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(1) Highlights: Linus Pauling, expert witness (4). Satan's lightning rods (19). BR in Australia, 1950 (23). Big Brother says "Vote!" (39,43). BR at 80 (6). Torcaso on humanism (26). Dora Russell dies (21). Membership list (35). Index on next to last page; ballot on last page.

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

(2) The Committee of 100, from "A Matter of Life", Clara Urquhart, ed. (Boston: Little Brown, 1963) pp.189-196. Thank you, TOM STANLEY.

[For more BR on civil disobedience, see RSN49-8. For more on the Committee of 100, see Wethersfield (3), and Linus Pauling (4).]

THE Committee of 100, as your readers are aware, calls for non-violent civil disobedience on a large scale as a means of inducing the British Government (and others, we hope, in due course) to abandon nuclear weapons and the protection that they are supposed to afford. Many critics have objected that civil disobedience is immoral, at any rate where the government is democratic. It is my purpose to combat this view, not in general, but in the case of non-violent civil disobedience on behalf of certain aims advocated by the Committee of 100.

It is necessary to begin with some abstract principles of ethics. There are, broadly speaking, two types of ethical theory. One of these, which is exemplified in the Decalogue, lays down rules of conduct which are supposed to hold in all cases, regardless of the effects of obeying them. The other theory, while admitting that some rules of conduct are valid in a very great majority of cases, is prepared to consider the consequences of actions and to permit breaches of the rules where the consequences of obeying the rules are obviously undesirable. In practice, most people adopt the second point of view, and only appeal to the first in controversies with opponents.

Let us take a few examples. Suppose a physically powerful man, suffering from hydrophobia, was about to bite your children, and the only way of preventing him was to kill him. I think very few people would think you unjustified in adopting this method of saving your children's lives. Those who thought you justified would not deny that the prohibition of murder is *almost* always right. Probably they would go on to say that this particular sort of killing should not be called 'murder'. They would define 'murder' as 'unjustifiable homicide'. In that case, the precept that murder is wrong becomes a tautology, but the ethical question remains: 'What sort of killing is to be labelled as murder?' Or take, again, the commandment not to steal. Almost everybody would agree that in an immense majority of cases it is right to obey this commandment. But suppose you were a refugee, fleeing with your family from persecution, and you could not obtain food except by stealing. Most people would agree that you would be justified in stealing. The only exceptions would be those who approved of the tyranny from which you were trying to escape.

There have been many cases in history where the issue was not so clear. In the time of Pope Gregory VI, simony was rife in the Church. Pope Gregory VI, by means of simony, became Pope and did so in order to abolish simony. In this he was largely successful, and final success was achieved by his disciple and admirer, Pope Gregory VII, who was one of the most illustrious of Popes. I will not express an opinion on the conduct of Gregory VI, which has remained a controversial issue down to the present day.

The only rule, in all such doubtful cases, is to consider the consequences of the action in question. We must include among these consequences the bad effect of weakening respect for a rule which is usually right. But, even when this is taken into account, there will be cases where even the most generally acceptable rule of conduct should be broken.

So much for general theory. I will come now one step nearer to the moral problem with which we are concerned.

What is to be said about a rule enjoining respect for law? Let us first consider the arguments in favour of such a rule. Without law, a civilized community is impossible. Where there is general disrespect for the law, all kinds of evil consequences are sure to follow. A notable example was the failure of prohibition in America. In this case it became obvious that the only cure was a change in the law, since it was impossible to obtain general respect for the law as it stood. This view prevailed, in spite of the fact that those who broke the law were not actuated by what are called conscientious motives. This case made it obvious that respect for the law has two sides. If there is to be respect for the law, the law must be generally considered to be worthy of respect.

The main argument in favour of respect for law is that, in disputes between two parties, it substitutes a neutral authority for private bias which would be likely in the absence of law. The force which the law can exert is, in most such cases, irresistible, and therefore only has to be invoked in the case of a minority of reckless criminals. The net result is a community in which most people are peaceful. These reasons for the reign of law are admitted in the great majority of cases, except by anarchists. I have no wish to dispute their validity save in exceptional circumstances.

There is one very large class of cases in which the law does not have the merit of being impartial as between the disputants. This is when one of the disputants is the state. The state makes the laws and, unless there is a very vigilant public opinion in defence of justifiable liberties, the state will make the law such as suits its own convenience, which may not be what is for the public good. In the Nuremberg trials war criminals were condemned for obeying the orders of the state, though their condemnation was only possible after the state in question had suffered military defeat. But it is noteworthy that the powers which defeated Germany all agreed that failure to practise civil disobedience may deserve punishment.

Those who find fault with the particular form of civil disobedience which I am concerned to justify maintain that breaches of the law, though they may be justified under a

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despotic régime, can never be justified in a democracy. I cannot see any validity whatever in this contention. There are many ways in which nominally democratic governments can fail to carry out principles which friends of democracy should respect. Take, for example, the case of Ireland before it achieved independence. Formally, the Irish had the same democratic rights as the British. They could send representatives to Westminster and plead their case by all the received democratic processes. But, in spite of this, they were in a minority which, if they had confined themselves to legal methods, would have been permanent. They won their independence by breaking the law. If they had not broken it, they could not have won.

There are many other ways in which governments, which are nominally democratic, fail to be so. A great many questions are so complex that only a few experts can understand them. When the bank rate is raised or lowered, what proportion of the electorate can judge whether it was right to do so? And, if anyone who has no official position criticizes the action of the Bank of England, the only witnesses who can give authoritative evidence will be men responsible for what has been done, or closely connected with those who are responsible. Not only in questions of finance, but still more in military and diplomatic questions, there is in every civilized state a well-developed technique of concealment. If the government wishes some fact to remain unknown, almost all major organs of publicity will assist in concealment. In such cases it often happens that the truth can only be made known, if at all, by persistent and self-sacrificing efforts involving obloquy and perhaps disgrace. Sometimes, if the matter rouses sufficient passion, the truth comes to be known in the end. This happened, for example, in the Dreyfus Case. But where the matter is less sensational the ordinary voter is likely to be left permanently in ignorance.

For such reasons democracy, though much less liable to abuses than dictatorship, is by no means immune to abuses of power by those in authority or by corrupt interests. If valuable liberties are to be preserved there have to be people willing to criticize authority and even, on occasion, to disobey it.

Those who most loudly proclaim their respect for law are in many cases quite unwilling that the domain of law should extend to international relations. In relations between states the only law is still the law of the jungle. What decides a dispute is the question of which side can cause the greatest number of deaths to the other side. Those who do not accept this criterion are apt to be accused of lack of patriotism. This makes it impossible not to suspect that law is only valued where it already exists, and not as an alternative to war.

This brings me at last to the particular form of non-violent civil disobedience which is advocated and practised by the Committee of 100. Those who study nuclear weapons and the probable course of nuclear war are divided into two classes. There are, on the one hand, people employed by governments, and, on the other hand, unofficial people who are actuated by a realization of the dangers and catastrophes which are probable if governmental policies remain unchanged. There are a number of questions in dispute. I will mention a few of them. What is the likelihood of a nuclear war by accident? What is to be feared from fall-out? What proportion of the population is likely to survive an all-out nuclear war? On every one of these questions independent students find that official apologists and policy-makers give answers which, to an unbiased inquirer, appear grossly and murderously misleading. To make known to the general population what independent inquirers believe to be the true answers to these questions is a very difficult matter. Where the truth is difficult to ascertain there is a natural inclination to believe what official authorities assert. This is especially the case when what they assert enables people to dismiss uneasiness as needlessly alarmist. The major organs of publicity feel themselves part of the Establishment and are very reluctant to take a course which the Establishment will frown on. Long and frustrating experience has proved, to those among us who have endeavoured to make unpleasant facts known, that orthodox methods, alone, are insufficient. By means of civil disobedience a certain kind of publicity becomes possible. What we do is reported, though as far as possible our reasons for what we do are not mentioned. The policy of suppressing our reasons, however, has only very partial success. Many people are roused to inquire into questions which they had been willing to ignore. Many people, especially among the young, come to share the opinion that governments, by means of lies and evasions, are luring whole populations to destruction. It seems not unlikely that, in the end, an irresistible popular movement of protest will compel governments to allow their subjects to continue to exist. On the basis of long experience, we are convinced that this object cannot be achieved by law-abiding methods alone. Speaking for myself, I regard this as the most important reason for adopting civil disobedience.

Another reason for endeavouring to spread knowledge about nuclear warfare is the extreme imminence of the peril. Legally legitimate methods of spreading this knowledge have been proved to be very slow, and we believe, on the basis of experience, that only such methods as we have adopted can spread the necessary knowledge before it is too late. As things stand, a nuclear war, probably by accident, may occur at any moment. Each day that passes without such a war is a matter of luck, and it cannot be expected that luck will hold indefinitely. Any day, at any hour, the whole population of Britain may perish. Strategists and negotiators play a leisurely game in which procrastination is one of the received methods. It is urgent that the populations of East and West compel both sides to realize that the time at their disposal is limited and that, while present methods continue, disaster is possible at any moment, and almost certain sooner or later.

There is, however, still another reason for employing non-violent civil disobedience which is very powerful and deserves respect. The programmes of mass extermination, upon which vast sums of public money are being spent, must fill every humane person with feelings of utter horror. The West is told that communism is wicked; the East is told that capitalism is wicked. Both sides deduce that the nations which favour either are to be 'obliterated', to use Khrushchev's word. I do not doubt that each side is right in thinking that a nuclear war would destroy the other side's 'ism', but each side is hopelessly mistaken if it thinks that a nuclear war could establish its own 'ism'. Nothing that either East or West desires can result from a nuclear war. If both sides could be made to understand this, it would become possible for both sides to realize that there can be no victory for either, but only total defeat for both. If this entirely obvious fact were publicly admitted in a joint statement by Khrushchev and Kennedy, a compromise method of coexistence could be negotiated giving each side quite obviously a thousand times more of what it wants than could be achieved by war. The utter uselessness of war, in the present age, is completely obvious except to those who have been so schooled in past traditions that they are incapable of thinking in terms of the world that we now have to live in. Those of us who protest against nuclear weapons and nuclear war cannot acquiesce in a world in which each man owes such freedom as remains to him to the capacity of his government to cause many hundreds of millions of deaths by pressing a button. This is to us an abomination, and rather than seem to acquiesce in it we are willing, if necessary, to become outcasts and to suffer whatever obloquy and whatever hardship may be involved in standing aloof from the governmental framework. This thing is a horror. It is something in the shadow of which nothing good can flourish. I am convinced that, on purely political grounds, our reasoned case is unanswerable. But, beyond all political considerations, there is the determination not to be an accomplice in the worst crime that human beings have ever contemplated. We are shocked, and rightly shocked, by Hitler's extermination of six million Jews, but the governments of East and West calmly con-

template the possibility of a massacre at least a hundred times greater than that perpetrated by Hitler. Those who realize the magnitude of this horror cannot even *seem* to acquiesce in the policies from which it springs. It is this feeling, much more than any political calculation, that gives fervour and strength to our movement, a kind of fervour and a kind of strength which, if a nuclear war does not soon end us all, will make our movement grow until it reaches the point where governments can no longer refuse to let mankind survive.

(3) Wethersfield -- a U.S.air and nuclear base in Britain -- was one of the targets that the Committee of 100 demonstrated against on December 9th, 1961. What follows is from BR's Autobiography III (NY:Simon & Schuster, 1969), pp. 164-5:

> The immediate aftermath of the demonstration of December 9th was the charging of five leaders of the Commmittee under the Official Secrets Act of 1911. It was, from a layman's point of view, a curiously conducted trial. The prosecution was allowed to present its case in full, resting on the question as to whether it was prejudicial to the safety of the nation for unauthorized people to enter the Wethersfield air field with the intention of immobilizing and grounding the air craft there. The defence's case was that such stations as Wethersfield, like all the stations engaged in nuclear "defence" of the country, were in themselves prejudicial to the safety of the country. Professor Linus Pauling, the physicist, and Sir Robert Watson-Watt, the inventor of radar, who had come from the United States to give evidence as to the dangers of the present nuclear policy of which Wethersfield was a part, and I were kept hanging about for many hours. Then all our testimony, like that of other defence witnesses, of whom some, I believe, were not permitted to be called at all, was declared irrelevant to the charges and ruled out.

