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

RUSSELL SOCIETY NEWS
No. 63
August 1989

(1) Highlights. Annual Meeting (14A), 3 BRS Awards (14B), Summaries of talks (14C). BR's birthday (2). 3rd World BRS Chapters proposed (3). Deaths: Ayer (34,35), Hook (36-38). O.M. document (21). Directors vote (40). Everybody votes (41). Religion outrage (27). New Grant program (18). USA's nuclear strategy (4). Membership list (26). Volunteer research assistants wanted (5). Critics' thumbs down on Johnson's *Intellectuals* (9, 10).

BR CELEBRATED

(2) BR's Birthday. A nice idea from The Humanist Fellowship of San Diego: a Bertrand Russell Birthday Celebration, on May 17th. Here is what they said in their newsletter of April 21, 1989:

> We celebrate the birth of an eminent thinker, writer, debunker, skeptic, rationalist and Humanist. Dennis Wills will show his collection of Russell memorabilia. Read aloud those Russell passages which move you to tears, make you laugh, or impress you as incredibly wise -- or foolish. Wonder at the paradoxes in this man who could teach so eloquently and movingly about love, compassion and mercy -- and yet bring so much pain and bitterness into the lives of those who gave him love and trust. Bring your Russell books to share and compare. Meet Dr. Harry Ruja of the *Bertrand Russell Society*.

LOCAL CHAPTERS

(3) Foreign Aid, BRS style: *The Benares Plan.* There are people in foreign countries -- third world countries, developing countries, where living standards are low and money is scarce -- who might like to join the BRS but who cannot afford the dues.

That's a pity, because they are being deprived of the benefit of Russell's thinking , and we are being deprived of new foreign members.

We needed to find a way to let people who cannot afford the dues join the BRS anyway...and we have found it! Credit for this goes chiefly to Chandrakala Padia, of Benares, India, who knew there was a need, and who devised a way to fill it.

Here's the plan, *the Benares Plan*, subject to approval by the Directors:

1. There will be a Benares Chapter of the Bertrand Russell Society, Inc. in Benares, India. This will be the first of what we hope will be many chapters in foreign countries and cities.

2. Dues will be $40 per year for the Chapter, regardless of the number of members. Plus $7.50 for airmail, which is essential. For example, if the Benares Chapter acquires 10 members, the cost to each member will be $4.75.

3. The Chapter will receive only one copy of the BRS newsletter, which can be passed around, member to member, or photocopied.

4. The Chapter will be headed by a Director. The Director of the Benares Chapter is Chandrakala Padia.

5. The members will have all rights (and responsibilities), including the right (and responsibility) of voting. Their names will of course appear on our Membership List.

6. The Chapter will submit a report to the BRS on its activities once a year, in time to have it presented at the BRS Annual Meeting. During its first year, a Chapter will also report at the end of the first 6 months.

7. The Chapter's goal will be the same as the BRS's: to learn more about Russell, and to spread his views to scholars and the general public.

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Members in other foreign cities, take note! Can you take advantage of the Benares Plan? Let us know.

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NUCLEAR STRATEGY

(4) *What goes on in the minds of our nuclear strategists?* Why -- since we already have 50,000 nuclear weapons -- do we keep on building more? Steven Kull, psychotherapist, decided to look for answers to these questions. He presents his findings in *Minds at War: Nuclear Reality and the Inner Conflicts of Defense Policymakers* (NY: Basic Books, 1988).

The book is reviewed by McGeorge Bundy in *The New York Review of Books* (July 20. 1989, pp. 3-5), where Bundy is identified as Special Assistant on National Affairs to President Kennedy. That means he was with President Kennedy during the Cuban Missile Crisis. He is now Professor of History at New York University and the author, most recently, of *Danger and Survival: Choices About the Bomb in the First Fifty Years.*

We are printing the review in full, despite its considerable length, because of the importance of the nuclear weapons issue to Russell. Russell thought they had to be abolished, if man is to survive, and he devoted the last 25 years of his life campaigning against them.

Here is the review:

The Emperor's Clothes

Minds at War: Nuclear Reality and the Inner Conflicts of Defense Policymakers
by Steven Kull.
Basic Books, 341 pp., $19.95

McGeorge Bundy

The summer of 1989 finds us in a time of new hopes for the strengthening of a stable peace between the Soviet Union and the West. After a slow and overcautious beginning, George Bush has decided that he did not like that beginning, and has set a new course just in time to win the strong support of his colleagues in the NATO Summit at the end of May. He has also plainly impressed the government of Mikhail Gorbachev, whose contribution to our new hopes remains the larger, if only because the need for basic change has always been larger in Moscow. Most of all, Bush has succeeded in explaining his new course in language that was most persuasive where it was most obviously his own. His most convincing demonstration was in a long interview with *The Washington Post*, published on June 2; I will return to it.

Steven Kull's remarkable book concerns the same overcautious cast of mind from which George Bush has just had a narrow escape. I begin with that escape not only because it reflects great credit on Bush, on his senior colleagues, and on the public pressure that led them to reconsider their views, but also because it is helpful that we consider the findings of Steven Kull in a mood of hope. Kull himself is not a pessimist, believing that there are strong forces on the side of nuclear common sense, but many of his findings on what experts have been thinking are so depressing that it is well to begin with a reminder that we can do—indeed are doing—better.

After more than ten years of practice as a psychotherapist, Kull was drawn to the study of nuclear danger, and after initial academic work he decided to examine the problem through an exercise of his professional skills as an interviewer. It seemed to him that there was a radical disjunction between nuclear reality and the policies advocated by many defense experts. Could he find out by careful and searching interviews whether they had arguments he had not understood, or how far they might be moved by convictions unrelated to their formal argument? The core of his book is an account of what he learned from these interviews. Having traversed much of this terrain myself over more than forty years of participation in the American nuclear debate, I am able to report that the states of mind encountered by Kull are familiar, while his conclusions about them are both fresh and convincing.

Kull set out to interview experts who had made reputations as being "pro-defense" and as being sophisticated in their understanding of questions of nuclear policy. He found eighty-one men and three women who were willing to talk with him, and among them were former secretaries of defense, former members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, senators, congressmen (two in each category so far), and larger numbers of middle-level officials of the Pentagon, the Arms Control Agency, and congressional staffs. He talked to still larger numbers of analysts from think tanks, as well as to six members of a group that he defines as "original key nuclear strategists from the fifties and sixties." (He also talked, less intensively and less systematically, to a number of Soviet experts.) All in all, though he names no one, he makes a wholly believable claim to have talked to people who usually argue in favor of new weapons systems, who are generally persuaded that it makes an important difference whether the US is "ahead" or "behind" in numbers and capacities of nuclear weapons, and who also are ready to defend the need for an ability to "prevail" in a nuclear war.

Kull sought out people with these views precisely because of his own deep conviction that in critically important ways their thinking was deeply inconsistent with the realities of nuclear weapons. He believes, as I do, that there will be only losers in any conflict that engages even a small proportion of the nuclear weapons of each superpower. He believes further that once you have forces that are clearly able to survive attack and strike back with a formidable number of warheads—the condition in which both sides have been living for decades—neither side can gain or lose from variations in the relative capacities of elements of their forces. For him as for me—and for Dwight Eisenhower thirty years ago—the imperative of nuclear weaponry is not to keep ahead, not even to keep up, but simply to have enough to deter a nuclear war from breaking out. But *Minds at War* is not about Kull's reasons for his own beliefs, although the reader may well find himself drawn by Kull's account to the conclusions with which Kull himself began. The book is about what happens when serious defense experts are pressed to defend

convictions about nuclear policy that seem to their interviewer to be in conflict with reality.

Four opinions prevalent among his eighty-four respondents became the targets of Kull's questions. Two are related to specific weapons systems: those that would be part of strategic defense—not only Reagan's SDI but less ambitious defenses against ballistic missiles—and those weapons that would have a combination of accuracy and power sufficient to destroy "hard targets"—heavily protected military assets such as weapons in hard silos or command centers far underground. Kull challenged the experts he talked with to defend these systems. He gives summaries of their arguments and of his own replies, and on balance he wins his case. There is indeed great intellectual confusion surrounding the strategic defense program and also great doubt about the utility of attempts to destroy hard targets when so many of the weapons that would be the most important targets, especially missiles in silos, could be fired before the hard-target killers arrived.

It is not surprising that a number of the analysts Kull talked to turn out to have found these programs so obviously attractive that they did not take the trouble to frame a rational argument for them. Yet judgment on these two programs really depends on technical analysis. Can a system of defense against missiles outmatch a system of deterrent offensive weapons in cost effectiveness and capacity to survive in wartime? How much is accuracy capable of replacing explosive power as a destroyer of genuinely military targets? Because of this dependence on technological assessment, these two subjects are less useful for illuminating the basic psychological questions that Kull is addressing than two more general questions he posed to the military experts. First, what is the importance of maintaining "nuclear balance" with the Soviet Union? Second, what is meant by the commitment to win or to "prevail" in a nuclear war?

Kull himself accepts that each of the superpowers should have adequate deterrent nuclear strength, which he describes as a capacity for a flexible and secure second strike. What he finds unconvincing is the argument that it is necessary for the US to match particular Soviet capacities, for example the throw weight of land-based missiles or the power of mid-range missiles in Europe. He reports that his respondents produced no persuasive evidence for their arguments. That is, they could not show the real consequences for either side, in a real nuclear war, of not matching the throw weight of the other side's land-based missiles or the precise power of its mid-range missiles. Indeed most of his witnesses were willing to recognize, at least some of the time, that the American capacity for destructive action of all sorts, including missiles launched from the sea or air, was such that the Soviet leaders were amply deterred from undertaking a nuclear attack, in spite of whatever particular advantages they might have in particular weapons.

Nevertheless most nuclear experts insisted on matching specific Soviet systems. For some it was simply a matter of what they took to be elementary good sense—in any conflict the side that has more strength has the advantage. Big kids beat up little kids; big navies beat little navies. And, in the words of one congressman, "strategic ain't a damned bit different."

Yet thinking of this kind, as straightforward as it is mistaken, is less important than a quite different argument based not on what the defense analyst himself believes, but on what he thinks other people think. Maintaining this or that aspect of the nuclear balance with the USSR is important, the experts told Kull, because third-world countries, the allies in Europe, or nervous American voters think it is. If any of them conclude that the balance favors the Russians, they may become more fearful of the Soviet Union and more accommodating to it; Soviet power will grow, and American power will shrink. Kull notes that an analyst as experienced as James Schlesinger has argued that if we wish to influence the perceptions of others "we must take appropriate steps (by their lights) in the design of the strategic forces." A former member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff told Kull that he himself was "not really concerned about the military aspect of nuclear balance, because the effect of exchanges would be so catastrophic to the Soviets, whoever fired first." Still he believed that for political reasons, especially to impress the third-world nations that estimate relevant strength by numbers of missiles or submarines, we must keep up our end of the balance, because those people "just count."

For Kull, as for me, the immediate question is whether there are not ways of persuading even the nonspecialist of a quite simple and basic reality: that above the levels of nuclear overkill long since overtaken by both superpowers, mere numbers tell us very little about the quality of nuclear deterrence on either side, so that perceptions based on such numbers are quite simply nonsensical. But Kull's many respondents generally resisted this elementary notion. Many—perhaps most—accept for themselves the nuclear reality that numbers are not decisive; but they take the different perceptions of others as essentially unalterable, and they argue that to satisfy them there must be a visible and sustained American insistence on new nuclear procurement.

In the end, of course, the Reagan administration in which many of these experts served decided to let words take the place of action. The "window of vulnerability" that troubled so many of the defense analysts in the early 1980s was ended not by building new missiles, but simply by the declaration of Reagan's Scowcroft Commission that no such window had opened. US "parity" with Soviet nuclear weapons itself was restored not by matching particular numbers that were thought to have produced dangerous perceptions, but by repeated presidential declarations that the job was done. Some of the true believers in the Soviet threat are still muttering today about it, much as some of them muttered about it to Steven Kull a few years ago; but for most people the troubling perceptions of Soviet predominance were dealt with by words from the American government, not by clear-cut changes in the nuclear balance. That solution was available all the time.

In reality, the journey through nuclear fear of the last fifteen years, so largely inspired by the people Kull has sought out, was never necessary. Indeed the false perceptions that these people found threatening were in part the product of their own proclamations of present danger. Kull trenchantly demonstrates that the advocates of new procurement of nuclear weapons systems regularly feel the need to proclaim a perilous imbalance to get their appropriations. These proclamations can be heard abroad, particularly among NATO leaders who worry that Europe will seem weak if the imbalance proclaimed in Washington is not rectified.

At a still deeper level, Kull discovered, the very act of competing for a balance with the USSR, or even for getting ahead, was often found justified for its own sweet sake. It is, some of the experts told him, good for morale to keep up with the Soviets; it is a way of holding up our own side without having to pay the costs of war itself. The arms race, in a sense, becomes the defense analyst's moral equivalent of war, meeting a requirement for competition that is in the very nature of human beings and states.

