. Afternoon arrival and register.
7 p.m. Banquet - Guest Speakers and discussion.
- Saturday, 6th August. 10 a.m. Seminar - possible 2 groups.
12.30 p.m. Lunch and discussion.
2.30 p.m. Seminar - possible 2 groups.
7 p.m. Banquet with guest speaker and discussion.
- Sunday, 7th August. 10 a.m. Seminar.
12.30 p.m. Lunch and guest speaker, summing up.

THE COST, including VAT

- Full board and conference meals (2 nights). £52.08 (11 double rooms and the rest single)
- Bed and Breakfast only. per night £11.67
- Standard lunch: £5.75. Standard dinner: £8.62.
- Registration fee, including coffee/tea and biscuits. £ 5.00
- Lunch and Banquet meetings are open to non-diners.

To make the event financially viable will those who can add to the registration fee.

St. John's College accommodation could also be made available for additional nights before and after the seminar.

APPLICATION FORM

To: The Wilberforce Council for Human Rights,
Salisbury Hall, Park Road,
HULL, HU3 1TD, England.

Name _____ Date _____
 Address _____ Tel. No. _____
 Organisation _____
 Special interests _____

- Please book as follows for which I enclose
 The appropriate deposits per person, Registration £5
 College Board £5
- _____ Double/single rooms (full board) at per person. . . . £52.08 (2 nights)
 - _____ Double/single rooms (Bed & breakfast) at per person. £23.34 (2 nights)
 - _____ Dinner Friday/Saturday. £17.24
 - Registration fee, incl. coffee/tea Friday/Sunday. £ 5.00 (add contribution where possible to make event financially viable)

Please state if you are interested in the following:
 Tee/Sweat Shirts with neat printed emblem, price £2/£3, £5/£6.
 Ties with printed/woven emblem.

We are looking into the possibilities.
 The Wilberforce Council is producing a Collectors' Item. Wilberforce 150th Anniversary Commemorative Cover (envelope). 9th March 1983, first day issue, Commonwealth Day Stamps. Set of 4 (90p) on Commemorative Cover with Commemorative Postmark. Limited Edition, advance orders £2.50. Later purchases, subject to availability, prices to be quoted on request.

ORDER:
 _____ Commemorative Covers @ £2.50
 Wilberforce Council Freedom Concert, Sunday, 6th November 1983, Royal Albert Hall, Kensington Gore, London.

It is by coincidence that William Wilberforce lived at what was then Kensington Gore House and now the Royal Albert Hall. We expect to achieve distinguished Patronage. We have engaged The London Philharmonic Orchestra, a distinguished Russian Conductor, Rudolf Barshai, and a distinguished Russian Violinist, Boris Belkin. "Boris Belkin's playing projects unpredictable technical wizardry." Sunday Times, London.
 "Rare poetic feeling." New York Times.

PROGRAMME:
 Prokofiev Classical Symphony (No. 1)
 Prokofiev Violin Concerto No. 2
 Beethoven Symphony No. 7
 Tickets from the Royal Albert Hall or agents up to £7.50
 From The Wilberforce Council £10-£25.
 Please reserve _____ tickets @ _____

* * * * *

We noticed that PBS is having a 6-part series on the abolition of slavery. This is what they say about it in the February program guide of WHYY, the PBS TV station in Philadelphia:

THE FIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY

Slavery has been called the greatest crime in the history of the world, but all whites were not guilty and all blacks were not innocent. It was a crime of humanity against itself and that is the premise of this six-part series which traces the monumental struggle to end slavery in the British Empire from 1750 to 1834. Beginning Wednesday the 2nd at 10:00 p.m.

(32) World Peace Movement has a small brochure stating its principles and purposes, and a nice slogan, "Think globally, and act locally". They will probably send their brochure on request. POBox 2, Ojai, CA 93023.

ANNUAL MEETING (1983)

(33a) The time, June 24-26. The BRS Annual Meeting '83 is timed to coincide with a Conference at McMaster. The Conference -- jointly sponsored by the Bertrand Russell Editorial Project (at McMaster University) and The Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology (at University of Toronto) -- is in 2 parts.

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

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

These are some of the speakers and their topics:

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

A ERS business meeting will be held Friday evening, when no Conference talks are scheduled.

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

To make a reservation: you need 2 checks, payable to McMaster University in Canadian funds. (1) Send the Conference fee "well in advance" to Secretary, The Bertrand Russell Editorial Project, TSH 719, McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada L8S 4M2. (2) Send payment for lodging, etc., to Conference Services, Commons 101B, McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada L8S 4K1, and mention dates of arrival and departure.

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

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

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

Look for more details in the next issue of "Russell", due out soon (Vol 2, No.2, Winter 1982-83).

* Come if you can!

ON NUCLEAR WAR

(34) From The New York Times (11/21/82 p. E19):

War by Accident

By Tom Wicker

More than 100,000 American military personnel have some form of access to or responsibility for nuclear weapons. A House subcommittee has reported that in 1977 — a typical year — 1,219 of them had to be removed from such duty because of mental disorders, 256 for alcoholism and 1,365 for drug abuse.

There's every reason to suppose that the Soviet Union, with more or less equal nuclear forces, has at least as severe a problem. Because their technology is not as advanced as that of the U.S., the Soviets may have a worse record of malfunctioning by the computers that control missile firings.

That's a scary thought, since on our side the North American Defense Command reported 151 computer false alarms in an 18-month period. One had American forces on alert for

a full six minutes before the error was discovered.

Such human and electronic fallibility is one good reason why the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, after intensive study, concluded that "the risk of accidental nuclear war is not only unacceptably high but is rapidly increasing."

President Reagan, too, has expressed concern at the possibility of an unintended spark setting off nuclear conflagration. Several published reports have suggested that his Administration has been reviewing the problem and he's expected to address it in his forthcoming arms control speech.

But it's unlikely that he'll speak to the primary threat, which is not personnel or computer failures, frightening as they are. The real problem is the proliferation of numbers and kinds of nuclear weapons and delivery vehi-

cles, and of the nations that possess these weapons, or soon might.

Both superpowers have literally thousands of nuclear weapons. Missiles, now the main reliance for delivery, can't be recalled if mistakenly launched. Communication with submarines is still far from perfect. Limited warning time after a real or falsely reported launch makes an erroneous command calculation, perhaps aided by computer malfunction, all too likely.

Thus, a weapons buildup on either side, matched as it always is on the other, increases the chances of a fatal error, whether of judgment or performance. And a paper by the International Physicians group points out the obvious — that "the single most powerful force increasing the risk of accidental nuclear war" is the trend on both sides toward first-strike weapons.

Bigger, more powerful and more accurate missiles targeted on the other side's missiles mean that whoever shoots first may well destroy the other's nuclear forces. So either may be led by suspicion and fear to miscalculate the other's intentions and fire its own missiles in a pre-emptive strike.

If Mr. Reagan should decide to pro-

tect the MX missile with a ballistic missile defense, the Soviets would certainly respond with their own missile defense system. Both sides then would have a new reason, in a crisis that could lead to war, to shoot first — and perhaps mistakenly.

Fearing being beaten to the punch, either side might calculate that firing first would force the other to activate his defense missiles; then, while the defender was preoccupied with the first attack, a second could be launched, and the attacker would still have his own missile defense system ready to fend off counter-attack.

The NATO policy of responding with nuclear weapons if a conventional attack on Western Europe could not be halted by conventional means also risks accidental war. The Soviets could misinterpret NATO intentions and fire nuclear weapons of their own. And while NATO battlefield commanders are not supposed to have authority to use nuclear weapons, who knows what might happen in the turmoil of battle?

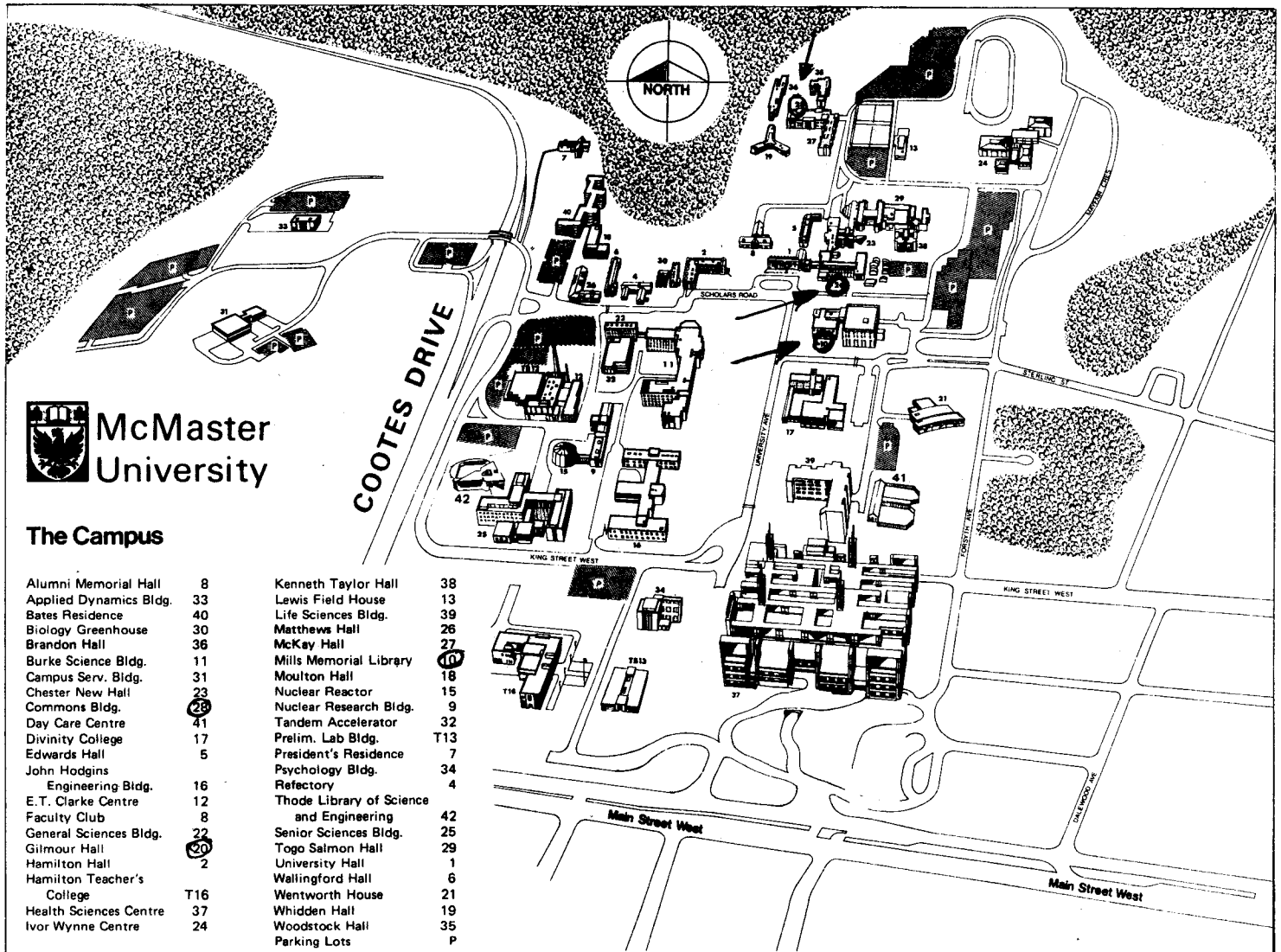
The spread of nuclear weapons to nations beyond the five that already have them poses other obvious threats of accidental war, since that would