THE COMMITTEE OF 100 (CONTINUED)

(4) Linus Pauling, 1962, as reported in Peace News, No. 1341, 9 March '62 (London), with thanks to HARRY RUJA:

Dr. Linus Pauling came to Britain last month to give evidence on behalf of the six members of the Committee of 100 at the Old Bailey Official Secrets Act Trial. His evidence, disallowed by the Judge, was read out at the Committee of 100 rally in Trafalgar Square two weeks ago. Because it contains facts which should be widely known, particularly in view of the proposed resumption of atmospheric tests at Christmas Island, we have reproduced Dr. Pauling's statement below.

An effective understanding of the meaning of preparation for nuclear war is denied the public. As a scientist I have devoted myself to a study of nuclear war, its consequences and the prospects of its occurrence. I drew up a petition which was signed by over 11,000 scientists from all over the world making these facts clear. I have lectured and written and I have campaigned to awake people and governments to the full meaning of the horror which awaits us all. I consider my evidence to be expert evidence and to be the result of the most thorough and persistent work.

My estimate of the US nuclear stockpile in 1961 was 100,000 megatons A megaton is the equivalent of one million tons of TNT. The stockpile of the Soviet Union I calculate to be approximately 50,000 megatons. In 1945 the world's stockpile was roughly 100,000 tons of TNT. Since that time, the magnitude of the world's stockpile of nuclear weapons has doubled EACH YEAR. 150,000 megatons, the probable stockpile, corresponds to an average of 500 tons of high explosive for each person living on earth.

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Eight-tenths of one per cent of this stockpile possessed by the Soviet Union would cause the death of all life in the British Isles. In a few years, the stockpile will be ten times as great. There will be hundreds of rockets carrying 100 megaton warheads. Four of these will mean the end of the British people and of Great Britain. An attack on the United States involving one-fifth of the Soviet stockpile, 10,000 megatons, would kill outright 94 percent of the American people. The remaining would be injured and radio-activated in an environment of total devastation, of rampant disease.

If the element Cobalt were added at small cost to these weapons the resulting radio-active Cobalt 60 would affect every living person. A 500 megaton Cobalt bomb is not expensive. The explosion of these bombs in ratio to the expected percentage of the stockpile used would yield 1000 roentgen for each human being on our planet. This is twice the amount required to kill a person by acute radiation sickness.

In my recent appeal to the United Nations, I said:

> The world is now in great danger. A cataclysmic nuclear war may break out because of some terrible accident or of an explosive deterioration in international relations such that even national leaders will be unable to avert the catastrophe.

I say that we are moving rapidly toward the catastrophe of nuclear war. It is essential that everyone be aware of the magnitude of this catastrophe. Survivors will not remain alive very long in the radio-active wastelands that their countries become. At any given moment this can take place. I say this as a scientist. I say this as a man whose work forces him to examine the probabilities in events. Universal disarmament is now the essential basis for life and liberty for all people.

When the Soviet government resumed nuclear testing I made statements pointing out the meaning of this decision. I said that the stockpiles of nuclear weapons now in existence were great enough to destroy the human race. There is no defense against nuclear weapons and increasing the scale of attack cannot achieve this. There is no way of limiting war between great powers when great bombs exist and great governments are unrestrained in their militarism. The militaristic action of governments in resuming tests increases the danger of war enormously. In the name of science I appealed to the Soviet Government not to resume testing.

The surface tests conducted had the following consequences: 160,000 children will be born with gross physical and mental defects during the next few generations. The Carbon 14 produced will cause an estimated total of 4,000,000 stillbirths, embryonic, neo-natal or childhood deaths and children with physical and mental defects. These 4,000,000 victims will be spread out over some score of generations assuming the human race survives. The fission products will also damage human beings now living in such a way that betwee 200,000 and 1,000,000 will have their lives cut short by radiation-produced diseases such as leukemia. These numbers apply to the whole world. This results from the exploding of approximately 200 megatons.

That is the meaning of the Soviet resumption of tests. It compares with the consignment of Jews to the gas chambers. The horror of the present world crashes upon us as we speak and state the truth. How is it possible that this sort of alternative to a future of peace, international law and justice can be considered seriously by anyone as a rational alternative.

There is no alternative to peace.

It is not only the fear of world destruction that forces us to say this. It is also the matter of morality. I believe the people of the world cannot accept the idea of such a monstrously immoral action as that involved in waging a nuclear war. Billions will die or undergo agony. Civilisation will end.

My Government and the British Government will now resume tests. This is premeditated murder of millions of people. I have devoted my life to science and research. I believe in seeking truth. I cannot allow my life's work to be so employed. I came here interrupting my work to tell the truth. I came to give evidence on what is prejudicial to the safety and interest of mankind. I wish to remind you of the Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen States of America of July 4, 1776:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are LIFE , liberty, and the pursuit of happiness... That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it and to institute new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness...

I have been a supporter of the Committee of 100 and an international sponsor of the Committee from its very beginning. I took part in the demonstration of September 17, 1961, and I have never witnessed anything like it. I supported the demonstration at Wethersfield although at the time I was delivering a speech attacking the resumption of testing by the Soviet Government. I was in Moscow giving that speech and so could not attend. I wish to say to the six defandants and to Pat Pottle who so brilliantly and single-handedly defended humanity against the Governments of the world, "I am with you. You speak for me."

It is not only a privilege to oppose the death of man, it is not only a right to act on conscience and to work for the interest and safety of one's country, it is a moral duty and an imperative responsibility. Every man who participates in civil disobedience makes our survival that much more likely. The struggle goes on and we shall triumph.

RUSSELL & POPPER, WRITERS

(5) Popper vs. BR. We know that BR's manuscripts show no revisions or corrections. His first draft was his final draft. He got it right the first time.

Those of us who are not like that -- and who have long been pained because of it -- can take comfort in these remarks by Karl Popper... from "Popper Selections," David Miller, ed., (Princeton University Press, 1985) p. 245. With thanks to BOB DAVIS.

Many years ago I visited Bertrand Russell in his rooms at Trinity College and he showed me a manuscript of his in which there was not a single correction for many pages. With the help of his pen, he had instructed the paper. This is very different indeed from what I do. My own manuscripts are full of corrections – so full that it is easy to see that I am working by something like trial and error; by more or less random fluctuations from which I select what appears to me fitting. We may pose the question whether Russell did not do something similar, though only in his mind, and perhaps not even consciously, and at any rate very rapidly. For indeed, what seems to be instruction is frequently based upon a roundabout mechanism of selection, as illustrated by Darwin's answer to the problem posed by Paley.

I suggest that we might try out the conjecture that something like this happens in many cases. We may indeed conjecture that Bertrand Russell produced almost as many trial formulations as I do, but that his mind worked more quickly than mine in trying them out and rejecting the non-fitting verbal candidates. Einstein somewhere says that he produced and rejected an immense number of hypotheses before hitting on (and first rejecting) the equations of general relativity. Clearly, the method of production and selection is one that operates with negative feedback.

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(6) Russell at 80 (1952). From the Saturday Review Reader #2 (NY:Bantam, 1953), previously in the London Observer. With thanks to TOM STANLEY.

The Next Eighty Years

BERTRAND RUSSELL

With penetrating wit tempered by human understanding, one of the world's great thinkers speculates about the probable shape of the future.

THE eighty years of my life have been among the most eventful in the world's history. I cannot think of any other equally important period except the eighty years from the conversion of Constantine to the sack of Rome and the eighty years following the Hegira. The earliest public event that I can remember is the Russo-Turkish war of 1876-8, at the end of which Disraeli intervened to save the Turks from Russia and annexed Cyprus as his reward. The world of that day was almost unbelievably different from the world in which we are living. The Franco-Prussian war, which established the supremacy of Germany over France, ended the year before I was born. Compulsory education in England was enacted two years before my birth, and when I was young a very large proportion of wage-earners were still illiterate. Agricultural laborers earned ten shillings a week, on which they and their large families had to subsist as best they could. Queen Victoria, with the help of Disraeli, was beginning to recover the popularity that she had lost in the Sixties. The Kaiser was her grandson, and the Czar married her granddaughter. She dominated the sovereigns of Europe with grandmotherly severity. The British navy was supreme. The wealth of Britain was increasing by leaps and bounds. The rest of the world envied British stability, and everybody foresaw, with a minimum of doubt, a universal future of gradual and ordered progress.

But the course of events has not been quite what was expected by Queen Victoria and her ministers. Not only politically, but socially, there have been immense unforeseen revolutions. Perhaps the most notable and surprising of social changes has been the emancipation of women. The feminist movement began, so far as England is concerned, about the time of my birth as the queer eccentricity of a few intellectuals. For a long time it seemed as if it would never become more than this. Suddenly, at the beginning of the present century, the agitation in favor of women's equality spread from radical intellectuals to female wage-earners. At the end of World War I it achieved legislative triumph in America and Britain. And other nations quickly followed suit. From the point of view of an anthropologist, the suddenness of this change is amazing. It might have been expected to take five centuries instead of which, as a powerful movement, it took twenty years.

The recognition of women's equality was part of a large general movement which substituted economic and political classifications in place of those of biology. The hereditary principle, which had been supreme in government, except in the United States, gradually lost its dominance. One country after another transformed itself from a monarchy into a republic. Brazil, China, Germany, and Russia were the most noteworthy examples. I find it difficult to recall that in my youth Brazil had an Emperor. China had had an Emperor since the dawn of history and yet the Empire proved completely powerless against the forces of republicanism. What happened to monarchs happened also to aristocracies the world over. The Russian aristocrats were dispossessed by the Russian revolution. The East Prussian Junkers, who had dominated Prussian policy for a long time, were tamed by the Nazis and suppressed by the Russians. The aristocracies of Hungary, Poland, and Rumania have vanished behind the Iron Curtain. The British aristocracy has been gradually dispossessed by means of death duties, which have insured that whenever a landed magnate dies his heir ceases to be a magnate. Modern dictators, unlike those of all former ages, make no attempt to secure the succession to their sons. Even in China, where filial piety and family solidarity had been the backbone of Confucian teaching for two thousand years, both are melting away in the heat of Communist propaganda. Everywhere, the individual is coming increasingly to feel himself a member of a class rather than of a family.

There are, of course, obvious economic reasons for this change. A peasant who has a small plot of land works it in conjunction with his wife and children, so that the family is a unit of production. But modern machine methods of agriculture require larger farms, which can no longer be worked by single families. There is the same sort of change in the transition from handicrafts to factories. And at a higher economic level, large companies with many shareholders have replaced the old family businesses. The family has also been weakened by the competition of the school. The children of immigrants in the United States give their loyalty very much more to their school than to their parents. In Russia this process must have happened in a much more catastrophic fashion than in America. The old peasants who hated the Bolshevik regime must have found their children indoctrinated with contempt for father and mother and respect for the utterly different outlook that has been inculcated by the State.

I incline to think that the weakening of the biological as-

pects of society is likely to prove a permanent feature of the modern world. The strength of the family in the past depended very largely upon the insecurity of children whose parents were not in a position to protect them. In the modern world, the State increasingly takes over the duties that formerly belonged to the father. The mother still has her place, but the father is becoming a shadowy figure.

There is still, it is true, one department in which biological considerations are powerful, that of race. The Nazis endeavored to make race a supreme consideration and, in pursuit of this reactionary ideology, they exterminated millions of Jews and invented ridiculous anthropologies. The Nazis have been overthrown, but racial ideas still dominate in South Africa and in the southern states of the USA. They used to dominate in the relations of white men to Asians. But now, owing to the weakening of white men by their battles with each other, white insolence in Asia is having to cease. I think it will not be long before it has to cease in regard to Negroes, for, if it does not, all Africa will become Communist. Even as regards race, therefore, biological ways of viewing social relations are likely to lose their force in the near future.

The father, the family, and the clan are all being replaced by the State, which is the residuary legatee of these antiquated authorities. I will not pretend to welcome this change. I am not in love with the State. And a society in which the State rules unchecked is likely to be drab, uniform, and bellicose. At any rate it will be bellicose until such time as there is a single dominant world state. But whether for good or ill, the tendencies of which I have been speaking seem quite irresistible unless, as a result of war, modern industrial methods collapse and the world returns to a more primitive economy. This, of course, may happen. The Roman Empire was to a great extent an economic unit. Wares from the Eastern Mediterranean abounded in Roman Britain. Travel from the Euphrates to Hadrian's wall was easy and for those days rapid. But when the Empire fell, the previous interdependence of its parts ceased. The roads became impassable, commerce was brought to an end by bandits, and each little region had to produce its own necessaries. If great wars continue, the same thing may happen in the modern world and, in that case, all the trends of which I have been speaking will be reversed. But, on the whole, this seems scarcely probable. It is more likely, I think, that great wars will end in the victory of a great power, or alliance of powers, than that they will end in universal chaos. If they do not end in chaos, the sort of social changes that have occurred during the past eighty years are likely to be permanent and to be succeeded by further changes in the same direction.

