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

RUSSELL SOCIETY NEWS
No. 41
February 1984

(1) Highlights: Dues, last call (2). More on '84 Meeting (3). BRS's 10th birthday assessment (4). BR, versifier (6). NATO government head assails first use (14). VP on TV (17). 3 Letters to Editors (18-20). The BR Editorial Project's first volume reviewed (25). Reports available to Directors (31). BR's Tom Paine Award,1962 (40). Einstein on God (42). BRS Award to Dora (49). An asterisk in the left column indicates a request. Index at end.

MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL

(2) Last call for 1984 dues. Everybody's dues were due on January 1st (except those who enrolled during December 1983.) If you have not yet paid your dues, please do.

If your dues have not been received by the end of February, you become a non-person -- a dreadful fate; we do not recommend it.

Dues are $22.50 regular, $27.50 couple, $12.50 student. Plus $7.50 outside the USA, Canada, and Mexico. Please mail dues, in U.S. dollars, to 1984, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036

Why risk the dreadful fate? Do it now.

Thanks!

ANNUAL MEETING (1984)

(3) Professor Winchester, Coordinator of Russell Conference '84, has sent this information. You may write to him, as he suggests,for information on registration and accommodation. Or you may decide to wait for the May BRS newsletter, which will provide it, including how to make a reservation, how to get there, where to check in, where to register,etc.

The BRS will provide some sessions parallel to the technical sessions.

Plan to come if you can!

Bertrand Russell's Early Technical Philosophy, 1895-1922

A conference on Russell's early technical philosophy will be held at Trinity College, University of Toronto, June 21-24, 1984.

The conference is sponsored by the Russell Editorial Project of McMaster University and co-sponsored by The Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology at the University of Toronto and the Higher Education Group at The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. The conference will cover Russell's work on the foundations of Geometry, his plans for an encyclopaedia of the sciences, his work on Leibniz, the early logical manuscripts, the Principles, philosophical issues relating to Principia (the paradoxes, the axiom of choice, the theory of descriptions, the theory of types), his early work on theory of knowledge, philosophy of science, and logical atomism. Among the participants will be A. J. Ayer and W.V.O. Quine. The annual meeting of the Bertrand Russell Society will coincide with the conference.

The registration fee for the conference will be approximately $40.00 (Can) and accommodation can be arranged in Trinity College, Toronto. For information on registration and accommodation, please write to Ian Winchester, Coordinator of the Russell Conference '84, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Suite 9-196, 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5S 1V6.

There is still room for some parallel sessions. For those interested in contributing a paper, please send an abstract to the above address.

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

(4) TEN

A 10th Birthday this month for the BRS -- founded at a meeting,called by Peter Cranford,in NYC, February 8-10, 1974.

At age 5 — in February 1979 -- we asked how we were doing. This is how we answered (RSN21-2):

We're doing pretty well, but there's plenty of room for improvement.

Here are some of the things we have done during the first 5 years of our existence:

. tapped existing reservoirs of Russell admirers, and enabled them to be in touch with one another;
. grew to a membership of over 200 (222 at last count);
. acquired distinguished honorary members;
. presented a BRS symposium at the annual American Philosophical Association convention, every year for the past 5 years;
. held a BRS symposium for psychologists attending the American Psychological Association's annual meeting in 1976;

. propagandized against chemical weapons, nuclear weapons, and uncontrolled technology;
. set up a BRS Library that lends books, films, tapes;
. surveyed U.S. colleges and universities for courses on BR;
. established a BRS Travel Grant, to enable a scholar to visit the Russell Archives;
. offered books by and about BR for sale;

. issued a list of books by BR,sorted into categories;
. held 5 annual meetings: 3 in NYC, 1 in Los Angeles, 1 in Hamilton;
. issued 20 newsletters;
. printed or reprinted a number of short articles, book reviews, recollections;
. reproduced a list of 62 (+2) dissertations on BR.

Here's why we say there's room for improvement:

. Fund-raising: we haven't yet raised a penny except from our own members.
. The BRS Award, first proposed in July 1975, has never been awarded. A new attempt will now be made to organize for it .
. The BRS Travel Grant has never been awarded, although funds to cover the first of these Awards are on hand.
. Applied Philosophy. There have been efforts to apply some of BR's views to everyday living, but nothing has come of them as yet.
. Local chapters. Several chapters were started and seemed to be going well, but none has been heard from in quite a while.
. Universal Human Rights Committee has done virtually nothing. It now exists in name only, and has no chairman.

Now at age 10 we ask the same question: how are we doing? Are we doing better than we were 5 years ago?

Here are the pluses and minuses:

Have we improved in fund-raising?
NO. We still haven't raised a penny except from our own members, and even that has fallen off a good bit. (Members, please note!)
Have we gotten better about the Bertrand Russell Society Award?
YES. There have been 4 Awards in the past 4 years: Paul Arthur Schilpp in 1980; Steve Allen in 1981; Henry W. Kendall in 1982; and Joseph Rotblat in 1983.
What about Travel Grants (now called Doctoral Grants), have we done any better?
YES, 4 Grants in the past 5 years: Kirk Willis in 1979, Steven J. Livesey in 1980, Alejandro Garciadiego in 1982, and Lois I. Pineau in 1983.
Have we made progress in Applied Philosophy (or in Philosophy in High School)?
NO. These committees exist in name only.
What about local chapters, are they prospering?
NO. A Los Angeles group met a few times in 1980-81; otherwise there has been no activity.
Has the Universal Human Rights Committee been functioning?
YES. Now called the Human Rights and International Development Committee, it offers technical assistance to Third World countries in the belief that this may give leverage in cases of human rights abuses.

Have we anything else to crow — or eat crow — about? Yes:

. The BRS Book Award, proposed by Gladys Leithauser in 1978, has never been made, nor have we made serious efforts to do so. We should.
. The BRS Folly Award, proposed by Nick Griffin in 1978, has never been bestowed. This should be approached cautiously, but if suitable folly can be found, it might garner useful publicity for the BRS, and be amusing to boot. Give it thought!
. We continue to present a BRS session every year at the December convention of the Eastern Division of the American Philosophical Association.
. We collected over $1000 for the BR Memorial in London (a bust of BR in Red Lion Square).

. We maintained close relations with the Russell Archives.
. We had input to the House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings on Dept. of Defense appropriations for 1984.
. The size of our membership list is disappointing. We hover between 200 and 300 members, year after year. Many join each year; many leave. We would like to have 500 members in order to be self-supporting and not dependent on contributions.

Anything else?

Yes.

We survived.

REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES

(5a) Science Committee (Alex Dely, Chairman):

The Science Committee submitted 4 papers, chiefly on accidental war, to these hearings →

The papers are given 38 pages in this public record of the hearings.

Alex reports many media requests for information on the accidental war issue.

(5b) Human Rights/ International Development Committee (Alex Dely, Chairman):

Alex has written a 12-page report on the activities of this Committee, which he will send on request (6150 E. 31st, Tucson, AZ 85711.)

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1984

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

JOSEPH P. ADDABBO, New York, *Chairman*

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JOHN P. MURTHA, Pennsylvania
NORMAN D. DICKS, Washington
CHARLES WILSON, Texas
W. G. (BILL) HEFNER, North Carolina
JACK HIGHTOWER, Texas
LES AuCOIN, Oregon
JACK EDWARDS, Alabama
J. KENNETH ROBINSON, Virginia
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PART 9

Printed for the use of the Committee on Appropriations

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
22-146 O WASHINGTON : 1983

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

(6) BR, versifier. From "The Humanist", 1953, Number 5 (with thanks to BOB DAVIS and HERB VOGT):

The Prelate and the Commissar

BERTRAND RUSSELL

(A comment on Paul Blanshard's *Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power*)

The Prelate and the Commissar
Were walking hand in hand:
They wept like anything to see
Much laughter in the land:
"If this could but be turned to tears,"
They said, "it *would* be grand!"

"If seven Priests with seven spies
Purged it for half a year,
Do you suppose," the Prelate said,
"That they could purge it clear?"
"I think so," said the Commissar,
And did not shed a tear.

"O Workers, come and walk with us!"
The Prelate did beseech.
"A pleasant walk, a pleasant talk,
Along the briny beach:
We cannot do with more than four,
To give a hand to each."

And four young Workers hurried up,
And many more behind:
Their coats were brushed, their brains were washed,
Their thoughts were clean and shined—
And this was odd, because, you know,
They hadn't any mind.

"The time has come," the Prelate said
"To talk of many things:
Of bombs—and ships—and aeroplanes—
Of presidents—and—kings—
And how to make the sea grow hot—
And give policemen wings."

"A sacred book," the Prelate said,
"Is what we chiefly need:
Rubrics, and commentators, too,
Are very good indeed—
Now, if you're ready, Workers dear,
We can begin to feed."

"It seems a shame," the Prelate said,
"To play them such a trick.
After we've brought them out so far,
And made them trot so quick!"
The Commissar said nothing but
"The butter's spread too thick!"

"O Workers," said the Commissar,
"You've had a pleasant run!
Shall we be trotting home again?"
But answer came there none—
And this was scarcely odd, because
They'd starved them every one.

This original poem by Bertrand Russell, "The Prelate and the Commisar," was written by the distinguished British philosopher as a commentary on Paul Blanshard's *Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power*. Like Mr. Blanshard, Lord Russell believes that Roman Catholicism is not a necessary bulwark against communism, and he has had the courage to say so in unmistakable language. Three years before he produced this parody on "The Walrus and the Carpenter," Lord Russell said in a lecture at Columbia:

It is dangerous error to think that the evils of communism can be combated by Catholicism. The evils of communism may be outlined as follows: adherence to a rigid and static system of doctrine, of which part is doubtful and part demonstrably false; persecution as a means of enforcing orthodoxy; a belief that salvation is only to be found within the church and that the True Faith must be spread throughout the world, by force if necessary; that the priesthood, which alone has the right to interpret the Scriptures, has enormous power, physical east of the Iron Curtain and spiritual over the faithful in partibus; *that this power is used to secure an undue share of wealth for the priesthood at the expense of the rest of the population; and that bigotry, and the hostility that it engenders, is a potent source of war.*

Every one of these evils was exhibited by the Catholic Church when it had power, and would probably be exhibited again if it recovered the position it had in the Middle Ages. It is therefore irrational to suppose that much would be gained if, in the defeat of communism, Catholicism were enthroned in its place.

(7) BR REVISED

But whodunit? CHERIE RUPPE writes:

Our Humanists of Seattle were discussing "Marriage and Morals", and found an interesting difference in different editions.

In the Liveright paperback, 1970, p. 266 — also in the Bantam paperback, 1959, p. 180 — BR says:

> It seems on the whole fair to regard negroes as on the average inferior to white men, although for work in the tropics they are indispensable, so that their extermination (apart from questions of humanity) would be highly undesirable.

The Unwin paperback, 1976, p. 171, has BR say:

> There is no sound reason to regard negroes as on the average inferior to white men, although for work in the tropics they are indispensable....

Considering that the first version would not have been at all extraordinary, even for BR, in 1929, and that the sentence doesn't make much sense in the second version, I tend to think that the change was made by Unwin, not BR.

* Does anyone know?

BR QUOTED

(8) Did "Forbes" get it right? In their issue of 11/21/83, p.356, they offer this quotation:

> The biggest cause of trouble in the world today is that the stupid people are so sure about things and the intelligent folks are so full of doubts.

WHITFIELD COBB (to whom we are indebted for all this) says:"It just doesn't (to me) have that succinct clarity and punch which I associate with BR."

To which we add our own doubts that BR would have used that folksy word,"folks".

Whit says," For years I have 'quoted' from my own memory this version:'The trouble with the world is the stupid are cocksure and the intelligent are full of doubt.'"

Whit next came across this by W. B.Yeats:

> The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity.

He asks: (1) What is the printed source of the BR quote, and the exact wording? (2) Is it likely that BR is indebted to Yeats for this thought?

* What do our learned friends at the Archives think?

BR INTERVIEWED

(9) Ved Mehta, in "Fly and Fly Bottle"(Columbia University Press, 1983,pp. 39-45, pb.) calls on BR:

> Next day, I walked round to Chelsea to have a talk with Earl Russell at his house. He opened the door himself, and I instantly recognized him as a philosopher by his pipe, which he took out of his mouth to say, "How do you do?" Lord Russell looked very alert. His mop of white hair, swept carelessly back, served as a dignified frame for his learned and animated eyes – eyes that gave life to a wintry face. He showed me into his ground-floor study, which was sandwiched between the garden and the street. It was a snug room, full of books on a large number of subjects: mathematics, logic, philosophy, history, politics. The worn volumes stood as an impressive testament to his changing intellectual interests; they were wedged in with rows of detective stories in glass-fronted Victorian bookcases. "Ah!" he said. "It's just four! I think we can have some tea. I see my good wife has left us some tea leaves." His "ee" sounds were exaggerated. He put a large Victorian kettle on the gas ring. It must have contained little water, for it sang like a choir in a Gothic cathedral. Russell ignored the plainsong and talked, using his pipe, which went out repeatedly, as a baton to lead the conversation. Now and again

he reached out to take some tobacco with unsteady fingers from a tin. When we were comfortably settled with our tea, he began interviewing me. Why was I concerned with philosophy when my life was in peril? I should jolly well be doing something about the atomic bomb, to keep the Russians and Americans from sending us all up in flames. Anyone might personally prefer death to slavery, but only a lunatic would think of making this choice for humanity.

At present, when he wasn't working on nuclear disarmament, he used detective stories for an opiate. "I have to read at least one detective book a day," he said, "to drug myself against the nuclear threat." His favorite crime writers were Michael Innes and Agatha Christie. He preferred detective stories to novels because he found that whodunits were more real than howtodoits. The characters in detective stories just did things, but the heroes and heroines in novels thought about things. If you compared sex scenes in the two media, in his sort of pastime they got into and out of bed with alacrity, but in the higher craft the characters were circumspect; they took pages even to sit on the bed. Detective stories were much more lifelike. The paradox was that authors of thrillers did not try to be real, and therefore they were real, while the novelists tried to be real and therefore were unreal. The things we most believed to be unreal – nuclear war – might turn out to be real, and the things we took to be the most real – philosophy – unreal.

The savior in him was eventually tamed by the tea, and the elder statesman of philosophy reminisced a bit about Moore and Wittgenstein, his Cambridge juniors, and said a few caustic words about today's philosophers in Oxford and Cambridge. "I haven't changed my philosophical position for some time," he said. "My model is still mathematics. You see, I started out being a Hegelian. A tidy system it was. Like its child, Communism, it gave answers to all the questions about life and society. In 1898 (how long ago that was!), well, almost everyone seemed to be a Hegelian. Moore was the first to climb down. I simply followed him. It was mathematics that took me to logic, and it was logic that led me away from Hegel. Once we applied rigorous logic to Hegel, he became fragmentary and puerile."

I asked if he had based his system of mathematical logic on the belief that language had a structure.