The most searching of the questions Kull asked was what the United States should do if deterrence failed and the Soviet Union made war on the West. He got varied answers, but the ones he found most interesting are those that asserted that the US should pursue the traditional goals of military victory—whether by taking territory, imposing military defeat, or otherwise gaining an advantage. Many respondents recognized that nuclear war could impose such death and destruction that there could be no victory for either side in any traditional meaning of the term. But the same people often remained powerfully attached to traditional logic: wars have winners and losers, and military leaders must aim to win. Fighting a nuclear war for this purpose was repeatedly contrasted with what respondents understood to be the only alternative—the so-called MAD doctrine of mutual assured destruction. They did not assert that this destruction could be avoided, and they did not appear to understand that when Robert McNamara first talked of assured destruction, he was describing what could surely happen, not what should be planned. MAD, for these analysts, was an unacceptable alternative to the proper and legitimate objective of coming out ahead. There were many respondents, even in this group, who were interested primarily in stopping the war "at the earliest possible moment," not in winning it. I agree with Kull that this objective makes good sense, given the reality of nuclear destructiveness. But it was clearly not easy for many others to think about anything except some recognizable form of victory.

Like the belief in keeping a balance, planning to win a nuclear war was often defended as necessary for its effect on the perceptions of others than the speaker. Americans, some of the experts said, will not back a president who is not determined on victory; allies must believe that the United States means to fight if necessary, and declarations of determination to win are helpful. Most of all, the Soviets, who were themselves often seen by

the experts as determined believers in war fighting, must understand that the US leaders are determined to win, even if it makes Americans seem a "little bit crazy," as one respondent put it. That way the Soviets are deterred.

The intensity of this kind of belief, the power of Kull's interviewing, and the absurdity of the result are all illustrated in the following exchange. "I" is Kull, and "R" is his respondent:

I: Do you feel we need to have a war-fighting strategy or war-fighting capability?
R: Yeah, deterrence is creating that uncertainty and doubt in the adversary. We are going to be a mirror image, our goal is to be a mirror image of what we perceive to be their doctrine and their force posture. I think we are taking steps to be that mirror image.
I: Why?
R: It comes back to deterrence.... I think they have to perceive that we are prepared just as they are. That our goal is to prevail.... Their [nuclear weapons'] whole purpose is to create this perception that, hey, we've got to stay away from that stuff, 'cause we can't lick 'em.
I: Do you think we can lick 'em?
R: No, and I don't think they can lick us. I agree it's a self-defeating goddamn thing.... [But] I think that this is one of their illusions that they believe.
I: So what you're saying is that we've got to act like we've got that illusion too?
R: Or we've got to act to create that perception in their minds.
I: And we do that by acting as if we do?
R: Right. [laughter]
I: But you don't really believe we can prevail in a war?
R: I agree with you, it is senseless. I mean, what is there that's going to be left that really has any value or that is recognizable to us or to them? I mean, I'm not sure there is anything of value in what will remain.
I: But we should do what we can to develop the hardware that makes it look like we are getting ready to fight a war in which we think we could prevail. Because that's going to have the right psychological effect on them. Is that right?
R: As crazy as it sounds, I think so. I think so....
I: How do you know that the Soviets are not doing the same thing?
R: I don't [surprised laughter].... I don't!.... But if that's all it is, it sure is a waste of GNP on both sides!

This kind of thinking is even worse than wasteful. While many defense experts believe that the US should seem a little bit crazy, at least some of them know that at the same time there are plenty of people who want to be assured that the United States will not *do* anything crazy, and so the highest officials, especially presidents, must try to show that they fully understand the danger of nuclear war. They may allow others to sound crazy, but they do not willingly sound that way themselves.

Indeed presidents take considerable care to sound sane, and no occupant of the White House paid more attention to this requirement than Ronald Reagan. Early in his first term he found a phrase that he repeated steadily ever after, first alone and then in joint statements with Mikhail Gorbachev: "A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought." Whatever else he said, about the evil empire and the uses of strategic defense, for example, he recurred to this declaration. It is true that it imposed some verbal acrobatics on Caspar Weinberger, who accepted Reagan's new maxim but insisted that it was wholly consistent with his own announced conviction that any secretary of defense who was not planning to prevail in a nuclear war should be impeached. But discomfiture among subordinates is seldom troubling to self-confident presidents, and Mr. Reagan steadily increased his emphasis on his basic finding. I am not aware that his position was directly criticized by the experts who believe in nuclear victory, but it may be that he was protected by a disposition on the part of defense experts to attribute his statement to politics and not conviction. My own belief is that he meant every word of what he said, that Gorbachev agrees with him, and that each man accepted the sincerity of the other on this basic point.

Returning to Bush and the leadership of NATO, we can see that what almost trapped him was exactly the kind of thinking, deeply set in the minds of NATO experts, that Kull has examined and exposed. Before Bush himself took charge, his administration had accepted as imperative for NATO a "modernization" program for the Lance missile in Germany called "Follow-on-to-Lance"—a deceptive title, because the range of the follow-on would be some four times that of Lance. The new missile was needed, it was asserted, not to attain balance with the Soviet Union's forces, and still less for victory, but for "coupling," a NATO notion that gives to nuclear weapons based in Europe the role of making it believable, for both friends and adversaries, that the American president will initiate nuclear war if it is needed to stop Soviet aggression in Europe.

According to the argument, the US will be seen as unlikely to come to Europe's help if it must fire its strategic weapons from North America, thereby risking retaliation within the US; the willingness of the US to sponsor a nuclear response becomes plausible, so the argument runs, only when NATO has short-range missiles such as the Lance at its disposal in the "European theater." The belief that short-range missiles have this value has no basis in historical evidence. American missiles based in Europe did not prevent protracted crises like the one over Berlin in 1961 and 1962, and no such missiles were in place during the relatively calm years between 1964 and 1972. But in Brussels, Washington, and perhaps especially London there are analysts that make it an article of faith that without such weapons the alliance will become uncoupled. Their passion is intensified when such systems are opposed by citizens and statesmen whom they perceive as soft, and the modernization of Lance is opposed by such people in Germany. The impasse that hardened on this subject in May threatened to make a shambles of the NATO Summit until George Bush took charge.

What Bush did, fundamentally, was to change the subject from the modernization of Lance to the prospect for a new kind of peace in Europe. He did not directly overrule the nuclear zealots, and indeed the NATO communiqué contains a number of ritual pieties about the need for maintaining land-, sea-, and air-based nuclear systems in Europe. Moreover Bush backed the pronuclear side in rejecting any prospect of removing all short-range missiles on both sides. But he explicitly accepted both future negotiations on this subject and a timetable under which negotiations will begin *before* Lance is modernized. His central decision was to put conventional arms reductions at the top of the agenda, and he made his point decisively clear by proposing specific American troop reductions and the inclusion of combat aircraft in the bargain. The allies accepted his proposal, and the first paragraph of their joint communiqué, which would have been impossible two weeks earlier, puts the priority of NATO where it belongs—on the achievement of a new and stable balance in reduced conventional forces, East and West.

The achievement of a low-level conventional balance will not be easy, but it is possible now as never before, and if it can be achieved, the nuclear problems of NATO will fade into the background. What has led to complex and unpersuasive notions like the one that coupling with the US depends on particular pieces of hardware is the genuine requirement to find some persuasive counter to Soviet conventional superiority. It was entirely natural that nuclear weapons should be given this role in the days of clear-cut American strategic superiority, but in later decades the concept of "extended deterrence"—deterrence of *conventional* attack by the threat of *nuclear* response—has been much more difficult. What we can now reasonably call the Bush solution is much the best: remove the problem by removing its cause. There will be nuclear weapons on both sides for a long time to come, and in many different systems, but in a world of stable conventional balance the amount of frustrated nonsense in the responses of sober defense analysts to questions like Steven Kull's will be greatly reduced.

The new direction set in Brussels will not be maintained without continuous attention from the Bush administration. Traditional attitudes are stubborn, and they can be reinforced by the interests of particular military services as well as by tendencies in Brussels to argue for weapons controlled by NATO headquarters. But what the President revealed in this episode is more than a quick-fix response to criticism and to the risk of failure—though it is not wrong for presidents to respond to such immediate stimuli. Talking to *The Washington Post* after his success, Bush showed a breadth of view and a reflective confidence that seemed new to me. He would still be careful, but also eager to bring about a new consensus; and the prospect he put forth is one that goes "beyond containment" to a new kind of Europe, especially through change in Eastern Europe. It will take time, but it is a genuine vision of genuine possibility. The President himself remains wary of what he calls "the vision thing," but he joked about that in *The Washington Post* interview, and he can be comforted by the thought that, especially when prospects are bright, vision and prudence are not enemies but friends.

Steven Kull is also hopeful, in the end. He does not stop with demonstrating the internal contradictions that come from making a balance with the USSR the justification for weapons procurement and victory the object of nuclear war. From his own arguments with his respondents, he became aware that many of them, even though selected from the hawkish end of the spectrum, have a sober understanding of nuclear reality and know, whatever they may say in public, that these weapons do not fit the rules of inherited conventional military thinking. His overall conclusion is that "a greater adaptation to nuclear reality not only is possible but to some extent is already occurring," and among Soviets as well as Americans. It is just this adaptation that can be both cause and effect of the progress now in sight between the governments of Gorbachev and Bush. □

VOLUNTEERS WANTED

(5) Call for Research Assistance to help HARRY RUJA:

Russell visited the United States repeatedly over a 55-year period, starting in 1896 with his first wife -- who, like the last, was American-born -- and ending in 1951. During those years, he lectured extensively throughout the country and in Canada. Ken Blackwell and I have documented some of those lectures in *Russell* No. 6 (Summer 1972) and No. 10 (Summer 1973). Feinberg and Kasrils provided a full account of Russell's relationships with the U.S. in their *Bertrand Russell's America* (2 vols., 1973, 1983). In our comprehensive bibliography, now in process, Blackwell and I seek to cite every published report of his lectures in the United States and Canada.

Members of the BRS can help us in this task. If you would approach your main city library and request a list of all the articles by or about BR which appeared in the local newspaper(s) and send me a copy of that list, our task would be considerably advanced, and we could be more confident that we have come as close to completeness as is reasonably possible.

Many newspapers are now turning to computerized indexes of their contents, and others have files of clippings, some of which may be BR files.

I have been querying a number of newspapers seeking a particular item; some of them are very responsive, but many invite me to use the indexes in their local public libraries or hire someone to do research. (One cited $75 per hour!)

As you can infer, I am adopting the latter alternative, with a modification: I'm not hiring you. I'm enlisting you in a volunteer Research Corps. Will you join?

Note to residents of New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles: Don't bother with the 1938-1940 period. I have already thoroughly canvassed those years in your cities.

ABOUT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

(6) American Atheists. We reported in May (RSN62-36) that we had sent postcards to BRS members in California, alerting them to an AA meeting on March 24-25. We asked members who attended to let us know how things went. LARRY JUDKINS has responded to our request with the following splendid report:

In late March of this year, I attended the Nineteenth Annual National Convention of American Atheists. The meeting took place in San Diego, California, over Easter weekend, beginning on Good Friday and ending in the afternoon of Easter Sunday. Unfortunately, I arrived too late in the evening to participate in any of Friday's events.

Saturday, however, was the principal day of the assembly. Jon G. Murray, President of American Atheists, opened the festivities with, among other comments, an expression of appreciation to the Bertrand Russell Society for sending out advance notices of the convention to the Society's California members. He added that if Bertrand Russell were still alive, he most certainly would be welcome there.

Convention events consisted of everything from speeches and discussion groups to the presentation of awards to "Outstanding American Atheists". There were also plenty of opportunities for Atheists to socialize, including a Members' Banquet and Conventioneer's Party. A book and product display room was on hand where one could purchase a Bertrand Russell tee shirt or any of hundreds of other items which might be of interest to Atheists.

Besides speeches by the members of the Murray-O'Hair family (Madalyn O'Hair, Jon Murray, and Robin Murray-o'hair), many other interesting and informative lectures were given. Psychologist John F. Higden spoke about "What Makes Religionists Tick," and Anton Neureiter of Austria and Gottfried Niemietz of West Germany each gave fascinating talks concerning their respective governments' recent prosecutions (or persecutions) of Atheists for "blasphemy".

Several panels and discussion groups were held. Topics discussed included "Atheism and Children," "The Birth of Modern Atheism," and "Grass Roots Atheist Activism". But for me, by far the most interesting panel was that which concerned "Creationism." It featured the well-known anti-creationists Frank Awbray and William M. Thwaites, both of whom are biologists at San Diego State University.

I have not yet received the final reports on the convention from American Atheists. However, the preliminary word is that this was one of the best-attended American Atheist Conventions ever, with well over 400 registered conventioneers.

Personally, I found the whole experience thoroughly enjoyable, and I highly recommend that all BRS members are are Atheists try to attend the next American Atheist Convention.

BOOK REVIEWS

(7) Volume III, in *The Observer Review* (5/18/69), with thanks to TOM STANLEY:

Russell right or wrong

by PHILIP TOYNBEE

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BERTRAND RUSSELL Vol. III (Allen and Unwin 42s)

IN THE preface to this third volume of Lord Russell's splendid work he warns us that 'I have found that it is not possible to relate in the same manner private and public events, or happenings long since finished and those that are still continuing and in the midst of which I live.' He goes on to write of 'the unavoidable reticences necessitated by the law of libel' —and to these we have the right, to add the reticences imposed on Lord Russell simply by his own strong sense of human decency.