The first half of my life was spent in an atmosphere of nineteenth-century optimism, while the second half has been spent in the era of great wars. In a large view, the great wars are an outcome of industrial competition between nations. Both wealth and military power depend upon industrial development, but a well-developed industrial technique, if it exists in many countries, produces more than the world can absorb and therefore leads to a cut-throat competition which is not conducted by the old orthodox economic methods but by fighting. If the world is to recover stability, it will be necessary that industrial development and production shall somehow be internationally regulated and controlled, since a world of unrestricted national industrial freedom must involve continuance of the devastating wars that have so far characterized this unhappy century.

I am myself a lover of freedom, but in a scientific world freedom needs certain limitations that were formerly unnecessary. It needs limitations especially in the economic sphere. I find myself on this point out of sympathy with many men who consider themselves lovers of freedom. I believe in freedom in matters of the mind, but in the sphere of material production I think that freedom is no longer possible without disaster. The men I have in mind hold exactly the opposite view. They are of the opinion that production should be free, but thinking should be confined within the narrow limits of some authorized orthodoxy. So long as this outlook prevails I do not think we can escape the prospect of a long series of great wars, each more devastating than the last. Only international cooperation can bring great wars to an end, and international cooperation, if it is to be effective in this respect, will involve the international control of raw materials and the rationing of their use. We are as yet a long way from this, but when I think how much has happened in the eighty years of my life, I see no reason to doubt that equally astonishing things will happen in the next eighty years.

If scientific technique does not bring itself to grief by scientific warfare, various things may be expected during the next eighty years. I make little doubt that men will get to the moon. But, as the moon has no atmosphere, they will have to bring air with them and will not be able to stay long. It is a more serious matter to get to Venus or Mars. Mars, like the moon, has no atmosphere, or, at any rate, very little. Venus has an atmosphere, but they say it is poisonous. Mercury is too hot and the other planets too cold. So the rest of the solar system will not be much use from the point of view of over-population. But there is no known limit to what can be done on the surface of the Earth. Presumably all the present deserts will be made fertile. Presumably the Sahara will be full of populous cities, and the center of Australia will become a pastoral paradise. The Russians already have schemes for transforming Siberia by deflecting the waters of the Yenisei and raising mountain chains to keep off the north wind. The East coast of Canada suffers at present from a cold current, but they say that a wall built out into the sea for twenty miles from a suitable cape would cause the cold current to sink and make the winter in Labrador as mild as in England. I do not vouch for this statement, but if it is not valid, probably something very similar is. There is another possibility to be taken account of, which is that of manufacturing food chemically. There seems no good reason why we should continue to grow our food laboriously in soil and allow ourselves to be dependent on the vagaries of sun and rain. Why not make beefsteaks in factories? And flour in workshops? I dare say that food made in this way would not taste very nice, but in time people would get used to it and a little "real" food would still be produced for wedding feasts and the banquets of Heads of States. Some very rich men would occasionally issue invitations saying in one corner, "Decorations will be worn" and in the other corner "Real peas." The practical cessation of rural population produced by such a change will have profound social and political effects. Everybody will be intelligent and hysterical, which will produce a paradise for politicians.

There is another possibility which, if it is realized, will be even more revolutionary in its effects. Most things that are at present done by human beings can be done by robots. Mechanical brains are being rapidly perfected, and it is hoped that before long only experts will be able to distinguish them from live people. If we are to believe Dr. Norbert Wiener, we must expect that within the next fifty years at latest a fully equipped factory will need only one man to press the button. All the rest will be done by ingenious mechanisms. At shareholders' meetings nobody will know whether what he is sitting next to is a man or a mechanical stooge. This will make the work of management much easier, and if the machines can be taught to vote democracy will at last run smoothly. This perhaps is fanciful; but it is not fanciful that the labor movement, as it has existed since the Industrial Revolution, will of necessity be brought to an end. The armies of wage-earners who like their hours of labor limited and their hours of recreation extended, who demand increases of wages whenever there is an increase in the cost of living, will no longer be needed. Ninety-nine per cent of them can be drafted into the armed forces—though even this will be only a temporary outlet, since the robots will show a contempt for death that no human soldier can equal. We have been in the habit of thinking—at any rate, when we think as moralists—that people ought to be useful and that they show their usefulness by work. But if their work is no longer required, our whole ethical system will collapse and we shall no longer be able to say with any plausibility that it is wicked to enjoy oneself. The moralists will be forced to invent new unpleasant tasks to prevent that general diffusion of happiness which, as earnest men, we must all deplore. I have no doubt they will be equal to the task, and I think war is the method that they will employ.

So long as the human race is divided into two halves, each of which thinks the other half wicked, it can be

plausibly maintained that it is everybody's duty to cause suffering. If such a view is not to prevail, it will be necessary that our moral outlook should become more kindly than it has hitherto been, and that we should cease to find pleasure in thinking of this world as a vale of tears. In my more cheerful moments, I allow myself to hope that when the pressure of physical necessity is lifted there may be a general development of kindliness and joy which will enable men to view with equanimity the pleasures of others because their own happiness will be secure. Such a world may perhaps come about in time. But in darker moments I am oppressed by the abysses of hatred, malice, and envy in the human heart, and I wonder whether man will ever permit himself the happiness that his intelligence has made physically possible.

We live in a moment of strange conflict. The human heart has changed little since the dawn of history, but the human mastery over nature has changed completely. Our passions, our desires, our fears are still those of the cave man, but our power to realize our wishes is something radically new. Man has survived hitherto because he was too ignorant to know how to realize his wishes. Now that he can realize them, he must either change them or perish. When we were children we were told fairy tales about magicians who granted three wishes. The people to whom this boon was vouchsafed were always silly in the stories and wished for something quite absurd. That is roughly the position of the human race in the present day. Caligula wished that his enemies had only one head that he might execute them in one fell swoop. But they continued to have many heads, and he was thwarted. Our modern Caligulas manufacture hydrogen bombs, and are not thwarted. If man is to live with the new powers that he has acquired, he must grow up, not only in his mind but in his heart. He must face the painful truth that disaster to his neighbor whom he hates is not likely to bring happiness to himself whom he loves. The world becomes every day more unified technically and more disunified psychologically. I think that education, if it were wisely conducted, could do a very great deal towards remedying this state of affairs. Children could be taught in school that where the interests of different groups appear to conflict, the conflict is caused by useless and foolish passions which inspire false beliefs to the effect that one man's success must be another man's failure. Schools everywhere are dominated by national States and inspire in the young the beliefs which the rulers of States imagine to be useful. It is not an easy thing to educate the rulers of States. I knew a psychiatrist who said that he could cure Hitler in ten sittings, but unfortunately Hitler had no wish to be cured. I wish there were a method of kidnapping all Heads of States and keeping them together in a sanatorium controlled by wise men. But as that cannot be done, the issue must remain in doubt. I shall not see the issue, but I allow myself to hope that it may be happy.

For more of BR at 80, see the Rodney Wheeler interview.(RSN45-28).

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(7)

ANNUAL MEETING, 1986

The 13th Annual Meeting took place in NYC on June 21st, at the spacicus headquarters of the New York Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West 64th Street.

30 members attended one or both sessions:JANICE BOTTENUS, JACK COWLES, KENNETH DIAMOND, BEVERLEY EARLES,GRAHAM ENTWISTLE, RICHARD FALLIN, RICHARD GNALL,DAVID GOLDMAN,KEN KORBIN,SCOTT KURHAN,GLADYS LEITHAUSER,DON JACKANICZ, TED JACKANICZ, ADAM JACOBS,DAVID JOHNSON, CORLISS LAMONT, JOHN LENZ, JONATHAN LOBL, GRAHAME MAISEY, STEVE MARAGIDES, HUGH MCVEIGH, CARL MILLER, STEVE REINHARDT, MICHAEL ROCKLER, HARRY RUJA, CHERIE RUPPE, WARREN ALLEN SMITH, JOHN SCHWENK, ELEANOR VALENTINE, PHILIP STANDER,THOMAS WEIDLICH.

A number of non-member guests were present: Special Guest Bessie Denonn (widow of BRS Director and Honorary Member, Lester Denonn), Sydney and Silvia Aaronson, Linda DiDesidero, Julie Gricat, Dror Kahn, Felix Klein, Hilbert Schwartz, Nancy Spataro, and others. About 45 people attended the afternoon session (and its Red Hackle Hour), and about 60 the evening.

The following officers were elected or re-elected for one-year terms,starting immediately: Chairman, Harry Ruja; President, Marvin Kohl; Vice President, John Lenz; Treasurer, Dennis Darland; Secretary, Don Jackanicz; and VP/Information, Lee Eisler.

This is what took place during the afternoon and evening sessions:

- A reading and open discussion of MARVIN KOHL's paper,"Russell and the Attainability of Happiness."
- A screening of the 1984 BBC-TV production,"Bertie and the Bomb," which had not been seen in America.
- A viewing of the BBC-TV videotape,"Bertrand Russell".
- The presentation of a Special Award to CORLISS LAMONT. Mr. Lamont, introduced by JOHN LENZ, then spoke briefly on free choice, and on BR as a humanist.
- The presentation of the 1986 Bertrand Russell Society Award to People for the American Way, represented by its President, Anthony T. Podesta. Mr. Podesta, introduced by BRS Chairman HARRY RUJA, spoke about his organization's work promoting separation of church and state, and excellence in education and in the federal judiciary. (They are currently opposing textbook censorship and the nomination of Mannion to be a federal judge.) He then screened a videotape,"The 'People For' Story", depicting, among other things, the excesses of the Far Right.

Both Award plaques are shown below.

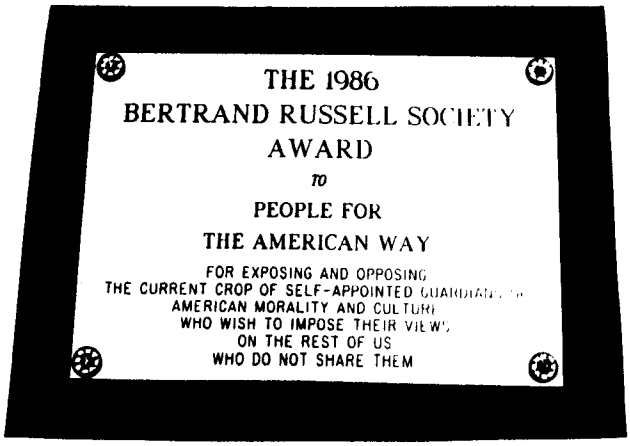
At the Society's Business Meeting this is what happened:

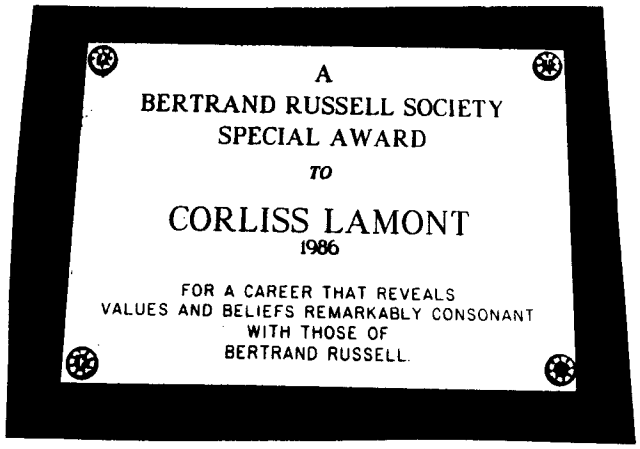
- Don Jackanicz presided. Many members and non-members attended. Don reported the death of Honorary Member Dora Russell on June 1st, and the election of new Honorary Member, Linus Pauling.
- Don reminded the members to send items about BR to Lee Eisler, for possible use in the newsletter.
- Harry Ruja, responding to a question, said that the first volume of the comprehensive BR bibliography that he and Ken Blackwell are working on would appear at the end of 1987.