"No, it is not so much that I believe language has a structure," he said. "I simply think that language is often a rather messy way of expressing things. Take a statement like 'All men are mortal.' Now, that has an unnecessary implication when stated in words; that is, that there are men, that men exist. But if you translate this statement into mathematical symbols, you can do away with any unnecessary implication. About Moore – the thing I remember most was his smile. One had only to see it to melt. He was such a gentleman. With him, manners were everything, and now you know what I mean by 'gentleman.' To be Left, for example, in politics just 'wasn't done.' That was to take something too seriously. I suppose present-day Oxford philosophy is gentlemanly in that sense – it takes nothing seriously. You know the best remark Moore ever made? I asked him one time who his best pupil was, and he said 'Wittgenstein.' I said 'Why?' 'Because, Bertrand, he is my only pupil who always looks puzzled.'" Lord Russell chuckled. "That was such a good remark, such a good remark. It was also, incidentally, very characteristic of both Moore and Wittgenstein. Wittgenstein *was* always puzzled. After Wittgenstein had been my pupil for five terms, he came to me and said, 'Tell me, sir, am I a fool or a wise man?' I said, 'Wittgenstein, why do you want to know?' – perhaps not the kindest thing to say. He said, 'If I am a fool, I shall become an aeronaut – if I am a wise man, a philosopher.' I told him to do a piece of work for me over the vacation, and when he came back I read the first sentence and said, 'Wittgenstein, you shall be a philosopher.' I had to read just a sentence to know it. Wittgenstein became one. When his 'Tractatus' came out, I was wildly excited. I think less well of it now. At that time, his theory that a proposition was a picture of the world was so engaging and original. Wittgenstein was really a Tolstoy and a Pascal rolled into one. You know how fierce Tolstoy was; he hated competitors. If another novelist was held to be better than he, Tolstoy would immediately challenge him to a duel. He did precisely this to Turgenev, and when Tolstoy became a pacifist he was just as fierce about his pacifism. And you know how Pascal became discontented with mathematics and science and became a mystic; it was the same with Wittgenstein. He was a mathematical mystic. But after 'Tractatus' he became more and more remote from me, just like the Oxford philosophers. I have stopped reading Oxford philosophy. I have gone on to other things. It has become so trivial. I don't like most Oxford philosophers. Don't like them. They have made trivial something very great. Don't think much of their apostle Ryle. He's just another clever man. In any case, you have to admit he behaved impetuously in publicly refusing a review of the book. He should have held it over for two years and then printed a short critical review with Gellner's name misspelled. To be a philosopher now, one needs only to be clever. They are all embarrassed when pressed for information, and I am still old-fashioned and like information. Once, I was dining at Oxford – Exeter College High Table – and asked the assembled Fellows what the difference between liberals and conservatives was in their local politics. Well, each of the dons produced brilliant epigrams and it was all very amusing, but after half an hour's recitation I knew no more about liberals and conservatives in the college than I had at the beginning. Oxford philosophy is like that. I have respect for Ayer; he likes information, and he has a first-class style."

Lord Russell explained that he had two models for his own style – Milton's prose and Baedeker's guidebooks. The Puritan never wrote without passion, he said, and the cicerone used only a few words in recommending sights, hotels, and restaurants. Passion was the voice of reason, economy the signature of brilliance. As a young man, Russell wrote with difficulty. Sometimes Milton and Baedeker remained buried in his prose until it had been redone ten times. But then he was consoled by Flaubert's troubles and achievements. Now, for many years past, he had learned to write in his mind, turning phrases, constructing sentences, until in his memory they grew into paragraphs and chapters. Now he seldom changed a word in his dictated manuscript except to slip in a synonym for a word repeated absent-mindedly.

"When I was an undergraduate," he said, sucking his pipe, "there were many boys cleverer than I, but I surpassed them, because, while they were *dégagé*, I had passion and fed on controversy. I still thrive on opposition. My grandmother was a woman of caustic and biting wit. When she was eighty-three, she became kind and gentle. I had never found her so reasonable. She noticed the change in herself, and, reading the handwriting on the wall, she said to me, 'Bertie, I'll soon be dead.' And she soon was."

After tea, Lord Russell came to the door with me. I told him about my intention of pressing on with my researches at Oxford. He wrung my hand and chuckled. "Most Oxford philosophers know nothing about science," he said. "Oxford and Cambridge are the last medieval islands – all right for first-class people. But their security is harmful to second-class people – it makes them insular and gaga. This is why English academic life is creative for some but sterile for many."

(Thank you, Bob Davis)

EAST-WEST TENSIONS

(10) Pugwash — the series of conferences conceived by BR and administered (for the first 23 years) by Joseph Rotblat — continues. This newsletter appears (as an advertisement) in the January 1984 issue of The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

Professor Rotblat received the 1983 Bertrand Russell Society Award, as most of you know.

Since BR was probably the first person of some eminence — outside the scientific community — to speak out against the nuclear peril, a cause to which he devoted the last 25 years of his life, it is highly appropriate that BRS members who wish to further BR's purposes support Pugwash activities. The coupon shows how to do so.

(Thank you, BOB DAVIS)

(advertisement)

INSIDE PUGWASH NEWSLETTER

Special newsletter for Bulletin readers on the Pugwash conferences

Jan. vol. 1 no. 5

IMPORTANT CONFERENCES SCHEDULED FOR 1984

As the new year begins, we are all thankful that another year has passed without the ultimate disaster — nuclear war. Yet more and more of our most knowledgeable scientists, thinkers and statesmen are predicting that this nightmare will soon be upon us . . . that it is only a matter of time.

That is why the plans of Pugwash for the coming year are all the more important.

Current plans for 1984 include:

- **44th Pugwash Symposium, "Conventional Warfare"**, Denmark, early in 1984
- **Tenth Pugwash Workshop on Chemical Warfare**, Geneva, first quarter of 1984
- **45th Pugwash Symposium, "Political Conditions and Obstacles for Peace and Security in Central Europe,** Federal Republic of Germany, May 1984
- **Tenth Pugwash Workshop on INF and START,** Geneva, June 1984
- **34th Pugwash Conference, Sweden**, July 1984
- **46th Pugwash Symposium, "African Security",** (tentative) last quarter of 1984
- **47th Pugwash Symposium, "Latin American Security",** (tentative) last quarter of 1984

PAST ACCOMPLISHMENTS REASON FOR HOPE

The Pugwash meetings remain one of the most fruitful means to achieve international agreements . . . and to stave off nuclear war.

This has been true from the beginning of Pugwash— from the the first gathering, in response to the 1955 Einstein-Russell manifesto. That meeting, held in Pugwash, Nova Scotia, at the height of the cold war, was attended by twenty-two eminent scientists. These included: 7 from the United States, 3 each from the Soviet Union and Japan, 2 each from the United Kingdom and Canada, and 1 each from Australia, Austria, China, France and Poland and by 3 younger participants who served as staff.

Since that time there have been well over 100 conferences, symposia, and workshops involving well over 2,000 people. Generally, the annual conference is attended by about 125, and the smaller workshops and symposia involve 20-30.

The accomplishments of these meetings held in various countries but officially connected to no single nation or interest group, have been truly astounding.

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

KEEPING IT ALIVE

There is no doubt of the importance of Pugwash, particularly now, when we are all well aware that no issue, no need, no other danger looms so large, or matters so much. If we fail to prevent nuclear disaster, then all our other great successes and achievements will come to nothing. If we succeed, it will be the greatest success of all.

Your help is needed in this task. To keep Pugwash movement alive, and to make possible the crucial meetings of 1984, financial support **must** come from people like you: people who understand the issues and the dangers we face. BULLETIN readers such as yourself. That is why the Pugwash scientists appeal to you to become part of the movement, today. Please join the Pugwash movement by supporting, and helping to finance the 1984 meetings. Simply fill out the form below and send it to the address on the coupon. Pugwash is small and its survival is precarious. Your single contribution will make a vital difference. Please— send it today.

EDM

☐ Please enroll me as a Friend of Pugwash and send me summaries of its major meetings. I enclose $100 as my 1984 contribution.

☐ Please enroll me as an associate member of Friends of Pugwash and send me digests of its important meetings.

I enclose $_____

Make check payable to AEPPF, Pugwash and mail to William M. Swartz (Chairman, Finance Committee, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs), 1430 West Wrightwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60614. All contributions are tax deductible.

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ON NUCLEAR WAR

(11) Nuclear winter. An editorial in The New York Times (11/6/83, p. 20E):

The Winter After the Bomb

Even a limited exchange of nuclear weapons will so blot out the sun with smoke and soot, a group of scientists asserted last week, that life for the survivors will be almost impossible in the ensuing dark and cold. . . . Paramount Pictures has just released "The Testament," a movie about life after The Bomb. . . . In two weeks, ABC will broadcast "The Day After," a movie about a typical American city following a nuclear strike.

Why this deluge of restating the obvious? Doesn't everyone know by now that nuclear disaster is hazardous to human health? Surely every sensible person everywhere believes preventing it is the world's most important cause.

The hard question is how, and the settled, if crude, answer is nuclear deterrence. Deterrence works because it is based on horror. What different policy is desired by those who now agonize about the extent of the horror? There's no visible alternative to deterrence, no matter how ghastly the ways nuclear war would kill.

Yet there is one justification for the rush of profiles in apocalypse: some people's persistent conviction that *some* nuclear war would not kill everyone, that *some* nuclear war is survivable, even winnable. Cavalier statements from the Reagan Administration about fighting nuclear war are in part to blame. For instance, officials once took a noisy interest in civil defense with shovels. But such ideas hide an important issue, one raised by the scientists who are predicting nuclear winter: Perhaps relatively few nuclear explosions are needed to trigger terminal effects.

Nuclear destruction may be measured in megatons of explosive power. The Hiroshima bomb contained far less than one megaton. The United States and the Soviet Union now possess weapons totaling about 12,000 megatons. In 1975, the National Academy of Sciences examined the probable effects of a nuclear exchange involving 10,000 megatons.

The Academy concluded that would have no more effect on climate than the eruptions of large volcanoes, which inject similar amounts of dust into the high atmosphere: "At most, a 0.5°C deviation from the average, lasting for a few years, might be expected." The consensus now emerging is that ground temperatures would drop well below freezing. Why the change?

Because until last year, no one thought about soot. It's no secret that Hiroshima and Nagasaki burned, yet scientists calculating climatic effects thought only of the dust from pulverized rocks and buildings, not of the soot and ash caused by fire. Being more absorbent, these particles block sunlight far more effectively.

The scientists who spoke last week were describing a study that should not be confused with science; it has not yet been published or properly checked. Nonetheless, their conjectures seem in line with parallel studies, including a second effort by the National Academy of Sciences.

The conjectures suggest that an exchange involving only 100 megatons could cause catastrophic changes in climate if it incinerated 100 cities. The sun would be almost totally blotted out through at least the northern hemisphere, land and water would freeze, only narrow strips along the coastlines would be habitable and those would be ravaged by violent storms.

From such studies, some threshold megatonnage may be definable above which climatic disaster is likely. Such a figure should temper the casual talk of nuclear war-fighting capability.

And while scientists argue about soot and sunlight, the public may wonder what other effects of nuclear war have not yet been taken into account. Defining degrees of destruction is not an empty exercise so long as there are those in the United States or the Soviet Union who believe there is any point in ever risking nuclear war.

(12) On "The Day After", as reported in The New York Times (11/21/83, p.A19):

Scientists Say TV Film Understates Possible Devastation of Nuclear Attack

By WILLIAM J. BROAD

The real thing could be worse, much worse. If anything, the nuclear holocaust depicted in the television drama "The Day After" is an understatement, according to recent scientific studies.

Even limited nuclear strikes against a few cities involving perhaps as few as 300 one-megaton bombs, less than one percent of the world's nuclear arsenal would set in motion global changes far more hostile to life than previously anticipated, with clouds of soot and smoke plunging the planet into a winter so bitter and a darkness so extensive that the day after might not arrive for months, scientists say.

Caught in a frigid night with no apparent end, survivors, if any, would doubtless face great hardship. And although the movie broadcast by ABC-TV last night focused on the people of Lawrence, Kan., other semirural areas might face even greater devastation. According to studies by the Federal Emergency Management Agency, an attack against this country of 5,000 megatons, about 2,000 less than the total Soviet arsenal, would cause the state of Missouri, which is downwind from hundreds of missile silos that are prime Soviet targets, to suffer far greater doses of radioactive fallout than Lawrence. Most of the East Coast could also be expected to sustain greater devastation.

The 12.5 kiloton atomic bomb dropped by the United States on Hiroshima, Japan, in 1945 carried the explosive equivalent of 12.5 thousand tons of TNT. More than 68,000 people were killed and 76,000 were injured within three miles of the blast site, where the population density was less than that of New York City. In contrast, some military analysts have suggested that a Soviet strike against New York City today could involve 18 one-megaton warheads, the equivalent of 18 million tons of TNT. Each one-megaton blast would be 80 times more powerful that the Hiroshima explosion.

Film Sanitizes Bombs' Effects

"The Day After" ends with the statement, "The catastrophic effects you have just witnessed are, in all likelihood, less severe than the destruction that would occur."

That assertion is generally regarded as correct by a wide range of researchers and scientists in and out of Government. It is borne out not only by the film's sanitized portrayal of burns, shock, and radiation sickness — vomiting and diarrhea are omitted — but also by new studies of what would happen to the earth itself.

Burning cities, for instance, could send up enough soot and smoke to block 95 percent of the sun's light, cooling much of the planet to sub-freezing temperatures.

"Things would be pitch black in target areas within a few days," said Dr. Carl Sagan, a Cornell astrophysicist and one organizer of a recent conference on the effects of nuclear war. "You wouldn't be able to see your hand."

Onset of Freezing Global Night

A nuclear war would stop or impair photosynthesis in plants for months, and possibly as long as a year or more. People who survived heat, blast, radiation, and fallout might freeze or starve to death.

"The concept of smoke effects did come up in the 1960's but was dismissed, probably because there were fewer warheads and thus less concern about the global effect of fires," said Dr. Michael MacCracken, an atmospheric scientist at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory in California, one of the nation's top facilities for the design of nuclear weapons.

In addition to global night, the ABC-TV film downplayed the consequences of fire, smoke and resulting toxins for individuals. In the film, the farmhouse above the basement fallout shelter did not catch fire. But wood dwellings near a targeted city might burst into flame, suffocating or poisoning many occupants of basement shelters. In Dresden during the firebomb raids in World War II, about 135,000 Germans died due to inhalation of hot gases, carbon monoxide and other toxins released by the flames.

Stale Air Is Major Issue

"The Day After," in its understated way, did not allude to a seemingly minor but critical issue of life in fallout shelters — stale air. "In warm weather," say the writers of Nuclear War Survival Skills, a publication of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, "large volumes of outside air must be pumped through most fallout or blast shelters if they are crowded and occupied for a day or more. Otherwise, body heat and water vapor from occupants will raise the temperature-humidity conditions to dangerously high levels." There is also the critical issue of trying to remove the radioactive fallout and toxic gases.

The question is whether anyone emerging from a well-built shelter would want to inhabit the world. According to the recent Conference on the Long-term, World-wide Consequences of Nuclear War, a group of 600 American and foreign scientists who met this month in Washington, D.C., living things would be threatened by ultraviolet radiation when the sun finally peeked through clouds of soot, dust and smoke. This glaring light, as depicted in "The Day After," can hinder the growth of crops and, in humans, can suppress the immune system and cause blindness. It falls on the earth when the atmospheric shield known as the ozone layer has been damaged, as would be the case after a large-scale nuclear war.

The conference suggested that the ultimate result of a large-scale cataclysm would be the extinction of a significant portion of the earth's animals and plants. In the Northern Hemisphere there might be no human survivors, while in the South all that might remain would be small bands of hunters and gatherers, the scientists say.

(13) More on nuclear winter, from The New York Times (12/26/93, p.A15):

SPECIALISTS DETAIL 'NUCLEAR WINTER'

2 Articles Discount Survival in Southern Hemisphere if Cities in North Are Hit

By WALTER SULLIVAN

Detailed arguments for the hypothesis that a catastrophic "nuclear winter" might result from concerted missile attacks on major cities and be followed by the annihilation of much, if not all, of the human species have been presented for the first time in a scientific journal.

Two articles on the subject written by teams of authors representing many specialties appear in the Dec. 23 issue of Science. They elaborate on arguments presented at a conference held in Washington on Oct. 31 and Nov. 1.

An article on biological effects states: "In any large-scale nuclear exchange between the superpowers, global environmental changes sufficient to cause the extinction of a major fraction of the plant and animal species on the earth are likely. In that event, the possibility of the extinction of Homo sapiens cannot be excluded."

The other article presents the basic "nuclear winter" hypothesis, which sees much, if not all, of the world plunged into darkness by a pall of smoke suspended in the stratosphere. This would cause widespread and prolonged freezing of the earth's surface, even in midsummer.