We should not complain about these restrictions, but it is true that they make for a book which is different in kind from the earlier volumes. Lord Russell tells us that during this latest period the private part of his life became increasingly important; but we cannot gather this from anything we find inside the present book. And since one of the great things about its predecessors was the subtle but powerful blending of his private and public emotions it is no use denying that the third volume is an altogether thinner and less impressive work than they were.

Letters are included here, as they were before, but there are fewer of them and many more manifestos, lectures, statements to the Press, etc. And the text itself is largely a description of Lord Russell's many moral and political campaigns. To anyone who shares his strong and unremitting concern for the sufferings and afflictions of the human race these descriptions make dramatic, though often depressing, reading. But the absence of a private life running through these pages as an accompaniment to the campaigns will leave even the most public-spirited of readers with a sense of deprivation.

One example of the loss will have to serve as an illustration of what is constantly felt:—

> At Christmas, 1953, I was waiting to go into hospital again for a serious operation and my wife and household were all down with flu. My son and his wife decided that, as she said, they were 'tired of children.' After Christmas dinner with the children and me, they left, taking the remainder of the food, but leaving the children, and did not return. We were fond of the children, but were appalled by this fresh responsibility which posed so many harassing questions in the midst of our happy -and already very full life. For some time we hoped that their parents would return to take up their rôle, but when my son became ill we had to abandon that hope and make long-term arrangements for the children's education and holidays. Moreover, the financial burden was heavy and rather disturbing. . . .

There is an understandable dryness in Lord Russell's tone as he tells this extraordinary story, but his self-imposed reticence has forbidden him to tell us more. Yet the reader, while admiring the writer's refusal to indulge either in moral indignation or in self-righteousness, is bound to feel a strong sense of frustration at this point. After all, by this time we have long been admitted to the privacies of the author's heart and mind. To have the door more or less slammed in our faces here is almost like a snub. For the causes of this strange behaviour by Russell's son and daughter-in-law are clearly of very great importance to us in our attempt to understand Russell himself.

As for the main bulk of the book —its account of his campaigns against nuclear weapons and against the American intervention in Vietnam—everyone who refused to follow exactly where Russell led is bound to find something here to complain about. It must be said that he is no better than the rest of us at eating crow, and there are very few moments in this book where he admits to having been wrong or even mistaken. I write as one who strongly agreed, and agrees, both with Russell's plea that Britain should get rid of her nuclear weapons and with his condemnation of the American aggression in Vietnam. I write, too, as one who believed, and believes, that the Direct Action Campaign may have done more harm than good to the anti-nuclear cause, and who cannot wholly excuse North Vietnam and the Vietcong either for their conduct during the war or for their determination to continue fighting it at any price.

Blinkered as I must be by this particular complex of attitudes I cannot help regretting the extreme violence and, to my mind, one-sidedness of some of Lord Russell's judgments. He does not retract his morally outrageous remark that '[Kennedy and Macmillan] are much more wicked than Hitler . . . they are the wickedest people that ever lived in the history of man . . . .' I find this judgment understandable, but deplorable. Russell is surely right in thinking that the policies of Kennedy and Macmillan might have led to a greater human disaster than any that Hitler achieved. But I think he is wrong to think that wickedness should be measured by effects rather than by motives.

Lord Russell insists over and over again that he is not anti-American, yet I don't believe any comparatively unbiased reader could doubt that this is exactly what he constantly shows himself to be. I share his indignation with the Americans for their bestial war; but I do not believe, as he evidently does, that in the general power struggle between the Great Powers America has behaved worse than Russia.

And when Lord Russell feels the need to explain why, in 1956, he strongly condemned the Tories' Suez adventure but had nothing to say against the repression of the Hungarian Revolution I find his explanation weak indeed:—

> I did not [speak out against Russia] because there was no need. Most of the so-called Western world was fulminating. Some people spoke out strongly against the Suez exploit, but most people were acquiescent.

On the contrary, there was a sizeable minority of English public figures who strongly condemned both monstrosities. And surely Lord Russell must have recognised that his silence on a major issue speaks every bit as loud as most other people's shrillest utterances.

So I don't feel that Russell can be acquitted of some unwisdom at certain points of his recent campaigns. But nor have I ever felt that his campaigns were anything but passionately sincere in motive and gallantly energetic in execution. And I am sure that this high moral passion of our grandest old man has done a great deal to prevent us all from subsiding into that accidie and social despair which so often overwhelms the citizen of a country which is moving downwards on the power-scale. When all has been said against him that can be said, Lord Russell remains a marvel—a marvel of intelligence, lucidity and wit; a marvel of undeviating concern for his fellow-humans.

REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES

(8) Philosophers Committee (David E. Johnson, Chairman):

The Bertrand Russell Society will sponsor a session on the philosophy of Bertrand Russell in conjunction with the Eastern Division meetings of the American Philosophical Association. The session will begin at 7:30 p.m. on Thursday, December 28, 1989, in the YORK room of the Hyatt Regency Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia. The program will consist of a paper entitled *Russellian Objects: Unity, Complexity and Empiricism* by Trip McCrossin of the Center for the Study of Language and Information, Stanford University. Commentary will be by Stephen Neale, Princeton University, followed by a general discussion. The chair of this session will be David Johnson, U. S. Naval Academy.

BOOK REVIEWS

(9) *Intellectuals*, by Paul Johnson. Last issue we printed an unfavorable review from The Washington Post (RSN62-40).

Here are 2 more unfavorable reviews:

Review by Bernard Williams in *The New York Review of Books* (July 20, 1989, pp.11-13).

Bad Behavior

Intellectuals
by Paul Johnson.
Harper and Row, 385 pp., $22.50

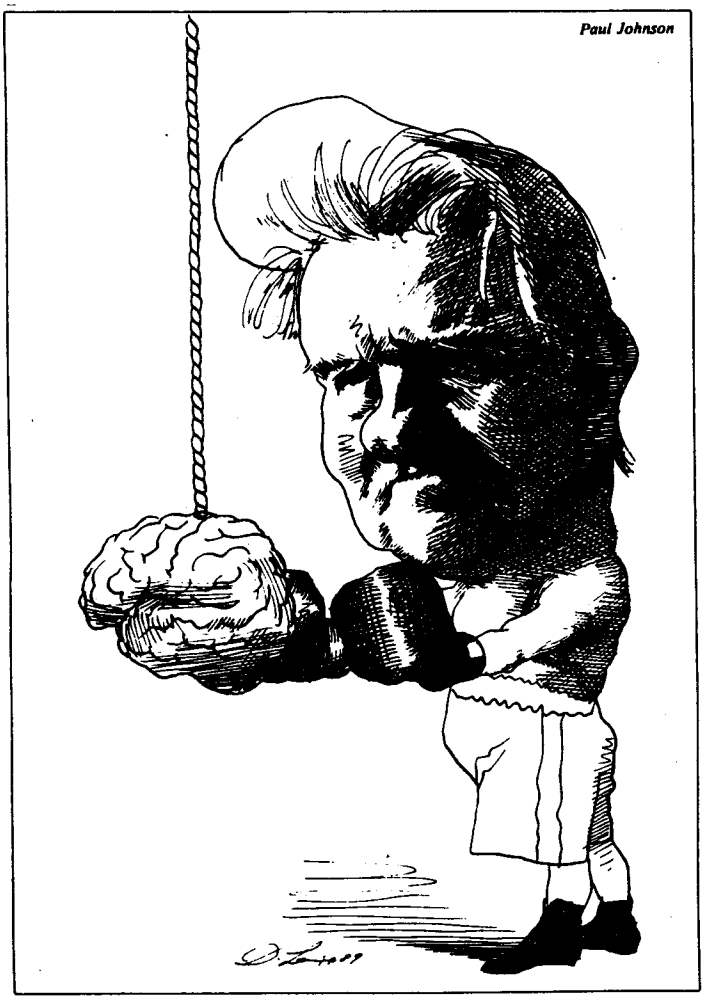
Bernard Williams

Paul Johnson is a prolific British writer who has produced histories of the Jews, Christianity, the modern world, and the English people. He is, I believe, a Catholic (if so, it commendably did not discourage him, in his substantial and very readable history of Christianity, from admitting that the religion, to all intents and purposes, was founded by Saint Paul). Between 1955 and 1970 he worked on the left-wing journal *The New Statesman*, and for six years was its editor, with more success than anyone has achieved since. He is now firmly entrenched on the right, and is a fierce critic of left intellectuals.

The background to his new book is the rise and influence of secular intellectuals as moral and political guides, a development which he interprets as an unsuccessful replacement for clerical authority. This general theme is only the background to the book—indeed, it might be called the excuse for it—and not its subject, since Johnson does not discuss the role of the intellectual in general terms, nor does he consider the difference between secular and religious intellectuals or ask whether they have a more significant part in some societies than in others. In fact, he does not pretend that the book is anything more than it is, a series of unflattering short biographies of people identified as secular intellectuals. They are an odd assortment, ranging from Rousseau and Shelley to Kenneth Tynan and Lillian Hellman, by way of Marx, Tolstoy, and Hemingway, among others. He describes them all so as to bring out their bad behavior. According to Johnson, they all—this seems to be their defining characteristic—"preferred ideas to people." Ruthless or exploitative personal relations are particularly emphasized: the well-known histories of Rousseau's treatment of his children, for instance, and Tolstoy's relations to his wife are rehearsed.

The chosen intellectuals are also represented as characteristically, if not universally, very unscrupulous about the truth, though this charge takes different forms, not always very carefully distinguished. Sometimes, as in the case of Russell and Sartre, it means that they made reckless and irresponsible political statements. With others, particularly Marx, it means that they would not admit it when proved wrong. With many, it means that they lied to their wives or their creditors. In the case of the left-wing British publisher Victor Gollancz, who is particularly picked on for sins against veracity, it paradoxically means, in several instances, that he stated with extreme frankness to authors that he would not publish material with which he did not agree.

One or two intellectuals are rather heartlessly mocked for practical incompetence: the aged Sartre became confused at a meeting; Bertrand Russell was unable to bring a kettle to the boil or adjust his hearing aid. A long paragraph devoted to the accidents in which Ernest Hemingway was involved makes a blackly comical catalog, but hardly a surprising one, granted the feats he was always attempting and the fact, firmly emphasized by Johnson, that much of the time he was drunk.



Paul Johnson

Above all, the writers in *Intellectuals* are shown as sexually unscrupulous and in many cases insatiable—and in almost every chapter (Ibsen is resistant to the treatment) there is a detailed rehearsal of the subject's adulteries, infidelities, and general sexual disorder. All the subjects but one are men; in the case of the exception, Lillian Hellman, Johnson is not content with the material he has about her sexual adventures and throws in a good deal more about those of Dashiell Hammett. The censorious and distinctly prurient tone of all this suggests that the Church's revenge on the secular intellectual has been shaped by the more dubious aspects of the confessional.

Much, then, is said about the less intellectual activities of the intellectuals. Not much is said about their ideas. The account of Marx is a standard caricature; the remarks about Rousseau's political theories would not pass a first-year exam. The little that is said about the technical work of Russell, Sartre, and Chomsky would have been better left out. The creative writers Johnson discusses he in fact admires, but he has nothing interesting to say about them. All the unlovely chatter about writers leaves in the end some sense of respect for only two of them: Ibsen and—interestingly—Brecht, who is represented as so unrelievedly and chillingly horrible that even an author who is prepared to patronize Marx and sneer at Tolstoy seems rather awed by him.

So the whole enterprise is quite useless. But it does raise two questions, at least. One is why an intelligent and hardworking writer with a sense of the past should have thought it worth doing. I have no idea. The other is the question of whether there was a subject to be written about, if Johnson had chosen to pursue it seriously. Is there anything interesting to be said about "intellectuals" as such? Who are they? What authority, if any, do their pronouncements have? It is these questions, particularly the last, that Johnson's book might have addressed, and perhaps was originally intended to address.

If there is a question worth addressing, certainly one would have to start with a less eccentric selection of intellectuals. One elementary improvement would be that they should not be selected just for being badly behaved. Johnson himself, as a matter of fact, undermines any general lesson to be drawn from his selection by several times mentioning other people who were nicer than his subjects, were exploited by them or at least were there to pick up the pieces, and yet had as good a claim to be secular intellectuals as the subjects had. In the tale of Tolstoy, there is Turgenev. Near Sartre at one time, there is Camus—though Johnson says he is not an intellectual, on the simplistic ground that he did not hold ideas to be more important than people. Above all, as friend and victim of the wretched Rousseau, there is Diderot. Diderot was an extremely sympathetic human being who was interested in a vast range of ideas and experience and as an organizer, an editor, and a writer of the great Encyclopedia did as much as any other single person, perhaps more, to form modern consciousness. If Diderot was not a secular intellectual, then there is no such person.

Johnson's principles of selection are partly formed by the notion, explicitly applied to Camus, that exploitation of other people is a defining mark of an intellectual, or at least of a secular one. This is an uninteresting conception and begs all the questions. But in addition to

this, and indeed contrary to it, Johnson may have another idea. It may be that he is not claiming to produce a generalization about all secular intellectuals (the language of "typically," "characteristically," and so forth makes it hard to tell), but is rather saying that these examples serve in themselves as a demonstration of the truth he wants to bring home: that possession of the sorts of characteristics by which intellectuals are distinguished—an interest in ideas, perhaps, and a disposition to see the world, particularly the world of politics, in abstract and general terms—carries no guarantee at all of moral reliability or good judgment. So why should the intellectuals have any authority? Why should anyone take any notice of them?