. David Johnson, Chairman, BRS Philosophers Committee, called for papers for the BRS session at APA in December 1987. See (37)

The BRS Board of Directors met, in 3 brief sessions, and acted as follows:
. Elected officers for the following year, as reported above.
. Selected San Diego as the meeting site for 1987, and NYC for 1988. Harry Ruja and Bob Davis will make the arrangements for 1987, Marvin Kohl will do the same for 1988.
. Approved the creation of a committee to study the possibility of a future meeting in England.
. Approved paying McMaster $1 more for members' subscriptions to "Russell", if our Treasurer says we can afford it. The new price per subscription would be US$7.
. Approved buying a BR film that BRS Librarian Tom Stanley had located, costing $150-200.

For more details on June 21st, see the minutes (27). A nice detail, not in the minutes: Warren Smith enjoyed talking with his old philosophy professor, Corliss Lamont.





NEWS ABOUT MEMBERS

(8) Adam Paul Banner has been "very active locally [in Ann Arbor] as Hazardous Materials Coordinator for the county Office of Emergency Management. Also aided in giving two talks on Islam and Turkey via the Ottoman Empire, amd am working on another presentation of the Armenian Question."

(9) Harry Clifford, a member since 1975, will be 85 on October 12, 1986. Happy Birthday, Harry!

(10) Peter Cranford, Founder and first President of the BRS, has written a little book with a big message that's worth paying attention to. It is called "BERTRAND RUSSELL ON COMPOSSIBILITY. A first step toward eliminating war." See Recommended Reading (25).

(11) Paul Kuntz's new book, "Bertrand Russell," has just been published by Twayne Publishers, Boston. See Recomended Reading (24).

(12) Justin Leiber has gone to Linacre College, Oxford, till mid-December, then back to Houston.

(13) John Lenz will be in Greece again this summer, on "Paros Island, where I will be digging again: an idyllic spot in the middle of the Cyclades. I continue as a grad. student (this is not news), slowly; on another fellowship, a 'President's Fellowship,' from Columbia (my third lucky consecutive one), with a teaching assistantship in Greek history. Unfortunately, my work has slowed my Russell collecting to a halt, although I was able to purchase some Greek translations of Russell in Athens last year for my friend, John Slater (of Toronto)." As noted above, John was elected BRS Vice-President on June 21st.

(14) Nathan Salmon on Frege's Puzzle,as described in this press release of June 3, 1986 from the University of California, Santa Barbara.

UCSB PHILOSOPHER LOOKS AT WHAT'S IN A NAME

Juliet, Shakespeare's star-crossed lover, is not alone in pondering,"What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet."

Nathan Salmon, a UCSanta Barbara philosopher, has written an entire book about it.

The much ado is about language -- how the turn of a word or phrase comes to stand for a certain thing, and what the words in a sentence contribute to the information it contains.

While many people think of philosophy as a discipline bent on the pursuit of the "meaning of life" and other lofty cosmological speculations, today's mainstream analytic philosophers are somewhat removed from these classic philosophic questions and more likely to be found working with equations.

"Contemporary analytic philosophers have abandoned to poets the pursuit of the meaning of life, while claiming for their own the logicians's and semanticist's pursuit of the meanings of words," according to Salmon, a philosopher of language.

In his recent book, "Frege's Puzzle," Salmon looks at the information content of declarative sentences, a central topic in the philosophy of language. Using mathematical tools he attempts to find order in language and information by looking at how words, phrases and sentences represent things, facts or events.

"Symbolic logic provides a way of cataloging and categorizing the different kinds of words or expressions that make up sentences according to the type of role they play in reasoning," Salmon says.

Gottlob Frege, a late 19th Century German mathematician and philosopher, invented a philosophical puzzle that addressed what's in a name. According to another 19th Century philosopher, John Stuart Mill, a name's contribution to the information contained in a sentence is what the name stands for, a view Salmon calls the naive theory. Frege's puzzle challenges this theory.

The puzzle concerns the sentences, "the Morning Star is the Evening Star" and "the Morning Star is the Morning Star," which are the same except that the second sentence replaces the name, "the Evening Star," with "The Morning Star" -- two names that stand for the same thing, the planet Venus.

Frege argued that since the first sentence is informative and the second is not, the two sentences contain different information and, therefore, the names do not contribute what they stand for, Salmon says.

"Frege maintained that the sentences contain different information because our concept of the Morning Star is different from our concept of the Evening Star. He concluded that what a name contributes is not what it stands for but something like a concept of what it stands for, something that is apprehended."

Frege's puzzle has been taken by a vast majority of contemporary philosophers of language as a refutation of the naive theory. Salmon says. "A great deal of philosophical energy over the past 20 to 30 years has been focused on proposing alternatives to the naive theory, none of which have gained universal acceptance."

In his book Salmon defends a version of the naive theory in attempting to solve Frege's puzzle. He argues that Frege's two sentences contain the same semantically encoded information, namely that Venus is Venus, but differ in the information imparted.

"The first sentence, but not the second, imparts the information that the names 'The Evening Star' and 'The Morning Star' stand for the same thing," Salmon says. "That is why the first sounds informative and the second does not."

"When we grasp a piece of information there is a certain way in which you do this with the result that one could grasp or apprehend the same piece of information on two different occasions and not recognize it."

Salmon argues that a great deal of what has generally been taken for granted in the philosophy of language over the past few decades is either mistaken or unsupported, and much current research is focused on the wrong set of questions.

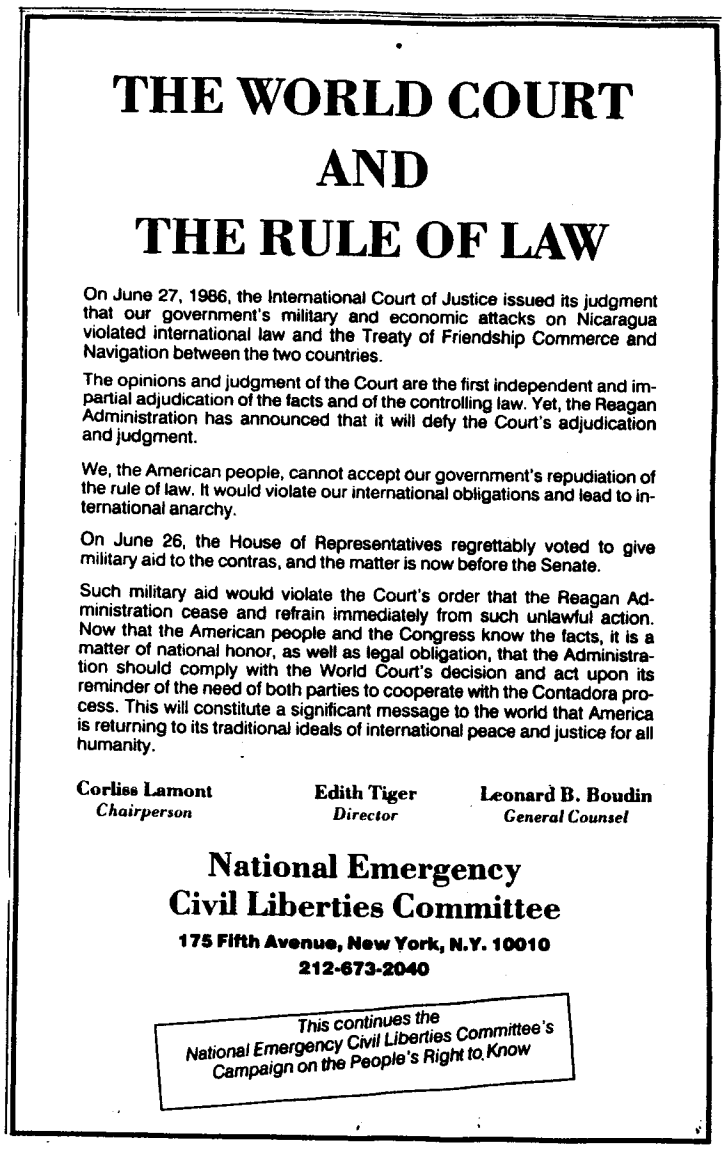
"Frege's Puzzle" is published by MIT Press.

(15) Ramon Suzara. In March he wrote: "Effective May 1st,I'm being laid off with the 23 other Resident managers of the S.F. Housing Authority. Reaganomics has slashed the budget for public housing. The monies saved are needed for the Contras in Nicaragua. God Bless America!"

In mid-May he writes:"My employment has been extended. My tenants filed a petition at City Hall and then rallied en masse. One of them promised to commit suicide if I am dismissed. And when they threatened to go on a rent strike if I am let go, that stopped management. Perhaps I will be here till September or October. Then to Manilla for the rest of this year. After which I will probably relocate in Honolulu to live and work there."

CURRENT PUBLIC ISSUES

(16) Advertisement in the New York Times Review of the Week, 7/20/86, p.E23 (op ed page). --------→ Shown here reduced in size. For an earlier ad (10/27/85) on the same topic, see RSN49-17.



THE WORLD COURT AND THE RULE OF LAW

On June 27, 1986, the International Court of Justice issued its judgment that our government's military and economic attacks on Nicaragua violated international law and the Treaty of Friendship Commerce and Navigation between the two countries.

The opinions and judgment of the Court are the first independent and impartial adjudication of the facts and of the controlling law. Yet, the Reagan Administration has announced that it will defy the Court's adjudication and judgment.

We, the American people, cannot accept our government's repudiation of the rule of law. It would violate our international obligations and lead to international anarchy.

On June 26, the House of Representatives regrettably voted to give military aid to the contras, and the matter is now before the Senate.

Such military aid would violate the Court's order that the Reagan Administration cease and refrain immediately from such unlawful action. Now that the American people and the Congress know the facts, it is a matter of national honor, as well as legal obligation, that the Administration should comply with the World Court's decision and act upon its reminder of the need of both parties to cooperate with the Contadora process. This will constitute a significant message to the world that America is returning to its traditional ideals of international peace and justice for all humanity.

Corliss Lamont *Chairperson* — **Edith Tiger** *Director* — **Leonard B. Boudin** *General Counsel*

National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010
212-673-2040

This continues the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's Campaign on the People's Right to Know

ABOUT BERTRAND RUSSELL

(17) Paul Kuntz offers this observation:

Most people think of the vices (cruelty, stupidity, jealousy, hate) which Russell opposed so vigorously, and therefore think of him as a great denier. But there are always in him, sometimes expressed with great passion, the virtues (kindness, intelligence, cooperative support, love). This needs therefore to be stressed.

(18) Grahame Maisey offers "some thoughts on the happiness paper delivered at the meeting:

"Russell spent the first years of his life in a state of unhappiness,so he had to conquer happiness later on. His theme in child rearing and education reflects his early experience: training in self-confidence, bravery and independent attitude in order to allow the child to attain individual happiness at an early stage in life, and not need to conquer happiness later on."

RELIGION

(19) From FREE INQUIRY (Summer 1986, pp.54-55):

The Revolt Against the Lightning Rod

Al Seckel and John Edwards

A review of early opposition to the lightning rod is of interest because we may see how religious prejudice tends to prevent beneficial departures from customary behavior, even when there is evidence that the tradition-bound practices are useless or even dangerous.

For centuries Protestant and Catholic churches, basing their teachings on various texts in the Bible, taught that the air was filled with devils, demons, and witches. The great Christian scholar Saint Augustine held this belief to be beyond controversy. Saint Thomas Aquinas stated in his authoritative *Summa Theologica:* "Rain and winds, and whatsoever occurs by local impulse alone, can be caused by demons. It is a dogma of that the demons can produce winds, ..s, and rain of fire from heaven."[1] Martin Luther asserted that the winds themselves are only good or evil spirits and declared that a stone thrown into a certain pond in his native city would cause a dreadful storm because of the devils kept prisoner there. Even as recently as 1984, when the beautiful York Minster Cathedral was destroyed by lightning, conservative ministers claimed that God did it in anger over the recent appointment of a liberal bishop.