After the nuclear winter hypothesis was described at the original conference, a Pentagon official was quoted in the journal as saying, "So what?" He said that the Government already knew nuclear war would be devastating and that the real question was how to prevent it.

Effects of Attacking Cities

The report places special emphasis on the effects of concerted nuclear attacks on cities. Smoke produced in the widespread conflagrations would be carried aloft by the intense updrafts of fire storms, carrying great volumes of smoke into the stratosphere, according to the analysis.

In contrast to dust that would be thrown up by explosions in rural areas, the article points out, smoke particles are highly efficient absorbers of sunlight. The stratosphere would therefore become far warmer than normal and the region below, shaded from sunlight, would become very cold. Global air circulation would be fundamentally altered, creating violent storms.

Contrary to earlier belief, it is argued, the smoke would rapidly spread into the Southern Hemisphere. This is based on data from the Solar Mesosphere Explorer Satellite, which monitored the spread of volcanic dust thrown up by the eruption of El Chichon in Mexico early in 1982.

Although the volcano is at 14 degrees north latitude, within about seven weeks, 10 to 20 percent of the material it had thrown into the stratosphere had moved into the Southern Hemisphere.

It was previously believed the air circulation systems of the two hemispheres were sufficiently independent to allow only slow atmospheric exchange between hemispheres. It had been assumed that people in the Southern Hemisphere would be relatively immune from the effects of a nuclear war in the north.

Recently discovered evidence that the impact of an asteroid may have caused the extinction of the dinosaurs and many other species 65 million years ago is cited to support the view that a heavy load of smoke particles in the stratosphere could have a similar effect. The asteroid is thought to have exploded and thrown vast quantities of material into the upper atmosphere.

Loss of Sunlight

Particularly damaging, according to the analysis of biological effects, would be a nuclear attack whose smoke blocked out sunlight in spring and summer months, when trees, crops and other vegetation are vulnerable to severe cold.

Tropical vegetation has no tolerance to cold at any time of the year. Furthermore, the seeds of trees there are so short-lived that they could not regenerate forests after an extended period of darkness. "If darkness or cold temperatures, or both, were to become widespread in the tropics," the article said, "the tropical forests could largely disappear."

"This would lead to extinction of most of the species of plants, animals and microorganisms on the earth, with long-term consequences of the greatest importance for the adaptability of human populations," it continued.

In an editorial preceding the articles, William D. Carey, publisher of the journal, comments: "It has been a very good thing for the integrity of science, and a sign of courage, that some 40 scientists of high standing have gone public with their considered estimates of the global atmospheric effects and long-term biological consequences of nuclear war."

Despite Vatican admonitions that scientists think twice before devoting their talents to weapons of mass destruction, Mr. Carey said, "Scientists are justified in doing what is necessary to offset the unmistakable progress of an unpredictable adversary." Nevertheless, he added, in the application of new knowledge, scientists must also consider "the consequences of violence."

"It says a good deal for the emergence of the scientific conscience," he continued, "that, in a difficult age of superpower hatreds and technological gusto, the present warning is timely, unvarnished and stark." Mr. Carey is executive officer of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which publishes Science.

(14) NATO government head questions first use! Before now, many have spoken against NATO's current strategy which includes the first use of nuclear weapons in case Soviet troops invade Europe and cannot be stopped by non-nuclear means.

Last issue, for instance, we presented Robert McNamara's arguments against first use (RSN40-17). Secretary of Defense from 1961 to 1968, he certainly knows what he is talking about. But he is not currently in a position of authority.

Now at last it has happened! The Prime Minister of a NATO country has said it. He is Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada, and he deserves our thanks. Here is how The New York Times reported it(2/2/84, p. A3):

Trudeau Assailed for Remarks on NATO

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN
Special to The New York Times

OTTAWA, Feb. 1 — Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau has run into a storm of criticism at home for remarks he made in Europe last weekend questioning the fundamental assumption of the North Atlantic alliance's nuclear strategy.

The controversy over the Prime Minister's remarks has also led to the issuance through the United States Embassy here of an unusual State Department response saying Mr. Trudeau "has repeatedly expressed privately and publicly his full support for NATO's strategy of deterrence."

Mr. Trudeau, who is currently in Rumania as part of his initiative to limit nuclear arms, touched off the controversy Saturday. During a symposium on international security held in Davos, Switzerland, he asked publicly whether any United States President would actually order a nuclear strike on the Soviet Union if Soviet troops moved on Western Europe.

This first-strike assumption, sometimes referred to as a flexible response, has been the principle on which strategic deterrence has been built, and while its validity has been debated by such figures as Henry A. Kissinger and Robert S. McNamara, no head of a NATO Government had raised it in a public forum.

A Question of Credibility

Most of the criticism aroused by Mr. Trudeau dealt not so much with the substance of the remarks as with the fact that he made them and that by doing so he ran the risk of eroding the alliance's solidarity and credibility.

"Sometimes the Prime Minister forgets that his country is a part of the alliance," said Sinclair Stevens, the opposition critic on military issues, who led the attack on Mr. Trudeau in Parliament. That attack essentially followed the line set by Raymond Barre the former French Prime Minister who along with Kenneth W. Dam, the United States Under Secretary of State argued with Mr. Trudeau at the Davos panel.

At that meeting, after Mr. Dam disputed Mr. Trudeau's contention that United States missile stockpiles in Europe were increasing, Mr. Trudeau said he had meant only to suggest that it was the quality of the weapons rather than their numbers that were rising, and then he added, "Incidentally, it draws us into the whole question of whether the NATO overall strategy is still the right one."

The Canadian leader, who had just finished a visit to Prague and who on Monday became the first head of government of a NATO country to set foot in East Berlin, said that the alliance's two-track policy — to deploy missiles while pressing for arms agreements with the Soviet Union — was based on the assumption that the United States nuclear arsenal could and would be committed if there was an invasion by Soviet conventional forces. Mr. Trudeau said this assumption was now being questioned.

French Leader Challenged

When Mr. Barre said that the open debating of this issue would lead to "neutralism and pacifism" in Europe and reduced credibility in the alliance, Mr. Trudeau responded: "Let me ask you about your credibility, Mr. Barre. Do you think the President of the United States, in answer to an overrunning of Europe by conventional forces, will want to start World War III, an atomic war? You have to believe that in order not to have a credibility gap?"

Mr. Barre answered sharply, "I will never put the question because if I put the question, there is no longer credibility." Mr. Barre took the position that questioning such issues in public debate could lead Moscow to regard NATO as a less than united alliance

This was echoed in Parliament here on Monday. One Conservative leader said it was a principle of any strategic alliance to "keep your adversary in doubt" over possible responses and not debate them in public.

The Davos exchange has led the Conservative opposition to make its first direct challenge to the Prime Minister's peace initiative, which until now has not been dealt with as a partisan issue. It also marked the first time during the three-month peace initiative that Mr. Trudeau had departed from his affirmation of the treaty organization's two-track policy.

It took courage for the head of a NATO country to say publicly what he said. He may pay a price for having done it.

RELIGION AND ITS ADVERSARIES

(15) Lapsed vivisectionist. From The New York Times (10/25/83):

Archbishop-Scientist Wrestles With It All

By PHILIP M. BOFFEY

DURHAM, England

WHEN John Stapylton Habgood started studying and teaching science at Cambridge University more than three decades ago, he had what he considers his first religious experience — a realization that the kinetic theory of gases describes quite elegantly and accurately what the properties of a gas will be.

"It was one of the beautiful things that you are constantly finding in science," recalls Dr. Habgood. "An experience of beauty, of order and of mysteries revealed."

But gradually, as he earned his doctorate in physiology at Cambridge and became a lecturer in pharmacology, Dr. Habgood came to feel that something was missing in his scientific training. Science achieved its enormous practical successes, in his view, by narrowing its focus, dealing primarily with things that can be measured or weighed, and excluding human values as much as possible. "In science, you deliberately cut out all the interesting human things," says Dr. Habgood, "so we are left with this hard, meaningless, valueless universe and we recoil in shock if we think that's all there is."

So Dr. Habgood abandoned a promising scientific career and switched to theological studies instead. He was ordained as an Anglican priest in 1954 and climbed steadily upward in the Church of England, holding posts as curate and parish priest, vice principal and principal of theological colleges, and, for the last 10 years, Bishop of Durham.

Last week, at the age of 56, he officially became Archbishop of York, the second-ranking prelate in the Church of England. He is perhaps the highest-ranking prelate anywhere with a professional background in science.

Few theologians or scientists in the modern world have a more profound understanding of the fundamentals of both science and religion or have wrestled as hard in their own lives to reconcile the conflicting dictates of these two bodies of thought.

Take the theory of biological evolution, which Dr. Habgood considers so well established that it is "the only conceivable basis for modern biology." But he also acknowledges that the theory is troublesome for theologians because it contends that chance events causing genetic changes play a major role in evolution.

"The large element of chance," he says, "does create difficulties about interpreting it as the work of a loving creator."

Nevertheless, Dr. Habgood manages to do just that, partly by noting that evolution is not completely random — there are only certain directions it can take — and partly by noting that theology itself practically demands that a certain amount of unplanned freedom be built into the process. Otherwise, he says, it is difficult to explain all the waste and tragedy and evil in the world or why a loving creator would deliberately exterminate whole species of life in the course of evolution.

Similarly, Dr. Habgood has little difficulty reconciling relativity theory, or the indeterminacy of quantum mechanics, or artificial intelligence with his religious beliefs.

Essentially, he considers science and religion two kinds of knowledge at opposite ends of a spectrum. Science is precise, articulate knowledge gained by asking only those questions that can be answered. Religion is groping, partial, inarticulate knowledge about the mysteries of existence, gained partly through personal insight in grappling with the enormous philosophical problems posed by the experience of being alive.

Religion often goes wrong, he says, when it tries to become quasiscientific, or to dispute science on its own ground by pitting Scripture against scientific discoveries.

But scientists often go wrong as well, he adds, when they try to apply their scientific methods to theological questions.

Dr. Habgood finds, for example, that many science graduates are theologically naive — so determined to find clarity and certainty and evidence in their religion that they fall easy prey to fundamentalist theology, where Scripture becomes their data base and everything else is deduced logically from it.

Thus fundamentalism, the Christian theology most in conflict with science today, nevertheless attracts a surprising number of scientists as adherents, says Dr. Habgood. He attributes this to their "desire for more clarity and orderliness than perhaps religion can ever give us."

Even in the absence of direct conflicts between the doctrines of science and religion, Dr. Habgood believes science has indirectly undermined religion by helping people to solve problems with technology "rather than by kneeling down to pray about it."

Science and technology also shield most people nowadays from close contact with dying relatives or with the world of nature, he adds, thus depriving them of experiences that used to alert people to a religious dimension in life.

And modern technology, in the form of blaring radio and television sets, deprives people of the silence and solitude in which many once found spiritual depth, he believes.

Dr. Habgood warns that scientific education can be "a narrowing experience" that can "impoverish a developing personality." But these narrowing effects are often mitigated, he adds, by the fact that "most scientists do fairly hack jobs in large commercial research establishments" where the work is so boring that they "humanize" themselves with outside activities in nonscientific spheres.

Although Dr. Habgood admires the success of science and "enjoys technology for its own sake," he believes it is dangerous to give scientists a blank check to do whatever they please. Some areas of science, he thinks, need to be controlled for ethical reasons, a view bound to disturb the many scientists who believe in an unfettered quest for knowledge.

Dr. Habgood accepts in vitro fertilization to help a husband and wife achieve a successful pregnancy, but he opposes sperm donors, surrogate mothers and long-term freezing of embryos because technology, in those cases, separates the normal loving relationship between two people from the act of creating a child. He calls such techniques "humanly and Christianly undesirable."

Dr. Habgood also believes that genetic engineering poses "grave problems" for the future. He believes a good case can be made for using genetic engineering to repair defects that cause disease. But he is opposed to "a whole range of further tinkering" that might lead to "manmade human beings."

He finds it "very frightening" that genetic engineering may put "so much power into the hands of a few human beings who have mastered these techniques."

"This is where religious instincts rebel against too much human power," he adds, "because ultimately, religiously, our lives are in the hands of God."

Animal experiments are another area in which Dr. Habgood feels science may have to be restrained. Although he did many animal experiments at Cambridge and describes himself as "the only Archbishop who has held a vivisection license," he believes there has been "unnecessary carelessness with animal life" and that "some tightening up of the law" is needed. Christianity itself "has not got a very enviable record" in animal protection, he acknowledges, largely because it concentrates on the value of human life and tends to devalue animal life.

On nuclear power, Dr. Habgood concludes that the current fission reactors are acceptable but that proposed breeder reactors are not, because their fuel can be too easily used to make bombs. He opposes the neutron bomb, a nuclear weapon that would kill people without destroying buildings and vehicles, because it would erode the psychology of deterrence that prevents all-out nuclear war. But he does not favor "unrealistic abandonment" of all nuclear weapons at this stage.

Dr. Habgood blames Christianity as well as science for environmental and conservation problems. Christianity, by teaching man's dominion over nature, encouraged exploitation of resources, he says, whereas the current view among leading ecclesiastics and conservationists is that man should exercise a caring stewardship over nature.

Dr. Habgood has written two major books embodying his perspectives, "Science and Religion" (1964) and "A Working Faith" (1980). He says his books and addresses have generally been well received by both theologians and scientists. But the British Broadcasting Corporation rejected a radio script in which he planned to praise a book that described how human values are built into the human biological system at a subconscious level. The broadcasting pundits, he acknowledges, thought the idea was too outlandishly preposterous to air.

We think BR would have agreed with Dr. Habgood's statement:"In science you cut out all the interesting human things, so we are left with this hard, meaningless, valueless universe."

Where BR and Dr. Habgood differ is in what they did next, to find the values they sought. Dr. Hapgood turned to religion; BR turned, not to the supernatural, but to a system of ethics (i.e., values) based on human desires.

BR, asked whether his system satisfied him, answered: "No. But other people's satisfy me still less."

(16) Fake deathbed conversions, from a Letter to the Editor of "The Humanist" (November/December 1983, p.10):

I was most interested to read Jack Ragsdale's comments ("Letters to the Editor," January/February) about the supposed deathbed conversions to Christianity of George Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell. His comments were in response to my letter to the *Johannesburg Star* (republished in *Free Mind*, November/December 1982) in which I had done my best to refute a story that Charles Darwin, in the last year of his life, had rejected his own theory of evolution and become a Christian.

I have started collecting stories of alleged deathbed recantations by famous atheists and agnostics and would welcome any help. So far, in addition to Darwin, Shaw, and Russell, I have Voltaire (*American Atheist*, January 1982, p. 16), Herbert Spencer, Thomas Paine, and Robert Ingersoll (*American Atheist*, July 1982, p. 22). (Richard Smith tells us that Ayn Rand (*American Atheist*, July 1982, p. 26) was one well-known figure about whom stories of such recantation did not circulate!

Does anyone know of any comprehensive article on this phenomenon? Or can anyone help to add to my list?

W. F. Harris
Department of Chemical Engineering
University of the Witwatersrand
Johannesburg, 2001 South Africa

For Jack's letter:RSN37-16

(Thank you, Bob Davis)

COINCIDENCE DEPT.

(17) VP on TV. In November we asked BRS VP Marvin Kohl if he could review Doris Portwood's book, "Common Sense Suicide: The Final Right" (published by Hemlock and Grove Press, 1983). He said he could and he did.

On January 15th, a Sunday night, we turned on television to see what David Suskind was offering (on Channel 5, NYC). The topic was suicide, and the panelists were Marvin Kohl, Doris Portwood, and Derek Humphry, Hemlock's founder. There were 2 other panelists, a smug rabbi and a dogmatic doctor, both on the wrong side of the issue (we're biased). Feelings ran high, at times. The discussion held one's attention.

Apparently it was mere coincidence that Marvin had written a review (not yet published) of Ms. Portwood's book, and later appeared on the Suskind program with her.