mean more such weapons in more hands, perhaps with less sophisticated human and technological controls.

The Reagan Administration, unfortunately, has shown a distinct lack of interest in the problems of proliferation to other nations. And while Mr. Reagan has recognized the necessity to improve American command and control facilities, and his Administration has been studying some sort of joint operations with the Soviets to guard against mishap and misunderstanding, his planned nuclear buildup, including the huge new MX missile, actually increases the risk of accidental war.

The best immediate safeguards against such a disaster would be the ratification of SALT II, which Mr. Reagan says he's observing anyway; completion of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty that's been largely worked out with the Soviet Union; and, if obtainable, a verifiable Soviet-American freeze on the production and deployment of more nuclear weapons on either side. And all these would be long steps toward the surest safeguard of all — the reductions in nuclear forces that are Mr. Reagan's stated goals.

(33b)



The Campus

Alumni Memorial Hall	8	Kenneth Taylor Hall	38
Applied Dynamics Bldg.	33	Lewis Field House	13
Bates Residence	40	Life Sciences Bldg.	39
Biology Greenhouse	30	Matthews Hall	26
Brandon Hall	36	McKay Hall	27
Burke Science Bldg.	11	Mills Memorial Library	10
Campus Serv. Bldg.	31	Moulton Hall	18
Chester New Hall	23	Nuclear Reactor	15
Commons Bldg.	28	Nuclear Research Bldg.	9
Day Care Centre	41	Tandem Accelerator	32
Divinity College	17	Prelim. Lab Bldg.	T13
Edwards Hall	5	President's Residence	7
John Hodgins		Psychology Bldg.	34
Engineering Bldg.	16	Refectory	4
E. T. Clarke Centre	12	Thode Library of Science and Engineering	42
Faculty Club	8	Senior Sciences Bldg.	25
General Sciences Bldg.	22	Togo Salmon Hall	29
Gilmour Hall	20	University Hall	1
Hamilton Hall	2	Wallingford Hall	6
Hamilton Teacher's College	T16	Wentworth House	21
Health Sciences Centre	37	Whidden Hall	19
Ivor Wynne Centre	24	Woodstock Hall	35
		Parking Lots	P

ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS

(35)

We are being nuked right now! Two books — reviewed in *The New York Times Book Review* (1/16/83, p. 18) — indicate the extent to which nuclear weapons are doing great harm to the human psyche without even being fired. The review, by John Woodcock, of Indiana University, tells the story:

INDEFENSIBLE WEAPONS

The Political and Psychological Case Against Nuclearism.
By Robert Jay Lifton and Richard Falk.
301 pp. New York: Basic Books. Cloth, \$15.50. Paper, \$6.95.

NUKESPEAK

Nuclear Language, Visions, and Mindset.
By Stephen Hilgartner, Richard C. Bell and Rory O'Connor. Illustrated. 282 pp. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books. \$14.95.

their importance to our welfare and survival, have not yet been revealed or absorbed — and that there are powerful institutional and psychic barriers to changing this situation.

"Indefensible Weapons" is a collaboration, in the form of parallel essays, by the psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton and the political scientist Richard Falk. (They collaborated in 1971 on "Crimes of War," an anthology

of pieces and documents on war crimes.) In his essay, "Imagining the Real," Dr. Lifton first distills what he has learned from his studies of Hiroshima survivors about the psychological effects of the "imagery of extinction" and then applies those insights to us today — giving, in effect, a detailed anatomy of the mind in the time between nuclear holocausts. It is a condensed, readable and telling

document. He finds that images of massive annihilation wrought by technology now provide a major context for our lives and profoundly disturb our psyches and social relations. These images, Dr. Lifton says, have destroyed our sense of biological and cultural connection, leaving us without traditional sources of meaning for our lives. We are

UNDERLYING the divergent approaches of these two books is a common emphasis on what their authors

see as our "nuclear illusions." Both books argue that many truths about nuclear warfare and nuclear energy, despite

Free Inquiry

Box 5, Central Park Station, Buffalo, New York 14215 (716-834-2921)
Published by the Council for Democratic and Radical Humanism

January 28, 1983

Dear Friend:

You are cordially invited to attend "Religion in American Politics," a special symposium sponsored by FREE INQUIRY Magazine to be held at the National Press Club in Washington on March 16, 1983, the birthday of James Madison.

This conference will raise the question of whether the Fundamentalist Right and other ultraconservatives are correct when they argue that the American republic and the Constitution are based on Judeo-Christian foundations and that those who argue for separation of church and state have betrayed the American heritage. History tells us that in drafting the Constitution the Founding Fathers focused on religious liberty and the idea that the state should be neutral concerning religion. Many today unfortunately wish to revise that history.

The conference will commemorate the birthday (March 16) of James Madison, the Father of the Constitution, who led the fight for the Bill of Rights and religious freedom. There will be a group of distinguished speakers, including Henry Steele Commager, Senator Lowell Weicker, former-Senator Sam Ervin, Daniel Boorstin (Librarian of Congress), Michael Novak, and Richard Morris. The morning session will focus on James Madison and the Founding Fathers. The theme of the afternoon session will be "The Bible and Politics."

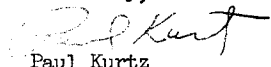
Religious figures surely have every right to express their point of view in a free society; however, when individuals and groups seek to give a "sacred" justification for their political beliefs, there is a real danger that this will engender sectarian factions. Our conference will explore the role of religion in politics in a secular state.

There will be limited admittance to this conference due to the capacity of the Ballroom of the National Press Club. Pre-registration is necessary. Please fill in the registration form attached to the enclosed program and return it to us as soon as possible.

If you would like hotel accommodations, special rates for the Madison Conference are available at the Hotel Washington (800-424-9540), which is near the National Press Club and the White House.

We look forward to hearing from you and to meeting you at the conference.

Sincerely,


Paul Kurtz
Editor

enclosure

(36) "Religion in American Politics" is the title of a special symposium sponsored by "Free Inquiry" magazine that looks like the best thing to come down the pike in a long time. That's why we are giving it a lot of space. First, here is Paul Kurtz's introductory letter, followed by the printed announcement:

RELIGION

cut off from immortality itself, in a condition of "radical futurelessness" that no belief system can assuage. The extremity of this situation makes understandable the reaction, which Dr. Lifton says is not uncommon, of people who see bombs as detentes or their detonation as a spiritual experience.

Among the unhappy paradoxes he notes is that the psychic numbing by which we as individuals shut out the reality of the bomb in order to stay sane works against the collective awareness and action that might avert an Armageddon of our own making.

Dr. Lifton sees hope, however, in a kind of reality principle. Eventually, he asserts, the mind rebels against "distorting processes," and he supports his belief by pointing to the "world-wide hunger for nuclear truth." He ends with a description of the salutary effects of "crossing the line" to antinuclear activism.

In his essay, "Political Anatomy of Nuclearism," Mr. Falk addresses the causes and effects of the beliefs that have brought us to our current state. He argues that the basic political legitimacy of American democracy has been seriously compromised by its reliance on nuclear weapons. "This condition of tarnished legitimacy," he believes, "is linked to the passion for secrecy, the official control and management of news, and the easy readiness to identify morally concerned citizens as fools, at best, or if they persist so as to obtain a hearing, as enemies of the state."

Political uneasiness thus leads to the exclusion of citizens from the development and implementation of policies of the greatest importance. And, Mr. Falk says, our leaders, caught in a web of militarism, technological imperatives, bureaucratic privilege and international gamesmanship, remain

remote from — and fatalistic about — the nuclear situation.

Mr. Falk's most interesting contribution is his discussion of American and Soviet rivalry in the nuclear arms race. He is broadly critical of the United States — of its proprietary zeal, for instance, in pushing to stay far ahead in the early years and of its later pursuit of the phantom of nuclear superiority, which he calls "political fanaticism of the worst kind." All along, he convincingly suggests, the Soviets have been much less aggressive and menacing than portrayed by our Government.

Given the pervasiveness of nuclearism, Mr. Falk feels that nuclear holocaust is inevitable unless some drastic changes are made. He never develops the particulars of the "politics of antinuclearism," but he seems to rest his hopes for a possible future on a broad, global change from "Machiavellian" self-interest to a more communal and

"holistic" world view that he associates with ecological consciousness and spiritual evolution.