Christian churches tried to ward off the damaging effects of storms and lightning by saying prayers, consecrating church bells, sprinkling holy water, and burning witches. Lengthy rites were held for the consecration of bells, and priests prayed that their sound might "temper the destruction of hail and cyclones and the force of tempests and lightning; check hostile thunders and great winds; and cast down the spirits of storms and the powers of the air."[2]

Al Seckel has contributed articles to Freethought Today *and various publications of Atheists United. He is also the editor of* Bertrand Russell on God and Religion *(Prometheus Books). John Edwards is an environmental scientist with the Air Force and a freethinker.*

A sixteenth-century account of a bell consecration relates how the Bishop "sayde certen Psalmes, [and together, wherwith he washet the belle diligently both within and without, after wypeth it drie, and with holy o[illegible]th in it the signe of the crosse, [illegible] God, that whan they shall rynge or sounde that bell, all the disceiptes of the devyll may vanyshe away, hayle, thondryng, lightening, wyndes, and tempestes, and all untemperate weathers may be aswaged."[3] (The idea of ringing church bells to dissipate tempests probably had its origins in "sympathetic magic" in that storms, which are noisy disturbances in the atmosphere (produced by demons or the "powers of the air") are supposed to be counteracted by creating similar noisy disturbances in the air.)

Unfortunately, all these efforts were to no avail. The priests ought to have prayed for the bell-ringers who were frequently electrocuted while ringing the blessed bells. The church tower, usually the highest structure in the village or town, was the building most often hit, while the brothels and gambling houses next door were left untouched. In 1786 the Parliament of Paris even went so far as to issue an edict "to the many deaths it caused to those pulling the ropes."[4] Several cities in Europe followed suit and declared the practice of ringing church bells illegal during storms, not so much to save lives, it must be admitted, but to abate noise.

One eyewitness to the damaging effects of lightning recorded: "Little by little we took in what happened. A bolt of lightning had struck the tower, partly melting the bell and electrocuting the priest; afterwards, continuing, [it had shattered] a great part of the ceiling, had passed behind the mistress, whom it deprived of sensibility, and, after destroying a picture of the Savior hanging upon the wall, had disappeared through the floor. . . ."[5]

Peter Ahlwardts, the author of *Reasonable and Theological Considerations about Thunder and Lightning* (1745), accordingly advised his readers to seek refuge from storms anywhere except in or around a church. Had not lightning struck only the churches ringing bells during the terrific storm in lower Brittany on Good Friday, 1718?

The first major blow against these biblical superstitions about storms and lightning was struck in 1752, when Benjamin Franklin made his famous electrical experiments with a kite. The second and fatal blow was struck later in the same year when he invented the lightning rod. "One would think," wrote Franklin, "it was now time to try some other trick [to protect churches and homes]; —and ours is recommended."[6] With Franklin's scientific explanations of lightning, the question that had so long taxed the minds of the world's leading theologians, namely, "Why should the Almighty strike his own consecrated temples, or suffer Satan to strike them?" could finally be answered. Another question could also be answered in any reasonable discussion about the objects of the divine wrath "Why would God's punishment be directed so much at large trees, which no reasonable person could accuse of sin."

Since thunder and lightning were considered tokens of God's displeasure, it was considered impious to prevent their doing full damage. John Adams noted in his diary a conversation with a Bostonian physician who began to "prate upon the presumption of philosophy in erecting iron rods to draw the lightning from the clouds. He railed and foamed against the points and the presumption that erected them. He talked of presuming upon God, as Peter had attempted to walk upon the water, and of attempting to control the artillery of heaven."[7] This was despite the fact that in Germany, within a span of thirty-three years, nearly 400 towers were damaged and 120 bell-ringers killed.

In Switzerland, France, and Italy popular prejudice against the lightning rod was ignited and fueled by the churches and resulted in the tearing down of lightning rods from many homes, including one from the Institute of Bologna, the leading scientific institution in Italy. The Swiss philosopher Horace de Saussure had erected a rod on his house in Geneva in 1771, which had caused so much anxiety to his neighbors that he feared a riot. A lightning rod erected on June 15, 1754, on the house of Procopius Divis lasted untouched for six years, until the villagers tore it down in 1760. Apparently the initial cause of the hostility was a great drought that was attributed to the malign influence of the rod.

A 1780–1784 lawsuit over lightning rods gave M. de Vissery the right to have a lightning rod on top of his house in St. Omer despite the religious objections of his neighbors; this victory established the fame of the lawyer in the case, young Robespierre. The trial was also significant in that the leading scientists of France were drawn into the fray to defend the use of rods.

In America, the Reverend Thomas Prince, pastor of the Old South Church, blamed Franklin and his invention of the lightning rod for causing the Massachusetts earthquake of 1755. In Prince's sermon on the topic he expressed the opinion that the frequency of earthquakes might be due to the erection of "iron points invented by the sagacious Mr. Franklin." He goes on to argue that "in Boston more are erected than anywhere else in New England, and Boston seems to be more dreadfully shaken. Oh! there is no getting out of the mighty hand of God. For I cannot believe, that in the whole town of Boston, where so many iron points are erected, there is so much as one person, who is so weak, so ignorant, so foolish, or, to say all in one word, so atheistical, as ever to have entertained a single thought, that it is possible, by the help of a few yards of wire, to 'get out of the mighty hand of God.' "[8]

To quiet the Charleston populace who were alarmed at the possibility of incurring divine wrath as a result of erecting lightning rods, the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* suggested "raising lightning rods to the glory of God."[9]

It took many years for scientists to convince the priests to attach a lightning rod to the spire of St. Bride's Church in London, even though it had been destroyed by lightning several times. The priests' refusals prompted the following comment in a letter from Professor John Winthrop of Harvard University to Franklin: "How astonishing is the force of prejudice even in an age of so much knowledge and free inquiry. It is amazing to me, that after the full demonstration you have given . . . they should even think of repairing that steeple without such conductors."[10]

In Austria, the Church of Rosenburg was struck so frequently, and with such loss of life, that the peasants feared to attend services. Several times the spire had to be rebuilt. It was not until 1778, twenty-six years after Franklin's discovery, that the church authorities finally gave in and permitted a rod to be attached. Then all the trouble ceased.

A typical case was the tower of St. Mark's in Venice. In spite of the angel at its summit, the bells consecrated to ward off the devils and witches in the air, the holy relics in the church below, and the processions in the adjacent square, the tower was frequently damaged and even destroyed by lightning. It was not until 1766, fourteen years after Franklin's discovery, that a lightning rod was placed upon it; and the tower has not been struck since.

Had the ecclesiastics at the Church of San Nazaro in Brecia given into repeated urgings to install a lightning rod, they might have averted a terrible catastrophe. The Republic of Venice had stored in the vaults of this church several thousand pounds of gunpowder. In 1767, fifteen years after Franklin's discovery, no rod having been placed upon the church, it was struck by lightning and the gunpowder exploded. One-sixth of the city was destroyed, and there were estimates that more than three thousand lives were unnecessarily lost because the priests had refused to install the "heretical rod."

Such incidents as these, in all parts of Europe, had their effect. The ecclesiastical formulas for preventing storms and for consecrating bells to protect against lightning and tempests were still allowed to be practiced in the churches; but the lightning rod carried the day. There is no way of telling when church bells were last rung for the purpose of abating storms. There are probably still some isolated communities where the practice is still conducted. Christian churches were finally obliged to confess the practical supremacy of the lightning rod and the few theologians who stuck to the old theories and fumed against the rods and Franklin's attempts to "control the artillery of heaven" were finally silenced, like the lightning, by the supremacy of the scientific method.

Notes

1. Andrew D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (New York: George Braziller, 1955), p. 337.
2. John Heilbron, *Electricity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), p. 341.
3. Bernard I. Cohen, "Prejudice Against the Introduction of Lightning Rods," in *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, 253, no. 5 (May 1952), p. 395.
4. Ibid., p. 421.
5. Ibid., p. 400.
6. Bernard I. Cohen, *Benjamin Franklin's Experiments* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), p. 395.
7. Andrew D. White, op. cit., p. 366.
8. Bernard I. Cohen, "Prejudice Against the Introduction of Lightning Rods," op. cit., p. 433.
9. Ibid., p. 425.
10. Bernard I. Cohen, *Benjamin Franklin's Experiments*, op. cit., p. 393.

BR, WRITER OF LETTERS

(20) Richard Wilk says he has found this letter-----> "very helpful in my frequent discussions with Jesuit divines teaching at Loyola University in Los Angeles."

from: The Earl Russell, O.M.,F.R.S.,
PLAS PENRHYN,
PENRHYNDEUDRAETH,
MERIONETH.
TEL PENRHYNDEUDRAETH 240

1 April, 1960.

Dear Mr. Wilk,

Thank you for your letter of February 24. I am very sorry that I have mislaid the reference that you ask for. I thought that it was in Henry C. Lee's History of Sacerdotal Celibacy, but I have not found exactly this in looking through the book. You will, however, find a number of much more shocking things in Chapter XXX of that book. I still hope to find the exact reference, but the book in which I hope to find it is in my house in London. I think you may find it in Coulton's Mediaeval Garner.

Yours truly,

Bertrand Russell

Bertrand Russell

OBIT.

(21) **Dora Russell, Social Activist And Wife of the Philosopher**

PORTHCURNO, England June 1 (AP) — Dora Russell, a social activist and the second of the philosopher Bertrand Russell's four wives, died of a stroke at her clifftop home in this Cornwall village. She was 92 years old.

Mrs. Russell, a lifelong campaigner for Socialist causes, was twice an unsuccessful candidate for Parliament for the Labor Party. In the 1920's she was influential in persuading the party to adopt contraception as a political issue.

She was later identified with the anti nuclear movement and appeared at a rally as recently as January at a British Air Force base. Lord Russell, who died in 1970, was the first president of Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Mrs. Russell, the daughter of an Edwardian civil servant, was educated at Cambridge University's Girton College. She met the philosopher and mathematician when he lectured at Cambridge. They married in 1921 and had three children, all of whom survive her. The marriage ended in 1935.

<-------- Dora Black Russell is dead, as reported in the New York Times (6/2/86, B4). For the fascinating story of a remarkable woman, see her autobiography,"The Tamarisk Tree", in 3 volumes (London: Virago Press,"a feminist publishing company").She was the recipient of the 1984 Bertrand Russell Society Award, and an Honorary Member. Her two children by BR, John, the present Earl, and Kate, are also Honorary Members; our sympathy goes out to them. (Correcting an inaccuracy in the AP dispatch: she and BR had two children together, not three.)

The 1984 Award plaque reads: "For sharing Bertrand Russell's concerns, collaborating in his work, and helping to preserve his legacy." She was the moving force behind, and guarantor of, the bust of BR dedicated in Red Lion Square, London, in 1980.

ABOUT RUSSELL'S WRITINGS

(22) Russell on Ethics, according to James Stolnitz, in "The Encyclopedia of Morals", ed. Vergilius Ferm (NY:The Philosophical Library, 1956)...with thanks to TOM STANLEY:

Russell, Bertrand

In ethics, as in other areas of philosophy, Bertrand Russell has not hesitated to change his mind about the most basic questions. Nowhere is his intellectual catholicity more conspicuous, for he has traversed all of the major positions in contemporary ethics in the course of his writings. However his contributions to ethics fall far short of the caliber of the work which has distinguished him in other fields. For the most part his ethics has been derivative from other thinkers. His first extended essay on the subject is, as Russell points out, "largely based on" Moore's *Principia Ethica* (1:p. 1, n.1). His most recent statement, though radically opposed to the theory presented in the earlier work, contains, as he says, "nothing startlingly original" (6:p. 7). And though he was among the first to advance an "emotive" theory in recent thought, this view is not elaborated systematically by Russell, so that it is simply asserted rather than argued and defended.

Russell (b. 1872), perhaps the best-known philosopher of this century, has not found rigorous thought in logic, epistemology and the philosophy of science to be incompatible with first-hand involvement in the vital social and political questions of his day. It seems clear that he has been less concerned with ethical *theory* than with such specific issues as education and peace and war, and with the advancement of his own well-known axiological ideal—creating, in a world alien to human values, a life for all mankind which will be directed by knowledge and informed by love and hope. His deep concern with the disputes and wars that have ravaged the modern world has, however, given direction to his ethical thought. "Ethics," he says, "is necessary because men's desires conflict."[1] As will be pointed out, all of his later writings have been addressed to the "political" questions how, if at all, value-disagreements can be adjudicated, and how the conflicting aspirations of different individuals and groups can be made harmonious with each other.