The Kohl review of the Portwood book appears in this issue, Item 27.

LETTERS TO EDITORS

(18) Harry Clifford, in the Star-Ledger (Newark, NJ) 12/10/83: →

Like the proverbial sword of Damocles, the very real threat of nuclear war is figuratively suspended by a single hair over the collective heads of mankind. The situation is very fragile. How long must this continue? Will the imminent deployment of hundreds of American missiles on European soil, and a hundred MX missiles somewhere in the United States constitute the ultimate deterrent and prevent "the unthinkable" from happening? Many qualified experts do not think that it will.

Must the awful threat of nuclear war continue until we are all destroyed, or until such time as the leaders of the two superpowers meet face to face and agree to put an end to the insane arms race, and do all that is possible to establish more peaceful relations?

The existing tragic impasse between the U.S. and USSR can be attributed largely to mutual fear and mutual mistrust. With 33 U.S. military bases around the world—some not far from the Soviet Union—it seems that we can feel pretty secure, but we continue the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the Soviets do the same. The probability that a nuclear conflict could start due to an accident or computer error becomes greater the more weapons we have in our respective arsenals. There have been false alerts in the past that could have led to universal disasters, i.e., the unthinkable.

Some 1,500 American physicists, including 22 Nobel laureates, have just issued a call to halt the arms race. Will the powers that be take affirmative action to assure survival of humankind?

In 1963, the English philosopher and mathematician Bertrand Russell wrote the following concerning peaceful coexistence: "We are told by fanatics on both sides that peaceful coexistence is impossible because the other side is so wicked. This was said in the conflicts between Christians and Mohammedans, and in the contests between Catholics and Protestants. In the one case, it took seven centuries to learn the possibilities of coexistence. In the other case, it took 130 years. Nowadays, the lesson must be learned more quickly if there are to be any left to learn it."

Harry W. Clifford,
East Orange

(19) Peter Cranford, in the Chronicle-Herald (Augusta, GA): ↘

I should like to draw attention to what I believe are the most important aspects of Rev. Jesse Jackson's visit to Syria.

The negotiations were successful because they were in line with Bertrand Russell's idea of compossibility — that is, they were mutually advantageous.

Jackson had an opportunity to demonstrate his ability as a viable presidential candidate, to expand his political base, and to achieve a humanitarian goal.

Assad had an opportunity to make a face-saving move toward conciliation, to affirm Syria's genuine liking for Americans — as recently documented by the journalist Robert Kaplan — and to win international good will at little cost.

Thus the meeting was compossible — of mutual advantage to all parties — and such a situation is almost automatically successful. Compossibility is exchange, give and take. Christian love and cooperation as opposed to retaliation that breeds further retaliation. Compossibility is at the heart of the free-enterprise system and is the cause of its success through billions of daily exchanges of goods and services. Compossibility is the only alternative to saber-rattling and certain nuclear war.

I hope that you can assist in making the idea of compossibility better known.

Peter G. Cranford, Ph.D
1500 Johns Road

(20) Lee Eisler, in the Globe-Times (Bethlehem, PA) 12/21/83: ↓

SPEAK FOR 'SURVIVAL'

To the Editor:

In Westgate Mall Saturday, I overheard one woman say to another: "But he knows more than we do. He's got information we don't have ... "

Yes, he knows more than the rest of us. He gets his information not only from the media (as we all do), but also from close advisers, from the CIA, from the Pentagon, from ambassadors and technical people and people on special assignments and commissions.

Let's see how he used all the extra information available to him in the case of National Defense.

He told us there was a window of vulnerability. That scared us. It helped him sell his great arms build-up to Congress and to the public; and it made Congress agree to accept enormous budget deficits to pay for the build-up. Before that, it had helped him get elected President.

And it was false! There is no window of vulnerability. Don't take my word for it. His own Scowcroft Commission said so, in April '83. (That's the Reagan-appointed commission that came out in favor of the MX missile that the president very much wants.)

The window of vulnerability is a theory that the US is vulnerable to a first strike — a surprise attack — by Russian missiles that would destroy our missiles in their silos and leave us unable to retaliate. According to this theory, the Russians might be tempted to strike first. Therefore we need our own first strike weapon, the MX, as a counter to theirs.

But the theory is false. In the highly unlikely event that all our land-based missiles were destroyed, we could still retaliate with obliterating effectiveness. A single one of our Trident submarines can target every Russian city of over 100,000. And we have many Tridents. Not to mention our nuclear-armed bombers.

As the Scowcroft Commission put it (in stilted Pentagonese): "Different components of our strategic forces should be assessed collectively and not in isolation."

So the president, with all the extra information available to him, did not assess the situation correctly. He made a bad decision, and it triggered an escalation of the arms race.

He would no doubt defend his decision by saying he is making America stronger. But we are not the safer for it. Just the opposite. We — and the Russians — are now adding to the 50,000 nuclear weapons already in existence.

Survival — the prevention of nuclear war — is too important to depend on theories voiced by experts and their superiors, no matter how much extra information is available to them. We all have to get into it, and make our voices heard. Write your congressman and senators, saying what you think of the arms race. It can make a difference; in many situations, it already has.

Lee Eisler
Coopersburg

NEWS ABOUT MEMBERS

(21) Dong-In Bae -- who, as you know, has political asylum in West Germany, founded the Korean Bertrand Russell Society, and has a recently acquired doctorate in Social Sciences (RSN38-13) -- has decided to return to South Korea. His job prospects in West Germanywere not promising. "I have no fear facing the present government in S. Korea," he writes; he will"not give up any crucial political conviction, such as the desirability of Human Rights and Democracy."

(22) Bruce Thompson, a 10-year BRS member, is a graduate student in History at Stanford, specializing in French intellectual history. "I spent the last year in Paris, doing thesis research. I expect to spend the next year writing it, and working for the retirement of Ronald Reagon."

NEW MEMBERS

(23) We are very pleased to welcome these new members:

ALLAN ARNOLD/4261 Roosevelt NE/Seattle, WA 98105
CHRISTOPHER E. BOYLE/Box 3107/APO NY NY 09109
DENNIS C. CHIPMEN, M.D./Box 85/Kingsport, TN 37662
*LELA ELLIOTT/800 Heights Blvd. (23)/Houston, TX 77007
R. W. FOSTER,JR./PO Box 386/Lihue, HI 96766

*Lela Elliott is a member, but may not be a new member. We are checking records.

CHARLES M. GRIFFITH III/PO Box 386/ Saugus, CA 91350
BRENT ISHAM/Box 581/Keene Valley, NY 12943
JAMES KENNEDY/346 W. 71st St./NY NY 10023
RICHARD K. KENNEY/Box 21751/Seattle, WA 98111
HANS KOEHNKE/1205 Judson Av./Evanston, IL 60202

DANIAL KEITH MIKOLAVICH/PO Box 2645/Sacramento, CA 95812
JERRE MORELAND/209 Burnett Hall/Psychology, U. Nebraska/Lincoln, NE 68588-0308
MARIANNE PHILOS/126 Southport Wds. Dr./Southport, CT 06490
NANCY ROSS/2264 Prospect Av./Ottawa, Ont./ Canada K1H 7G4
GREG SEDBROOK/903 Main St./Kissimmee, FL 32741

NEW ADDRESSES AND OTHER CHANGES

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

TRUMAN E. ANDERSON, JR./1138 Humboldt/Denver, CO 80218
DONG-IN BAE/c/o Geon-hak Choi/13-1 Jang-dong, Dong-gu/Gwangju,Chonnam/Korea(South)
OSMANE BENAHMED/ no current address
GRAHAM BETTS/Hammick, Sweet & Maxwell/116 Chancery Lane/ London, U.K. WC2A 1PP
DAN BOND/1112 West Av./Richmond, VA 23220

PASCAL DIETHELM/La Vignule -- Possy/74380 Lucinges, France
DR. MARY W. GIBBONS/no address change
FRANCISCO GIRÓN B./Calle Lorena 182/Col. Roma./San Salvador, El Salvador
STEVEN DARRELL GOINS/4238 San Juan Av./Jacksonville, FL 32210-3341
BILL GREGORY/7850 S.W. Hall Blvd./Beaverton, OR 97005

DAVID S. HART/16 Warren St./Rochester, NY 14620-4210
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JAMES E. MCWILLIAMS/PO Box 34/Holly Ridge, MS 38749
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BOOK REVIEWS

(25)

The Philosopher as a Young Man

THE COLLECTED PAPERS OF BERTRAND RUSSELL
Volume One: Cambridge Essays, 1888-99. Edited by Kenneth Blackwell and others. Illustrated. 554 pp. Boston: George Allen & Unwin. $70.

By Sidney Hook

THIS is the first volume of a monumental edition of all "the shorter writings" of Bertrand Russell, regardless of whether they have been previously published. It is to be followed by two series. The first, Volumes 2 to 11, will contain papers on philosophical, logical and mathematical themes. The second, beginning with Volume 12 and running to a much larger number, will be devoted to writings that reflect the encyclopedic array of Russell's interests, which made him very much a man of his times. The first series is concerned with eternal themes, the second with transient practical affairs. There is a certain irony in the fact that before he died in 1970, Russell concluded that the eternal world, even with its radiant mathematical beauty, is trivial, while some of our own problems are of transcendent importance.

The editors of this publishing project are to be congratulated on what promises to be a magnificent achievement. When brought to completion, it will have made available all the material necessary, with the exception of Russell's voluminous correspondence, to enhance our understanding of his views.

The early writings collected in the first volume make it clear that the young Bertrand Russell was not a prodigy or a stormy petrel. They reveal immense intellectual abilities, great acuteness and a capacity for *jeux d'esprit* but nothing comparable to his later achievements. What is surprising in one whose matchless intellectual courage commanded the admiration even of those who sometimes deplored his lack of common sense is to find the extent of his inhibitions in concealing from his paternal grandmother and others of his immediate family the agonizing doubts about God and immortality he confided to the "locked diary" he kept from 1890 to 1894. His silence is all the more striking because of the unhappiness these doubts caused him before he settled into a comfortable agnosticism.

This seems to be the only occasion on which he refrained from publicly taking a principled position on any subject lest it grieve or alienate those near or dear to him. When I knew him, he seemed the most uninhibited person I had ever met, both about himself and about others. The only people about whom he was reticent were some of the Cambridge Apostles, that secret elite order of the highest intellectuality and in many cases of what one of its younger members, Lytton Strachey, once called the "Higher Sodomy."

• • •

Several things about this first volume are noteworthy. Russell's style has clarity and precision, except when he speaks of the General Will and the harmony of the whole. This was in the phase when he was still under the influence of Hegel and Hegel's late Victorian disciples. But not until much later did his writing reach that level of felicity, simplicity and distinction that led T. S. Eliot to characterize him as the greatest master of English philosophical prose since Hume. Until then, only F. H. Bradley would have been in the running, although if color and vitality are taken into account, the palm should go to William James.

Second, these Cambridge essays testify to Russell's early, continued and all-absorbing concern with social affairs and mathematics. And of these interests, the first was the earliest and the longest-lasting. His first published book was "German Social Democracy" (1896), followed the next year by "An Essay on the Foundations of Geometry." It seems to me that the brevity of both books would have justified their inclusion in this volume. (The first one will appear in Volume 12 and the second in Volume 2.) A case can be made that there is greater continuity between Russell's social views (except for his ambiguous pacifism), from his first reflections on socialism and Marxism to his riper evaluations of their validity, than between his early and later philosophies of mathematics. In view of recent developments in West Germany, his analysis of German Social Democracy can still be read with profit.

There are two other items that may be of interest to those concerned with Russell's subsequent life and the consistency of his ideas.

The first is a brief essay he wrote at the age of 25 under the pen name of Orlando. It is entitled "Self-Appreciation" and was originally published in The Golden Urn, a short-lived periodical edited by Logan Pearsall Smith, Russell's brother-in-law, with the collaboration of Bernard Berenson. The significance one attaches to it depends on what relevance one believes the details of personal life have to the origin, meaning and validity of a thinker's ideas. For my own part, I regard such details as completely irrelevant to science, mathematics and technical philosophy, and even with regard to social and ethical philosophy, I am loath to acknowledge any essential connection. Only when a person puts himself forward as an educator or sage or denounces the wickedness of those who disagree with him do his personal conduct and beliefs have a qualified bearing.

Among other things, Russell confessed that the most attractive figures to him in history were Spinoza and the German socialist Ferdinand Lassalle, a rather improbable conjunction. More arresting are some of his other avowals. "I am quite indifferent to the mass of human creatures," he wrote; "though I wish, as a purely intellectual problem, to discover some way in which they might all be happy. I wouldn't sacrifice myself to them, though their unhappiness, at moments, about once in three months, gives me a feeling of discomfort. . . . I believe emotionally in Democracy, though I see no reason to do so. . . . I believe in several definite measures (e.g. Infanticide) by which society could be improved. . . . I live most for myself. . . . I care for very few people, and have several enemies — two or three at least whose pain is delightful to me. I often wish to give pain, and when I do, I find it pleasant for the moment. . . . Psychologically, sin has a meaning to me, and I love to see sinners punished. Logically I can find no meaning for the word Sin."

DA KAR/CAMERA PRESS LONDON

Bertrand Russell, at 81, in 1953.

Anyone reading this or Ronald Clark's "Bertrand Russell and His World" or even the reminiscences of Russell's daughter may find it difficult to accept at face value the self-appreciation expressed by Russell in the opening sentence of his "Autobiography": "Three passions, simple but overwhelmingly strong, have governed my life: the longing for love, the search for knowledge, and unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind." Of these, judging by the record, the second was the strongest and sincerest, although it had its limits when he wrote about the United States in his later years.

OF greater significance to the understanding of Russell's views is the conception of socialism he expressed in a lecture in 1896. Although the text is missing, its drift is apparent from its title and a brief newspaper summary. It is entitled "Socialism as the Consummation of Individual Liberty." This idea is a clue to the most important of his writings on social themes. To his everlasting credit, he showed the true face of Communism behind its rhetorical mask in "The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism" (1920), which in key respects is as topical today as the day it was published. Despite some of his latter-day detractors, Russell never subscribed to Communism, even when some of his actions contributed to the triumph of Communist regimes. Indeed, the record shows that the intensity of his opposition to Communism was so strong he sometimes forfeited a good deal of popularity. During the euphoria after Stalingrad about the Soviet Union as a democratic ally, he outraged audiences by contending that the military victory of the Red Army against the Reichswehr no more established the virtues of Communism than the victory of the czarist army over Napoleon established the virtue of serfdom.

Sometimes his opposition carried him beyond the bounds of common sense. In 1948, when the United States offered, through the Baruch-Lilienthal proposals, to surrender the monopoly of atomic weapons to an international authority instead of using it to roll back the Red Army from Central and Eastern Europe, as the Kremlin feared, Russell foolishly urged that the Soviet Union be given an ultimatum to accept these reasonable proposals or be atom-bombed. Even as late as Sept. 27, 1953, in his 82d year, after the detonation of the hydrogen bomb, Russell wrote in The New York Times, "Terrible as a new world war would be, I still for my part would prefer it to a universal Communist empire." He overlooked the fact that until there is multilateral disarmament, a reliable deterrent will obviate the simple choice between war or surrender.

As if to prove that the opposite of a foolish position can be just as foolish, a few years after he had urged that the Soviet Union be given this dire ultimatum, he declared in a famous interview with an American correspondent, "I am for controlled nuclear disarmament but if the Communists cannot be induced to agree to it, then I am for unilateral disarmament even if it means the horrors of Communist domination." Such statements could only increase the Kremlin's determination to reject reasonable controls for disarmament, controls that must include mutual on-site inspection.