Perhaps because of space limitations and the authors' activist impulses, exhortation occasionally takes over from exposition in these essays. Toward the end Mr. Falk seems rushed his argument rhetorical. Each writer's concluding optimism, welcome as it is, seems detached from what has gone before. But finally it seems better to demand the miracle of the world rather than of the book. Dr. Lifton's and Mr. Falk's essays are valuable reflections on the most urgent dilemma of our time. They make an excellent briefing for life in a world under the cloud of nuclearism.

"Nukespeak," a cultural history of the selling of nuclear technology for both peaceful and military purposes, is dedicated to George Orwell, whose

literary creation of "newspeak" dramatized the power of governments to control reality through the manipulation of language. The authors, three Boston journalists, argue that "In the thirty-six years since the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a new language has evolved. . . . Nukespeak is the language of nuclear development. . . . In Nukespeak, atrocities are rendered invisible by sterile words like megadeaths; nuclear war is called a nuclear exchange."

We have included only the first paragraph of the review of the second book.

RELIGION IN AMERICAN POLITICS

A Special Symposium
Commemorating The
Birthday of
President James Madison

Wednesday, March 16, 1983

at the
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB
529 14th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

sponsored by
FREE INQUIRY MAGAZINE

Participants
Robert Alley
Daniel J. Boorstin
Henry Steele Commager
Sam Ervin
A. E. Dick Howard
Paul Kurtz
Gerald Larue
Richard Morris
Michael Novak
Leo Pfeffer
James M. Robinson
Robert Rutland
Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.

Conference Chairman: Paul Kurtz
Program Organizer: Lee Nisbet
Executive Director: Jean Millholland

FREE INQUIRY Magazine
Box 5, Central Park Station
Buffalo, New York 14215
(716-834-2921)

James Madison Memorial Committee

Honorary Chairman
The Honorable Charles S. Robb
Governor of the State of Virginia

Chairman
Robert Alley

A new committee to honor James Madison, the Father of the Constitution and defender of religious liberty, is being established and will be officially announced on March 16, 1983

Hotel Accommodations

Room reservations are available at a special rate at the Hotel Washington on Pennsylvania Avenue at 15th Street (near the National Press Club) by calling the hotel's 800 number below. Please inform the hotel that you will be attending the Madison Conference.

Single rooms \$68.00 - \$78.00
Twin and double rooms \$80.00 - \$90.00

Hotel Washington: 800-424-9540

Religion in American Politics

Schedule of Events

9:30 A.M. - 12:00 P.M.

James Madison, the Founding Fathers, and the Constitution The Secular Roots of the American Political System

Chair

Paul Kurtz, Professor of Philosophy,
State University of New York at Buffalo;
Editor, FREE INQUIRY Magazine

Speakers

Robert Rutland, Professor of History,
University of Virginia, and editor of
The Madison Papers

Henry Steele Commager, Professor of History,
Amherst College

Daniel J. Boorstin, Historian

Richard Morris, Professor of History,
Columbia University

Discussant: Michael Novak, American
Enterprise Institute

12:15 P.M. - 1:30 P.M.

Luncheon

Speaker: Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.

1:30 P.M. - 4:00 P.M.

The Bible and Politics

Chair

Gerald Larue, Professor Emeritus of Biblical
Archaeology, University of Southern California
at Los Angeles

Speakers

Sam Ervin, Former U.S. Senator from North
Carolina

Leo Pfeffer, Professor of Constitutional Law,
Long Island University; Special Counsel of the
American Jewish Congress

Robert Alley, Professor of Humanities,
University of Richmond

James M. Robinson, Professor of Religion and
Director, Institute of Antiquities and Religion,
Claremont Graduate School, Claremont,
California

Discussant: A. E. Dick Howard, Professor of
Law, University of Virginia

Commemoration Ceremony

5:30 P.M.

James Madison Memorial Annex
Library of Congress

... For 205 years this nation, based on [con-
stitutional] principles, has endured ... One of
the great strengths of our political system
always has been our tendency to keep
religious issues in the background. By main-
taining the separation of church and state, the
United States has avoided the intolerance
which has so divided the rest of the world with
religious wars ...

Madison saw this as the great paradox of
our system: How do you control the factions
without violating the people's basic freedoms?
...

Can any of us refute the wisdom of
Madison and the other framers? Can anyone
look at the carnage in Iran, the bloodshed in
Northern Ireland, or the bombs bursting in
Lebanon and yet question the dangers of in-
jecting religious issues into the affairs of state?

The religious factions that are growing in
our land are not using their religious clout
with wisdom. They are trying to force govern-
ment leaders into following their positions
100 percent ...

The uncompromising position of these
groups is a divisive element that could tear
apart the very spirit of our representative
system, if they gain sufficient strength. ...

Barry Goldwater

Religion in American Politics Symposium
National Press Club, March 16, 1983
Registration and Luncheon: \$30.00 a person

Free Inquiry
Box 5, Central Park Station
Buffalo, New York 14215

Yes, I (we) plan to attend the Special Symposium Commemorating the Birthday of James Madison. Enclosed
please find my check or money order (payable to FREE INQUIRY) for \$_____ to cover
registration and luncheon for _____ person(s).

Name _____
(print clearly)

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

No, I will not be able to attend the Symposium, but please accept my contribution
(tax deductible) for \$_____ to help cover the costs of this and future special events.

(37) Here are the 4 remaining BBC Interviews:**NATIONALISM**

W.W.: Do you think that nationalism is a good or a bad thing, Lord Russell?

B.R.: If you want to see foreign countries you have to travel poor, and in that respect I think there's a great deal to be said for nationalism. For keeping diversity—in literature, in art, in language, and all kinds of cultural things. But when it comes to politics, I think nationalism is unmitigatedly evil. I don't think there is a single thing to be said in its favor.

W.W.: Why is nationalism harmful?

B.R.: What I mean by it being harmful is that it's a part of its teaching to inculcate the view that your own country is glorious and has always been right in everything, whereas other countries—well, as Mr. Podsnap says in Dickens, "Foreign nations, I am sorry to say, do as they do." I don't think that it's right to view foreign nations in that way. One sees curious examples of it. I wrote a book in which I was talking about nationalism, and I said, "There is, of course, one nation which has all the supreme virtues that every nation arrogates to itself. That one is the one to which my reader belongs." And I got a letter from a Pole saying, "I'm so glad you recognize the superiority of Poland."

W.W.: Why do people want to be divided up into national states?

B.R.: Well, it is part of our emotional apparatus that we are liable to both love and hate, and we like to exercise them. We love our compatriots and we hate foreigners. Of course we love our compatriots only when we're thinking of foreigners. When we've forgotten foreigners we don't love them so much.

W.W.: We all know that Americans and Europeans suffer from racial prejudice. Do you think that Asians and Africans suffer from racial prejudice any less?

B.R.: Not a bit less. And in fact because it's rather new with them they probably suffer more at the present moment. I should think that both African and Asian na-

tionalism are, at the moment, more fierce than any that exist among Europeans, because they've just awakened to it. I think it is a very, very great danger. I think nationalism is, apart from the tension and the danger of an East-West war, I think nationalism is the greatest danger that humankind is faced with at the present time.

W.W.: Why do you think nationalism seems to be so much more virulent today than it ever has been before?

B.R.: Oh, it's due to education. Education has done an awful lot of harm. I sometimes think it would have been better if people were still unable to read and write. Because the great majority, when they learn to read and write, become open to propaganda, and in each country the propaganda is controlled by the state and is what the state likes. And what the state likes is to have you quite ready to commit murder when you're told to.

W.W.: Is there any solution to this problem of nationalism other than having, say, an imminent invasion from Mars?

B.R.: Well, that of course would stop it at once. We should then have planetary nationalism for our planet against all other planets. We should teach in schools how much more noble our planet has always been than these wretched Martians, of whom we shouldn't know anything and therefore we could imagine any number of vices, so that would be a very simple solution. But I'm afraid we may not be able to do it that way. I think we've got to hope that people will get positive aims—aims of promoting the welfare of their own and other countries, rather than these negative aims of strife.

THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

W.W.: What do you mean by the role of the individual?

B.R.: I'm thinking primarily of activities which an individual can carry out otherwise than as a member of an organization. I think there are a great many very important and very useful, desirable activities

which have hitherto been carried out by individuals without the help of an organization, and which are coming more and more to depend upon organizations. The great men of science of the past didn't depend upon very expensive apparatus—great men like Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, and Darwin. They did their work as individuals, and they were able to.

W.W.: But may one go a little further into cultural and scientific freedom and what precisely it means in its importance to the community?

B.R.: Well, I came to the conclusion that broadly speaking the important impulses that promote behavior can be divided into creative and possessive. I call an impulse creative when its aim is to produce something which wouldn't otherwise be there and is not taken away from anybody else. I call it possessive when it consists in acquiring for yourself something which is already there, such as a loaf of bread. Now of course both have their function, and man has to be sufficiently possessive to keep himself alive, but the real important impulses, when you're talking about the sphere of liberty, are creative ones. If you write a poem you don't prevent another person from writing a poem. If you paint a picture, you don't prevent another from painting a picture. Those things are creative and are not done at the expense of somebody else, and I think those things ought to have absolute liberty.

W.W.: Why is it, do you think, so many discoveries have shocked people?

B.R.: Because they make people feel unsafe. Every human being, like every animal, wants to live in what is felt to be a safe environment—an environment where you won't be exposed to unexpected perils. Now when a man tells you that something you've always believed was in fact not true, it gives you a frightful shock and you think, "Oh! I don't know where I am. When I think I'm planting my foot upon the ground, perhaps I'm not." And you get into a terror.

W.W.: Well, this really affects discoveries in the realm of thought rather than in practical science. I

mean, nobody minds if somebody invents a machine that will go to the moon.