If this is Johnson's question, as I think it is, his principles of selection still are inadequate. For one thing, there are still questions to be answered about non-secular intellectuals. Why should anyone have listened to them, either—to T.S. Eliot, for instance, or to Claudel? He says nothing at all about this, but it is possible to imagine what his answer might be. From two very brief passages about the replacement of clerical authority by that of the secular intellectual, one might infer the opinion that if Christian intellectuals (in particular) are to be listened to, it is because they are Christian, not just because they are intellectuals. Or, rather differently: it may be they should be listened to because they are intellectuals, and their abstract and general formulations are what attract intellectual interest, but any authority they have is the authority of their Christian beliefs and derived from their religious tradition, and does not simply come from their status as intellectuals. With secular intellectuals, on the other hand, there is nothing to commend their views to people's attention beyond the fact that they are intellectuals.

This is some sort of an answer, but a very incomplete one. Many secular intellectuals do attach themselves to a tradition, as many among those reviewed in *Intellectuals* have attached themselves to Marxist traditions. Johnson thinks those traditions false and pernicious, and indeed sometimes proceeds in a peremptorily right-wing way (he counts the judgments of *Commentary* magazine as authoritative without further argument, and a statement about Sartre by the extreme right paper *L'Aurore* is unquestioningly accepted, although it is at the same time described as a sneer). But that should not be the point. Even if Johnson does not like the tradition in question, it will still be true that the authority that is claimed for these intellectuals' judgments does not derive from a pure act of personality, but is attached to traditions of discourse that stand behind the thoughts of particular people, as the works of Hegel, Saint-Simon, Ricardo, and Feuerbach, to name only a few, stand behind the ideas of Marx.

Equally, it would be a great mistake to suppose that the authority of Christian intellectuals is just the authority of the Church. Their role as such intellectuals is not that of a priest; moreover they have in fact often been heretics. Nor are their characteristics as intellectuals at all simply related to their Christian belief, or to the Church, and there is much to be said about the questions of how much help or harm may be done to the Christian life by its expression in abstract terms and in connection with a wider range of ideas. "What is the authority of an intellectual?" is as good a question about a Christian intellectual as about a secular one, and has been recognized to be so by Christians: by Newman, for instance, to take one notable example about whom Johnson certainly knows a good deal.

There is another, quite different, respect in which Johnson's list of examples needs to be reconsidered if the right question is to be isolated. It is necessary to separate from the supposed authority of the intellectual something else, the authority of the artist. By including Shelley, Tolstoy, and others who were creative writers Johnson confuses the issue in several ways. One is that the self-centeredness, the exploitation of others, what he calls the "monumental egotism" of these people, tells us nothing special about intellectuals. It simply reflects the well-known fact that some creative people make ruthless demands on those around them. It is another, and in fact totally useless, question whether those people's achievements "excuse" their behavior. Their neglected children, abused wives, abandoned mistresses, unpaid creditors, and other victims needed an answer to that question, perhaps, and they can hardly be blamed if their answer was negative. But we scarcely need an answer to it. Moreover, this entire theme has very little to do with the authority of intellectuals. The authority of these artists lies in their works, not in the characteristics typical of intellectuals.

Johnson strangely neglects this point. He admires most of the artists he discusses—in the case of Shelley, perhaps too indiscriminately. (Is it because he does not admire his work that he did not take up Wagner, an artist who, one would think, was from all points of view ideally suited to his style of treatment?) But he does not try to understand, or relate to his theme, the hardly unfamiliar fact that work displaying great insight can go with a heartless life and ridiculous pronouncements. In one case he runs into critical trouble, since he both regards Tolstoy as "perhaps the greatest of all novelists" and yet claims to find in the novels what he finds in Tolstoy's life, an inability to sympathize with other human beings.

It is true that the respect awarded to artists because of their works may get extended, in the case of some of them, into a regard for, or at least an interest in, their pronouncements on political and other subjects. This may not be entirely rational, any more than it is when the same thing happens with scientists or entertainers. But it is hardly surprising: such people may well be remarkable, singular, interesting, with a talent for powerfully expressing feelings. In any case, this is not an issue of the authority of the intellectual. The intellectual, in Johnson's sense of a distinguished or well-known person, is someone who has a disposition and capacity to discuss and think in an informed way about ideas, and is thought to have some authority to speak about questions of immediate public concern, particularly about politics, in virtue of that capacity.

In some cases, the distinction between the authority of the intellectual and that of the artist is of course blurred. This is particularly so with the theater and with film, and there has been the tiresome phenomenon, for instance, of writers such as John Osborne or Arnold Wesker, whose awkward plays were thought better than they were because they expressed political ideas, which in their turn were better regarded than they should have been because they were expressed on the stage. But in the end, the authority of the intellectual, if there is such a thing, should be a purely intellectual authority. It is more than an expertise or scholarship, because it is applied outside the sphere of experts and scholars. It is the authority of a person to speak about the particular issues, above all political issues, derived from that person's capacity to handle ideas. Can there be such a thing?

The first requirement is that ideas should have something to do with politics. It is of course possible to pretend that they do not, and the present British government is a sustained exercise in pretending they do not. Its well-known anti-intellectual position of course includes its being against intellectuals, but that is only a small part of what it includes, since there are not many intellectuals to be against: intellectuals, as opposed to men of letters or academics, have never been a very common phenomenon in Britain. Moreover, a good number of those that there are find themselves somewhere on the left, and the government has good reason to be against them anyway.

But it is not much more encouraging to right-wing intellectuals. An example is to be found in a recent article in the London *Times* by Roger Scruton, certainly a right-wing intellectual, written to mark Isaiah Berlin's eightieth birthday and mostly devoted to an attack on him. The attack itself has no substance—it merely applies to one of the least appropriate targets conceivable the old line about liberals committed to free speech being soft on communism—but it does offer a glimpse of Scruton's own location on the right, when he says that he senses in Berlin "a dearth of those experiences in which the suspicion of the liberal idea is rooted: experiences of the sacred and the erotic, of mourning and holy dread." What this might have to do with any politics now accessible to anyone is a question for Scruton, but, as he is well aware, it certainly has nothing at all to do with the politics of Mrs. Thatcher.

In one way, that is undeniably reassuring. On the other hand, the fact that Scruton's rhetoric, vapid as it is, has no conceivable relation to current political speech is an illustration of something more general and less welcome, that current speech has no room for any exercise of the imagination. In fact, although they are anti-intellectual, Thatcherian politics are deeply involved in ideas. They are, with their fixation on the competitive market and contempt for public assistance to the noncompetitive, more intensely ideological, as has often been noticed, than is usual in Britain. It is not that they have no ideas, but that they lack imagination, and those who develop the ideas are public accountants, publicists, and blinkered theorists of the market, rather than anyone who reflects more imaginatively on anything else. Certainly they are not intellectuals.

It is the intellectual imagination that gives intellectuals whatever authority they have. Of course it is true that the particular judgments of intellectuals may be impractical or poorly related to a given situation. But they are not meant to govern: that is the business of government, and to say that no one should comment on government except those in government is to say that there should be no comment. Of course, some intellectuals may be vain, self-important, and mendacious: that merely suggests that there should be more intellectuals who do not have such characteristics. Of course, the interest attached to the pronouncements of intellectuals may, in some cultures, be exaggerated. It is hard to deny that that used to be true in France, or at least in Paris; it is remarkable what intense scrutiny used to be applied to every shift of position, every analysis and rationalization, of certain Parisian thinkers who had never demonstrably shown good sense about anything.

But even such distortions raise questions that need answers. At the end of his chapter on Sartre, Johnson reports, in a bewildered tone, his funeral:

> Over 50,000 people, most of them young, followed his body into Montparnasse Cemetery. To get a better view, some climbed into the trees.... To what cause had they come to do honour? What faith, what luminous truth about humanity, were they asserting by their mass presence? We may well ask.

If we may well ask, we should do well to answer. We need not suppose that the reputation of Sartre was entirely well-founded to acknowledge the truths to which it spoke: that politics necessarily involves ideas, and particularly so when it denies this; that political ideas need the surroundings, the criticism, and the life provided by other ideas; and that some people are able to bring those ideas imaginatively into the thoughts of those who are going to live under that politics. There is such a thing as the authority of the intellectual, and it is to be found in that capacity—an authority which, like that of the artist and unlike that of the clergy, depends on the uncommanded response of those it affects. □

(10) Review in *The New York Times Book Review* (June 11, 1989. pp.3-4), with thanks to LINDA EGENDORF:

The Great Unwashed

INTELLECTUALS
By Paul Johnson.
385 pp. New York: Harper & Row. $22.50.

By Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty

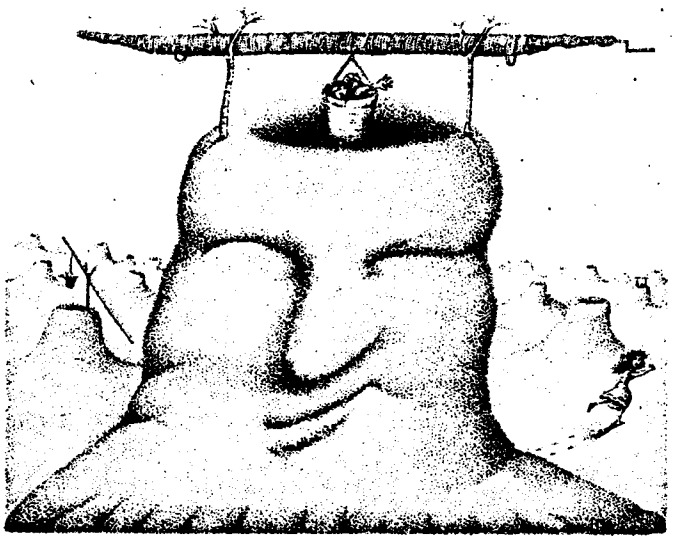
THIS is a book by an intellectual who tells us not to listen to intellectuals. Aldous Huxley once defined an intellectual as someone who had found something more interesting than sex. Paul Johnson's definition is equally idiosyncratic: an intellectual is someone who wants to refashion the world, politically, in accordance with principles of his own devising. Moreover, a "disregard for truth and [a] preference for ideas over people . . . marks the true secular intellectual." Of the people whom Mr. Johnson forces to lie on this Procrustean bed, a dozen are given a chapter apiece: Rousseau, Shelley, Marx, Ibsen, Tolstoy, Hemingway, Brecht, Bertrand Russell, Sartre, Edmund Wilson, Victor Gollancz and Lillian Hellman. A final chapter lumps together George Orwell, Evelyn Waugh, Cyril Connolly, Norman Mailer, Kenneth Tynan, Rainer Werner Fassbinder, James Baldwin and Noam Chomsky. Mr. Johnson, the author of "A History of the Jews" and "Modern Times: The World From the Twenties to the Eighties," hurries through a superficial summary of each literary corpus, the ideas, to get to his real concern, the lives of these men — and woman. He is interested not in what they wrote, but in what they did — more precisely, in what others say they did, since the book is based almost entirely on secondary sources.

The obvious thesis is that intellectuals lead bad lives. The not so obvious, implicit corollary is that, therefore, the ideas of intellectuals are bad. The various accusations are quickly generalized through recurrent comparisons that give the general impression that these flaws are held in common by all intellectuals (implying that there are no intellectuals who are not thus flawed) but not by other people (implying that there are no nonintellectuals who are thus flawed). Mr. Johnson revels in all the wicked things these great thinkers have done, and the reveling parts of the book are great fun to read. Special attention is paid to a trinity of sins that characterize this group: lying, fornicating and dishonesty about money.

Lying is of particular relevance to Mr. Johnson's argument, since it implies that we should not believe what intellectuals say: "One thing which emerges strongly from any case-by-case study of intellectuals is their scant regard for veracity." The lies range from self-serving deceits and conscious revisions of history to idle mythologizing, sexual boasting, self-deception and mere difference of opinion. Thus, when we are told that Hemingway's story about his inspection of F. Scott Fitzgerald's penis in a men's room "seems to be a piece of fiction," we may wonder how Mr. Johnson knows the true case. He acknowledges that it might be unfair to accuse writers of "lying," that Hemingway regarded lying as "part of his training as a writer" and admitted that writers "often lie unconsciously and then remember their lies with deep remorse." Yet Mr. Johnson asks: "To what extent do intellectuals as a class expect and require truth from those they admire?"

Intellectuals (particularly Rousseau, Tolstoy, Hellman, Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Russell, Hemingway, Gollancz and Baldwin) write apparently "frank" confessions whose "selective honesty is in some ways the most dishonest aspect." They "disarm the reader by what appears to be shocking frankness and admission of guilt [but] . . . in fact hide far more than they reveal." This false glasnost infuriates Mr. Johnson because it works, because other people do not think, like him, that these people are liars. The false confessions are also condemned for the trouble they cause, particularly when they lift the lid of the Pandora's box of sexual secrets and expose the contents to the intellectual's partner as well as to the general public. Mr. Johnson skillfully documents the misery that such "open diaries" produced in the lives of Rousseau (who confessed that one woman with whom he was impotent said, "Leave women alone and study mathematics"), Tolstoy and his wife, Sonia (whose "nightmarish battle of the diaries" eventually drove Tolstoy to keep "a 'secret' diary, which he hid in one of his riding boots" and which his wife, of course, found), and Simone de Beauvoir (who so infuriated Nelson Algren when she published his love letters to her that he said, "I've been in whorehouses all over the world and the women there always close the door").