In the long perspective, Russell will be numbered among the immortals more for his contributions to philosophical analysis than for his judgments of the political scene. There is hardly a major theme in the foundations of logic and scientific method and the traditional disciplines of philosophy (with the exception of esthetics) that he did not illumine. He has profoundly affected the thought of three generations of philosophers. He is not a philosophic hedgehog who saw one thing clearly but a fox who saw many different things but, unfortunately, only one at a time. He sought simplicity in everything but did not distrust it sufficiently. His evolution from neo-Hegelianism to neo-Kantianism to Platonic realism to logical atomism and empiricism

Continued on next page

Sidney Hook is emeritus professor of philosophy at New York University and senior research fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. His most recent book is "Philosophy and Public Policy."

From The New York Times Book Review (1/29/84, pp. 7-8)

Young Philosopher

Continued from preceding page

and the final reversion to ontology in his last major philosophic work, "Human Knowledge," testify not to inconsistency but, as this first volume of the "Collected Papers" already demonstrates, to his intellectual honesty and resolute pursuit of truth. It revealed an amazing imaginative fertility and capacity for seeing and interpreting "what there is" from different points of view. (There were inevitably some blind spots; his greatest failure was his misunderstanding of John Dewey and his caricature of American pragmatism.)

Russell relates that in 1897, while walking alone in the Tiergarten in Berlin, he was struck with a vision that left him with a resolution to write two series of books, "one abstract, growing gradually more concrete; the other concrete, growing gradually more abstract. They were to be crowned by a synthesis, combining pure theory with a practical social philosophy." Russell on his 80th birthday thought he had succeeded in all but the final synthesis. Some critics, however, doubt that he completed either series and attribute his failure to relying too much on abstractions to solve the problems of practical reason. His conception of reason is so abstract or mathematical that when it comes to human values — the heart of policy — he jettisons them into the realm of the purely subjective, in which the arbitrament of difference can be only through force. "To proclaim the ends of life," he writes, "is not the business of science — it is the business of the mystic, the artist and the poet." But when the vision of Ezra Pound or T. S. Eliot is set against that of Whitman and Shelley, whom Russell once admired, how does one rationally decide between them? He never made that clear.

Russell jumps too soon from the conflict of values in problematic situations to the counterposing of allegedly irreconcilable ultimate values. There is a long way to go until then. He rejects the view that from the standpoint of practical reason, these values may be penultimate. Even if it turns out that in the absence of a shared interest, values may not be universal, they may still be objectively relative, justified by their consequences for the interests involved. What justifies values is their relation to present or anticipated interest, not the brute fact of their triumph. And if they are defeated by the brute force of a hostile interest unwilling to live and let live, they do not thereby lose their justification.

As for the first volume of the "Collected Papers," a natural question for a prospective reader is what fresh light it casts on Russell's life and thought, over and above what is revealed in the 60-odd volumes of his published work — especially his "Autobiography" — and in secondary sources like Ronald Clark's biography and Paul Levy's "Moore: G. E. Moore and the Cambridge Apostles." The answer is, very little of significance, except possibly to someone contemplating another biography of Russell or intent on ferreting out details of his personal behavior of presumed importance in explaining his subsequent ideas or attitudes. For one thing, he soon abandoned the philosophic idealism of his undergraduate and early graduate years. For another, there are no great secrets disclosed in these early writings or tidbits to delight the prying analyst, not even in the locked diary. The volume marks the beginning of a notable scholarly enterprise, but I think anyone unfamiliar with Russell's subsequent intellectual development and tempestuous personal life could not reasonably have predicted them on the basis of these early writings. □

Professor Hook quotes BR as saying,"Terrible as a new world war would be, I still for my part would prefer it to a universal Communist empire." The statement appears in an article by BR in The New York Times Magazine (9/27/53, starts on p. 10; also in "The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell", Egner & Denonn, eds.NY:Simon & Schuster, 1961, pp.688-692). It is titled "What Would Help Mankind Most?" The article does not advocate war against the USSR, as the quotation, out of context, might imply; it advocates a conference of all the great powers for the purpose of avoiding "the destruction that might be expected in a new world war," and proposes rules for such a conference.

You might wish to recall A. J. Ayer's comments on BR's talk of war against the USSR. We repeat part of an earlier newsletter item (RSN17-25, Feb.'78), which is an excerpt from Ayer's book,"Part of My Life". p. 301:

> He had long held the view that the only remedy for the evils of nationalism lay in the establishment of a world government and he then believed that the only practical way in which this could come about was through the hegemony of the United States. Though there was much that he disliked in its political and social climate, he still preferred it to that of Soviet Russia; but this counted with him for less than the fact that the Americans possessed the atomic bomb, while the Russians did not. He was convinced that it would be enough for the Americans to threaten the Russians with the bomb, without actually using it. This did not, however, absolve him from holding the view that in the last resort its use would be justified. In later years, when he was leading the campaign for nuclear disarmament, he forgot that he had ever taken this view and admitted that he had done so only when it was shown that he had expressed it in print. His critics naturally accused him of inconsistency, but they could have been wrong. Taking, as he did, a predominantly utilitarian view of politics, he could have argued that so long as only one power possessed this superior weapon, the evil resulting from its limited employment, though very great, would be outweighed by the probable longer-term good; when two rival powers possessed it, the harm done by their each employing it would almost certainly be greater than any good that could be expected to result. But while Russell might have accepted this argument theoretically, I doubt if he would have been ready to see it put into effect. His reason was often in conflict with his emotions, and this is most probably an instance in which his emotions would have prevailed. If it had come to an issue, I think that he would have recoiled from the infliction of so great an immediate evil, even with the prospect of its leading to a greater good. It was because I believed this at the time that I did not on this point take him wholly seriously.

(26) From "City Paper, Washington's Free Weekly" (January 27-February 2, 1984),reviewed by BRS Member Gallo:

Principia Russell

Bertrand Russell's America: 1945-1970
by Barry Feinberg and Ronald Kasrils
South End Press, $10.00

By Frank Gallo

THERE is no quicker method to persuade someone *not* to read a book than to advertise it as a collection by an eminent philosopher. These great scholars, it is well known, do not achieve their eminence by writing books either compelling or readable.

Bertrand Russell, however, is history's exception to this rule. In a life lasting nearly a century, Russell was jailed twice for civil disobedience (once at age 90), married four times, was hounded out of an appointment at the College of the City of New York, and received the Nobel Prize for Literature.

The latter was awarded for Russell's authorship of more than 70 books, ranging in complexity from the three-volume *Principia Mathematica* to *The Conquest of Happiness*. But however complex the subject matter, the prose was invariably as clear as a window pane.

Barry Feinberg and Ronald Kasrils have now compiled a second volume of the British philosopher's writings on America, spanning the years from 1945 until Russell's death in 1970. The book is divided into two sections, the first containing a narrative interwoven with quotes from Russell's books, articles, speeches, letters and television appearances, and the second composed of the texts of 21 articles by Russell on America. Russell's primary concerns during these years were nuclear warfare and the Vietnam War, but the collection also records Russell's thoughts on civil rights, Joe McCarthy's reign of terror, JFK's assassination, the Rosenberg executions, and other abuses of freedom in this country.

At the close of the Second World War, Russell's opinion of America was at its apogee: "Every country has its defects, but in relation to the world, I believe those of America to be less than those of any other country." Lecture tours throughout this country were so successful that a wit remarked that one would have thought sex symbol Jane Russell was on tour. NBC launched its first TV interview series with a half-hour portrait of Russell in 1952.

The mutual admiration between Russell and America was short-lived. Alarmed by America's increasing belligerence abroad and its witch hunts within, Russell castigated both the government and the liberals who he thought were too lax in defending liberty. Arguing against the idea that freedom should be curtailed in order to preserve it, he said, "I cannot agree that the first step in a war for liberty should be the surrender of what you say you are fighting for." And if the reactionaries punished suspected communists by sterilization, Russell sardonically remarked, liberals would be sure to insist on an adequate right of appeal.

More than any other single human being, Russell founded the anti-nuclear peace movement. Within weeks after Japan's surrender, he warned of the peril of nuclear weapons to mankind unless vigorous action was taken. Russell's efforts culminated in his involvement in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, when his cabled pleas for sanity to both Kennedy and Khrushchev were answered by the Soviet leader. Russell had the highest praise for Khrushchev's decision to remove the missiles, a move which averted war but caused the Premier to lose face. As for Kennedy, Russell thought his threat of war simple madness and the height of American hypocrisy. "If nuclear bases are intolerable in Cuba they are intolerable everywhere," he said.

Halfway around the globe, American assertion of power, primarily in Vietnam, was meeting with somewhat less success. As early as 1963, Russell challenged both America's right to wage war in Southeast Asia and her conduct of it. By that time, however, the 90-year-old philosopher had been dismissed by "respected" opinion in this country as a senile dupe of the communists.

The 1954 Geneva Conferences held after the French defeat in Vietnam had called for elections in that country. Eisenhower, while refusing to sign these agreements, professed to accept and abide by them—commitments the United States reneged on by blocking elections and replacing France as a colonial power in Vietnam. Moreover, like Reagan's policy in Nicaragua, the government attempted to disguise its role. "One of the most important aspects of this war has been that the United States pretended for many years that no such war was taking place and that the war which was not taking place was not being conducted by Americans," Russell emphasized.

"Unlike most social thinkers, Russell advanced alternatives and then tried to show how they could be attained. In some cases he went further..."

When the war escalated under President Johnson, Russell became convinced that his anti-war writings by themselves were not enough. Declaring that America's leaders would have to stand before the dock of history as surely as the Nazis at Nuremberg, Russell organized an International War Crimes Tribunal in 1967. In response, Secretary of State Dean Rusk said disdainfully that he had no intention of "playing games with a 94-year-old Briton." When the reports about the massacre at My Lai surfaced, however, Russell's charges could not so easily be scoffed at.

Apart from Vietnam and the arms race, this collection is also valuable for Russell's insights into American character and society. We Americans like to think that we are hard-boiled realists, but Russell observed that this pose really masks a more fundamental naivete: "Americans for the most part are unable to face reality except in a mood of cynicism. They have a set of ideal rules which they imagine that a virtuous politician would obey, but the rules are such as would cause any man to be out of politics in a week. Consequently, it is recognized that no politician can be virtuous according to the nominal code. It follows, so at least the average American concludes, that a politician cannot be justly blamed whatever crimes he may commit." We have seen this pattern again and again (with the exception of Watergate), most recently in the collective ho-hum given by the public to Reagan Administration scandals in the Environmental Protection Agency and in the 1980 Presidential campaign.

Russell also noted the ridiculousness of a moral code which frowned upon sex while simultaneously seeking to constantly titillate sexual feeling through advertising. But it is through his comments on liberty that this Briton most clearly enabled the American mind to see the chasm between our ideals and practices. To those who said that the witch hunts were merely an aberrant phase, he replied that it was impossible to have such an environment for more than a decade without profound effect. When Americans said that political persecution was still the exception rather than the rule, Russell pointed out, "When Dreyfus was sent to Devil's Island the world was shocked, and it was not considered that a Frenchman was giving an adequate defense if he said, 'Oh, but you ought to mention all the French Jews who are not in Devil's Island.' "

Although he never ceased to think of the American people as humanity's best hope for the future, Russell refused to truckle before double standards. Napalm was a barbarous weapon not made innocuous by the fact that U.S. leaders claimed they were using it to defend freedom. Franco of Spain was a dictator when the Nazis backed him, and his regime was not improved when American presidents called him a bulwark of freedom.

The last 20 years of Russell's life marked a shift in his public role. While Russell never eschewed activist politics if he thought action necessary—he was jailed for three months for his opposition to World War I—he spent most of his life trying through his writing to demonstrate a progressive vision of the future not bound by the dogmas inherent in religion, Marxism or nationalism. These books examined nearly the entire range of human activity: *On Education, The Impact of Science on Society, Prospects of Industrial Civilization, Marriage and Morals, Why I Am Not a Christian, Power, The Analysis of Mind*, etc. After his death, *Time* magazine described his collected works as the modern equivalent of the Bible.

What was particularly striking about his writings beyond their incisive analyses of the past and present was their *constructive* vision. Unlike most social thinkers, Russell advanced alternatives and then tried to show how they could be attained. In some cases he went further, as in his establishment of an alternative school with his wife Dora.

During the 1950s, he gradually changed from social thinker to social activist and critic because of what he called "mankind's peril." In that role, he wrote another activist in 1952. "Those of us who feel that we belong to minorities which are more or less impotent almost inevitably become bitter and quarrelsome and querulous. I always find it difficult in situations of that sort to remember that it is more important to be persuasive than to say the things that give pleasure to oneself... I sometimes feel that you are in danger of falling into controversial errors of which I myself am constantly guilty." It was advice which Russell was often to stray from in his later years. During the Vietnam War, his exaggerations and thunderbolts delivered with the tenor of a Biblical prophet could only have alienated many Americans whom he wished to persuade. But if he strayed from the truth at times in defending freedom during the fierce political struggles of the 1960s, that is as nothing weighed in the balance against those who either stood by and watched or those who actively engineered the deaths of hundreds of thousands in Vietnam.

When nearly 80, Bertrand Russell was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1950. It would have been perfectly natural for him to retire. Instead he spent the next 20 years doing what he could to achieve peace and freedom in America and the world—and bringing upon himself mostly vilification in the process. But in those 20 years he proved himself a far more worthy descendant of the Revolutionary War patriots than, unfortunately, any American in recent years. ■

Frank Gallo is press secretary of Americans for Democratic Action.

(27) "Common Sense Suicide: The Final Right" by Doris Portwood(Los Angeles: Hemlock Society;New York: Grove Press, 1933, $8.00). Reviewed by Marvin Kohl.

The Rationality of Suicide.

Ms. Portwood has written a readable and most useful introduction to the problem of voluntary death. She provides valuable information about suicide and the law, and a rather delicious chapter on the so-called religious taboo. She correctly reminds us that the decision we make in choosing death is ours to make, that we give up our autonomy too easily when be become old and weak, and that it is time to talk and know more about the phenomenom of suicide.

Ms. Portwood presents a largely personal philosophic point of view and does so with great charm. Moreover, her advocacy of suicide as a rational method of problem-solving is well-intended, often lovingly done. The question is whether good intentions are enough. Russell, as most of us know, maintained that "Neither love without knowledge,nor knowledge without love can produce a good life." The same, I believe, is true of a satisfactory suicide policy. When it comes to vital life decisions, love must be supported by the best knowledge available. And what does this knowledge indicate? The best evidence indicates that suicide is sometimes rational, but most often not; that most acts of suicide are not the rational solution. Typical adolescent suicide and cases of the chronically depressed in which external conditions do not seem to warrant self-judgment of death are perhaps the best examples.

Let us, nevertheless, recognize the rationality of some acts of suicide. Let us say that a society that refuses to allow its members to exit when their lives are irreparably blasted by the infirmities of existence is neither a just nor a benevolent society. There is, however, another side of the coin. Having reasons is not sufficient. What is needed are good reasons, reasons or evidence which will adequately show that the act in question is the preferable means of problem solving, the best means of protecting the interests of the individual in question. By all this I mean to stress not the motive but the resulting act. I mean to stress the need to reasonably know, and not merely believe, that the act in question is the preferable solution.

A further emendation should be mentioned. It is not sufficient to say, as Portwood does, that suicide must neither be raised to the heroic stature it enjoyed under the Romans, nor be embraced with the frantic delight of the primitive Christians. A more adequate description of the problem would have added that there is a vital difference between between those who threaten or attempt suicide as a cry for help and those who want to exit from life because they feel helpless or hopeless and have reasonable evidence that their life is irrevocably meaningless. More important, a life that is, in balance, unhappy is not necessarily an empty life. It still may possess opportunity for great moments of satisfaction. So that exiting from an unhappy life is one thing, exiting from an irrevocably meaningless existence another.