B.R.: Well, no. But they do mind—at least some people mind, though not as many as I should have expected—a machine that would destroy the human race, which is also part of science.

W.W.: You attach enormous importance to this question of the role of the individual. Why have you attached so much importance to it?

B.R.: Because all the important human advances that we know of since historical times began have been due to individuals of whom the majority faced virulent public opposition.

W.W.: Do you think that fear of public opinion has stopped many people from doing good and sensible things?

B.R.: Yes, it has a very profound effect, especially in times of excitement when there's a great deal of mass hysteria about. A great many people are terrified of going against mass hysteria with the result that bad things triumph where they shouldn't.

W.W.: Do you think that applies to scientists and artists?

B.R.: Yes, I think so. I think scientists have the prerogative that they are sometimes able to prove that they're right; but artists can't prove that they are right. An artist can only hope that other people will think so; so I think the artist is in a greater difficulty than the scientist. But the scientist in the modern world undoubtedly is in difficulty, because he may make discoveries that are inconvenient to the government and in that case he'll get in trouble.

W.W.: Well, what about people who are in a sense thinkers and not strictly either artists or scientists devising practical things?

B.R.: Well, of course, that depends. A great many thinkers do take care not to express in any public way opinions which will bring them obloquy.

W.W.: Do you think any new

limitations on liberty are needed?

B.R.: Yes, certainly. Limitations on national liberty are needed, and there are some things that are absurd. The arguments that socialists used in favor of nationalizing natural resources have now become arguments in favor of internationalizing natural resources. The most obvious example is oil. It's a little absurd that a very small territory which happens to have a great deal of oil on its territory should be the sole possessor of that oil.

W.W.: Do you think liberties need expanding?

B.R.: Well, liberties need enlarging in a mental sphere, and, if anything, diminishing in what I call the possessive sphere.

FANATICISM AND TOLERANCE

W.W.: What is your definition of fanaticism, Lord Russell?

B.R.: I should be inclined to say that a man is a fanatic if he thinks some one matter so overwhelmingly important that it outweighs anything else at all. To give an example, I suppose all decent people dislike cruelty to dogs, but if you thought that cruelty to dogs was so atrocious that no other cruelty should be objected to in comparison, then you would be a fanatic.

W.W.: Why do you think people do get seized in large numbers with fanaticism?

B.R.: Well, it's partly that it gives you a cosy feeling of cooperation. A fanatical group all together have a comfortable feeling that they're all friends with one another. They are all very much excited about the same thing. You can see it in any political party. There's always a

fringe of fanatics in any political party, and they feel very cosy with one another; and when that is spread about and is combined with a propensity to hate some other group, you get fanaticism well developed.

W.W.: But might fanaticism at times provide a kind of mainspring for good actions?

B.R.: It provides a mainspring for actions all right, but I can't think of any instance in history where it's provided the mainspring for good actions. Always I think it has been for bad ones because it is partial, because it almost inevitably involves some kind of hatred. You hate the people who don't share your fanaticism. It's almost inevitable.

W.W.: What is your definition of toleration?

B.R.: Well, it varies according to the direction of your thinking. Toleration of opinion, if it's really full-blown, consists in not punishing any kind of opinion as long as it doesn't issue in some kind of criminal action.

W.W.: What are the limits of toleration, and when does toleration turn into license and chaos?

B.R.: I think the ordinary liberal answer would be that there should be complete toleration as regards the advocacy of opinions as to what the law ought to be; but there should not be complete toleration for advocacy of acts which remain criminal until the law is changed. To take an illustration, you might, for instance, be in favor of reintroducing capital punishment in a country where it doesn't exist, but you shouldn't be free yourself to assassinate somebody that you thought deserved it.

W.W.: Are you optimistic that

people and governments will do the right thing about the H-bomb?

B.R.: Well, there are times when I'm optimistic and times when I'm not. I don't think anybody can tell how much sense governments will have. One hopes, of course, that in time they will begin to understand the problems they deal with.

THE FUTURE OF HUMANKIND

W.W.: Can we turn now to more cheerful things?

B.R.: Well, I should say that the first thing that is needed is a realization that the evils of the world, including the evils which formerly could not possibly have been prevented, can now be prevented. They continue to exist only because people have passions in their souls which are evil and which make them unwilling to take the steps to make other people happy. I think the whole trouble in the modern world, given the powers of modern technique, lies in the individual psychology, in the individual person's bad passions. If that were realized, and if it were realized further that to be happy in a modern, closely integrated world, you have to put up with your neighbor also being happy, however much you may hate him. I think if those things were realized, you could get a world far happier than any that has ever existed before.

W.W.: What sort of things do you think you could push away if your people direct their passions in the sort of way you're suggesting?

B.R.: Well, first of all, war. Second, poverty. In the old days, poverty was unavoidable for the majority of the population. Nowadays it isn't. If the world chose, it could, within forty years, abolish poverty. Illness, of course, has been enormously diminished and could be diminished still further. There is no reason why people should be unable to have periods of sheer enjoyment frequently.

W.W.: Well, we're now talking really about the creation of positive good. What other positive good can be produced by man, do you think, in the future?

B.R.: I think a great deal depends on education. I think in education you will have to stress that humankind is one family with common interests. That therefore cooperation is more important than competition, and that to love your neighbor is not only a moral duty nominally inculcated by the churches, but is also much the wisest policy from the point of view of your own happiness.

W.W.: What final message would you like to give to future humankind?

B.R.: I should like to say that you have, through your knowledge, powers which humans have never had before. You can use these powers well or you can use them ill. You will use them well if you realize that humankind is all one family and that we can all be happy or we can all be miserable. The time is passed when you could have a happy minority living upon the misery of the great mass. That time is passed. People won't acquiesce in it, and you will have to learn to put up with the knowledge that your neighbor is also happy, if you want to be happy yourself. I think, if people are wisely educated, they will have a more expansive nature and will find no difficulty in allowing the happiness of others as a necessary condition of their own. Sometimes in a vision, I see a world of happy human beings, all vigorous, all intelligent, none of them oppressing, none of them oppressed. A world of human beings aware that their common interests outweigh those in which they compete, striving toward those really splendid possibilities that the human intellect and the human imagination make possible. Such a world as I was speaking of can exist if everyone chooses that it should. And if it does exist—if it does come to exist—we shall have a world very much more glorious, very much more splendid, more happy, more full of imagination and happy emotions, than any world that the world has ever known before.

BR INTERVIEWED

(38) 14 & 92. (From "Redbook Magazine, September 1964, verbatim). Recently Jhan Robbins, a frequent contributor to Redbook, took his son Tom with him to Europe. While there he arranged a meeting between Tom and 92-year-old, Nobel Prize-winning mathematician, philosopher and essayist Bertrand Lord Russell. The interview took place at Lord Russell's ancient limestone house in Penrhyndeudraeth, Wales. Lady Russell was present. Tea was served, and when Lady Russell learned that the date coincided with Tom's 14th birthday, she had a large mocha cake brought in to help celebrate the occasion.

Many Americans are aware of Lord Russell's position on nuclear disarmament but are unfamiliar with his thoughts in other areas. In the three hours of conversation between the 14-year-old boy and the 92-year-old philosopher, everything from school marks, grandparents and profanity to patriotism, happiness and the Bible was discussed.

Lord Russell: Well, young Tom, congratulations on your birthday.

Tom: Thank you, sir -- you're making it a very unusual birthday. Do you remember what you did on your fourteenth birthday?

Lord Russell: No. I recall my tenth, however. A dreadful day. I was given one gift, a plain blue sweater. I was told that I wasn't properly grateful. I was scolded severely and reminded that when I was born I was almost named Galahad.

Tom (laughing): That's terrible! It sounds like you must have had a very unhappy time when you were young.

Not really, but I think many young people believe they're unhappy at the time. When I was your age I was contemplating suicide, or thought I was. Then one night I had a dream in which I was dying. A family friend was standing at my bedside and in my dream I said, "Well, at any rate, there's one comfort I shall soon be done with all this." He replied, "When you're a little older you won't talk that sort of nonsense!" And I didn't. That was the end of my suicide fantasy. I think it is quite common to young people who feel sorry for themselves, particularly if they are having difficulties at home or at school.

Well, back home, the grownups are always talking about how school isn't difficult enough. I guess you think so too. Since you're a mathematician, I guess you think we should study more math at school.

No, I rather think that although mathematics and the so-called hard sciences are very important, they are too much in vogue these days. What I'd like to see is a more objective and more thorough study of political and economic systems, and history that's not quite so hysterical. Students are taught the most absurd versions of their country's history!

I know! We studied our Mexican war two different times. But once we were taught that it was a good war and once that it was a bad war! To this day I don't know if Davy Crockett was a hero or a border bandit. I'm a Quaker, though, and our church teaches that all wars are wrong.

I think some wars have been justified. Your War of Independence, for example, and our resistance to the Spanish Armada.

My father said that you were also in favor of fighting the Second World War.

Yes, The two world wars were very different. The first one was a raw power struggle. The atrocity stories were largely trumped up and there was no moral issue that could not have been settled by negotiation. Hitler, and the Nazis, on the other hand, were intolerable. If they had won, life would have been hell.

Sometimes I say "hell" too. When I'm talking about something and get excited. But my teachers don't like it.

It's surprising, isn't it? So many things that seem to be a good outlet for grownups aren't considered permissible for children. I wish the schools would pay less attention to profanity and more to acts of unkindness -- those are the real sins. Still, one can't have an entire classroom full of youngsters all swearing and arguing.

You sure can't in a Wilton, Connecticut, school! I like to argue and I get excited and I get mad and then they lower the boom. But I bet you gave your teachers a hard time too.

I didn't have the opportunity because I didn't go to school.

I was taught at home by a private tutor until I went to college. I lived in almost complete solitude.

You must have been awfully lonely. But at least you didn't get report cards.