These male intellectuals exploit women, Mr. Johnson says. Shelley toyed with the idea of incestuously involving his sisters in his harem, Tolstoy "failed to tell women with whom he had sex that he had contracted venereal disease and might still have it" and Hemingway "wrote an obscene poem, 'To Martha Gellhorn's Vagina,' which he compared to the wrinkled neck of an old hot-water bottle, and which he read to any woman he could get into bed with him." Sartre "dedicated his 'Critique de la Raison Dialectique' (1960) publicly to de Beauvoir, but got his publisher Gallimard to print privately two copies with the words 'To Wanda.'" Mr. Mailer stabbed his second wife in the abdomen and back. When Fassbinder got married, "the bride found her bedroom door locked, and the groom and the best man in her bed." Connolly, in bed with a married woman of quality during a V-bomb raid over London in 1944, ungallantly jumped out, saying, "Perfect fear casteth out love."


PETER SIS

Intellectuals (or Mr. Johnson's selection of them) are obsessed with the male sexual organ. Rousseau "always had trouble with his penis"; Marx had boils on his; Ibsen "would not expose his sexual organ even for the purpose of medical examination. Was there something wrong with it — or did he think there was?" Victor Gollancz believed that he would lose the use of his penis, imagined that it kept disappearing into his body and "would constantly take it out to inspect it, to discover whether it showed signs of VD or indeed whether it was still there at all."

Now, these are delightful dirty stories, but what do they tell us about intellectuals? We learn that, as they get older, many of them (Ibsen, Hemingway, Sartre, Russell) preferred younger and younger women — a taste hardly confined to great thinkers. Indeed, it needs no feminist come from the grave to tell us that men have generally mistreated women. Another character flaw to which Mr. Johnson devotes what seems a disproportionate amount of attention is the lamentable personal hygiene of most intellectuals, which he grumbles about like the mother of a teen-age boy. Marx "rarely took baths or washed much at all," and his room was a pigsty. Hemingway (according to his third wife) "was extremely dirty" and allowed his unneutered tomcats to march all over the dining table. Brecht "was always dirty," and aggressively, dishonestly so: "[Theodor] Adorno said that Brecht spent hours every day putting dirt under his fingernails so he looked like a worker." Russell had such bad breath that Lady Ottoline Morrell refused to sleep with him for a while. Sartre was "disgustingly dirty," and Connolly left "bathroom detritus" in the bottom of his host's grandfather clock and bacon rashers marking his place in his host's books. Why does Mr. Johnson bother to tell us? Did the physical filth of these men make their thoughts unclean?

This line of argument, from life to art, is explicitly applied to Marx, whose "grotesque incompetence in handling money . . . explains why he devoted so much time and space to the subject." The argument runs like this: Marx, unable to pay the interest on his debts, came to view "the charging of interest, essential as it is to any system based on capital, as a crime against humanity." He himself, however, immediately began "exploiting anyone within reach." Rousseau, Shelley, Brecht and Russell are all described as exploitative, but Marx in particular is accused of having a "tendency to exploit those around him," and this is said to have led to his theory that the masses are exploited. An unconscious satire on this simplistic correlation of life and theory is provided by Marx's mother, who wished aloud that "Karl would accumulate capital instead of just writing about it."

Marx brings us to the true serpent in the intellectual garden — not sex but politics. It becomes gradually apparent that "intellectual" is a euphemism for what Mr. Johnson occasionally calls "a radical" or "a radical intellectual." If radicals are liars, we might expect conservatives to tell the truth, and lo, this is the case: Waugh "had an unusual regard for truth. . . . He was, he said, a conservative. . . . Waugh described society as it was and must be." Most of Mr. Johnson's intellectuals are leftists of one sort or another, and "intellectual" is ultimately revealed to be a synonym for "socialist" or even "Communist": "Social engineering is the creation of millenarian intellectuals who believe they can refashion the universe by the light of their unaided reason. . . . It was pioneered by Rousseau, systematized by Marx and institutionalized by Lenin."

IT is certainly noteworthy that Mr. Johnson does not discuss any of the intellectuals on the far right, such as Heidegger, Pound and Paul de Man, whose lives are currently the subject of much heated debate. Orwell and Edmund Wilson, the only liberals for whom Mr. Johnson expresses any approval or sympathy, are the exceptions that prove the rule, men who, "unlike most intellectuals," cared about real people and cared about the truth. They acted out the old saying that a man is a fool not to be a Communist until he is 30 years old, and a fool to remain one after that. Both Orwell and Wilson recoiled from the far left and moved toward the

Continued on page 36

Marx rarely took baths or washed, his room was a pigsty; while Brecht was always dirty.

Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty is a member of the Committee on Social Thought and the Mircea Eliade Professor of the History of Religions at the University of Chicago. Her latest book is "Other Peoples' Myths."

The Great Unwashed

Continued from page 3

right, a move Mr. Johnson, not surprisingly, finds compatible.

In the final reckoning, it becomes apparent that Mr. Johnson dwells on the dirty habits and unpaid debts because he believes that moral flaws are political flaws. In writing of "the strain ... in carrying the Left Man's Burden," he cites with approval Connolly's statement that many had joined the left "because 'they hated their father or ... worried about sex.'" It is because intellectual politics is the work of drunkards and adulterers that it is irrational and characterized above all by violence. And this violence rages unchecked because the intellectuals are godless. Radical intellectual" is sometimes replaced here by "secular intellectual," for the intellectuals have scorned religion and set themselves up in place of priests; indeed, they have committed the supreme act of hubris by presenting themselves not merely as false priests but as false gods: "The secular intellectual might be deist, sceptic or atheist.... Unlike their sacerdotal predecessors, they were not servants and interpreters of the gods but substitutes."

So we see how evil intellectuals are, and we also see why. "It is all very baffling," Mr. Johnson writes, "and suggests that intellectuals are as unreasonable, illogical and superstitious as anyone else." The banality of this belabored point is mindboggling. Unlike Captain Renault in "Casablanca," we are not "Shocked! Shocked!" to find that Shelley was a schnorrer, Tolstoy a compulsive gambler, Hemingway an alcoholic. What is shocking is Mr. Johnson's moral indignation and his expectation that we, too, will click our tongues in disapproval.

Why should intellectuals behave better than nonintellectuals? Mr. Johnson argues that people who tell us how to behave should behave better than people who don't tell us how to behave. He cites numerous instances of the glaring disparity between words and deeds in the treatment of women by men like Ibsen, Shelley, Russell and Sartre, who were pioneering champions of the women's movement, and in the treatment of their own children by men like Rousseau and Tolstoy, who wrote so much about the importance of education. He admits that "very few of us lead lives which will bear close scrutiny, and there is something mean in subjecting Rousseau's, laid horribly bare by the activities of thousands of scholars, to moral judgment. But granted his claims, and still more his influence on ethics and behavior, there is no alternative." He approves of Orwell's judgment of Pound: "One has the right to expect ordinary decency even of a poet."

But one could easily argue the contrary case, and expect poets to behave worse than other people; many great thinkers have been highly neurotic, some downright mad. Indeed, it may well be that their high-minded ideals, far from rendering them vulnerable to accusations of hypocrisy, keep sinful intellectuals from being even worse human beings than they would otherwise be. Evelyn Waugh, when asked how he could behave so badly after he had become a Roman Catholic, replied, "Think how much worse I would be if I were not Catholic." The rarity is not intellectuals who sin but those who don't, those few double geniuses who are good both at life and at art. A book about them would be worth reading.

Mr. Johnson might have kept in mind the fine book by his hero Edmund Wilson, "The Wound and the Bow," which argues for a necessary correlation between artistic gifts (the bow) and serious personality flaws (the wound). Or one might take another tack and argue in defense of sublimation: people who cannot love real people channel their blocked human feelings into the public forum and express them in ways that benefit far more people than their (neglected) immediate family. Tolstoy's well-earned guilt drove him to produce the great art that he left in payment of his human debts. Many a Nobel laureate, like the man who established that honor (a manufacturer of ammunition), has needed his unusual talents to atone for his unusual sins. We should therefore "pardon them for writing well" (as W. H. Auden remarked of Paul Claudel, in his poem on the death of Yeats).

BUT even if we grant — and the case is certainly far from airtight — that the people Mr. Johnson has chosen to write about are nasty pieces of work, are their ideas nasty? Should men's words be judged in the light of their deeds? Mr. Johnson thinks they should. He agrees with Waugh's judgment on Connolly, asking: "How could someone like Connolly give advice to humanity on how to conduct its affairs?" Mr. Johnson focuses on "the moral and judgmental credentials of intellectuals to tell mankind how to conduct itself. How did they run their own lives? ... Were they just in their sexual and financial dealings? Did they tell, and write, the truth?" He concludes that, for intellectuals, "ideas came before people, Mankind with a capital 'M' before men and women, wives, sons or daughters."

Mr. Johnson thinks this should not be so. He argues that "massive works of the intellect do not spring from the abstract workings of the brain and the imagination; they are deeply rooted in the personality." This is certainly true; but it does not necessarily follow that, if the personality is flawed, the works of the intellect are flawed in direct correlation. We have learned from Freud that motives are overdetermined in far more complex ways than such an assumption implies. Moreover, the ultimate effect, for good or ill, of a work of the imagination that endures for centuries cannot be bounded by the brief life of the personality that created it. "Intellectuals" is symptomatic of the philistinism of our culture, which incites the press to pillory mature public figures for the sins of their high-spirited youth. But the relationship between the life lived and the art left behind is not a simple matter of politics.

D. H. Lawrence (who knew well whereof he spoke) was right to advise us: Trust the tale, not the teller. And many a sadder but wiser sage has rightly warned his disciples: Do as I say, not as I do. Sartre best stated the true and sad irony of the matter: "For many years I treated my pen as my sword: now I realize how helpless we are. No matter: I am writing, I shall continue to write books." The books of great thinkers are often salvaged from the debris of lives tragically flawed. And our time is better spent in reading their own great books than in reading trivializing books about their shabby lives.

Fassbinder Unbound

[Rainer Werner] Fassbinder pursued with relentless ferocity one of the three great themes of the new sixties' culture: the uninhibited exploitation of sex.... He drew men from the working class and turned them into actors as well as lovers. One, whom he called "my Bavarian negro," seems to have specialized in wrecking expensive cars. Another, a former North African male prostitute, was homicidal.... A third, a butcher-turned-actor, committed suicide.... Fassbinder also reflected, in his films and lifestyle, the second great theme of the new culture: violence. As a very young man, he seems to have been close to Andreas Baader, who helped to create one of West Germany's most notorious terrorist gangs. [He] embraced... a third theme of the new culture: drugs.... He does not seem to have taken up hard drugs until... 1976.... But then, having tried cocaine, he became convinced of its creative power and used it regularly.... On the morning of 10 June [1982, his companion] Juliane Lorenz found him dead in bed.... A funeral of sorts took place but the coffin was empty as the police were still examining his body for drugs. *From "Intellectuals."*

DIRECTORS OF THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY, INC.
elected for 3-year terms, as shown

(11) 1987-89: JACK COWLES, WILLIAM FIELDING, DAVID GOLDMAN, STEVE MARAGIDES, FRANK PAGE, MICHAEL ROCKLER, CHERIE RUPPE, PAUL SCHILPP, WARREN SMITH, RAMON SUZARA

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The 6 BRS officers are also directors, ex officio

BOOK REVIEWS

(12) Two reviews by Russell detractors. We think you'd like to -- and ought to -- know what they are saying.

Bertrand Russell: A Political Life, by Alan Ryan. This is the eighth review of Ryan's book to appear in the newsletter. The reviewer, Kenneth Minogue, is identified as a "Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics." As might be expected of a review in the *National Review* (Publisher, William Buckley), it aims to diminish Russell. (Thank you, TOM STANLEY.)

THE THIRD EARL v. THE THIRTY MILLION

Kenneth Minogue

Bertrand Russell: A Political Life, by Alan Ryan (Farrar, Straus, 240 pp., $19.95)

ANYONE WHO doubts William Buckley's judgment that it would be better to be ruled by the first two hundred names in the Boston telephone directory than by the faculty of Harvard had better read Alan Ryan's *Bertrand Russell: A Political Life*. It shows what can happen when an analytical genius turns his hand to the human condition.

Russell's youthful energies were devoted to philosophical logic. The *Principia Mathematica* was written (in collaboration with A. N. Whitehead) in the first decade of the century. The remainder of a very long life —Russell died in 1970 at the age of 97—was taken up largely by moral, political, and social issues. His powerful intelligence penetrated the confusions of this foggy terrain to reveal the one right answer, and his jaw set firm. Like Don Quixote, he charged. His career is reminiscent of nothing so much as the *New Yorker* cartoon in which a pair of personified windmills discern in the distance a thin knight on horseback, and one says to the other: "En garde! A nut." The grandmother who brought him up drilled him in a precept that Professor Ryan appropriately uses as a leitmotif of this remarkable career: "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil." Whenever he detected an established opinion, Russell would go haring off in the opposite direction.