Of course, it is true that it is possible for a sane or non-chronically depressed person, thinking logically, to set off the intolerable aspects of his or her life against the chances for betterment and find the result weighted on the side of death. Indeed, some kind of rational calculation is often possible and always desirable. But why a simple balance sheet? Why say, as Portwood does (pp.34-35), that a slight tipping of the scales is sufficient? Is the choice of death sufficiently like buying a garment, where other things being equal, the color determines the choice? I think not. Existence is not always a good. Bare biological life is neither the primary good nor death the greatest evil. But if we follow the logic of Portwood's argument, then we seem to be committed to encouraging most or at least too many human beings to commit suicide. For if one should choose death when life merely tips to unhappiness, and if most human beings have lives which are, in balance, unhappy, then it appears to follow that most human beings should end their lives.

CONTRIBUTIONS

(28) The BRS is grateful to the following members for their much-appreciated contributions to the BRS Treasury: CRANFORD, DAVIS, EISLER, GIBBONS,HARDING, HOOPES, REINHARDT, RUJA, CAROL SMITH, SUZARA, TOBIN...and KATHY FJERMEDAL, who hardly ever misses a month.

(29a) Reminder that the BRS could use some of your money. Not all of it; not even most of it; just some of it: we don't mean to leave you strapped. Isn't there some you can spare? Have the satisfaction of helping to support something you think worthwhile. Mail what you can spare — any amount, big or small — to the BRS Treasury, c/o the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom

(29b) Further suggestion to those who can: how about following Kathy Fjermedal's fine example, and sending something every month. Can you do it? $5 a month? $10? $1? Whatever you can. Just get the monthly habit. Nothing is too small to be useful.

DUES SURCHARGE

(30) Canada and Mexico. It costs us no more to mail a letter to Canada or Mexico than within the USA. But the same is not true of newsletters. Thanks to our non-profit status, the last newsletter, for example — RSN40, November 1983 — cost less than 6¢ per copy mailed to members living in the USA; but to members in Canada and Mexico, the postage was 54¢ each. Had the issue weighed more than 3 ounces — which happens occasionally — postage would have been 71¢. The non-profit rate applies only within the USA.

We mention this so that our Canadian and Mexican members will understand why we will ask them to pay an extra $2 per year, starting in 1985. It will just about cover costs.

BRS BUSINESS

(31) Directors, please note: 4 kinds of reports/papers are available to you. Please let us know which ones interest you. They would be routed to you,and you, in turn, would re-mail them to the next person on the list.

Each year we start from scratch. Even though you have been receiving, say, the Membership Status Report, please request it again if you want to continue to receive it.

These are the 4 items:

A. MEMBERSHIP STATUS REPORT. Gives the names of new members, of members who have renewed, of members who have dropped out, of members with new addresses. Also tells the number of current members, and the number of inquiries and enrollments during the past month. Issued monthly.

B. ADVERTISING SCHEDULE. Tells which publications we advertise in, and the dates of the issues. Issued twice a year.

C. REPORT ON PAST YEAR'S ADVERTISING AND PROPOSAL FOR THE FOLLOWING YEAR. Issued yearly.

D. MEMBERS' QUESTIONNAIRES. Issued as they are received (more or less) from new members.

Send a postcard — with your name, and the letters (A,B,C,D) that indicate which ones you want to look at — to Reports, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

Thanks.

INVITATIONS

(32) Michal Bonino, 23, B.A. (U. of Pittsburgh) would like to correspond. His interests include these topics that BR deals with: religion, morality, sexuality and marriage,ethics, literature and education. 4925 Friendship Av. (4), Pittsburgh, PA 15224

(33) Christopher Fulkerson, 29, would like to meet other members in the Bay Area "for whatever discussions we are interested in/capable of." He is a conductor, composer, and is interested in many things. Assorted degrees, including Ph.D.(UC Berkeley.) 882 33rd Av, San Francisco, CA 94121. 668-9834.

MISC.

(34) Fake. A number of members wrote saying they hoped we had recovered from our illness. We didn't deserve their sympathy; we have not been ill.

Last issue, we wrote — on the yellow sheet — "Unexpected illness has caused the delay" (in mailing some material to new members.) It is true that illness caused the delay, but it wasn't our illness, it was someone else's.

We're sorry we caused concern, and we promise: no more false alarms. To those who wrote: thank you very much.

FOR SALE

(35) 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." $6 for 90 sheets. Order from the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.

ABOUT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

(36) Hemlock — "a society supporting active voluntary euthanasia for the terminally ill" — features the following article in its "Hemlock Quarterly" (January 1984):

Mrs. Bouvia's sad mistakes are lessons

By Derek Humphry

Every caring person has sympathy with Mrs. Elizabeth Bouvia, the 26-year-old woman in Riverside General Hospital, California, who wants to be allowed to stay in hospital while she starves hereself to death.

Mrs. Bouvia was born with celebral palsy and is virtually a quadriplegic. She suffers from arthritis and her condition is slowly deteriorating. "I no longer want to live in this condition," she says.

For three months she has fought a much-publicized battle in the courts to be allowed to stay in hospital, asking not for help in dying but the medical care which she needs anyway. Because the hospital and the courts believe this would be assisting a suicide, (assistance is a crime; suicide is not) Mrs. Bouvia has lost her fight. As this newsletter goes to press early in the new year, she sits in a hospital bed being force-fed. Her four attorneys employed by the ACLU plan ways to stop this and further appeals.

The Hemlock Society's position can only be intellectual because we know merely what we read of the case. Final judgements can only be made by Mrs. Bouvia or those very close to her.

It seems to us that mistakes were made from the start. She checked herself into the psychiatric wing of a hospital which would be bound to thwart her suicide. She gave interviews and sought attorneys.

In the world euthanasia movement we have seen similar cases over the years. When developed as has Mrs. Bouvia's, they have always ended unsatisfactorily. The courts, for all their willingness to do right, have an appalling record of failure when involved in death-and-dying cases. Karen Ann Quinlan, for instance, is alive eight years after that celebrated court case.

Publicity in such cases is self-defeating for the individual. He or she becomes so closely observed and criticized that even the kindest, most law-abiding helper is at risk.

Mrs. Bouvia told the Los Angeles Times (1/3/84): "I deplore the media circus it has become.....I have gotten lost in all this."

Hemlock view in similar cases is that a person terminally ill, or severely handicapped and deteriorating, has the individual right to end it all, after careful consideration of the circumstances and options.

But it is a very private action, certainly inappropriate at this stage in a hospital because both current law and medical ethics forbids assistance. Hemlock believes that if you have a loved one or close friend who is willing to help upon request, if needed, then that is your business.

The integrity of the decision, planning and absolute discretion are the only way to justified euthanasia.

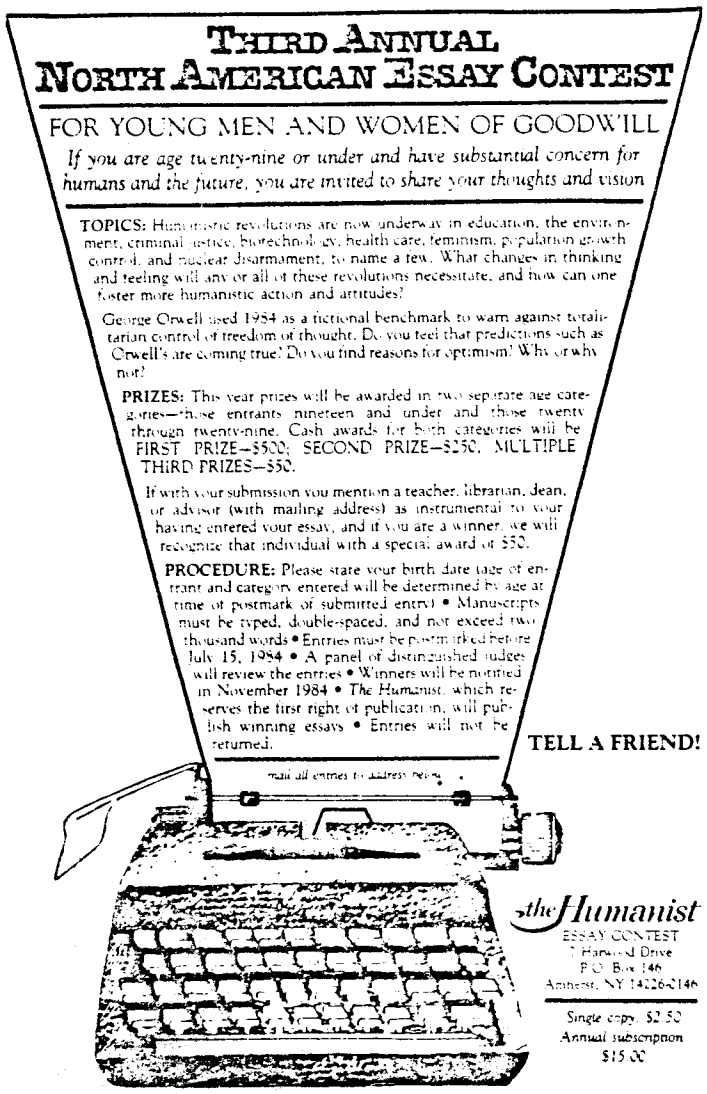
(37) New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee's newsletter (Oct/Nov 83) claims that over 50% of New Zealanders live in 68 nuclear-free zones. Local bodies have declared their communities to be NWFZ, Nuclear Weapons Free Zones. It is "a symbolic act, as central government retains the power to wage war and contract into nuclear weapon alliances such as ANZUS..." Their address: PO Box 13541, Christchurch 9, New Zealand

(38) Croatian National Congress (in exile) has sent us 8 1983 issues of "That's Yugoslavia", all of which state grievances against the Yugoslav government.

They also sent a 42-page pamphlet, "The Croatian National Question — Yugoslavia's Achilles Heel", which reproduces an interview that Dr. Marko Vaselica gave to West Germany's "Der Spiegel" (August 1980), and for which they say Dr. Vaselica was sentenced to 11 years at hard labor.

We have mentioned the Congress before (RSN34-34). Their address: PO Box 3088, Steinway Station, NY NY 11103.

(39) "The Humanist"— published by The American Humanist Association — is sponsoring an essay contest. See the ad, next page.



Thank you, Bob Davis

BR HONORED

(40) The Tom Paine Award, of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, went to BR in 1962. This is his acceptance message, published in "The Reporter" (January 1963): (Thank you, Ophelia Hoopes)

You honour me in a way I deeply appreciate. Tom Paine symbolises for Americans the articulation of a radical consciousness that human welfare and intellectual integrity depend upon courageous insistence upon freedom for men and women. Freedom can not effectively exist where it is understood to mean no more than the toleration of occasional differences about matters which are of small importance.

Disputes, for example, about the comparative merit of consumer produce or the total of farm expenditure may be cited as examples of freedom, but only by those who are dead to its life and deaf to its death. The vision of Tom Paine was that of a serious public involvement in the direction of those affairs which affected peoples' lives. He struggled for the right to partake in radical change and in the constant debate as to how the good life might be provided for to the American people.

Values and great beliefs live on after their institutional expressions have ceased to live. So it is with the nominal civil liberties enjoyed today either by Americans or by citizens of other countries.

Thousands of years of human effort, of great suffering, of unique achievement are in daily jeopardy because the absence of the freedom striven after by Tom Paine prevents men from forestalling consummate folly.

Today, the exercise of power is so remote from the daily lives of men and women, and the control of the very springs of thought so concentrated in the hands of those sycophantic to power, that freedom is increasingly an abstraction with which we are deluded.

Delusion takes the form of public incantation over values and beliefs which are dishonoured even as they are invoked. President Kennedy speaks of human freedom as he takes actions which may condemn hundreds of millions of human beings to agonising death. Future generations are forfeited to the paranoia of those who compulsively act for garrison states.

So it is that power possessed by the few condemns us all to futile death and empties our formal rights of meaning or of visible life. Only to the extent that we are able to remove those who would perpetrate this crime against humanity can "freedom" be seriously our possession or our right.

I feel honoured in a way I do not find easy to acknowledge. I am an Englishman and so was Tom Paine by birth. I believe that human freedom and the civilised ends to which that freedom was to have been directed, are not spoken for by the Governments of either of our two countries. I find it difficult to express the feelings I have upon receiving this award because I know how Tom Paine would feel about the country he left and the nation he helped to found.

The pity of it. The disgrace to all that is best in man's long odyssey. The intolerable affront to the dignity of us all, contained in the readiness to annihilate whole continents in pursuit of the insane dictates of power.

If there is one message, one sentiment I should wish to give to you, it is that I can not bring myself to believe that mankind is so base that none of his representatives will struggle for a more excellent way of life, no matter the chances of success. Thank you for your honour to me. We share the conviction that the struggle must go on.

BR CELEBRATED

(41) The Sierra Club ran the following ad in Scientific American (June 1974). We reproduced the ad in Nswsletter #3 (September 1974), and perhaps it is time to run it again.

25 years ago, Bertrand Russell said that governments should have a third primary aim after security and justice. It is conservation—conservation of the earth's natural resources.

Welcome to the club, Bertrand Russell

Scientist, mathematician, philosopher, writer—and conservationist. We have an idea that if Bertrand Russell's long life had lasted even longer, today he could well be a member of the Sierra Club. Most certainly he would agree with our principles, which he recognized full well a quarter of a century ago.

Russell understood the limitations of natural resources. He understood this at a time when our resources seemed infinite. In those years, conservation was generally regarded as a dream, but to Russell it was a necessity.

The Sierra Club was formed in 1892 to conserve and protect the wilderness that man had been subduing for centuries. Our focus now is the wholeness of the habitat for mankind and for all living things. That is our purpose today—developing an ethic to make the world fit for living.

The Sierra Club works in a tradition of strong, decisive action to achieve such a world. We work in realistic ways. We lobby effectively for sound legislation. We take legal action to enforce it. We inform and educate. And we ask for expertise from people who understand the principle of conserving the natural values that sustain life itself, our soils, our oceans and estuaries, our air and water. We want people who share our goal of protecting the biological and physical foundations of living.

As a reader of this publication, you are likely to be one of those people.

We would welcome you to the Club.

Sierra Club
1050 Mills Tower
San Francisco, California 94104

☐ I wish to participate with the Sierra Club in achieving its objectives. Enclosed is my check for $20 to cover $15 annual dues (includes subscription to Sierra Club Bulletin), and $5 admission fee.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

Signature _____

☐ Please send more information.

Sierra Club

Actually, BR was speaking out for conservation earlier than the Sierra Club ad says — as early as 1916, in "Principles of Social Reconstruction", Chapter IV (U.S. title:"Why Men Fight"), as Ken Blackwell pointed out in Newsletter #4 (November 1974).

(Thank you, John Wilhelm)

RELIGION

(42) Einstein on God, from Atheists United's Newsletter (January 1984),PO Box 65706, Los Angeles, CA 90065:

Dear Mr. Einstein: 10 June 1945

I had quite a discussion last night with a Jesuit-educated Catholic officer on various questions related to religion, during the course of which he made certain statements regarding you which I tend to doubt. To clear my mind on the subject I would appreciate it a great deal if you would comment on the following points:

He said that you were once an atheist. Then, he said, you talked with a Jesuit priest who gave you three syllogisms which you were unable to disprove; as a result of that you became a believer in a supreme intellect which governs the universe. The syllogisms were: A design demands a designer; the universe is a design; therefore there must have been a designer. On that point I questioned the universe being a design; in evolution I see an explanation of the complexity of plant and animal life; laws of repulsion, etc., can account for the motion of the planets; and a consideration of the infinity of the universe can account for any complexity not covered by evolution, by the laws of chance alone. But even if there was a"designer", that would give only a re-arranger, not a creator; and again assuming a designer, you are back where you started by being forced to admit a designer of the designer, etc., etc. Same as the account of the earth resting an an elephant's back - elephant standing on a giant turtle; turtle on turtle on turtle, etc.

Anyway, he said that was enough to convince you of the existence of a supreme governor of the universe. Point Two was:"Laws" of nature (gravitation,etc.) exist; if you have a law, you must have a law-giver; the law-giver was God. Sounds like an exercise in semantics to me. Admitting the existence of the universe, whether there was a "god" or not, something would happen; if all of the matter fell together into a ball, you would have the "law" of"attraction" or something similar. The "laws" he refers to here seem to be mere statements of fact, not laws which would imply an intelligent law-giver.