You're talking about marks, are you? Yes, I suppose bringing one's marks home for Father to see can be rather painful. It is my observation that most parents tend to delude themselves into thinking that they were better and more serious students than their children. The truth is -- and it's merciful -- that in memory, humiliations and failures tend to vanish and successes are magnified.

I spent my first eight years in a kind of strict public school. But when I go to ninth grade I'm going to a school called Putney in Vermont that is sort of progressive.

I think the encouragement of originality without technical skill, which is practised in many progressive schools, is a mistake. You can't play a proper part in a technically complex civilization unless you've had a considerable dose of sneer instruction. I also think that if a person is to be able to fit into adult society he must learn while still young that he is not the entire center of the universe and his wishes are often not the most important part of a situation.

You don't like progressive schools?

There are some things I admire about progressive schools. I admire the freedom of speech and the freedom to challenge ideas. The fact is, however, that teachers are more important than any kind of method or discipline. Children learn the genuine beliefs of their parents and teachers, not their professed precepts. My own parents believed that intellect, energy, creativity and progress are more important than manners.

Were your parents always protesting about things, like you do?

My parents, Lord and Lady Amberley, shocked their families and public sentiment. They declared themselves in favor of women's suffrage and birth control. They both died when I was young. They left a will naming two of their dear friends as guardians. But these people -- like my parents -- were free thinkers. Not religious. My grandparents went to court and had the will set aside. They even dug up my parents' grave where they were buried in our family grounds and had them reburied in a churchyard.

How could they do that? That doesn't sound right.

My grandfather was a former Prime Minister of England.

Oh.

Although we had many household servants, we lived in Spartan simplicity. I remember rising early on bitter-cold winter mornings to practice the piano and I was not allowed to light a fire in the music room.

I hate to practice even if it isn't cold -- I play the violin. I like music but I really hate to practice. The only way I can make myself do it is to make myself a huge sandwich with all the best things in the refrigerator. Then I pick up the violin and promise myself I can have the sandwich when I finish.

A sort of self-bribe, eh, Tom? I never thought of that -- but it would not have worked for me. My grandparents did not believe that sweets or treats were good for children. Indeed,

if there were two desserts at dinner -- say, apple tart or rice pudding -- I was expected to have the pudding.

It doesn't sound like you had much fun, Lord Russell.

There was no intent to provide fun. No one even considered it. My grandparents did what they thought right and I learned a great deal from them. The house was often filled with important people, and I suppose my early exposure to political discussions helped to shape my life.

You must have learned a lot.

I discovered very early that the most distinguished men cannot always be counted on for profound remarks.

Who were some of the men?

I well remember the time that Prime Minister Gladstone came to dinner. I was told that if I was very quiet and listened carefully, I might stay with the gentlemen, who in those days remained at the table for an hour or so after dinner to drink port while the ladies retired to the drawing room. Dinner was finished at last. The table was cleared. The wine was poured. Gladstone, as the guest of honor, was expected to start the conversation. When he opened his mouth I nearly fell off of my chair with excitement.

What did he say?

He cleared his throat and said, "This is very good port they've given me, but why have they given me it in a claret glass?" I was stunned with horror and embarrassment. Nothing much was said that evening.

What a bunch of stuffed shirts!

Ah, but they were very high-principled. My grandmother gave me a Bible with two inscriptions on the flyleaf: "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil." That's from Exodus. And the other was, "Be strong, and of good courage, be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the Lord thy God is with thee wheresoever thou goest." I've always remembered those texts, and I believe they have profoundly influenced my life.

I thought you didn't believe in God and the Bible.

The Bible is a rather poorly written history book but it does contain some useful guidance -- and a lot of nonsense. I stopped believing in religious dogma when I was almost your age. I haven't missed it.

I'd hate to give up Christmas. I don't just mean the presents -- I mean the feeling of Christmas.

No reason why you can't enjoy a holiday celebrating man's capacity for ethical and moral development.

Well...but it's not the same.

Since you seem to enjoy abstract thinking, perhaps you'd like to study higher mathematics.

I don't think so. I'm not even good at lower mathematics. I can't seem to really understand it. Last year I had a good math teacher but even he couldn't do much with me. He tried -- and I tried. But it was no use.

Try again. If more people -- particularly politicians and social philosophers -- knew more about mathematics, there wouldn't be so much trouble in the world. In mathematics there are no absolutes; everything is relative. But the politicians won't have it. Take patriotism, for example. Your country, right or wrong. Salute the flag, regardless of what it stands for. Silly rot. Lot of dangerous emotionalism. The plain fact is that most nations of this world should in all honesty fly the Jolly Roger.

A person like you, Lord Russell, can get away with saying that.

I don't get away with much. You forget the times I've been carted off to jail.

I've seen the pictures. You didn't seem to be too upset about it, though. Not the way most people look when arrested.

You must remember, Tom, I intended to get arrested. I wanted the publicity. If I'd merely called a meeting and stood up on a box to explain my views on world peace, the story would have rated a few paragraphs on an inside page and nothing at all on television. But when an elderly member of the House of Lords, who is also a reasonably distinguished scientist, is arrested, it is front page news. People begin to ask, "What's it all about?" It's not very pleasant to make an exhibition of oneself, but it's the only way to reach many people. The only way in which we can make the facts known is to find a form of protest which even the hostile press will notice.

(Toms sits back in his chair, looking disturbed.)

What's the matter there, Tom?

I don't want to get into an argument, sir...

Never be afraid of an argument. Go right ahead.

I mean, if you go so far as to break the law, it should have something to do with what you're protesting against. Shouldn't it? Like the American abolitionists who hid runaway slaves. We talked a lot about them in our Sunday school. They broke the law because they thought it was wrong. It went against their conscience. That's pretty different from breaking the law just to get yourself on television. I mean, otherwise you might just as well throw a rock through a Buckingham Palace window -- that would get attention. And you would get arrested.

I dare say. You seem to be mixed up. You mustn't exaggerate, young man. That's always a sign that your argument is weak. Americans tend to false exaggeration. Such as saying that everyone who disagrees is a Communist.

Some people say you're a Communist, Lord Russell. I wanted to ask you.

You see? What did I tell you? No, I'm not a Communist. I was one of the first writers to publish a book pointing out the flaws in communism, both as an economic system and as a way of life. Marx was a muddled thinker and inspired by hatred. Communism is possible only where there is poverty, strife and hatred. The best way to combat it is not war. Its spread can only be stopped by reducing poverty. Certainly communism will never be attractive to the prosperous Western countries whose people have tasted the luxury of individual freedom. I say tasted, mind you. We have a long way to go before we have real freedom. Including the United States.

Have you ever done any traveling in the United States? You don't seem to like it very much.

Oh, yes. I spent many years in your country. I saw in America a sign at a beach club that said, "Gentiles Preferred." I wanted to write "Christ keep out" underneath it, but in the end I decided not to. There may no longer be signs like that one around, but I am sure that minority groups -- Negroes and Jews -- know it exists.

However I think there are many nice things about your country. You Americans are very kindly in personal relations -- much more so than we British. Strangers are made to feel welcome. Also I find American speech very pleasant to listen to -- much of your slang is refreshingly expressive. But I wish they would call it American and not English. I don't mind being told I don't speak American well. I don't.

What I do object to about America is the herd thinking. There is no room for individuals in your country — and yet you are dedicated to saving the world for individualism.

I think there are individuals in America. At least the people my parents know. Whenever my parents have a party, the guests sit around arguing for a couple of hours about civil rights and politics and so forth. You can hear them all over the house. At least you don't get put in jail for criticizing the government.

No, but if you are extreme enough in your criticism, you can lose your job or go bankrupt. The fact is, there is precious little freedom anywhere.

Well...I guess I don't see it the way you do. Back home the big thing now is the civil rights movement. Even a lot of kids my age are involved in it. But I read somewhere that you don't think Negroes are as smart as white people.

The remark I believe you're referring to was made decades ago. I have long since changed my mind because I have learned more. Never be ashamed to change your mind — change is the hope of the world. You hear people say today, "There will always be war; you can't change human nature." But two hundred years ago people were saying, "There will always be dueling."

My father and most of my friends' fathers were in World War Two. They keep saying that war is terrible and we have to end it. But when I hear them talk about things like Pearl Harbor and Churchill and the Battle of Britain, I can't help but think that even though there were terrible things, the people who lived through it had some great times.

I agree that to have a full life you have to have adventure, with companionship and a sense of dedication. Conflict — the wish to struggle righteously against odds — is natural for youth. But the nuclear age has changed all that. If war between East and West should break out tomorrow, it is quite likely to mean the end of the human race. Some leaders are prepared to see the human race destroy itself rather than forego the pleasures of fanaticism.

Is that why you say, "Better Red than dead?"

I didn't coin that phrase. It originated in Germany. I don't know how it became credited to me. All my efforts are aimed at nuclear disarmament, so that neither one of these decisions shall be thrust upon us.

In American a lot of people say, "Better dead than Red."

Equally absurd. Remember that the French lived under Nazi occupation for years. They hated it and they suffered, but they didn't go out and commit mass suicide. Everyone wants to live to a ripe old age. Everyone hopes tomorrow will be better.

I'd like to live to a ripe old age too if I could have as exciting a life as you do.

It's all a matter of choosing your ancestors. Except for my parents, Most of my ancestors lived to be at least eighty. Although long ago, one died in his thirties of a disease which is rather rare today — he had his head cut off.

It's hard to think that when you were my age the world was all still horse and buggy. I guess you've seen a lot of inventions since you were young.

Oh, yes — telephone and electricity and all that. But the most important have been new inventions in human relations. Men and Women, for example. Today they treat one another very much the same. Fifty years ago the sexes lived in two different worlds and there was almost no communication. Modern drugs have changed things too. Today poor people can look forward to living almost as long as rich people. At least in your country

and mine.