He acquired in early life the full repertoire of free-thinking beliefs then current, though he often gave them an unusual turn. His pacifism in the First World War led to a restful six months in prison, where he was able to finish two books. In 1936 he was to be found arguing that Britain ought to capitulate to Hitler, because any attempt to resist would put Western civilization back several centuries. It was one of the few opinions he later repudiated, though it was based on a principle that seemed at the time virtually self-evident: "A government which began by fighting *for* democracy would have to take such a firm grip on its population to fight the war successfully that it would end up as a military dictatorship."

Russell's reputation as an all-purpose pundit was at its height in the years after the Second World War. The advanced opinions that had so often shocked the bourgeoisie were becoming the commonplaces of a more liberated age. He was awarded the Order of Merit in 1949, and won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1950. He was gadfly by appointment to Britain and the world. It looked as if the multitude had finally come to him, and the thought plunged him into deep gloom: "I began to feel slightly uneasy, fearing that this might be the onset of blind orthodoxy. I have always held that one can be respectable without being wicked, but so blunted was my moral sense that I could not see in what way I had sinned."

He need not have worried. His genius for finding one-shot solutions to the problems of the world had not deserted him. Responding to the dangers of nuclear destruction, he argued that the American monopoly of the bomb should be used against the Russians to establish a world hegemony. When Russia acquired the bomb, he moved in the opposite direction. From 1954 onward, Russell's noble brow and silvery locks were the prow adorning the anti-nuclear movement. He became "ombudsman to the world"—though an ombudsman whose attention was largely focused upon the derelictions of the United States. Unlike most philosophers, he got angrier as he got older, and his last sad fate was to fall into the hands of an American radical called Ralph Schoenman, who began issuing, in the name of the nonagenarian Russell, strings of radical clichés sentimentalizing the Vietcong—a form of simplicity, as Ryan observes, entirely foreign to Russell, who, whatever his eccentricities, never lost a strain of realism.

Genius toppling into absurdity is a tragedy less uncommon than one might suppose. Part of the cause in this case was that the circumstances of Russell's later life led him to become an opinion machine. He worked the American lecture circuit, and his pen was never still. The articles were often trivial ("Who May Use Lipstick?" "On the Fierceness of Vegetarians," etc.), but like his many books, they were always lucid, witty, and provocative. No one makes a living in journalism merely by being sensible. But in Russell's case, deeper reasons may be discovered for this classic descent into political folly.

The secret of politics lies in the appropriate deployment of certain middle-level ideas such as tradition, prudence, authority, ritual, and so on. Such ideas mediate between the grand universals like rights and justice on the one hand, and brute facts on the other. The reductionist in Russell was not only largely blind to the place of this dimension of politics, but actually mistook his blindness for a special kind of insight. Once analysis had revealed the obvious truth about the current condition of the world, Russell was happy to share it with everyone. The dangerous point came when others failed to agree with him. Was it stupidity? Prejudice? The dead weight of uncritical orthodoxy? The temptation was to slide into melodrama: to find that a sinister interest lay behind such irrationality. This slide from abstraction to melodrama—the characteristic vice of the intellectual in politics—was especially tempting for Russell when he found himself at odds with one "multitude" or another. His democratic beliefs constantly collided with his elitist instincts.

The conflict is recurrent in his work. In education, the issue was simply between those who were guided by love and those who were guided by hate. The history of science was a struggle against the obscurantism of religion. Philosophy was a journey from mystification toward the light of modern empiricism. On the issue of peace with Nazi Germany, Russell displayed, as Ryan puts it, something of the "logic of the paranoiac." His intellectual fanaticism deepened with time. So did his anti-Americanism.

The United States appears to have represented for Russell all the anarchic irrationalism likely to bring down civilization. His basic idea about the problem of the modern world was how to reconcile (and we may quote the title of one of his books that Ryan most admires) *Freedom and Organization*. Freedom threatens irrationalism and war, while organization may lead to despotism. Yet both are necessary. Russell had already anticipated the dystopian nightmares of Huxley's *Brave New World*. America, from which he so often drew his sustenance, seems to have represented for him both these threats. In 1918 he had argued that one of the dangers of continuing the war would be the use of American

troops to keep the British working class intimidated. The only beneficiaries of such a victory would be J. P. Morgan and Standard Oil. Nor did he find American mores more attractive than American power. His intolerance cannot have been mitigated by the New York court judgment invalidating his appointment in 1940 to a professorship in philosophy at the College of the City of New York. The judge agreed with "an anxious Catholic mother convinced that a course in formal logic from the notorious lecher would entirely subvert her daughter's morals." Here is his account of how Americans pass the time: "It is held that drink and petting are the gateways to happiness, so people get drunk quickly and try not to notice how much their partners disgust them. After a sufficient amount of drink, men begin to weep and to lament how unworthy they are, morally, of the devotion of their mothers."

Should one take such remarks as the snobbish response of the third Earl Russell to the anxieties of a middle-class civilization? They seem rather to be a recycling of familiar European clichés about American life. And the irony of his anti-Americanism is that Russell's political judgment exhibits just the kind of instability that is often taken to be typical of American foreign policy.

This instability is the oscillation between morality and a ruthless realism. Russell is reported by Ryan to have shocked Max Eastman by remarking that a Charles Darwin was worth thirty million ordinary men. Some of his solutions to the problems of the world would have cost the lives of millions. What mattered to Russell was civilization, understood as the concrete embodiment of reason; the happiness of ordinary mortals was of less concern. On the other hand, he was in his last years horrified by what he took to be the American policy of putting the world to rights by the use of napalm. Perhaps the real problem is that Russell was one of those people who are only capable of entertaining one idea at a time. Each idea was often brilliant, a vehicle of luminous prose resting upon an array of good abstract reasons. But no such idea ever collided with its like.

Ryan has written a judicious account of the public career of the philosopher as entertainer and crusader. He manfully discards some of the encrustation of legend, as when he writes that "There never was a visiting vicar who exclaimed, 'Good God!' on meeting a naked child on the doorstep, only to be told, 'There is no God,' though it seems a pity that it never happened." His remarks on the fact that most of the views that made the elderly Herbert Marcuse a famous figure with the young of the Sixties had been anticipated by Russell raise a wider issue about the place of the intellectual in Anglo-Saxon countries. The fame of Marcuse, Habermas, Lukacs, Althusser, and their like results in large part from the fact that their Germanic obscurities provide the opportunity for an army of academic expositors to explain the simple propositions underlying the metaphysical jargon. Poor Russell had lots of ideas, but, doomed to the lucidities of the English tongue and the empirical tradition in philosophy, he remained a fish out of water to the end of his life. What a guru this man would have been had his native tongue only been French or German! □

OCTOBER 14, 1988 / NATIONAL REVIEW

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(13) *Bertrand Russell: A Political Life*, by Alan Ryan. Reviewed by Sidney Hook, who had love-hate feelings toward Russell. Russell was Hook's idol at one time; later Hook called Russell anti-Semitic (RSN12-24,62). This review appeared in *Insight* (10/1/88) (Publisher: Rev. Sun Moon). (Thank you, JACK COWLES and SHOHIG SHERRY TERZIAN)

Politics Tests Philosophy's Meaning

SUMMARY: When it comes to philosophers of logic and mathematics, the position of Bertrand Russell is secure. But his place is less secure in the area of political thought. In providing details from the philosopher's life, Alan Ryan, in "Bertrand Russell: A Political Life" (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, $19.95, 240 pages), provides unique insights into Russell's philosophy as he applied it to political issues, particularly over his last 18 years, says philosopher Sidney Hook.

Bertrand Russell's achievements in the foundations of logic and mathematics have won for him a philosophical immortality that cannot be affected by the vagaries of his political positions, which range from the occasionally profound to the downright silly.

Had Russell died at the age of 80, rather than at 98, it is not likely that anyone would have composed an intellectual biography of his political life. But the mischievous political role he played during the last 18 years of his life, culminating in his apotheosis of one of the most ruthless communist dictatorships of the world, warrants this approach to his life, especially by someone who was initially sympathetic to Russell's stand during the Cuban missile crisis and who still admires his position, if not his extremism, on Vietnam. But Alan Ryan has not attempted a full-scale biography of the philosopher, who died in 1970, reasoning that Ronald Clark's "The Life of Bertrand Russell," despite some shortcomings, makes it unnecessary.

Normally the details of the lives of the great figures in the arts and sciences can be regarded as irrelevant to the nature and appreciation of their work. It is questionable whether, if we knew more about William Shakespeare's life, it would have a greater bearing on our understanding of "Hamlet" than knowing the details of Sir Isaac Newton's life would have on our understanding of his "Principia."

Pablo Picasso was a great painter but a contemptible human being who would not protest the Stalinist persecution of those who followed his style. Bertolt Brecht was a great dramatist who betrayed those who sacrificed their lives for him, became intensely disliked by those, such as W. H. Auden, who had befriended him, and remained lovable only to Eric Bentley.

George Bernard Shaw was a great dramatist whose paeans of praise for Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin, despite what he knew of their victims, sicken any decent human being. The quality of Richard Wagner's music has nothing to do with his views on the Jews, and the quality of Chilean poet Pablo Neruda's imagery is unaffected by his complicity in the attempt of David Alfaro Siqueiros, the Mexican thug and painter, to assassinate Leon Trotsky.

Why, then, should the details of Bertrand Russell's political thought and behavior be any more relevant to our understanding of his philosophy? Mainly because, although Russell occasionally professed to an off-the-cuff attitude toward his writings on social, political and ethical questions — and these writings constitute a large bulk of his publications — he did regard himself as a philosopher in the classical tradition, as a lover of wisdom. He did set himself up as a teacher of mankind, an educator concerned with the nature of good and evil and the quest for a better society than the one in which we find ourselves. The way such a person lives, his behavior and advice to others, has a definite bearing on the real sense of his words.

To be sure, Russell had too much of a sense of humor to set himself up as a prophet. His deadly wit shredded the raiment of a long line of religious and secular prophets before his time and left them naked with their followers shivering in the cold light of his analysis. Nonetheless it is legitimate to test the consistency, adequacy — even the sincerity — of his ideas about man and society by his public and private behavior. Whatever the result, it would not affect his status as metalogician and mathematician, but it bears on much else.

Were Russell's contributions assessed by his theoretical writings alone, his legacy would be unimpressive. There were radical and incompatible shifts on basic issues, from an initial Platonic realism to a Humean skepticism. He ended up with the view that no moral ends are irrational except those that are literally impossible to execute. He himself was uncomfortable with the resultant view that there are no differences in rationality between the ends of Hitler and those of his Holocaust victims.

Ryan fails to offer a plausible explanation of what transformed Russell from a gratuitous advocate of a Pax Americana into a raving anti-American.

He dismissed without serious study John Dewey's "problematic approach" to moral issues, which stressed the fact that means and ends cannot ever be sharply differentiated, that multiple ends or values are involved in every genuine ethical problem, that all ends involved in a specific problem are "penultimate," not ultimate, and that the possibility of discovering a shared interest as a basis for a judgment, short of war, is an empirical question, not one of logic. It is no difficult task to show that Hitler's professed ends were irrational because of the consequences of the means used to achieve some of them. If Hitler were sane, he would himself have had to acknowledge it.

Russell's topical writings on political and social philosophy readily commanded a hearing because he was a Russell — the grandson of a famous liberal prime minister, an aristocrat to the manner born in a country that "dearly loves a lord." One of the many merits of Alan Ryan's "Bertrand Russell: A Political Life" is the insightful way in which Russell's aristocratic prejudices get reflected in his thought and behavior.

Even Russell's absolute fearlessness in defying public opinion seems as much to exhibit the aristocrat's attitude that he has a right to override ordinary middle-class conventions as it does matchless moral courage. The assumption sometimes shows itself in less than worthy ways. I recall him complaining bitterly that his wife, Lady Russell, was reduced to doing her own housework because the local women, "culturally inferior persons better fit for such things," could not be induced to work for the paltry wages he was offering. They could do better as riveters in the shipyards!

It also showed itself in the absence of any sense of gratitude for anything one did for him. Not that anyone has a right to gratitude, but it was noticeable that Russell took it for granted that those around him should want to do things for him that he would have regarded as sheer presumption if they were expected of him. The Americans he knew spoiled him, as they tend to do to distinguished Englishmen.

Russell's extraordinary cleverness made it easy for him to rationalize his failings in ordinary human relationships. When I once wondered whether his third wife resented his infidelities (she did) he remarked:

"Any woman worth loving would sooner have one-tenth of a first-rate man than all of a tenth-rate one" — a sentiment he had no difficulty in squaring with his firm conviction in the equality of women and the democratic way of life. To his credit, Ryan, no hero-worshiper, is quite aware of this.

"For most of his life Russell plainly felt a contempt for uneducated people which is entirely at odds with the sentimental profession of solidarity with humanity's sufferings which opens his 'Autobiography,'" Ryan writes.

Russell once said Charles Darwin was worth 30 million ordinary men. Why only 30? Darwin himself would never have said such a thing. Nor would Abraham Lincoln or John Dewey, for whom democracy was more than a purely political concept.

Russell's aristocratic bias had its virtues, too. He was no trimmer, always spoke out boldly and never evaded a difficult or embarrassing question. He would no more tell a lie — regardless of the consequences to himself — than commit a logical fallacy.