In the early essay, "The Elements of Ethics," referred to above, however, Russell denies that ethics is concerned with "practical" questions of choice and conduct. In seeking knowledge it is numbered among the "sciences" (1:p. 2). "Good" or "intrinsic value" is the central concept in ethics, but, like Moore, Russell contends that it is indefinable. This is established by appeal to our "state of mind" when confronted with an ostensible definition of "good," which is not that of assent to a linguistic analysis of meaning (p. 9). Hence Russell can only "characterise" good as that which "on its own account ought to exist" (p. 5). Since goodness is an intrinsic property of things, Russell holds, in contrast to his later views, that it exists independently of our desires. Thus he seeks to preserve the common-sense conviction that disagreements concerning intrinsic value are meaningful. Though Russell says little about the cognition of values, he holds out the hope that "a very large measure of agreement on ethical questions may be expected to result from clearer thinking" (p. 57). He follows Moore in other particulars, e.g., the principle of "organic unities" (pp. 54–55).

He also takes over from Moore a teleological interpretation of "right" and with it the implication that judgments of right action are empirically confirmable. Russell wishes to take account, as any utilitarianism must, of the disparity between the actual consequences of the moral act and those which could reasonably have been anticipated, and to distinguish these further from the conscientiousness and praiseworthiness of the agent. Here, uniquely, his analysis is somewhat more detailed and revealing than *Principia*. The act which produces the greatest amount of good is the "most fortunate" act (p. 22). The act which is "objectively right" is that which "of all that are possible, will probably have the best consequences" (p. 25; cf., p. 57), though Russell does not hold consistently to the view that this is a definition (cf., pp. 25, 26). The "subjectively right" or "virtuous" act is that which the agent would judge to be right after considering the choice "candidly and with due care" (p. 28). The distinction can then be drawn between those agents whose conception of "objective rightness" is "erroneous" and those whose decisions are thoughtless or insufficiently reflective. In "Elements of Ethics," as in later writings (cf., 6:pp. 97–98), Russell espouses determinism, using the familiar argument that it is not this theory but that of "free-will" which renders moral deliberation and praise and blame, senseless and futile.

Many years after the publication of this paper, Russell testified[2] that he had been led to abandon the doctrines of the indefinability and objectivity of good because of the criticisms advanced against him by Santayana in the essay "Hypostatic Ethics."[3] There Santayana had argued that value has no existence apart from human desire and interest, that morality is therefore based upon irrational preferences, and that Russell's theory, which is intended to make moral debate meaningful, actually issues in obscurantism and intransigent dogmatism.

In his succeeding writings, accordingly, Russell executes a volte-face. He now says that "it is we who create value, and our desires which confer value" (2:p. 17). No reasons can be given in justification of desire and conflicting desires for mutually incompatible ends are not amenable to rational argument (cf., 4:p. 139). Whereas science can determine the effectiveness of means for the attainment of some objective, it "cannot decide questions of value . . . because they cannot be intellectually decided at all, and lie outside the realm of truth and falsehood" (3:p. 243).

We remain confronted, however, with the most grievously "practical" of human problems—that the fulfillment of the desires of some individual, institution or nation demands the frustration of those of other persons or groups. We are therefore constrained to try to overcome the conflict of desires, if we are not to have recourse to violence. Though "proof" of the "validity" of any desire is, in the nature of the case, impossible, we may try to alter and re-direct desires so that they become more nearly inclusive and co-operative. "Only passion can control passion, and only a contrary impulse or desire can check impulse."[4] Value-judgments attempt to serve just this function. Although they appear grammatically to be assertive, they are optative (cf., 5:p. 719): "this is good in itself" is equivalent to "would that

[1] Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York, 1945) p. 779.

[2] Sellars and Hospers, eds.: *Readings in Ethical Theory* (New York, 1952) p. 1, n.

[3] George Santayana, *Winds of Doctrine* (New York, 1913) pp. 138–154.

[4] Bertrand Russell, *Principles of Social Reconstruction* (London, 1916) p. 12.

everybody desired this" (3:p. 235; cf., 4:p. 247). Russell's "political" concern is made manifest by the fact that he never considers seriously any other of the possible "emotivist" analyses of the value-judgment. The judgment is always a hortatory injunction addressed by the speaker to those whose desires are parochial or divisive. Ethics, Russell says, "can have no importance" (2:p. 50) unless it directs human desire toward common goals. Hence he contends that even the foundational definitions of moral theory are persuasive in character: "When I say that the morality of conduct is to be judged by its probable consequences, I mean that I desire to see approval given to behaviour likely to realize social purposes which we desire" (2:p. 50).

Ethical judgments and ethical theory are, then, devices of social control comparable to educational institutions and legal codes. Although Russell calls his theory "subjectivistic" (3:p. 238), he has always recognized and insisted upon a salient feature of ethical discourse which other "subjectivists" have either ignored or denied viz., its impersonality. The ethical judgment, on Russell's translation, makes no reference to the speaker, but rather urges the kind of world which would permit the greatest possible satisfaction of any and all desires (4:p. 274). Russell does not, however, claim any greater validity or authoritativeness for such a judgment, other than the increase in persuasive force which is thereby gained. It is in this way that we 'seem to give universal importance to our desires" (3:p. 233). But "the desire remains mine even when what is desired has no reference to myself."[6]

Russell's most extended treatment of ethics, recently published, suffers from an inner duplicity which can be understood in the light of his earlier works. *Human Society*, characteristically, places ethics in a social context: "One may lay it down broadly that the whole subject of ethics arises from the pressure of the community on the individual" (6:p. 124; cf., also, pp. 16, 60). Russell presents definitions of the chief ethical predicates which seem to constitute the foundations of a straightforward "naturalistic" theory: "good" is defined as "satisfaction of desire" (p. 55); the sole criteria of "better" are the number and intensity of desires; " 'right' conduct is that which, on the evidence, is likely to produce the greatest balance of good over evil" (p. 50; cf., also, pp. 125, 145). It follows that all axiological and moral judgments are, in principle, empirically verifiable. And it is then meaningful to say that one moral code is superior to another (cf., pp. 45, 128).

Recurrently, however, Russell abandons this position. The difficulty is no longer, as in the days of *Principia Ethica*, that of distinguishing between a definition and a "significant proposition." When Russell mentions this problem at all, his discussion is undeveloped and inconclusive (cf., pp. 72, 88). The difficulty arises, rather, for Russell, as for many contemporary ethicists, within the "pragmatic" dimension of language—these definitions cannot "serve any purpose" (pp. 80–81) or they are of "no practical importance" (p. 84) unless they are efficacious in altering the motives to behavior. Merely to adduce evidence is frequently futile in the face of intractably partisan desires. Hence Russell thinks himself compelled to revert to the view that ethical judgments cannot be established factually (p. 25) and that they are significantly different from "scientific" propositions (pp. 88, 104–105). Though he seems, on the whole, more inclined here than in earlier writings, to the belief that moral judgments are meaningful and reasonable, he wavers between this view and its opposite, which he appears to believe is implied by the fact that ethical judgments are not coercive when addressed to those whose convictions are obdurate.

This inconsistency is never overcome by Russell and it is fatal to the adequacy of his theory. It is the philosophical expression of the perplexity of a man whose courageous life-long struggle on behalf of a humane and liberal way of life has been beset by the implacable fanaticism and irrationalism of his time.

[6] *History of Western Philosophy*: p. 116.

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Jerome Stolnitz
University of Rochester

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

(23) BR in Australia (1950). Our enterprising Librarian, Tom Stanley, has obtained from the Australian Broadcasting Company, the transcripts of 6 radio-talks that BR gave in Australia between June and August 1950.

A few sentences from BR's Autobiography (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1969, Vol. III, p.19-20) may help set the stage:

> At the end of June 1950, I went to Australia in response to an invitation by the Australian Institute of International Affairs to give lectures at various universities on subjects connected with the Cold War. I interpreted this subject liberally and my lectures dealt with speculation about the future of industrialism. There was a Labour Government there and, in spite of the fact that the hatred and fear of China and, especially, Japan, was understandably fierce, things seemed better and more hopeful than they appeared to become in the following sixteen years. ... I was taken to the capitals, and to Alice Springs, which I wanted to see because it was so isolated. It was a centre for agriculture and inhabited chiefly by sheepowners. I was shown a fine gaol where I was assured that the cells were comfortable. In reply to my query as to why, I was told: "Oh, because all the leading citizens at one time or another are in gaol." I was told that expectedly and regularly, whenever possible, they stole each other's sheep.

BR's first radio-talk was delivered June 25, 1950:

> I'm ashamed to say that this is my first visit to Australia.As I have wasted the first seventy-eight years of my life in other parts of the world, I am very glad indeed to have an opportunity of rectifying this omission and I expect to learn a great deal during the weeks that I shall spend in your Continent.
>
> I cannot at this moment give you my impressions of Australia as I have really only just arrived. I am, therefore, compelled to talk about matters in which Australia is connected with world events.A hundred years ago -- or even fifty years ago -- it might have been hoped by Australians that they would have been able to

keep out of the complications and tragedies of the old world. Technical causes have now made such a hope impossible.

Australia is integrated with the great problem of the world. It is not necessary to dwell upon this fact, which has been obvious to everyone since the Japanese were in Pupua.

Australia, in spite of the defeat of Japan, continues to be faced by two closely related problems....one is the problem of preserving Australia as a White Man's country, and the other is the problem of not becoming a satellite of Russia.

These two, for the moment, are practically one problem, since Russian propaganda in Asia will invite the Asians to repeat the Japanese attempt with Russian assistance.

But in the long run they are different problems.

The problem of Russia is immediate. And the steps to be taken by Australia are essentially the same as those to be taken by all other countries of Western Civilisation.

The necessary steps are, by this time, pretty well recognized -- a combination of the Western Powers in a defensive alliance and simultaneous avoidance both of provocation and of appeasement. But when we look beyond the next few years, we are compelled to think out an Asiatic policy -- and this is by no means easy.

Misled by American ignorance,the West has taken an extraordinarily unwise line towards China.

The Government of Chiang-Kai-Shek was corrupt and reactionary, and refused all reforms -- even those most necessary to Chinese well-being.

In spite of this fact, the West supported it, and made it evident to the Chinese that their only choice lay between Reaction and Communism.

They chose Communism, and if we regret the choice we have only ourselves to blame. We must not repeat a similar error in other parts of Asia. Asia has undergone a great awakening. It contains vast populations of whom the immense majority are in abject poverty.

It will no longer acquiesce in a position of inferiority towards nations of European stock.

If we allow Communism to be identified with necessary reforms, we cannot hope, in the long run, to keep Asia on our side or even neutral.

I must, at this point, interrupt my argument to say that I think Soviet propaganda wholly dishonest and deceptive and that the benefits the Kremlin offers to Asia will disappear as soon as they have done their propaganda work.

We cannot, however, persuade Asia of this unless we genuinely offer something better than what Russia can give.

In India the sort of policy that I am recommending has been successfully carried through, so far as politics are concerned, though there remains an immense [amount of] work to be done on the economic side.

In the countries intermediate between India and China, including Indonesia, everything is still more or less in doubt.

Nehru speaks for these countries with a voice which is not quite that of Western Europeans, but from which, I think, Western Europeans have much to learn.

If we do not secure friendship of the countries of Eastern Asia we shall incur their enmity. And if we incur their enmity, we give an immense accession of strength to Russian Imperialism, disguised as a championship of the oppressed. We have made this mistake already in China, but I cannot believe that the bad results of American policy in China are irretrievable.

The Chinese are the most individualistic people of the world. They are also people with a very considerable national pride.

I am convinced that as soon as Moscow attempts to tighten the reins, Titoism will develop in China...provided that the West is not offering an irreconcilable hostility.

The problems of preserving Australia as a White Man's country depends, on the long run, upon a solution of the economic problems of Eastern Asia. India and China between them have about a hundred times the population of Australia. They are densely overpopulated and urgently desirous of opportunities of emigration.

Only force can keep them out of Australia until such time as their own economic problems have been solved. We ought, therefore, to do everything in our power to develop industry in Eastern Asia, and to see to it that the enormous gap which now exists between the standard of life in India or China and the standard of

life in Australia or the United States is progressively lessened.

This was the wholly admirable purpose of Truman's fourth point, but it does not look as if America would do anything effective to carry out his policy in this respect.

This is one of those cases, not so infrequent as many people think, where self-preservation demands doing good to our neighbors.

Men are so accustomed to rivalry and competition that they tend to think that whatever damages others must be an advantage to themselves. This happens to be untrue. And the case of Asian poverty is, perhaps, the most notable example of its untruth at the present day.