But too often discoveries and inventions make people feel unsafe. When you are told that something you've always believed is in fact not true, it gives you a frightful shock and you want to disbelieve.

Lord Russell, you seem to be pretty happy. Are you?

I believe I am. I'm rather fortunate. As you grow older, the periods of happiness seem to lengthen.

What do you think makes a person happy?

I believe four ingredients are necessary for happiness. Health, warm personal relations, sufficient means to keep you from want, and successful work.

I guess you've known a lot of famous people in your life. Which one do you remember best.

Einstein, for one. He was a beautiful person. Joseph Conrad, the novelist, I greatly admired. I named my son after him and he sent him a silver christening cup, despite the fact that the boy was never baptized. I knew both Alfred Lord Tennyson and Robert Browning and didn't care for either of them. Browning was a dull sort — a great hand at old ladies' tea parties. Tennyson fancied himself — always walking along in a cloak with his hair flying, playing the poet. I met Lenin and he made a very poor impression on me. Extremely narrow-minded and said some very cruel things.

My father told me you also knew George Bernard Shaw —

Yes.

—and that he ran into you with his bicycle.

He came flying down a hill, quite out of control. The smash threw him twenty feet through the air and he landed head-first on the road. My own bicycle was smashed and I thought we were both done in. But Shaw picked himself up and rode away, laughing. I had to go home by a very slow train. At every stop Shaw, on his bicycle, rode along the platform, put his head in the carriage window and jeered. At one stop he said, "You ought to be a vegetarian; you wouldn't bruise so easily." (They laugh.)

Well, he died before you did.

Yes. Well, he was ninety-four. I hope to live another ten years.

I thought you said two or three years ago that the whole world probably wouldn't last that long.

I feel slightly more optimistic now, but not much.

I'd hate not to be able to finish out my life. I've got a lot of plans.

Keep right on making them. I still believe in the possibility of a free and happy world, but you have to work for it. No one is sure how much sense governments have. Let us hope that they will begin to understand the problems they deal with before it is too late. I know I'm getting close to the end and I don't believe in any kind of afterlife — still I don't fear death. I hope to die while still at work, knowing others will carry on.

Americans say, to die with your boots on.

Exactly. I've enjoyed our talk.

I have too, Lord Russell. I'll always remember it. (Thank you, OPHELIA HOGPES, for this delightful interview)

ABOUT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS
(continued)

- (39) **The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation's Ken Coates writes to say: "We at the Foundation are very closely preoccupied by the forthcoming Berlin European Nuclear Disarmament Convention, which is the second in a series of major conferences of European peace movements." It starts on Monday, May 9th and continues through the rest of the week. Ken sent this "working paper", which provides some background, and the thinking behind the May meeting.**

From Brussels to Berlin: Towards a Nuclear-Free Europe

This working paper offers a general framework for the Berlin convention. It leaves open specific topics and questions as they might develop towards the Convention. This paper is an invitation for further discussion.

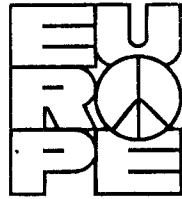
I. Points of Departure

The first European Peace Conference, based on the Russell Peace Appeal for a nuclear-weapons-free Europe, took place in Brussels 2-4 July, 1982. The Appeal expresses the following guiding principles for a politics of peace:

- "We must act together to free the entire territory of Europe, from Poland to Portugal, from nuclear weapons, air and submarine bases, and from all institutions engaged in research into or manufacture of nuclear weapons. We ask the two superpowers to withdraw all nuclear weapons from European territory."
- "It will be the responsibility of the people of each nation to agitate for the expulsion of nuclear weapons and bases from European soil and territorial waters, and to decide upon its own means and strategy, concerning its own territory."
- "We must learn to be loyal not to 'East' or 'West', but to each other."
- "At the same time, we must defend and extend the right of all citizens, East or West, to take part in this common movement and to engage in every kind of exchange."
- "We must resist any attempt by the statesmen of East or West to manipulate this movement to their own advantage. We offer no advantage to either NATO or the Warsaw Alliance. Our objectives must be to free Europe from confrontation, to enforce detente between the United States and the Soviet Union, and, ultimately, to dissolve both great power alliances."

Proceeding from these principles, a second European Peace Conference is to be held in Berlin (West) in May, 1983. The Berlin Conference is to be carried through, as was the Brussels Conference, by a European liaison-committee. Berlin suggests itself as conference site for a number of reasons:

- 1983 marks the 50th 'anniversary' of German fascism's seizure of power. The consequences of this seizure of power are, to this day, more manifest in the divided city of Berlin than in any other European city.
- One of these consequences is Europe's partition into two blocs. Berlin lies on the very sector-boundary of the confrontation between the blocs. Therefore the European peace movement should develop from this city initiatives towards overcoming this bloc confrontation.



- The planned Peace Conference in Berlin can decisively influence public opinion in the Federal Republic of Germany - as that country which would be most affected by the planned NATO arms-build-up - as well as in other West European countries and the USA. In this sense, the Conference can contribute significantly to the movement against the stationing of new nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

II. Main Themes of the Berlin Convention

Whereas the Brussels Conference above all enabled the various West-European peace movements to become acquainted with each other and to directly share experiences and opinions, the Berlin Conference is intended to go several steps further: on the one hand towards discussing and working out concrete forms of direct political action at the national and at the European level; on the other hand, towards the further development and linkage of already existing strategies for peace-politics. This double goal corresponds to the Berlin Conference's two central themes:

1. Possibilities for European co-ordinated initiatives against the stationing of new nuclear weapons in Western Europe

- a. Military and political consequences of the planned NATO arms build-up;
- b. Stocktaking of the European peace commitment against deployment of new nuclear weapons in Western Europe: further steps; experience with specific forms of action; relation of extra-parliamentary movements to governmental decisions; national viewpoints and relationships of forces; possibilities of co-ordinated European initiatives.

2. Perspectives for a nuclear-weapons-free Europe in connection with alternative conceptions for European defence politics

Discussion of: unilateral disarmament; proposals for nuclear-weapons-free zones as proposed e.g.

in the Rapacki/Kekkonen Plan or by the Palme Commission report; pacifist alternatives and social civil-defence; conscientious objection to military service; defensive weapons-systems and strategies; neutrality and bloc-independence; 'Europeisation' and collective security systems; perspectives for detente politics; the relation between disarming in nuclear weaponry and arming in conventional weaponry.

Relating to these two main themes, the following issues are to be discussed at the Berlin Conference:

1. Bloc confrontation and ideas toward overcoming such confrontations

- a. What are the consequences of bloc confrontation for the domestic political situation in countries in West and East? (Clichés about the 'enemy' in the prevailing ideology, in the public sphere and in the school; the militarisation of society; the curtailment of fundamental rights; the repression of movements for social emancipation.)
- b. What consequences does bloc confrontation have for the relationship of the European states among themselves? (The role of neutral states; the relationship of nuclear-powers to their NATO or Warsaw-Pact partners - partners who do not have nuclear weapons on their soil.)
- c. What special responsibility have the two German states for overcoming bloc confrontation? (Proposals for the removal from German territory of all weapons of mass-destruction; possibilities for common initiatives, on the part of both German states, for a nuclear-weapons-free zone in central Europe; the prospects of a peace treaty towards settling the 'German question'; the 'German question' as viewed by our neighbours.)

2. The social, economic and ecological costs of armaments

- a. *Taking stock of the present situation.* (The destruction of jobs; critique of large-scale technologies; the relation between civil and military uses of nuclear energy.)
- b. *Alternatives.* (Conversion of armaments industries; soft technologies.)

3. The interconnection of the East-West conflict and the North-South conflict

- a. Militarisation of international politics. The export of weapons, military intervention and presence; the striving for global hegemony and the creation of dependent military dictatorships; wars fought by proxy; concepts for nuclear-weapons-free zones in the Third World and perspectives for world-wide nuclear disarmament; Extension of NATO strategy (for example in the Middle East) in respect of the deployment of new missiles in Southern Europe (Comiso).

- b. The economic dependency of the Third World and perspectives for new world economic order.
- c. The relationship of the peace movement to liberation struggles and wars in the Third World. How can the European peace movement contribute to a non-aligned course of the Third World countries struggling for self-determination.

III. Character and Form of the Berlin Peace Conference

The Berlin Conference is intended to serve the practical politics of peace in general, and specifically to serve as well an open and vigorous discussion of strategy. In this context, there will be room for a broad and intense exchange of opinions and experiences on the part of the various grass-root movements, as well as for expert debates and for public-oriented discussions. The opportunity presented by the Berlin Convention for a comprehensive East-West dialogue should be explored.

Furthermore, the Conference should allow for the development and expression of an authentic culture of the peace movement.

The current plans for the Conference call for two stages:

1st stage (Monday, 9 May - Wednesday, 11 May)

Discussions by experts in the form of hearings, with a limited number of participants, to deal with the main themes listed above.

2nd stage (Thursday, 12 May - Sunday, 15 May)

Open plenary sessions and fora dealing with the main themes, in addition to various workshops organised, for example, according to the particular professions of the participants, according to their country or region, according to their particular form of practical peace-politics.

The Berlin Conference is to be planned and realised by autonomous peace groups, as well as by representatives from political parties, labour unions and church initiatives. The condition for participating in organising the Conference, hence also for sharing the responsibilities connected with it, is the recognition of the principles of the Russell Peace Appeal listed above, and the recognition of the specific goals and themes of the Conference as outlined in this paper.

The Berlin Conference will provide peace initiatives with the opportunity to present their organisation and activities to the Conference participants; and that it will provide independent workshops the opportunity to meet and work.

This proposal was accepted in principle by the European Nuclear Disarmament Liaison Committee in Brussels, September 1982.