But although disdaining lies in personal relationships (except, of course, in his love letters), he had absolutely no compunction in lying about whole nations. He actually delighted in his outrageous statements about entire nations, even after they were exposed as untruths. Thus he seriously charged that the United States in the late 1950s had become a police state every whit as oppressive as the Soviet Union. This is among the minor violations of the truth:

"Anybody who goes so far as to support equal rights for colored people, or to say a good word for the U.N. is liable to be paid a visit by officers of the F.B.I. and be threatened, if not by persecution, at least with blacklisting and consequent inability to earn a living."

Not even a public protest by Norman Thomas, the veteran socialist leader and a more consistent opponent of war than Russell himself, against Russell's outrageous lies had any effect on him. His fantasies about the United States and insults of its leaders intensified. When Washington published pictures of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba, he dismissed them as faked and called President Kennedy a liar. He denounced the American heads of state as "worse than Hitler," and Harold Macmillan, the modest British prime minister, as "more wicked than Hitler" for being a dupe of the Americans.

Ryan deplores the extremism of Russell's language and his glorification of the victims of alleged American oppression. Even when Ryan describes the distressing and semicomical spectacle of Russell's endorsement of revolutionary direct action against Britain's nuclear establishment, he insists that the philosopher was neither suffering from senility nor had he become a convert to the ideology of communism.

I concur with his judgment. Russell remained in the possession of his senses even when he began to talk about American "cops," in the slang provided to him by Ralph Schoenman, a fanatical American Trotskyist who, as Russell's amanuensis in the later years, rewrote his words without improving them.

Ryan fails, however, to offer a plausible explanation of what transformed Russell from a gratuitous advocate — certainly unsolicited by anyone in Washington — of a Pax Americana into a raving anti-American who sounded like an understudy for the future Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Ryan suggests that Russell's paranoia can be traced to his fear of atomic war.

"It was Russia's success in detonating its own bomb in 1949," Ryan writes, "which changed Russell's views on nuclear policy" and presumably on U.S. responsibility for the brinkmanship that might push the world into war.

In this belief Ryan is demonstrably mistaken. As late as Sept. 27, 1953, more than a month after the Soviet Union had exploded its own hydrogen bomb, Russell published an article in The New York Times Sunday Magazine in which he wrote:

"Terrible as a new world war would be, I still for my part should prefer it to a universal Communist empire."

Six years before that, after the Soviet Union had refused to accept the generous proposal of the United States, which then had a monopoly on the atom bomb, to internationalize all sources of atomic energy, Russell had urged that the bomb be used to force the Kremlin into compliance — even though the resulting war would have meant, by his own account, a half-billion deaths and an uninhabitable Europe.

Who was Dr. Strangelove, then? Russell's paranoiac anti-Americanism a decade later may have been the consequence of a deep, stinging self-mortification with himself for ever having made this barbarous proposal, exacerbated by a wounded vanity at his failure as a world statesman.

Regarding U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Ryan offers some mitigation for his subject's frenetic anti-Americanism on the grounds that Russell was, after all, opposing an immoral involvement in an immoral war. Here, unfortunately, Ryan seems to have become infected by Russell's hysteria.

It is very curious. Ryan, as did Russell himself, makes much of the fact that John Stuart Mill was Russell's godfather and that, with some modification, Russell proudly carried on the same secular, rational tradition of opposition to tyranny. Yet neither Russell nor his critical admirer, Ryan, seems aware that it was Mill who spelled out a justification of American intervention in Vietnam.

In his famous essay on "Non-Intervention," Mill wrote:

"To go to war for an idea, if the war is aggressive not defensive, is as criminal as to go to war for territory or revenue, for it is as little justifiable to force our ideas on other people, as to compel them to submit to our will in any other respect."

I am confident that both Russell and the young English philosopher Ryan would agree with this. Mill adds, however, that:

"The doctrine of non-intervention, to be a legitimate principle of morality, must be accepted by all governments. The despot must consent to be bound by it as well as the free states. Unless they do, the profession of it by free countries comes but to this miserable issue, that the wrong side may help the wrong side but the right may not help the right. Intervention to enforce non-intervention is always right, always moral, if not always prudent."

The people of South Vietnam desired their freedom from domination by the communist country on their northern border. The United States intervened in Vietnam as it did in Korea to establish the principle that changes in Asia were not to be precipitated by outside force.

Even from a consequentialist ethical standpoint, to which Russell sometimes subscribed, the same conclusion follows. Compare the fate of the tens of thousands of boat people, the equal or greater number of those slaughtered or herded into concentration camps — from which came messages only for poison "to end our suffering" — with the fate of the South Vietnamese people under Diem or Ky or Thieu. Which is the lesser evil?

More could be said for Russell's social and educational philosophy than for his practical political philosophy — but not much more. How thin, abstract and dated his social writings are becomes apparent when contrasted with John Dewey's "Democracy and Education" and "Human Nature and Conduct."

— Sidney Hook

ANNUAL MEETING (1989)

(14A) June 23-25, New York: that's when and where the BRS held its 1989 Annual Meeting...at the Milford Plaza Hotel Friday evening, and at the Ethical Culture Society Saturday and Sunday.

Present at the Meeting:

Members: DENNIS DARLAND, BOB DAVIS, LINDA EGENDORF, LEE EISLER, VIC FERNANDEZ, DAVID GOLDMAN, CLARE HALLORAN, DON JACKANICZ, JOHN JACKANICZ, TED JACKANICZ, DAVID JOHNSON, MARVIN KOHL, KEN KORBIN, GLADYS LEITHAUSER, CARL MILLER, CHANDRAKALA PADIA, STEVE REINHARDT, MICHAEL ROCKLER, WALTER VANNINI, THOM WEIDLICH. 20 members.

Guest speaker/participants: Louis Greenspan (Manager, Bertrand Russell Editorial Project, McMaster University), Alan Ryan (Professor, Politics, Princeton University), David Sidorsky (Professor, Philosophy, Columbia University).

Other guests: Miriam Hecht, Dorothy Klein, Jonathan Lobl.

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These BRS Officers were elected or re-elected, effective immediately: Chairman, Marvin Kohl; President, Michael Rockler; Vice President, John Lenz; Treasurer, Dennis Darland; Secretary, Don Jackanicz.

Other actions taken during the Meeting:
- Agreed to McMaster's request for a price increase for *Russell*.
- Adopted a new fee schedule, effective 1990. See (17)
- Waived dues for the following year for new members who enroll during the final quarter of the year.
- Chose the site and date of the 1990 Annual Meeting: McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, June 22-24,1990
- Adopted a new grant program for candidates for Master's and Doctoral degrees. See (18)

For amplification, see the Minutes of the 1989 Annual Meeting and Minutes of the Board of Directors 1989 Annual Meeting (15). Please correct the Minutes of the Board: replace "senior citizen" with "limited income" in the 4th paragraph.

There was a Red Hackle Hour, enjoyable as always, and a superb Chinese dinner at Shun Lee's, both on Saturday.

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Events of the weekend included these:
- Announcement of the BRS Award to Paul Edwards.
- Announcement of the BRS Book Award to Alan Ryan.
- Announcement of the BRS Service Award to Harry Ruja, retiring BRS Chairman.
- Talk by Alan Ryan, *Russell's Political Life.*
- Panel: *Skepticism vs. the Benefits of Illusion.* Participants: David Goldman, Marvin Kohl, David Sidorsky.
- Talk by Alan Ryan, *Russell's Pacifism.*
- Talk by Marvin Kohl, *Understanding the Pragmatics of Pacifism.*
- Tim Madigan's paper, read by Vic Fernandez, *The Rationality of Waging War*
- Talk by Michael Rockler, *Skepticism and Education.*
- Talk by Louis Greenspan on the present status of *The Russell Editorial Project*

The Awards

(14B) The 1989 BRS Award to Paul Edwards. Remarks by Marvin Kohl:

Paul Edwards is Professor of Philosophy at Brooklyn College and The New School for Social Research. As a teacher, editor-in-chief of *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, and general editor of Macmillan's *Great Philosophers* series, he has contributed significantly to the growing renaissance in philosophy. He was an early pioneer in Russell scholarship, and kept the faith when it was unpopular and often costly to do so.

Edwards met Russell in 1950, and corresponded with him about *The Logic of Moral Discourse* and *Why I Am Not A Christian.* It was not easy to have *Why I Am Not A Christian* published. It took political skill, patience, and a great deal of courage. Russell was very much impressed by Edwards' courage, and said so in a 1956 letter. In 1957 Russell writes, "I am glad that Simon & Schuster have recovered their nerve about the book and that it will be published within a couple of months. Please, again, accept my thanks and congratulations for your share in the work."

I remember my first meeting with Paul Edwards. I was a student in his graduate class on logical positivism. He opened the course by claiming that scientific method was the only source of knowledge, and that metaphysical statements were meaningless, or at least, deeply problematic. With a Russellian gleam in his eye, he quickly added that "much of what parades for knowledge is metaphysics or some other form of intellectual rubbish." I know of few men who naturally and more passionately abhor the cognitive abuses which typify

classical as well as some of the more vulgar forms of theism, idealism, and existentialism than Paul Edwards. Like Russell, he advocates the practice of going by the evidence and forgoing belief, especially certain belief, where evidence is lacking. His books -- including *The Logic of Moral Discourse, Buber and Buberism, Heidegger and Death*, and his edition of Russell's *Why I Am Not A Christian* -- reflect this vigorous outlook, the outlook of agnostic skepticism.

It is perhaps fitting to close with the same story that Edwards closes his recent study of Voltaire with. Anatol France once visited Lourdes where he was shown a room full of crutches, canes, wheelchairs, eyeglasses, and other implements left behind by people who had been miraculously cured of their ailments. "What," asked France, "no wooden legs?" This was one of Bertrand Russell's favorite stories, and we may be sure that Paul Edwards greatly enjoys it because it so neatly captures the essence of his case.

It is a privilege to present this plaque to him on behalf of the Bertrand Russell Society.

The Award has this inscription:

The Bertrand Russell Society Award
to
Paul Edwards

in recognition of his distinguished contributions to Russell Scholarship and courageous devotion to agnostic skepticism.

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The BRS 1989 Book Award to Alan Ryan's *Bertrand Russell: A Political Life*

Introduction by Marvin Kohl: Alan Ryan is Professor of Politics at Princeton University, and previously taught at New College, Oxford. His other books include *Property and Political Theory* and *The Philosophy of John Stuart Mill*.

His new book, *Bertrand Russell: A Political Life*, is a fascinating account of a fascinating life. According to Ryan, what gave Russell such an astonishing intellectual ascendency was the combination of imagination in inventing and resolving problems, and an incisiveness in pressing home difficulties in his own analyses which verged on a talent for intellectual infanticide. Part of what makes Ryan's book so immensely attractive is that he has similar abilities, and successfully avoids the latter border. It is clear, I think, that he shares Russell's deep moral revulsion at any philosophy or study which could play fast and loose with truth. He therefore attempts to preserve the rich and at times mindbending complexity of Russell's thought.

Professor Ryan is critical yet gallantly fairminded. The quest is one of earnest understanding. He genuinely wants to understand Russell's political thought and, perhaps in a deeper way, to understand what constitutes an ideal liberal.

Unlike other recent writers, he does not confuse greatness with perfection. Like Russell, he understands that if it is a duty, it is not incumbent to be perfect or to make the world a perfect place; it is only incumbent to make ourselves better human beings, and the world a better place to live.

The Award, which it is our great pleasure to present, reads:

The Bertrand Russell Society
1989 Book Award to Alan Ryan

For his distinguished study of Bertrand Russell's political life, Ryan reminds us that Russell sought to achieve a balance among a utilitarianism which tends to view happiness as an ultimate composite good, a liberalism which typically viewed freedom as the greatest of all social goods, a theory of benevolence which held that love is the most important guiding emotion, and the belief that no moral ideal was worth the destruction of civilization. He also reminds us that there is a distinction between greatness and perfection, and that even one of the greatest of men was not perfect.

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The BRS Service Award to Harry Ruja.

[Marvin Kohl's introductory remarks, not available at this time, will be in the next issue.]

The Award:

The Bertrand Russell Service Award
to
Harry Ruja

For a career in Russell studies and a decade for the BRS

Summaries of Talks

(14C) Thanks to their splendid cooperation, we are able to present summaries of talks written by the speakers themselves.

Here is how Alan Ryan summarizes his two talks:

Alan Ryan recalled the reasons which had impelled him to write his *Russell: A Political Life*. He had three main reasons for an interest in Russell's politics: first, he had been sustained in his doubts about the religious, ethical and political views of his school teachers back in the 1950s by reading *A History of Western Philosophy* and had joined the Campaign fork Nuclear Disarmament almost as soon as it was founded; second, he had never quite believed Russell's insistence that his politics had nothing to do with his philosophy, and had always wanted to see what the connection was; and third, he wanted to see how Russell's ideas had stood up to the passage of time. As expected, Russell's politics and philosophy have at least a strong psychological and conceptual affinity — Russell's hatred of Hegelianism and of political collectivism, for instance, spring from the same individualist basis; many of his ides have become old hat — which is a sign of their essential correctness; but some of Russell's impatience, carelessness, and ill-temper looks no better with the passage of time than it did in the first place. Still, one ends with one's admiration undented.