But at this point I must make a very important proviso. I do not wish to see the standard of life in backward countries raised by methods which involve lowering the standard of life in more developed countries.

We of our Western Civilisation have made certain discoveries of immense importance to ourselves at present and to all mankind in a foreseeable future. We have found out how to eliminate abject poverty almost entirely, how to diminish illness and the death rate to a degree that would have been inconceivable to our grandfathers, and how to give the material conditions of happiness, not only to a favored few, but to almost everybody.

These are new and immense boons, and I do not wish to see the way of life which has made them possible disappearing from the world.

We have, therefore, every right to be defensive as regards our own civilisation, and, in the long run, it is for the good of backward nations that we should be so, since the technical possibility now exists of gradually raising them to our economic level.

This brings me to another subject about which I hope to learn much while I am in Australia. The greater part of Australia at present is almost or quite barren. I am totally unable to believe that it is beyond the power of science to remedy this. If as much money and brains went into making Australia fertile as has gone into the construction of the atomic bomb and is going into the construction of the hydrogen bomb, I cannot but think that the result would be equally spectacular and considerably more beneficial to mankind.

The problem of making rain is on the verge of solution, and if all Australia could be made rainy, a large part of the problem would be solved.

There are, I know, other obstacles which are at the moment quite as grave as lack of rainfall. There are large areas where the soil lacks necessary ingredients.

But why should we sit down under such a circumstance? Have we not discovered how to transmute elements? Is there any reason why radioactive atoms should not be used to alter the chemical constitution of the soil in a beneficial manner?

I am speaking of something about which I am ignorant, and I have little doubt that most experts would pooh-pooh my hopes.

This, however, leaves me unmoved.

Experts always pooh-pooh whatever is two moves ahead, and confine their vision to what is one move ahead.

If Australia could support a population of fifty-million, the danger of being overwhelmed from Asia would be enormously diminished.

If I could control Australian policy,I should establish a college of highly skilled scientists of various different sorts, meteorologists, agronomists, nuclear physicists and so on, to be engaged permanently in a theoretical investigation of what is necessary to increase the fertile area of Australia. The men concerned should mostly be young. They should be temperamentally hopeful, they should be respected, because of their potential power.

We hear much nowadays about the evil effects of science, and the threat of radioactive disintegration.

These evil effects are due to the use that politicians make of science. But the same skill which shows us how to exterminate the human race, if that is what we want to do, can also show us how to make the desert blossom like the rose, if we have the common sense to prefer that.

It may be said that all the troubles from which the world is suffering are due to the fact that politics lag behind science.

Technically the world is unified. Politically it is divided into many separate nations and, above all, into two immensely powerful groups, each of which imagines that its own welfare is to be secured by the overthrow of the other. Whatever may have been true in the past, this is no longer true in our day.

I do not mean to suggest that in no circumstances is war necessary. It is only too easy to imagine behaviour

on the part of Russia to which it would be folly to submit. But in view of the two wars that we have already experienced, it must be obvious that even the victors at the end of a great war have a far lower level of well-being than they had at the beginning. War can only result from folly on one side, or on the other, or on both. Even when the folly of one side has forced war on the other, war can, at best, preserve certain things that we value. It cannot not positively be creative of good things.

We must therefore seek to avoid war if we can do so without treachery to what we value in our way of life.

And certainly one of the surest ways of avoiding war is to raise the economic level wherever we have power to do so. Communism thrives on misery, and if anywhere in the world we can produce prosperity, we have to that degree diminished the power of Communism, and we have done so not by creating a rival tyranny, nor by the threat of atomic extermination, but by measures which are good in themselves quite independently of the great conflict between Russia and the West.

We must not let our thoughts be warped by danger into a warlike or restrictive shape. We must, even in these difficult times, think constructively with a view to creation and not merely to preservation. So long as we think only of preservation we shall develop a Maginot Line mentality, and we shall seem to be surrendering initiative to the enemy.

When we see Communists attacking something which we know to be an evil, we must not, because they attack it, rush to its defence.

In some countries in Eastern Europe aristocratic landowners kept peasants miserable, without themselves doing anything useful.

The Bolsheviks abolished this state of affairs.

The West, I am sorry to say, while it had the power, did not.

It is this sort of thing that gives plausibility to Communist propaganda, because the Communists proclaim themselves the party of progress -- which, incidentally, they are not. Their opponents are too apt to think that every advocate of progress is more or less of a Communist.

This attitude has become regrettably common in America, not, I think in the Administration, but in Congress and in large sections of the population.

This is not the way in which we ought to think or feel. We ought to have a vision as dynamic, as hopeful as that of the most visionary Communists.

We ought to be vividly aware of what has been achieved in the West and could be achieved everywhere in the direction of freedom and well-being and economic justice.

We ought to be inspired by the clear possibility which modern technique opens to us of a far greater progress in these same directions, by the thought of a life free from fear, free from want, free from the appalling horror of war, in which the whole human family shall at last co-operate, and the foolish enmities of our time shall appear as the nightmare obsessions of a barbarous age. It is in the spirit of this hope, and because Communism makes such a hope impossible, that our propaganda should be carried on, and it is by such a hope that our lives should be inspired.

Only a little wisdom is required to create a world happier than that of any former time, but if that wisdom is to prevail it must be not through fear but through hope.

RECOMENDED READING

(24) Bertrand Russell by Paul Kuntz (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986). Lee Eisler calls it an engrossing examination of BR's chief philosophical interests that pulls together a lot of loose ends that need pulling together. No philosophic jargon; highly readable. It will be reviewed by one of our professional philosophers, MARVIN KOHL, in a future RSN.

(25) Bertrand Russell on Compossibility. "A first step toward eliminating war," by Peter Cranford (Augusta: Great Pyramid Press,1985), a slim volume (28pp.), at a slim price ($2), it tells how adversaries should deal with each other if they wish to get results: work in areas of agreement, rather than staying deadlocked over areas of disagreement. They should seek measures that are mutually advantageous. This may sound obvious, but is often ignored, as in examples cited by Cranford. Russell says somewhere that men -- foolishly -- would rather hurt their enemies than help themselves. This little paperback can help stop this kind of foolishness. You can order it from Great Pyramid Press, PO Box 2745, August, GA 30904. Recommended by Lee Eisler.

HUMANISM

(26) From the Washington Post (1/4/86), with thanks to DAN JACKANICZ:

Humanism Defined

"A Holy War for Young Minds" [front page, Dec. 30], telling about the attacks by fundamentalists, demands an answer from someone who knows something about humanism. As president of the local chapter of Humanists (the Humanist Association of the National Capital Area) and as the plaintiff in the litigation from which came the popular use of the term "secular humanism," I feel qualified to respond.

First, let me remind (or inform) the readers that the philosophy of humanism was developed by the ancient Greek scholars long before the time of Jesus, and is not of easy explanation. Barbara Parker, representing the organization People for the American Way, has aptly stated, "Trying to define secular humanism is like trying to nail Jell-O to a tree." In his book, "The Philosophy of Humanism," Corliss Lamont writes: "To define twentieth-century humanism briefly, I would say that it is a philosophy of joyous service for the greater good of all humanity in this natural world and advocating the methods of reason, science, and democracy. While this statement has many profound implications, it is not difficult to grasp."

Some people ask, "If we discard the fear of punishment in hell, what is there to guide people in a sensible mode of living?" Well, I have a conscience, I have a mind, some degree of intelligence, a sense of reason and compassion. I hope and believe that most people are similarly equipped. This is all one needs in life to establish a code of conduct that will keep us on the straight and narrow. These faculties will enable a person to examine any ethical situation and, by applying rational principles, arrive at a course of action that will ensure justice is done, that our behavior is honorable and responsible. We should not be distracted by fear of hell, and we should not be concerned about accumulating points to get into heaven, for these places exist only in the minds of those who have been taught to fear God.

Those who dislike humanists and humanism seem to take offense at our lack of belief in the supernatural. They seem to regard it as a personal attack upon them, yet we are not disturbed when a person asserts that he believes in God. It is nothing more than a difference of opinion. People who dislike humanists and allege that they have taken control of the public schools should remember that public schools are under the supervision of local boards of education whose members are generally elected by the voters in the various districts. And the curricula and programs of the schools are established, or approved, by these school boards. I do not know of a single school board composed of humanists. Further, I will suggest that the quality of education in this land would be much higher if members of the school boards were humanists.

Those who dislike humanists and humanism impute great power to the movement. They flatter us. In a nation of more than 220 million "souls," fewer than 6,000 individuals are members of the American Humanist Association, the primary organization of humanists in North America. If we are able to exert some influence in the public marketplace of ideas, it is because the product is good.

ROY R. TORCASO
Washington

MINUTES

(27) Combined Minutes of the Business and Board Meetings of June 21st, as submitted by the (then) Secretary, John Lenz, June 28, 1986. We have omitted portions of the minutes that duplicate what has already been mentioned (7).

Hugh McVeigh questioned the granting of the BRS Award to People For The American Way, wanting to know what they had to do with BR. Phil Stander responded, saying they stood for First Amendment rights, Dave Goldman agreeing, and Don Jackanicz pointing to their anti-censorship stand. [BR was strongly against censorship, even of dirty postcards, "feelthy peectures".] Hugh then suggested Paul Kurtz for the Award. Steve Maragides thought that Hugh should volunteer for the Award Committee or nominate someone for next year's Award.

Carl Miller spoke movingly on BR's lifelong integrity.

Harry Ruja stated that, having stabilized our finances [have we?], we might consider reinstating the BRS Doctoral Grant, "one of the important objectives of the BRS". It has been $1000 recently, until suspended last year for lack of funds. Harry thinks we need some philanthropy from committed members. Carl Miller suggested setting up a fund.

Warren Smith said each member could attempt to recruit new members from present acquaintances. Don Jackanicz suggested giving gift memberships to friends.

Marvin Kohl spoke about his paper, "Russell and the Attainability of Happiness" [which had been made available in advance, in the May newsletter] and then chaired a discussion of it, with many participating vigorously, including Dong Jai Choi, David Goldman, David Johnson, Carl Miller, Steve Reinhardt, Harry Ruja, and Phil Stander.

The Board voted approval of the suggestion that Committee Chairmen be appointed, not by the BRS Chairman, but by the BRS President, thus amending the Bylaws. [This appears to have been an error. This should have been a vote by the Members rather than by the Board, according to Article 1 of the BRS Bylaws.]

CONTRIBUTIONS

(28) We thank the following members for making a contribution to the BRS Treasury: ALICE D. DU TOIT, DAVID GOLDMAN, WALTER MOORE HENRITZE, SUSANA IDA MAGGI, ROBERT SUMMERS, MARK WEBER, AND MICHAEL WEBER. Greatly appreciated! A reminder to others: please contribute to the BRS Treasury when you can. Send your contribution c/o the newsletter.

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(29) THE RUSSELL SOCIETY LIBRARY

Audio cassettes to lend:

Cassettes may be borrowed for $1 per tape. Canadian members should direct their orders to Rick Shore, 3410 Peter St., Apt. 305, Windsor, Ontario, N9C 1J3 Canada.

201 Harry Ruja. "Bertrand Russell On Israel" (1979)
202 Lester Denonn. "Bertie and Litigation" (1979)
203 Jack Pitt. "Bertrand Russell's Response to Marx" (1979)
204 Albert Ellis. "Psycotherapy and Bertrand Russell" (1979)
205 Presentation of Russell Society Award to Paul Arthur Schilpp and His Acceptance Speech. (1980)
206 Kate Tait Reminiscences About Her Father. (1974)
207 Kenneth Blackwell. "Russell's Ethic-A New Look" (1981)
208 Nick Griffin. "First Efforts-Russell's Intellectual Development before Cambridge." (1981)
209 David Hart. "Detour On The Road To Freedom: Bertrand Russell and Today's New English Left." (1981)
210 David Harley. "Bertrand Russell And Wells". (1981)
212 National Public Radio's "Sound Portrait Of Bertrand Russell" (1980)
213 Russell-Einstein Statement Or "Manifesto". (1955)
214 NBC Interview With Russell. (1952)
215 Russell's Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech. (1950)
216 Russell-Copleston Debate on the Existence of God. (1948)
217 Donahue Interviews Gore Vidal
218 BBC's "The Life and Times of Bertrand Russell". (1962)
219 Woodrow Wyatt Interviews Russell. (1959)
220 Speaking Personally: Bertrand Russell. (1961)
221 BBC's "Bertie and the Bomb". (1984)
222 David Susskind Interviews Russell. (1962)
223 Russell's Address to the CND. (1959)
224 Bertrand Russell Speaking. (1959)
225 Man's Peril. BBC broadcast. (1954)
226 On Nuclear Morality. (1962)
227 Appeal to the American Conscience. (1966)
228 CBC Interview on Vietnam. (1965)

New books to lend: (The donor's name appears at the end.)
116. Bertrand Russell by PAUL KURTZ. To be reviewed by MARVIN KOHL in a future RSN. G. K. Hall (publisher).
117. Noam Chomsky: A Philosophic Overview by JUSTIN LEIBER. BOB DAVIS
118. ABC Broadcasts. Transcripts of Russell's 1950 broadcasts in Australia:

GUEST OF HONOR	June 25 See (23)
THE WORLD AS I SEE IT	July 2
MY PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE	July 9
WHAT HOPE FOR MAN?	July 16
MY IMPRESSIONS OF AUSTRALIA	August 23
HOPES FOR AUSTRALIA IN A HUNDRED YEARS	April 2, 1951 (broadcast date)

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Books for sale:

The Library has a limited supply of "Bertrand Russell on God and Religion", Al Seckel, editor, @ $10 postpaid. (List price 12.95 plus postage). BOB DAVIS gave this volume a highly favorable review (RSN50-37).