"We are also trying to arrange Hearings about the situation in Lebanon and the occupied territories, since we have great fears that the conflict in the Middle East could bubble over into something much bigger." "The aim would be to establish as definitely as possible, on the one hand, the precise circumstances and the motivations of the invasion of Lebanon, the nature of the war, the way it was conducted, the causes, the circumstances and the scope of the various massacres, during the war and after; and on the other hand, the repression and annexation policy as conducted in the occupied territories of the West Bank, Gaza, and Golan, the conditions and scope of colonization, of the takeover of land and other resources, especially hydraulic resources, of the elimination of leading political and cultural elites, of over-exploitation of workers, and of police and military repression, from violations of human and democratic rights up to shootings and tortures."

PROMOTING BR'S PURPOSES

(40) Linus Pauling talks to science teachers. The following is a portion of an article in "The Science Teacher" (May 1966), which is based on an address given at the annual Convention of the National Science Teachers Association in NYC in April of that year.

Scientists also have the duty to help educate those of their fellow citizens who represent what C. P. Snow called "the other culture." If I remember correctly, Lord Snow divided the two cultures in this way: The scientists, the people who understand the world, including our scientific knowledge of it, constitute one culture, and the non-scientists, who understand only those parts of the world that we describe as non-scientific, constitute the other culture. Not long ago Professor Denis Gabor of the Imperial College in London participated in a symposium in the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. After this experience with a large group of social scientists, he suggested that the division is not really between the scientist and the non-scientist, but between those people interested in facts and ideas on the one hand, and those interested in words on the other. This seems harsh, but I think that there is something to it. I recall a series of discussions at the Center about the presidency, in which presidents of the United States were categorized as Washingtonian, or Jeffersonian, or Hamiltonian. Finally I asked, "Have you laid down some attributes of the actions or decisions of the presidents and assigned to them their percentage weights of Washingtonianism, Jeffersonianism, and Hamiltonianism, and then analyzed the actions and decisions of the various presidents to find out what the quantitative conclusions are? Have you done this, or have you done anything such as to lead you to think that two different people who classified the presidents among your three categories would reach the same conclusions about them?" The answer was that this sounded interesting but had not been done. Yet, this is what they must do—not just use words that they don't define and carry on vague discussions, but try to make their concepts more precise, to have ideas that can be closely related to fact.

In the class of people who are interested in facts and ideas, we have, of course, most scientists, and also a good number of non-scientists who think along the same lines even though they don't have scientific training. In the other class—those interested in words—we have some scientists and some philosophers, and many non-scientists. I remember reading a book on philosophy in which the author went on, page after page, on the question: If there is a leaf on a tree and you see that it is green in the spring-time and red in fall, is that the same leaf or is it a different leaf? Is the essence of leafness still in it? Words, words, words, but "chlorophyll" and "xanthophyll"—which are sensible in this connection of what has happened to that leaf—just don't appear at all. Admittedly, we have some people who are called scientists who are in the category of those who talk about words rather than facts and ideas.

What is the solution going to be? I believe that the ultimate solution will be that everyone will have a knowledge of science, but it will take a generation, two generations, for us to reach this goal, even in the United States. I believe that we shall reach this goal if the world is not destroyed. I believe that reason will win out and that the world will continue to improve.

What can the scientist do? What are the problems to be attacked, what are the actions that constitute his social obligations? We know that we have

changed the world. We introduced into the world a tremendous change in the ways of waging war when the bombs became millions of times more powerful, more energetic, on the basis of the amount of material exploded. At the time of Hiroshima and Nagasaki a couple of pounds of nuclear material undergoing fission released energy equal to 20,000 one-ton blockbusters. The second great discontinuity came in 1954. There were preliminary tests in 1952 and 1953, but the great one was the United States Bikini test in 1954. The bomb, with about 1300 pounds of explosive material—three-stage, fission, fusion, fission—exploded and released energy equivalent to that of 20 million tons of TNT. What does that mean to the non-scientist? I recall reading an advertisement of an insurance company about an explosion, in New Jersey, of a ship in which 457 tons of high explosives exploded with "megaton might"—only off by a factor of 2,000 from a megaton, a million tons of TNT. This is the sort of understanding that the world has about these explosives. How many people are there who know that the Bikini bomb, having 1300 pounds of explosive material, had explosive energy greater than that of all explosives used in all of the wars of history, including the first and second world wars and all earlier wars?

One 20 megaton bomb can smash a city such as New York flat and kill 10,000,000 people with the blast, fire, and radioactive fallout. The plane that crashed over Spain in January was carrying four H-bombs. I've seen newspaper reports that the bomb that was lost in the Mediterranean was a 20 megaton bomb, total weight 2800 pounds. That means that it is efficiently made—1300 pounds of nuclear explosives and about 1500 pounds of gadgetry, the conventional explosive RDX or PETN that produces the implosion—the inwardly directed explosion that compresses the ball containing a mixture of uranium-235 and plutonium-239, which then undergoes a process of nuclear fission and sets off the second stage of nuclear fusion in a couple of hundred pounds of lithium deuteride, and the third stage of nuclear fission in a thousand pounds of ordinary uranium metal. These bombs exist by the thousands in the world today.

Scientists recognized immediately in 1945 that it was their duty to help educate their fellow citizens, so that we all can take part in the democratic process, in making decisions, informed decisions. I began very early, by myself, in 1945, and within a few months was associated with eight other scientists: Professor Albert Einstein; Harold Urey; Frederick Seitz, who is president of the National Academy now; Harrison Brown, foreign secretary of the National Academy; Victor Weisskopf; and a few others, in the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, called the Einstein Committee, which functioned quite effectively for four years. Other groups also operated. In particular I recall the work of Bertrand Russell in getting out the Russell-Einstein Manifesto on July 9, 1955. During the year after the explosion of the Bikini bomb on the first of March 1954, Lord Russell had given a number of BBC and other talks on the crisis that faced the world when the bombs became a thousand times more powerful than those that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On the ninth of July 1955, he issued a statement that had been signed by Professor Einstein a few days before

his death and by nine other scientists, along with Lord Russell. I'll read from this, just to remind you of what the situation was 11 years ago.

In the tragic situation that confronts humanity we feel that scientists should assemble in conference to appraise the perils that have arisen as a result of the development of weapons of mass destruction, and to discuss a resolution in the spirit of the appended draft.

We are speaking on this occasion not as members of this or that nation, continent, or creed, but as human beings, members of the species man, whose continued existence is in doubt. The world is full of conflict, 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 we want you, if you can, to set aside such feelings and consider yourselves only as members of a biological species which has had a remarkable history and whose disappearance none of us can desire.

We shall try to say no single word which should appeal to one group rather than another. All, equally, are now 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 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 parties?

The general public and even many men in positions of authority have not realized what would be involved in a war with nuclear 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 A bomb could obliterate Hiroshima, one H bomb could obliterate the largest cities, such as London, New York, and Moscow. No doubt in an H bomb war great cities would be obliterated. But this would be 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 know, especially since the Bikini test, that nuclear bombs can gradually spread destruction over a very 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 hundred times as powerful as that which destroyed Hiroshima. Such a bomb, if exploded near the ground or under water, sends radioactive particles into the air or air. They sink gradually over a very much wider area 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. No one knows how widely such lethal radioactive particles might be diffused, but the best authorities are unanimous in saying that a war with H bombs might quite possibly put an end to the human race. It is feared that if many H bombs are used there will be universal death, sudden only for a minority, but for the majority a slow torture of disease and disintegration.

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. We have not yet found that the views of experts on this question depend in any degree upon their politics or prejudices. They depend only, so far as our researches have revealed, upon the extent of the particular expert's knowledge. We have found that the men who know the most are the most gloomy.

Here, then, is the problem which we 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 renounce war. The abolition of war will demand drastic limitations of national sovereignty. But 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 to their grandchildren, and not only to a dimly apprehended humanity. They can scarcely bring themselves to grasp that they, individually, and those whom they love, are in imminent danger of perishing agonizingly, and so they hope that perhaps war may be allowed to continue, provided that modern weapons are prohibited.

This hope is illusory. Whatever agreements not to use H 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 H 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.

Although an agreement to renounce nuclear weapons as part of a general reduction of armaments would not afford an ultimate solution, it would serve certain important purposes. First, any agreement between East and West is to the good, insofar as it tends to diminish tension. Second, the abolition of thermonuclear weapons, if each side believed that the other had carried it out sincerely, would lessen the fear of a sudden attack in the style of Pearl Harbor, which at present keeps both sides in a state of nervous apprehension. We should, therefore, welcome such an agreement, though only as a first step.

Most of us are not neutral in feeling, but, as human beings, we 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. We should wish this to be understood, both in the East and in the West.

There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge, and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal, as human beings, 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, there lies before you the risk of universal death.

RESOLUTION: We invite this Congress, and through it the scientists of the world and the general public, to subscribe to the following resolution:

In view of the fact that in any future world war nuclear weapons will certainly be employed, and that such weapons threaten the continued existence of mankind, we urge the Governments of the world to realize, and to acknowledge publicly, that their purpose cannot be furthered by a world war, and we urge them consequently to find peaceful means for the settlement of all matters of dispute between them.

This Manifesto was signed by Professor Max Born, Professor P. W. J. M. Dirac, Professor Albert Einstein, Professor Leopold Infeld, Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie, Professor Hermann Joseph Muller, Linus Pauling, Professor C. F. Powell, Joseph Rotblat, Lord Russell, and Hideki Yukawa. Nine of them are recipients of the Nobel Prize.

The Russell-Einstein Manifesto attracted great interest at the time, and it led to setting up the Pugwash Conferences, fourteen of which have been held. These conferences are on the social responsibilities of scientists. They began in 1957 and have been attended by over 300 scientists from about 30 countries. The topics taken up in the Pugwash Conferences are dangers of nuclear war, arms control, disarmament and world security, biological and chemical warfare, and international cooperation in pure and applied sciences. Dr. Rotblat, in *The History of the Pugwash Conferences*, says that in the second Pugwash Conference most of the issues, about arms control, disarmament, world security, and bomb test fallout, were highly complex, and that in many instances the scientists in the West received for the first time reasoned objections to their views from scientists from the East, and vice versa.