He could not remember the third syllogism; however if the story is accurate,you probably do. He also stated that evolution was today a completely disproved theory; my impression does not hold that. While Darwin's conception of "survival of the fittest" has been generally disproven (I think; I admit I know little about current theory in the field), I have the impression that evolution is today one of the basic concepts in the biological world. Am I right?

My present philosophy agrees in the main with the position of the Humanists, expressed by the American Humanist Association. I was under the impression that you were associated with the movement, which is what led me to doubt that you were convinced by the above arguments into believing in a "supreme intellect which governs the universe." I would greatly appreciate a short letter clarifying the situation. My friend, with whom I had the argument, said he would appreciate a copy of the letter sent to this address:Ensign Edward J. Glinden, USMS, 1450 46th Avenue, San Francisco, California.

Very sincerely yours,

Ens. Guy H. Raner,Jr. (C)L USNR
USS BOUGAINVILLE (CVE 109)

July 2nd, 1945

Dear Mr. Raner:

I received your letter of June 10th. I have never talked to a Jesuit priest in my life and I am astonished by the audacity to tell such lies about me.

From the viewpoint of a Jesuit priest I am, of course, and always have been an atheist. Your counter-arguments seem to me very correct and could hardly be better formulated. It is always misleading to use anthropomorphical concepts in dealing with things outside the human sphere — childish analogies. We have to admire in humility the beautiful harmony of the structure of this world — as far as we can grasp it. And that is all.

With best wishes,

yours sincerely,

Albert Einstein

Sept. 25, 1949

Dear Dr. Einstein:

This letter is written in reference to a letter you sent me dated July 2nd, 1945...

I considered your letter in the nature of a strictly personal communication and have never permitted any of it to get into any publication, although I have shown it to a few personal friends. Last summer, in a seminar on Historical Criticism and Historiography at the University of Southern California, I mentioned your letter to a fellow classmate, who remarked that such a letter is of historical value, and that I should get your permission to publish it at some future date, if the need should arise. Have you any objection to its future publication, if an occasion should ever arise making publication possible?

I feel that the forces which seek to compel a belief in superstitious religion -- for the same reasons that Franco seeks to compel such a belief -- are very strong, and that today they would like to start a "holy war" against Russia. Though I have no more respect for Communism, which appears to have become a religion rather than a tentative philosophy in Russia, I feel that any "holy crusade" by either side would have no result other than the destruction of civilization. I will enclose a fantastic little leaflet which was circulated around the University of Southern California this summer as an indication of one type of inflammatory religious propaganda extant. A few years ago, I noted that Hearst ran a series in his Sunday papers purporting to show that scientists really believe in a supernatural faith, and he included an article by you which, although it gave no evidence of such faith, yet was furnished with a headline which would indicate to the casual reader that you were as faithful as the Pope himself. In the event of any future attempt to align you with the forces of superstition, I feel that your letter will serve as good ammunition for a reply.

There is only one part of your letter which might be interpreted in a way which might weaken its effect. You say that "From the viewpoint of a Jesuit priest I am, and have always been an atheist." Some people might interpret that to mean that to a Jesuit priest, anyone not a Roman Catholic is an atheist, and that you are in fact an Orthodox Jew, or a Deist, or something else. Did you mean to leave room for such an interpretation, or are you, from the viewpoint of the dictionary, an atheist, i.e., "one who disbelieves in the existence of a God or Supreme Being"?

I conducted a poll of the 18 students in the graduate seminar on Historical Criticism, to determine their religious attitudes, in view of the fact that the textbook, Shotwell's "History of History", treats Jewish and Christian historiography as susceptible to the same errors that Egyptian, Greek, and Roman historiography are. Although a certain amount of confusion was apparent in the answers, it appeared that all had read the text, and that 2 were atheists, 3 were agnostics, 10 were Deists, and the remaining three had orthodox religious beliefs -- 2 were Roman Catholic, and the third was a Reformed Jew.

This was, however, a highly select group. Such polls taken in high schools have indicated that about 95% of the students held orthodox religious opinions, reflecting more accurately, I believe, general opinion, which indicates a long, uphill climb before the mists of superstition give way to a more humanistic outlook.

Sincerely yours,

Guy H. Raner, Jr.

September 28, 1945

Dear Mr. Raner:

I see with pleasure from your letter of the 25th that your convictions are near my own. Trusting your sound judgment I authorize you to use my letter of July 1945 in any way you see fit.

I have repeatedly said that in my opinion the idea of a personal God is a childlike one. You may call me an agnostic, but I do not share the crusading spirit of the professional atheist whose fervor is mostly due to a painful act of liberation from the fetters of

religious indoctrination received in youth. I prefer an attitude of humility corresponding to the weakness of our intellectual understanding of nature and of our own being.

Sincerely yours,

Albert Einstein

(Thank you, Bob Davis)

PUBLISHING

(43) Dodd, Mead knuckles under. From The New York Times (9/1/83, p. C17):

Publisher Rejects 'Offensive' Books

By HERBERT MITGANG

Dodd, Mead & Company, the 144-year-old New York trade-book publisher, has canceled two novels advertised in its fall 1983 catalogue and withdrawn a volume of verse that is already in print. Dodd, Mead was ordered to take these actions by its parent company, Thomas Nelson Inc. of Nashville, the world's largest Bible publisher, which considered some language in the books objectionable.

After being set in type, "Tip on a Dead Crab" by William Murray and "Skim" by Thomas Henege will not be published by Dodd, Mead, which was acquired a little more than a year ago by Thomas Nelson. In addition, about 5,000 copies of "The Devil's Book of Verse," edited by Richard Conniff, are not being shipped from Dodd, Mead's warehouse, on orders of Nelson.

Lewis W. Gillenson, president of Dodd, Mead, said that Nelson had insisted that certain "four-letter words, excessive scatology and language that took God's name in vain" had to be eliminated before the books could be published. Mr. Gillenson said that Sam Moore, president of Nelson, had asked him to "publish books that will not have offensive language in them." Executives in Nashville were not available for comment.

The language considered not acceptable by Nelson included words or word combinations that used God, Christ or Jesus as expletives. Mr. Gillenson said that an executive of Nelson told him it was all right to print "damn" but not "goddamn." The four-letter word for copulation was forbidden, but the four-letter word for defecation was permitted.

'Censorship,' Say Authors

The authors and their agents described the action as "censorship" and refused to make any changes in their books. Mr. Gillenson declined to call Dodd, Mead's refusal to publish "censorship;" he described his orders as a desire to save Nelson from embarrassment because its executives were "deeply involved in the Christian movement." Mr. Gillenson added, "This makes them look like bigots, but they're not — they're not book burners."

Dodd, Mead has informed John Cushman, agent for Mr. Henege, and Helen Brann, agent for Mr. Murray, that the two novelists could keep their advance money. In addition, Dodd, Mead will turn over the type and graphic designs of the unpublished books to the authors.

Mr. Murray, who writes "Letters From Italy" for The New Yorker and has written nine novels, said "Tip on a Dead Crab" is about people who live by gambling on horses.

'One of My Mildest'

"This is one of my mildest books," he said. "They should have seen my novel 'Malibu,' which had some steamy sex scenes. I'm laughing now, but I'm still mad. The 20 words they wanted changed in the new book were not in themselves of great artistic importance. But it's the ethics and morality of forcing changes that's wrong — no writer should put up with it. Of course, it's censorship."

Mr. Murray continued: "When I was first told that all I had to do was change 20 words, I said, 'Let me sleep on it.' But then I thought: 20 words today, tomorrow a chapter. Who are these people to censor my book?"

Mr. Cushman said that his client, Mr. Henege — it is a pen name; his real name is Albert F. Gillotti, and he is a vice president of Banker's Trust in Europe — had been asked to remove the word "goddamn," which appears a number of times in his manuscript. Mr. Henege responded through his agent that he would not tolerate changes in "Skim," a thriller about international banking and political corruption.

Mr. Gillotti said: "When the accountants or salesmen who head conglomerates can tell an editor of a publishing subsidiary what he cannot accept for publication because the book might interfere with the stream of revenues from another part of his business — cigarettes, say, or food additives — then I fear for the future of independent thought in the United States."

Verse From Dryden to Porter

"The Devil's Book of Verse," published Aug. 1, is a collection of poetry ranging from John Dryden to Cole Porter. Its editor, Mr. Conniff, a senior editor at Geo magazine, said there were objections to two poems. One by Ezra Pound, "Ancient Music," uses "goddamn" 10 times; the second, by an unknown author, contains four-letter words — to which Nelson did not object — but contains "goddamn."

Mr. Gillenson had asked Mr. Conniff to permit pages with the two offending poems to be removed from the book before it left the warehouse. Mr. Conniff said he refused to do so.

According to BP Report, a book-publishing newsletter, Nelson feared that its competitors in the religious-book field would call attention to Dodd, Mead's "offensive books" and damage the company's reputation with Christian booksellers.

Nelson acquired the faltering trade-book house in April 1982 for $4.5 million. Dodd, Mead's backlist is considered to be its most valuable editorial property. A fresh effort was being made to acquire modern works of fiction, but several New York literary agents yesterday expressed doubts that they would submit novels to Dodd, Mead in the future.

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(44) Birthday message in the Minority of One, June 1963:

(Thank you, Ophelia Hoopes)

For Bertrand Russell on Reaching Ninety-One

(May 18, 1963)

You ought to be dead, you wrinkled knight.
Senility alone explains this jamming of
Trafalgar.
Quixote madness this lecturing to heads of
state.
Oh sad day, when English lords lose Nobel
Prize decorum.
Your day of combat's done. Put down your
lance.
Let younger hands take up this work.
It's they who now must choose to live or
die.
Yet, I suppose, this sage advice is wasted.
You'll go on being a grand old gander
a crazy wrinkled champion.
The very best this West can offer.

—Dan Georgakas

OBIT.

(45) How LIFE remembers BR, who died on February 2, 1970. The following is probably from an early February 1970 issue of Life (which was then a weekly). Unfortunately we cannot do a good job of reproducing the superb pictures that accompanied the text; we thought it better to omit them.

AN ILLUSTRIOUS 'LIFE OF DISAGREEMENTS'

Lord Bertrand Russell, the philosopher, mathematician and intellectual gadfly of the Western world who died last week at 97, liked to refer to his career as a "life of disagreement." That locution was, like all his language, precisely correct. A lifelong quest for truth susceptible of proof drove him to question everything and everybody, produced a body of writing that won him the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1950 and made him the outstanding skeptic of his time. The child Bertrand, orphaned at 3, showed no tendencies toward skepticism until he was 4. Then, he once told an interviewer, after hearing the story of Little Red Riding Hood, he dreamed he had been eaten by a wolf and found he was not in heaven but in the wolf's stomach. The questioning never stopped thereafter. In 1961 when he was nearly 89, he led sit-down demonstrations against the H-bomb. At his death Russell was still campaigning against nuclear weapons, racial discrimination, war in general and the Vietnam war in particular.

A fierce opponent of nuclear weapons, Russell led a sit-down protest outside the Defense Ministry in London in 1961.

In 1950, 10 years after he had been judged unfit to teach at New York's City College because of his writings, which were called "lecherous, libidinous, lustful, venereous, erotomaniac, aphrodisiac, irreverent, narrow-minded, untruthful and bereft of moral fiber," Lord Russell won the Nobel Prize for Literature.

(Thank you, Ophelia Hoopes)

One of the most prolific of thinkers (65 books, hundreds of essays, countless remarks), Bertrand Russell turned his mind to every conceivable concern of man. Some examples from writings and interviews:

"Two very different things caused my interest in philosophy. On the one hand, I wanted to understand the principles of mathematics. I observed that all the proofs of mathematical propositions that were taught me were obviously fallacious. They didn't really prove what they said they did, and I wanted to know whether there is any truth in the world that is known. I thought if there is any it probably is mathematics, but it is not in mathematics as I was taught it. The other thing that made me interested in philosophy was the hope I might find some basis for religious belief. In the mathematical part of my hopes I was fairly satisfied, but in the other part, not at all."

"The skepticism that I advocate amounts only to this: (1) that when the experts are agreed, the opposite opinion cannot be held to be certain; (2) that when they are not agreed, no opinion can be regarded as certain by a nonexpert; and (3) that when they all hold that no sufficient grounds for a positive opinion exist, the ordinary man would do well to suspend his judgment."

"Boredom is a vital problem for the moralist, since at least half of the sins of mankind are caused by the fear of it."

"I think freedom is not a panacea. In the relationship between nations there ought to be less freedom than there is. To some degree this applies to modern education too. I think that some progressive schools certainly have more freedom than you ought to have. Both in education and in other matters, I think that freedom must have very definite limitations, where you come to things that are definitely harmful to other people, or things that prevent you yourself from being useful, such as lack of knowledge."

"Every man would like to be God, if it were possible; some few find it difficult to admit the impossibility."

"The greatest influence toward effecting monogamy is immobility in a region containing few inhabitants. If a man hardly ever has occasion to leave home and seldom sees any woman but his wife, it is easy for him to be faithful. . . . The next greatest assistance to monogamy is superstition: those who genuinely believe that 'sin' leads to eternal punishment might be expected to avoid it. . . . The third support of virtue is public opinion. Where, as in agricultural societies, all that a man does is known to his neighbors, he has powerful motives for avoiding whatever convention condemns. But all these causes of correct behavior are less potent than they used to be. Fewer people live in isolation; belief in hell-fire is dying out; and in large towns no one knows what his neighbor does."

"Male domination has had some very unfortunate effects. It made the most intimate of human relations, that of marriage, one of master and slave, instead of one between equal partners."

ON REAGAN

(46) Mr. Harriman sums it up, in The New York Times (1/1/84, p. E13):

If the Reagan Pattern Continues, America May Face Nuclear War

By W. Averell Harriman

For three years, I have refrained from directly criticizing the President of the United States. I have been reticent because I believe that America must stand united before the world, particularly in the face of our foremost adversary, the Soviet Union. I also believe a President should be given fair time to pursue his goals and test his policies. In this sense, politics should stop at the water's edge. But this cannot mean that all criticism should be muted indefinitely, no matter how wrong a President may be or how critical the world situation may become.

President Reagan has had his fair chance, and he can no longer expect Americans to support policies that make our relationship with the Soviet Union more dangerous than at any time in the past generation.

This is the grim result of Reagan Administration diplomacy: If present developments in nuclear arms and United States-Soviet relations are permitted to continue, we could face not the risk but the reality of nuclear war.

To be silent in this situation is not patriotic but irresponsible. In the last month, nuclear arms negotiations have collapsed. Communication of all kinds between the United States and the Soviet Union has broken down; instead, we have propaganda barrages and the spectacle of the leaders of the two mightiest nations on earth trading insults, as if they had no more serious obligations than their own personal pride and political survival.

Flush with the polls and the overwhelming victory of 6,000 Americans over 600 Cubans on Grenada, the Administration now shows every sign of drawing the wrong lesson from that experience and risking defeats of a proportion it seemingly cannot even imagine.

Day by day in the Middle East, the Administration sinks further into a quagmire, committing American lives and American honor with no clear policy, no certain plan and, indeed, no obvious concern for the day when American soldiers and Soviet soldiers come face-to-face, no longer safely separated by the buffers of distance and surrogate military forces.

Moreover, Lebanon is only the most immediate trouble spot. Around the world, possible points of conflict and escalation become more volatile than ever as each superpower, in today's deteriorating situation, may be tempted to confront rather than to compromise, to treat every test as a measure of national will. The destruction of the South Korean airliner by the Soviet Union last summer provided chilling proof of the increasing potential for miscalculation and misunderstanding. Events can too readily overwhelm common sense and human safeguards.

These trends by themselves would be cause enough for worry, but they take place against the backdrop of a nuclear arms race rapidly escaping out of control — and dangerously passing the point of no return.