BOOKS BY RUSSELL:

Appeal To The American Conscience	$ 2.00	
Authority And The Individual	3.75	
The Autobiography Of B.R. (in one volume)	7.50	
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HOW TO ORDER:

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(30) Costigan videotape. History Professor Emeritus Giovanni Costigan (University of Washington, Seattle) gave a series of 6 weekly lectures on Humanism, this past May and June. He spoke about each of the following: Montaigne,Jefferson,Mill, Russell, Freud, and Einstein. CHERIE RUPPE attended and liked what she heard. What's more, she got us a videotape of the Russell lecture, which is now in the Russell Society Library, available for borrowing. Thank you very much Cherie!

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(34) TREASURER DENNIS DARLAND'S REPORT

For the quarter ending 6/30/86:

Bank balance on hand (3/31/86)			3214.12
Income: 11 New members	237.50		
37 Renewals	852.00		
total dues	1089.50		
Contributions	40.00		
Library sales and rentals	97.82		
Misc	12.00		
total income	1239.32		1239.32
			4453.44
Expenditures: Membership and Information Committees	738.58		
Library expense	74.30		
Subscriptions to "Russell"	000.00		
Meeting	865.30		
Misc	3.31		
total spent	1681.49		1681.49
Bank balance on hand 6/30/86			2771.95

Note: no subscriptions to "Russell" have been paid for. When paid, that will reduce the balance by about $1700.

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(35)

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REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES

(36) International Development Committee (Adam Paul Banner, Chairman):

With much reluctance I am sad to have to report that no activity of merit can be shared with the BRS membership. "Appropriate Technology", instead of becoming an active verb now appears to have changed into a noun, as we realize our failure to deal with a developing country nationally instead of with a few, perhaps too few, elite. Developing temporary showplaces! The beliefs about current World Bank and IMF lending camouflage the truth that the profit money returning comes from funding new loans that are used to pay the interest on old loans, that some call "truly an epitome of voodoo economics..."

Current and very active progress recognizing the aforementioned failures has resulted in IRED Forum Networking. IRED is a group of international associations dedicated to development innovations via networks of over 500 partners. Their address and further individual data can be obtained from : IRED Forum, Casa 116. rue de Varembe',1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland.

Your Intl. Dev. Comm. Chairman is seeking assistance to obtain more BRS Membership participation, and the development of active support programs in aid of cottage industry development.HELP!

[Paul will seek, from IRED Forum, a list of of potential projects that members can assist, on an individual basis.]

(37) Philosopher's Committee (David E. Johnson, Chairman):

The Philosophers Committee will be sponsoring a session on the philosophy of Bertrand Russell, in conjunction with the Eastern Division Meetings of the American Philosophical Association, in Boston in December, 1986. We were pleased to receive six papers to consider for the program. This is more than usual in the recent past.

The 1986 program is as follows:

"An Extension of Russell's Analysis of Physical Objects,"
by Gary Legenhausen of Texas Southern University

"Russell on the Utility of Religion: Copleston's Critique"
by Marvin Kohl, SUNY College at Fredonia

Commentators are yet to be announced.

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The Bertrand Russell Society annnounces a call for papers to be presented at its meeting with the Eastern Division of the American Philosophical Association in December 1987. Papers may be on any aspect of Russell's philosophy. They should have a reading time of about one half hour and should be submitted in triplicate, typed and double spaced with an abstract of not more than 150 words. The name of the author, with his name and the title of his paper, should be submitted on a separate page. The submission deadline is April 15, 1987 and the papers should be sent to David E. Johnson, Chairman, Philosopher's Committee, The Bertrand Russell Society, Sampson Hall, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD 21402. Those desiring the return of their papers should enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

(38) Science Committee (William K,Fielding, Chairman):

In the April '86 issue of MIT's "Technology Review",Robert C. Cowen points to urgent need for closer integration of research efforts carried out under separate disciplines of physical and biological sciences. Considering the impact of atmospheric changes on the viability of microscopic organisms as a long-range threat to Earth's survival, Cowen calls for "a new professional discipline that combines both sciences. Such a confluence would come none too soon."

David Ehrenfeld's excellent -- and more psychologically oriented -- essay in California Magazine (August 1985)emphasizes disparate viewpoints of two disciplines:

> It is as if [atomic physicist] Teller and I inhabit different universes with different fundamental laws. Or perhaps we see the same universe but with different organs of perception. Although we live on the same planet, the attributes of our environment that matter to each of us are worlds apart.

Specialization, simply as division-of-labor, has a long history in basic activities of our species; coordinating results of divergent pursuits has its parallel record. The only novel notions in these expressions of Cowen and Ehrenfeld (and others,increasingly) seem to lie in the expansion of the problem to global dimensions. What was formerly of merely tribal, provincial, or academic significance has now become an all-for-one, soon-or-never imperative. The consequences of ecological manipulation unavoidably become part of humanity's agenda-for-posterity; that should be obvious to any who will pause long enough to accept the reality and magnitude of the challenge: identify the problem, devise solutions -- or perish.

Getting people -- much less, Peoples -- pulling together toward a common betterment will be no easier than it has ever been.

Here is Stephen E. Toulmin, writing about Philosophy of Science in Encyclopedia Britannic (15th Edition, 1984 revision):

> In practice, the case for unifying the theories and concepts of two or more sciences has to be considered afresh in every instance, and it can rarely be decided in advance whether or not such a unification will achieve anything useful for the sciences. Instead, one has to analyze the practical demands of the current problems in the different fields and see how far those requirements can be met by developing a unified explanatory treatment for all of the special sciences in question. The integration of the theoretical concepts achieved in the process will not consist solely in the formal running together of different propositional systems; more typically, it will require the development of a whole new pattern of theoretical interpretation.

So, where and how do we begin? An oblique answer may offer the most hope for us: let's stop mistaking gadgetry for civilization. The eighteenth-century fascination with technology, admittedly, led to advances in comfort for vast populations. But if we lack methods for peaceably consolidating material "progress", our prognosis becomes bleak. A microcomputer in Everyman's gameroom is not going to guarantee his future existence; only an ethical awareness, uncluttered with the rubbish of superstitions and ethnic biases, can possibly save man.

Fortunately, there have always been eclectic individuals with the wit and motivation enabling them to digest and resolve dichotomies. (Bertrand Russell, equally at home in the humanities as well as the sciences, was one of them.) Also, some of the old rigid lines are bending, even at the university level: Harvard seems to veer toward high-tech, while MIT announces that more attention to be paid to the humanities. Could it be that subliminal stirrings in the direction of mutual survival are building into a previously-undetected catalyst, such that East and West will be drawn into comprehension of universal needs -- and the twain shall meet?

Synthesis, not intransigence, holds the possibility of our continuity in the Cosmos.

ELECTION OF DIRECTORS

(39) Time to vote. We will elect 11 Directors, bringing the total up to 24. They will serve 3-year terms starting 1/1/87. Use the ballot at the end of this newsletter. Big Brother says, "Don't put it off. Do it now." Big Brother is watching.

Here are 12 candidates. Vote for 11.

JACK COWLES (New York, NY), member since 1976, BRS Director 1980-82 and 1984-86. Retired naval officer; served in the Pentagon, with co-finger on the button. Anti-war informant to Senator Fullbright, after Tonkin Gulf incident, which caused Navy to blacklist him. Took BR's lecture course at UCLA, 1940.

WILLIAM K. FIELDING (Ware, MA). Chmn,Science Committee; CoChmn, Membership Committee. Retired from wage-slavery, liberated for study and writing. Lifelong autodidact. From draftsman, land surveyor, and electronic technician to proprietorship (electronic).Atheist,humanist,Mensan.Studying math, logic, philosophy, languages; and enjoys writing music and verse.

DAVID GOLDMAN, M.D. (New York, NY),member since 1979, BRS Director 1984-86. Clinical Assistant Professor of Psychiatry at NYU Medical School, Lecturer in Psychiatry at Columbia University Psychoanalytic Center. Notes false psychologizing in current nuclear strategies...and, influenced by BR, served on Executive Board of NY Chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility.

DON JACKANICZ (Washington, DC), member since 1974, BRS Secretary 1978-81 & 1986, BRS President 1982-84, BRS Director 1978-1986. First BRS Librarian. History student (Ph.D. candidate). Employed by Library of Congress.

STEVE MARAGIDES (Granite City, IL), member since 1976,BRS Director. Attended 9 of the last 10 annual meetings. Attorney. Moved the BRS from Georgia to Illinois, donating his legal services.Degrees: Journalism (Northwestern) and Law (University of Illinois).

FRANK PAGE (Fairview Park, OH). BRS Director 1984-86, member since 1977. CPA. A dedicated Russellite since the 1920s. "Since Russell has been a great influence on my intellectual and social outlook, I would consider it a duty as well as a privilege,if re-elected, to serve on the BRS Board."

MICHAEL ROCKLER (Camden, NJ) chairs the Department of Education at Rutgers University. Has taught since 1963. Learned about the BRS through membership in the AHA. Working on a book on Russell and education. "Russell has been a hero of mine ever since I first encountered his work as an undergraduate in philosophy at University of Minnesota."

CHERIE RUPPE (Bellevue, WA), member since 1980, BRS Director 1981-86, BRS Secretary 1982-3, Member Pugwash,Federation of American Scientists, Union of Concerned Scientists, Fellow of Endangered Wildlife Trust of S. Africa, Member, Whale Protection Fund, Northwest Ballet Ass'n. Orangutang hugger (see picture RSN49-21).

PAUL ARTHUR SCHILPP (Carbondale,IL). Distinguished Research Professor of Philosophy (Emeritus) at Southern Illinois University, BRS Director 1983-86, BRS Honorary Member, recipient of the first BRS AWard (1980), creator and editor of "The Library of Living Philosophers". And much more.

WARREN ALLEN SMITH (Stamford, CT), member since 1977,BRS Director 1978-1986, former BRS Vice-President. Member American Humanist Association, British Humanist Association, Mensa.Former book review editor,"The Humanist" (USA), high school teacher (English). Recording studio owner. Winner of the Leavey Award from the Freedom Foundation of Valley Forge (RSN50-23).

RAMON SUZARA (San Francisco, CA). Dropped out of highschool, expelled from De La Salle College (Philippines). "Then I hit my stride at the greatest university: a collection of books, especially Russell's, which made me realize the depths of my shameful ignorance. My mind was twisted with religious indoctrination; Russell untangled the mess for me.In '64 I helped set up the BR Peace Foundation, Philippine branch." [For more about Ramon currently, see (15).]

KATE TAIT (Salisbury, CT), BRS Founding Member, BRS Director 1974-86, Honorary Member, first BRS Treasurer, author of "My Father, Bertrand Russell" (NY:Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1975), daughter of Dora Russell.

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FOR SALE

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

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Gift memberships. Warren Smith points out that a first-year membership in the BRS makes an excellent and unusual gift. That's something to keep in mind, for the next time you're wondering what to give someone for Christmas or a birthday or whatever. Actually, some months ago, we got a check from a gentleman for a first-year gift-membership for a lady. Beats flowers or candy.