I have little doubt that the Pugwash Conferences contributed greatly to the achievement of the 1960 treaty on Antarctica as a nuclear free zone and the 1963 partial bomb test-ban treaty and to the announcement made by nearly all the nations of the world that their goal is the abolition of war. I believe that these treaties would not have been made had it not been for the acceptance of their social responsibilities by scientists in many countries in the world. But this is a slow process, as you recognize from the problems as outlined in the Russell-Einstein Manifesto. These problems are in large part

still with us. We have, I believe, gone through the period of greatest danger. We now have achieved a state of accepted coexistence of the United States and the Soviet Union. No longer does there exist the antagonism that there was eleven years ago or even five years ago. The understanding of the situation exists now. It has been accepted—accepted in government circles. But still there is much need for education of the public and also of those responsible for national policy.

The abolition of war is not the only problem related to the social responsibilities of scientists. In discussing some others I shall quote from an address I gave on February 18, 1965, at the *Pacem In Terris* Convocation.

First, there is the matter of ethical principles, ethical principles in relation to science. Can there be formulated a rational and scientific basis of a system of morality? I believe that there can be.

I accept, as one of the basic ethical principles, the principle of the minimization of the amount of suffering in the world.

I do not accept the contention that we cannot measure the suffering of other human beings, that we do not know what is good and what is evil.

Even though my relationship to myself is subjective and that to other human beings is objective, I accept the evidence of my senses that I am a man, like other men; I am "fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer"; when I am pricked, I bleed, as do other men; when I am tickled, I laugh; when I am poisoned, I die. I cannot contend that it is anything but the result of chance that I am I, that this consciousness of mine is present in this body; I cannot in good faith argue that I deserve a better fate than other men; and I am forced by this logic to accept as the fundamental ethical principle the Golden Rule: As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise."

I know what causes me to suffer. I hope that other human beings will take such actions as to keep my suffering to a minimum, and it is my duty to my fellow men to take such actions as to keep their suffering to a minimum.

We suffer from accidents, from natural catastrophes, from disease, from the ill accompanying the deterioration of age, and also, in a sense the most viciously, from man's inhumanity to man, as expressed in economic exploitation, the maldistribution of the world's wealth, and especially the evil institution of war.

Man has reached his present state through the process of evolution. The last great step in evolution was the mutational process that doubled the size of the brain about a million years ago; this led to the origin of man. It is this change in the brain that permits the inheritance of acquired characteristics of a certain sort—the inheritance of knowledge, of learning, through communication from one human being to another. Thus, abilities that have not yet been incorporated into the molecules of deoxyribonucleic acid that constitute the pool of human germ plasma are not lost until their rediscovery by members of following generations, but instead are handed on from person to person, from generation to generation. Man's great powers of thinking, remembering, and communicating are responsible for the evolution of civilization.

During year after year, decade after decade, century after century, the world has been changed by the discoveries made by scientists and by their precursors, by those brilliant, original, imaginative men and women of prehistoric times and of more recent times who learned how to control fire, to cook food, to grow crops, to domesticate animals, to build wheeled vehicles, steam engines, electric generators and motors, and nuclear fission power plants. And, of course, in the early days the scientists were the theologians, the religious leaders, too. Sometimes the thought occurs to me that the world will not be saved unless we return to this condition.

I remember those Pugwash Conferences on science and world affairs and how the scientists of the East and

West seemed, so far as I could see, to be very much like one another. They resemble one another not only in their knowledge of science, but also in their acceptance of moral principles. It seems to me when I compare scientists with diplomats, with other people, that the scientists of the whole world are more closely related to one another than scientists are to other people in their own country. There is a better understanding among them than with other people. This understanding must spread. The discoveries that scientists have made provide the possibility of abolishing starvation and malnutrition and improving the well-being and enriching the lives of all of the world's people. The effect of the discoveries of scientists in decreasing the amount of human suffering is illustrated by the control that has been achieved over the infectious diseases. In many parts of the world it is now rare for women to die of puerperal infection, for infants to die of diphtheria or scarlet fever, for people to die of diseases such as smallpox or bubonic plague. Cancer remains a cause of great human suffering, not yet brought under control. But we may hope that this terrible disease will also succumb in a few decades to the attack being made on it by scientists.

The results of medical discoveries and technological developments have not yet been made available to all of the world's people. Modern methods

of waging war seem to be more easily available to the underdeveloped countries than drugs, food, and machines for increasing the production of goods.

Our system of morality as expressed in the operating legal, social, and economic structures is full of imperfections, and these imperfections have been accentuated during recent decades. There is great misery caused by the abject poverty of about half of the world's people, yet most scientists and technologists in the world today are working to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, or are working on the development and fabrication of terrible engines of mass destruction and death whose use might end our civilization and exterminate the human race. The already enormous disparity in the standards of living of different peoples has been increasing rather than decreasing in recent years. The use of a large part of the world's wealth—120 billion dollars per year—for the support of militarism and the failure to stop the increase in the amount of human suffering due to poverty are causing a deterioration in morality, especially among young people. I believe that it is a violation of natural law for half of the people in the world to live in misery, in abject poverty, without hope for the future, while the affluent nations spend on militarism a sum of money equal to the entire income of this miserable half of the world's

people.

Pope John the 23rd, in his great Encyclical Letter of April 11, 1963, addressed to all men of good will, said that every man is a person; that every man has the right to life, to bodily integrity, to food, clothing, shelter, rest, medical care, and social services; to security in cases of sickness, inability to work, widowhood, old age, unemployment, or deprivation otherwise of the means of subsistence through no fault of his own; the right to respect for his own person, to his good reputation; the right to freedom in searching for truth and in expressing and communicating his opinions; the right to be informed truthfully about public events; the right to share in the benefits of culture; the right to a basic education and to suitable technical and professional training; the right to free initiative in the economic field and the right to work under good working conditions, with a proper, just, and sufficient wage; the right to private property, with its accompanying social duties; the rights of residence and of freedom of movement, of membership in the human family, and membership in the world community.

Most human beings are now denied these rights. It is our duty to work to achieve them for everyone, and not just the duty of scientists. In the words of Pope John also: "It is not enough, for example, to acknowledge and respect every man's right to the means of subsistence if we do not strive to the

best of our ability for a sufficient supply of what is necessary for his sustenance."

We, as scientists, have the general social responsibilities resulting from our knowledge and understanding of science and its relation to the problems of society. It is not our duty to make the decisions, to run the world, but, rather, our duty to help educate our fellow citizens, to give the benefit of our special knowledge and understanding and then to join with them in the exercise of the democratic process.

Among the problems with which we may be concerned are the pollution of the atmosphere, the pollution of water supplies, fluoridation of water and use of other public health measures, contamination of the earth with pesticides, with lead from leaded gasolines, misuse of chemicals as food additives, the location of nuclear power plants in thickly populated centers, the best use of scientific and medical knowledge to decrease the amount of human suffering caused by poverty and disease, and especially the prevention of the destruction of civilization by nuclear war.

I believe that we shall succeed in abolishing war, in replacing it by a system of world law to settle disputes between nations, that we shall in the course of time construct a world characterized by economic, political, and social justice for all human beings and a culture worthy of man's intelligence.

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Thank you,
ALEX DELY

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(42) A Humanist Manifesto

By CURT SYTSMAN
A poetic defense of Humanism against the attacks of the Moral Majority.

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In every age, the bigot's rage
Requires another focus,
Another devil forced on stage
By hatred's focus-pocus:
The devil used to be the Jew
And then it was the witches;
And then it was the Negroes who
Were digging in the ditches.
The devil once was colored pink
And labeled communistic;
Now, all at once, in just a blink,
The devil's humanistic.

From Bangor, Maine, to Arkansas
To Medflies by the Sea,
The tongues are sharp and hearts are raw
From what has come to be;
A moral chorus sings a song
And strikes an age-old chord:
The humanist is now the wrong
That festers ever ill.

It's hard to prick a bigot's flaws
And that, my friends, is just because
He makes a devil of a group
And then proceeds to wail and whoop
Against the Satan he has made
Until our land is so afraid
Of what he calls the foe
That no one stops to wonder if
The tattler in the sudden tiff
Is not, in point of fact, the taint
Instead of self-associated aint.
The method is as old as sin,
And yet when sins like this begin,
It's hard to stop the flow.

The humanist must be a fiend
To gall our Falwell so,
But when the dastards are gleamed
For facts, we still don't know
Just who this "humanist" might be—
A man, a beast or elf.
Indeed, as best as I can see,
I might be one myself.

Since some poor someone always bleeds
When bigots holler treason,
A humanist opposes creeds
And puts his stock in reason;
He holds his faith within his heart,
Where churches ought to be,
And has the strength to know the chart
That maps this complex sea
Cannot be made a simple plan;
Despite the bigot's ravage,
There's gospel in the lowest man
And scripture in the savage.

As best as I can tell, my friends,
The humanistic "ain"
Is nothing but a heart that bends
To let its neighbors in;
It's nothing but a mind that grows
Beyond the cry of treason
To sanctify its sacred chose,
The hallowed gift of reason.

If bending ears to human cries
Or wiping tears from human eyes—
If finding hell in human rot
Or seeking hope in human thought—
If learning grace from human forms
Or spurning hate in human swarms—
Is what is now abhorred,
I'll wear that humanistic creed
Upon my chest where all can read
My dedication to the plan
That man was born to care for man;
I'll wear it proud beneath the sun
And say, when my poor life is done,
That I have served the Lord.

When life becomes a bitter brew
And hatred haunts the air,
There isn't much that we can do
But try to think and care;
It isn't much— it's not enough—
But that, my friends, is why
I'm proud to be a humanist
And will be till I die.

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