Within a few years, both the United States and the Soviet Union will have in place intercontinental missiles interpreted each by the other as instruments of a massive first strike. Within a span of months, both nations will put shorter-range nuclear missiles nearer each other's territory, missiles capable of striking critical command and control centers with flight times so short that caution may be the first casualty of some future crisis.

As if this were not sufficient, thousands of nuclear-armed cruise missiles will soon be stationed on American submarines, to be followed by thousands more carried on Soviet ships, or hidden, in uncountable numbers, in the vast expanse of the Soviet Union. These cruise missiles will pose extremely difficult challenges to arms control verification and they will vastly complicate our ability ever to achieve the nuclear reductions both American and Soviet leaders say they seek.

Perhaps the most tragic trend — because it is so avoidable — is that the arms race is about to be launched into space. Anti-satellite weapons will constitute a continuing threat to early warning, reconnaissance and communications satellites — all critical to our security and vital to preventing nuclear war by accident or miscalculation.

The Administration's "Star Wars" defense scheme will mean more than the destruction of three solemn arms control treaties — the Limited Test Ban, the Outer Space Treaty and the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty — that have served our security so well. It will mean that both sides will accumulate thousands more offensive weapons to overcome whatever defenses they each might devise. It promises security that is beyond our capability to provide and thus plays cruelly on the fear and the hope of every citizen. It promises a technological shield when the solution is in ourselves — in serious negotiation and mutual restraint.

It is always easy for Americans to blame the Soviet Union, and no American — no matter how much he or she desires a safer world — should lose sight of the fact that the Soviet Union does indeed bear a heavy responsibility for where we are today. But blaming the Soviet Union, which has been the single-minded indulgence of this Administration since the first day it took office, is not a strategy or a policy. It will not reshape the Russian nation; it will not bring down the Iron Curtain; and, above all, it will not reduce the nuclear threat that hangs over every American.

Anyone can assail the Soviet Union for the failure of Soviet-American relations. But we must demand more of our President, who, after all, is elected not to preside over failure but to find an acceptable solution even in the face of formidable problems. The unfortunate truth, however, is that we are now witness to more than a Presidential failure to act or an Administration's lack of policy. President Reagan and his Administration bear their own heavy measure of responsibility for the situation we face today.

No President in the nuclear age, strengthened abroad as was Mr. Reagan by the consensus at home for a strong national defense, secure politically on the right and the left for the endeavor of arms control, has had such an opportunity to reverse the nuclear arms race. Yet this opportunity has been squandered. And all Americans hoped that when he took office his past opposition to arms control would end. Yet the record of three years has betrayed these hopes.

Despite his campaign pledge to the nation that "as President, I will immediately open negotiations on a SALT III treaty," Mr. Reagan waited more than 17 months before even beginning to talk with the Soviet Union about such an agreement. Since then, the pace of negotiation has been, to put it politely, tepid; the discussions have been punctuated by long recesses, and there have been no significant results. All that has been done is to rename SALT, to call it Start; the talks have now stalled indefinitely.

The negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe have collapsed completely. In the most promising initiative during those talks, the so-called "walk in the woods" proposal, our negotiator, a veteran hardliner in dealing with the Soviet Union, was repudiated by the Administration for trying too hard to reach a workable compromise that actually would have been greatly to our advantage.

Indeed, the behavior and the proposals of the Administration in both the strategic and European nuclear discussions have raised serious doubts in the minds of many about whether there ever was any intention to reach any reasonable agreement. Negotiations have been treated as a forum for propaganda, an occasion for invective, a mask to cover new deployments and an arena to gain advantage — rather than as a path to human survival on this planet. This is a most shortsighted policy, for its outcome will simply be more missiles in Soviet hands — scarcely a sensible program for America's security.

The SALT II treaty, negotiated by three Presidents — two of them Republicans — was rejected by this Administration, with the President's own counselor saying, "We feel there is no legal or moral commitment to abide by SALT I and SALT II," international law to the contrary. Apart from its effect on the negotiating climate with the Soviet Union, this rejection means that almost 300 Soviet missiles and bombers that would have been destroyed under the terms of SALT II still are targeted on our cities and towns. What should have remained at worst an irresponsible election slogan was elevated to the level of a national policy, ushering in a new era of strategic instability.

Other actions amplify my deep concern about the course that the Administration has taken.

Despite the mounting threat of nuclear terrorism and the spread of nuclear weapons to more nations, the Administration has rejected the imperative of nuclear nonproliferation, and in fact has undercut important initiatives of previous Republican and Democratic Presidents. The goal of a comprehensive nuclear test ban — a prerequisite to effective nonproliferation and an objective of every other President since Dwight D. Eisenhower — has been summarily discarded. The President will not even discuss the control of space weapons with the Soviet Union.

The issue of verification — so central to arms control — has been blurred by the Administration. Serious problems with Soviet compliance have been submerged in irresponsible charges, innuendo and leaks. The objective, instead, should be to clarify questionable Soviet behavior and insist on compliance — not to exploit these concerns in order to further poison our relations, repudiate existing agreements, or, worse still, terminate arms control altogether.

Additionally, even the instruments with which our Government carries on the business of arms control have been degraded. Long-time opponents of arms restraint have been put in charge of policy making. American delegations have arrived at the Geneva negotiations empty-handed, then waited weeks to receive formal negotiating instructions. Fifteen months after taking office, the Administration could not agree on an opening position to take in strategic arms talks. Three years after taking office, the Administration still does not have a policy on verification. This lack of professionalism presents a stark contrast with the precision and purpose of our adversaries — and, insignificant though it may appear to some, it speaks volumes about attitude and commitment. That is what disturbs me most of all.

It will not be easy to undo these three years of nuclear irresponsibility, or to free both nations from excessive pride, or to control new weapons while we set about the task of controlling all weapons. But we are obliged to try with every ounce of strength we can muster, lest our generation of Americans be the first to imperil the legacy of life it has been given.

I am convinced that Soviet leaders desire serious negotiations. Such negotiations will not be easy; they will involve, as they always have, a hard-headed struggle to improve the national security of both countries. Nor need they signal our approval of other Soviet actions, such as the invasion of Afghanistan or the repression in Poland. Their object, despite the irreconcilable ideologies of our two nations, is the common goal that nuclear weapons have made a necessity: the prevention of nuclear war.

I am also convinced that constructive agreements to reduce nuclear arms, to make their use less likely, are possible — even at this late date. The Limited Nuclear Test Ban of 1963, after all, came after the Cuban missile crisis and years of tension in Berlin. Both sides, however, must want an agreement. Each side must be willing to seize on what is positive in the other's proposal rather than be paralyzed by the least favorable elements presented by each. Both sides must be willing to work for an agreement that will serve our mutual advantage. This essential change in attitude alone could be the catalyst for progress.

To put it plainly, President Reagan must be ready and willing to negotiate; he must want progress even more than he wants to berate the Soviet Union.

I am convinced that we must engage ourselves now in this fundamental choice about our future — and that is why I write as the New Year begins. We must demand a new effort to prevent war, not to prepare for it. A leadership for peace can be the finest expression of America's dream. We dare not fail. We are only human beings, subject to all the mortal perils of life, all the temptations to power; but, at the same time, in our very humanity, we must seek to pass on to our children and grandchildren not fear, but hope; not an arms race, but arms control; not the death of the earth, but a better and safer world.

W. Averell Harriman, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union and to Britain, has been an adviser to five Presidents and was chief negotiator of the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty.

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

(47) From The Minority of One(December 1963), with thanks to Ophelia Hoopes:

WILL MAN SURVIVE?

An examination of recent history discloses that nations change friends and foes "like partners at a dance." Yet for the sake of a passing relationship we are ready to destroy civilization.

By Bertrand Russell

The danger with which man is faced today derives not only from the love of power which motivates those who possess it. It follows as well from the moral debauchment of the people of nation-states after two world wars, and from a total failure of imagination. At the time of the First World War, sheer greed induced great powers to pursue their own economic destruction, preparing the way for Nazism and for the collapse of Czarist Russia. This led to the advent of the Soviet Union. In that war the enemies of England and the United States were Germany and several Balkan states. Japan was a tacit ally. Russia was an enemy and an ally in the same war. Nearly forty million people were killed. In the Second World War, Germany was again an enemy, Japan became an enemy and Russia was an enemy and an ally in the same war, but in reverse order. Almost as many people died in the Second World War as in the First. Within two years of its conclusion, the Germans and Japanese were allies and the Russians were the enemy.

We change enemies like partners at a dance. The angel of one year becomes the unspeakable devil of the next. And populations march to the slaughter as enthusiastically or apathetically as before.

This depressing behavior has been accompanied by steady deterioration in our moral sensibility. When the airplane was first introduced into warfare, people were horrified and thought it incomparably wicked. Soon it became accepted. When it was used to kill civilian populations the users were thought to have gone so far as to produce a worldwide moral revulsion against them. The saturation bombings of Hamburg and Tokyo were sheer raids of terror and indiscriminately killed the civilian inhabitants. The atomic bombings were treated with fear and dismay and, again, voices were heard assuring us that this was the end of warfare. We now speak of "megacorpses", "overkill", "kill-ratios" and of exterminating entire nations in an instant. This is no gradual change or difference in degree. The world is different than it was in a more fundamental way since air bombings first evoked horror.

We believe in indiscriminate mass murder. We believe in genocide. We believe in the elimination of whole peoples. It is proudly proclaimed. The common parlance of our time bespeaks our willingness to do this. Each Atlas missile base is an American Auschwitz and all Americans know it. This also is true of each Soviet missile. There are now stockpiled in the United States three hundred thousand million tons of T.N.T. As stated by Dr. Linus Pauling (November TMO), in order to exhaust the stockpile of both the United States and the Soviet Union, all the explosive power employed during the entire length of the Second World War would have to be used every single day for one hundred forty six years. All of this insane arsenal for global butchery is justified, by the powers concerned in moral terms. What could be more obscene than this?

The testing of nuclear weapons over the years has poisoned the atmosphere of the planet. Did those countries who committed this act against man consider their own reaction should Kenya and Tanganyika have poisoned the germ plasm of future generations in the course of a border dispute? But the United States Government speaks of international law and the Soviet Government complains of exploitation.

What moral right have we who live today to deprive future generations of life? Could you who read this article justify a decision by Marc Antony, in the course of his quarrel with Octavius, that the latter was evil and contested his power and, therefore, he would exterminate mankind? Through the ages fanatical contests for power have occurred, and deeply held ideologies have given vent to great cruelty. The Crusades, the spread of Islam, Attila, the Mongols and Genghis Khan, the Religious Wars between Catholics and Protestants—all these conflicts have caused suffering and death. Would anyone maintain that it would have been justifiable to stop life for all living at the time whether contestants or not; would anyone hold that life should have ended in 300 B.C. or 1,000 A.D.?

Is it right that all of man's history, his art, his culture, his hope of life and his capacity for love are to end because a technician makes an error or because Americans fear Russians and Russians fear Americans? It is too infantile and too psychopathic, too degrading and unworthy of civilized adult men and women. How can we say that there is nothing we can do because "the other" is wicked! The evil we see is no more than a reflection of our own behavior.

It is understanding of the enormity of our present action and our daily lives that is needed if man is to survive. Fifty thousand years of human history and the breath of life are in the balance. We devote each hour many millions to killing, to the promotion of arms. Two-thirds of mankind lives at subsistence level.

I do not single out Americans in the above reflections. I should, however, like to bring certain facts to the attention of Americans because they concern Americans in particular. It is said that individual freedom is valued by the West.

Why then do those countries which comprise the Western arms alliance consist almost entirely of ruthless tyrannies? Why do the most corrupt and poverty-stricken regimes of Asia, the Middle East, Southern Europe and Latin America compose the "free world"? Is it because individual liberty or the welfare of human beings are honored in Thailand, South Vietnam, South Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Greece, Spain, Portugal, France, West Germany, South Africa, or the Latin American dictatorships? Is it because American industry is favored in those countries?

It is said that war by accident is not going to take place. Is it realized that each day 50,000 aircraft are detected on NORAD, which is limited to computers which must transmit information in microseconds? Is it known that radar can not distinguish natural phenomena from missiles?

It is said that the Russians will not agree to inspection or controls over disarmament. Do Americans know that the Russian disarmament proposals require early agreement in principle to general disarmament and to Russian admittance of "thousands of United Nations inspectors on Soviet soil *before any reduction of armaments is started*"? The Soviet proposals call for internationally recruited inspection teams to be placed in every country *before any measures of disarmament are begun*. "These inspectors could control on the spot: the disbanding of 60% of Russian manpower, one hundred percent of the means of delivery of missiles and all other carriers." Why, then, do we lie about each other and suppress the truth?

I should wish Americans also to understand what the Cold War and the arms race have done to the institutions of the United States. Five years ago, in 1958, the value of property owned outright by the Defense Department was 160 billion dollars. This figure did not include property leased to the Department or dependent upon buildings of the Department for its value. The Defense Department owns over thirty-two million acres within the United States.

The budget for 1962 called for seventy cents out of every one hundred to pay for past wars and present war preparations. Military financial assets are triple the combined holdings of U.S. Steel, American Telephone and Telegraph, Metropolitan Life Insurance, General Motors and Standard Oil. Three times as many people work for the Defense Department as in all the

above corporations and their subsidiary firms.

Military power and the power of large industry merge because the top personnel are interchangeable. Billions of dollars are provided by the military and are fulfilled in military and quasi-military contracts. To take one year, in 1960, 21 billion dollars were spent on military goods. Yet this vast sum was a fraction of the military budget for 1960. To take three corporations. General Dynamics, Lockheed and Boeing, each received over one billion dollars in one year for military contracts. General Electric and North American Aviation received over 900 million dollars.

Who made these awards? Public men who only shortly before doing so were top executives in the very industries receiving the contracts. When military officers have campaigned for a particular weapon produced by a given corporation they have retired to the board of directors of that corporation.

There are now over 1,000 such retired officers over the rank of major in the top one hundred corporations. These one hundred corporations divided sixteen billion dollars in one single year. The list of officers includes 261 generals and flag-rank officers. General Dynamics has 187 retired officers, 27 generals and admirals and a former Secretary of the Army.

Major war contractors have dispersed subcontracts as well to every part of the American economy and society. The Defense Department hires over three and one-half million people and in addition another four million people work in defense industries.

In many important cities fifty per cent of manufacturing jobs consist of missile production. In San Diego it is 85%. In Los Angeles *over half of all jobs* depend on defense expenditure. *In the United States of America as a whole, between one-quarter and one-third of all economic activity hinges upon military expenditure.* It is expected to reach fifty per cent shortly.

Preparations for mass murder affect every food store and petrol station. They affect each industrial worker and each politician. They affect the entire nation. The psychological, political and economic implications are very grave. When a great nation, any nation, makes unimaginable slaughter part of the fabric of its national life, its people are harmed more deeply than they may understand. Will man survive? I should rather ask, "Has man the will to survive?" I believe that when the facts in this article become generally known, discussed and politically important in American public life, there will be more hope than this dark age can now provide.

INDEX

LAST MINUTE ITEM

(49) 1984 BRS Award to Dora. Dora is, of course, Dora Black Russell, now approaching her 90th birthday (in April.)

Here are a few of the things Bob Davis mentioned in proposing this Award (a proposal that was approved unanimously): aside from having been BR's wife, and mother of their two children (John & Kate), Dora visited China with BR (in 1921) and when he became gravely ill there, nursed him back to health. She and BR jointly wrote "The Prospects for Industrial Civilization" (1923); later they jointly started the Beacon Hill School (1927). She has been a tireless worker for liberal causes for some 60 years. (70?) (80?) She initiated, sponsored, and was a major backer of the BR Memorial in Red Lion Square, London (1980). There is much, much, much more.

If Dora accepts the Award, which will be offered to her, the plaque will read:

The 1984 Bertrand Russell Society Award
to
Dora Black Russell

for sharing Bertrand Russell's concerns,
collaborating in his work, and
helping to preserve his legacy