Russell's relationship to pacifism is complicated. He insisted he was not a pacifist, because the taking of human life *could* on occasion be justified, while a true pacifist was always and absolutely opposed to it. As a consequentialist, Russell was logically committed to the view that sufficiently good consequences justified violence, though it is disturbing that the application he had in mind was colonialism — the spread of Western civilisation was a good of such value that it justified the extermination of the Red Indian and the Australian aborigine. Still, the consequences to which Russell generally appealed yielded conclusions close to those of absolute pacifism: love, and the dispassionate search for truth are the glories of civilisation, and will certainly be casualties of modern warfare, with its stirring up of mass hatred, its propaganda and with the authoritarianism needed to keep men in the field. The interesting cases to contemplate are Russell's short-lived defeatism of the mid-1930s, when he wrote *Which Way to Peace?*, and his much longer lived defence of risking nuclear war to impose disarmament on Stalin's Russia. In the first case, he thought European civilisation would be destroyed by war — then decided it would be even more thoroughly destroyed by Hitler; in the second case, he thought a pre-emptive war sooner better than a worse one later. But nobody who holds the second view can plausibly be called a pacifist, and Russell was quite right to insist that he was not one.

***

Michael Rockler summarizes his talk this way:

Bertrand Russell had a lifelong interest in education. He wrote two books on teaching and learning, founded a school which survived for more than a generation, and addressed schooling in many of his writings.

Russell's views on education were influenced by his philosophical skepticism. A curriculum based on skepticism requires that teaching and learning be based on reason. This excludes the teaching of patriotism, and leads to schools that are secular institutions with no religious content. The program of studies would support free inquiry and the scientific temper; it would be fallibilistic and have an international focus.

Schooling in the twenty-first century would be improved if it adopted the ideas of this remarkable thinker who was born in the nineteenth century.

***

Marvin Kohl's summary goes like this:

An analysis of one aspect of Gandhian pacifism: specifically, the claim that nonviolence not only works against opponents who are sufficiently moral but that it also works, in some important sense, against resolute and brutal aggressors. Russell's argument -- the argument that when one's opponent is resolute and brutal, the method of nonviolence has no success [Bertrand Russell, *the Future of Pacifism* , in *The American Scholar* 13:1 (Winter 1943-44)7-8 -- is developed. Differences between the effectiveness of a particular method, ideal, and impossible dream are explored.

In conclusion I suggest that perhaps we can, and often must, "dream the impossible dream." Perhaps heroic achievement takes place only when the apparently impossible is expected. But even the most beautiful of all dreams, the messianic dream of perpetual peace, must be limited by practical reason if evidence overwhelmingly indicates that the penalty of being too ardent, in this case of insisting that nonviolent methods are always preferable, results in the nightmare of encouraging unnecessary death or rank injustice.

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We regret to report that the delicate state of Paul Edwards health prevented his attending the Meeting and giving his talk on Voltaire. We would have loved seeing and hearing him, and offer our best wishes for his early return to good health.

This is Tim Madigan's summary:

Throughout his long life, Bertrand Russell was deeply concerned over how to eliminate the threat (and the reality) of warfare. He frequently advocated an all-powerful World Government which could enforce peaceful cooperation amongst nations. The question arises: Who will watch the watchman? Russell seemed attracted to the Platonic notion of a benign dictatorship of philosopher-kings, but recognized the unlikelihood of this ideal ever being achieved. While one can fault Russell for the sketchiness of his views on World Government, one can admire him for his constant reiteration that war must be abolished, and that rational human beings must prove their rationality by pooling their resources to end this form of madness.

MINUTES OF THE 1989 MEETING

(15)

MINUTES OF THE 1989 ANNUAL MEETING

The 1989 Annual Meeting of The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc. was held from June 23 to June 25 in New York City. The events of June 23 took place in the Palace Room of the Milford Plaza Hotel, 270 W. 45th St., New York, New York 10036. Except as noted, the events of June 24-25 took place in the Elliott Library (Room 507) of the Ethical Culture Society, 2 W. 64th St., New York, New York 10023.

Friday, June 23, 1989

The meeting was called to order at 7:42 p.m. by Vice President Michael J. Rockler in the absence of President Marvin Kohl. After welcoming remarks, Vice President Rockler introduced Robert K. Davis, who presented a Bertrand Russell Society Service Award to Board of Directors Chairman Harry Ruja in absentia. Leonard Ruga (sic) accepted the Award for his cousin. Vice President Rockler then presented the 1989 Bertrand Russell Society Award to Paul Edwards in absentia. A final award, the 1989 Bertrand Russell Society Book Award, was presented by Vice President Rockler to Alan Ryan for Bertrand Russell: A Political Life. After accepting the Award, Mr. Ryan addressed those gathered on "Russell's Political Life." The meeting was recessed at 9:31 p.m.

Saturday, June 24, 1989

At 9:03 a.m. the meeting was reconvened by President Kohl. A panel consisting of Marvin Kohl, David Goldman, and David Sidorsky considered the topic "Skepticism vs. Benefits of Illusion." After this two hour discussion, President Kohl, in the absence of Chairman Ruja, presided over a combined Society Business Meeting and first session of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors. See the accompanying "Minutes of the Board of Directors Annual Meeting" for details. Following the combined Society Business Meeting and Board session, Louis Greenspan spoke on the recent work of the Russell Editorial Project at McMaster University. The meeting was recessed at 12:09 p.m.

The meeting was reconvened by President Kohl at 1:40 p.m. Alan Ryan presented a paper titled "Russell's Pacifism." Following a refreshment period, Marvin Kohl presented a paper titled "Understanding the Pragmatics of Pacifism." Group discussion ensued after each paper. The meeting was recessed at 5:00 p.m., at which time the Red Hackle Hour began in the hall adjoining the Elliott Library. Thereafter, interested persons proceeded to the Shun Lee restaurant, 43 W. 65th St., New York City for a group supper.

Sunday, June 25, 1989

The second session of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors was held preceding the reconvening of the Society meeting at 9:40 a.m. by President Kohl. Victor Fernandez read Tim Madigan's paper, "The Rationality of Waging War," after which a refreshment period occurred. Michael Rockler then presented his paper titled "Skepticism and Education." Group discussion ensued after each paper. The meeting was adjourned at 11:40 a.m.

MINUTES OF THE 1989 BOARD OF DIRECTORS ANNUAL MEETING

The 1989 Annual Meeting of The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc. Board of Directors was held in two sessions on June 24 and 25 in the Elliott Library (Room 507) of the Ethical Culture Society, 2 W. 64th St., New York, New York 10023. The first session was a combined Board Meeting and Society Business Meeting. The second session was exclusively a Board Meeting.

Saturday, June 24, 1989

In the absence of Board Chairman Harry Ruja, the Meeting was called to order at 11:03 a.m. by President Marvin Kohl. The following Board members were present: Jack Cowles, Dennis J. Darland, Robert K. Davis, Lee Eisler, David Goldman, Donald W. Jackanicz, John A. Jackanicz, David E. Johnson, Marvin Kohl, Gladys Leithauser, Stephen J. Reinhardt, Michael J. Rockler, Warren Allen Smith.

Robert K. Davis moved and it was unanimously agreed that the reading of the minutes not take place and that the minutes be made available for individual examination throughout the meeting. Mr. Davis then nominated the following persons for BRS officer positions: Marvin Kohl--Board Chairman, Donald W. Jackanicz--Board Secretary, Michael J. Rockler--President, John R. Lenz--Vice President, Lee Eisler--Vice President/Information, Donald W. Jackanicz--Society Secretary, Dennis J. Darland--Treasurer. The nominated persons were unanimously elected to these positions.

Excerpts were read from a letter from Kenneth Blackwell, stating that the subscription price of Russell: The Journal of the Bertrand Russell Archives would be subject to a $1.00 price increase for 1989 and a $2.00 price increase for 1990, as compared with the 1988 base year price. Lee Eisler moved that the BRS should authorize payment of $1.00 more per BRS-related Russell subscription for 1989 and $2.00 more per BRS-related Russell subscription for 1990, as compared with the 1988 base year price. This motion was unanimously accepted. Mr. Eisler then moved that effective in 1990 regular membership dues be increased to $33.00 and couple membership dues be increased to $38.00 with no change in the student or senior citizen membership dues. This motion was carried with a vote of Yes--11, No--1, Abstain--1.

Chandrakala Padia brought up the problem of membership affordability by some interested individuals in countries such as India. In discussion the possibility was explored of encouraging Indians to reproduce issues of Russell Society News for wider distribution within India. President Kohl suggested that Ms. Padia prepare a formal letter to incoming President Rockler on this subject.

There followed a further discussion of membership dues. Mr. Davis suggested that Russell Society News appeal to student and senior citizen members to pay regular membership dues if this can be afforded. Jack Cowles moved that membership dues be prorated for the first year of new memberships. This motion was withdrawn. Mr. Eisler moved that members joining in the last quarter of a year be charged no membership dues for the following year. This motion was unanimously accepted.

President Kohl then announced that the next BRS Annual Meeting would be held at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada from June 23 to June 25, 1990. The point was raised that these dates, which are for a Saturday, a Sunday, and a Monday, may be slightly incorrect since BRS Annual Meetings are traditionally held on a Friday through Sunday schedule. President Kohl continued that the 1990 Annual Meeting theme will be "Illusion vs. Reality: Education and Religion" and proposed that the program be comprised of paper presentations and workshops.

The meeting was recessed at 11:40 p.m.

Sunday, June 25, 1989

The meeting was reconvened by President Kohl at 8:05 a.m. The same Board members were present as those who had been in attendance the preceding day.

Discussion began on Hugh S. Moorhead's proposal to alter the doctoral grant program. Michael J. Rockler moved that as much as $1,500.00 be spent per year on an academic grant program, which would provide for up to three master's degree grants of $500.00 each or one master's degree grant of $500.00 and one doctor's degree grant of $1,000.00. This motion was unanimously accepted.

Following general consideration of Book Award procedures, discussion returned to the previous session's topic of encouraging BRS involvement for persons in countries in which paying regular membership dues can often be an economic hardship. Warren Allen Smith suggested that, in addition to India, Caribbean countries might be areas in which the formation of BRS chapters might be encouraged to provide another means by which less affluent individuals might participate in the BRS. It was informally agreed that Mr. Smith, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Eisler will work together on a further examination of this suggestion.

Attention was lastly turned to further consideration of the format and events of the 1990 BRS Annual Meeting. Among suggestions offered were the following: (1) Well in advance of the Meeting, announce a Russell book, chapter, or essay to be discussed in a seminar or workshop; (2) Announce in advance a social topic to be discussed in a seminar or workshop with reference to how it relates to Russell's writings; (3) Include a reading of a Russell literary work, such as a short story, or a dramatic reading of a Russell debate, perhaps as part of the banquet proceedings.

The meeting was adjourned at 9:24 a.m.

OFFICERS OF THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY, INC.

(16) Chairman, Marvin Kohl; President, Michael Rockler; Vice President, John Lenz; Treasurer, Dennis J. Darland; Secretary, Don Jackanicz; Vice President/Information, Lee Eisler.

DUES

(17) New dues schedule, 1990. We have had to raise dues because Russell Archives needs more money for subscriptions to "Russell". The cost to the BRS is $2 more in 1990, $1 more in 1989. We were going to raise everybody's dues by $2, to cover the increased cost. Instead, we decided not to raise students and limited income — we are leaving them at $12.50 — and raising regular dues by $3. Here, then, is the dues schedule, starting in 1990: Regular, $33; couple,$38; student and limited income, $12.50.

GRANTS

(18) New Grant Program increases the amount of Grants to $1500 yearly. There can be 3 Master's Degree Grants of $500 each, or 1 Master's Degree Grant of $500 and 1 Doctor's Degree Grant of $1000. HUGH MOORHEAD, Chairman of the Doctoral Grant Committee, is in charge of the Program, which was his idea. It may induce some graduate students — who hadn't yet made up their minds — to study Russell.

NEW MEMBERS

(19) We welcome these new members:

MR. NEIL ABERCROMBIE /2721-A PUUHONUA ST/HONOLULU/HI/96822/ /
MR. MICHAEL P. BERTIAUX /1130 S. MICHIGAN AV. #3309/CHICAGO/IL/60605/ /
MR. MILTON I. BRAND /7145 PEBBLE PARK DRIVE/WEST BLOOMFIELD/MI/48322/ /
MS. GALE S. BUCKIUS /150 TIFFANY AVE./WARWICK/RI/02889/ /
MR. NELSON J. COLE /18 LELAND ST./ROCKLAND/ME/04841/ /
MR. MATTHEW CROWLEY /P.O. BOX 46724/SEATTLE/WA/98146/ /
MR. OTIS DANIELS /651 E. 14TH ST. #2-6/NY/NY/10009/ /
MR. STEPHEN H. FREY /710 HAMMOND ROAD/YORK/PA/17402/ /
MR. DAVID W. GLOVER /1710 OAKLEY AV./BURLEY/ID/83318/ /
MR. WILLY GOFF /2284 MANCHESTER AVE./CARDIFF/CA/92007/ /
MR. JEFFREY S. JORDAN /3056 ST. JOHN'S CT. APT.4/COLUMBUS/OH/43202/ /
MR. HARVEY MADISON /2804 91ST/LUBBOCK/TX/79423/ /
MR. FRANKLIN B. NICKERSON /P.O.BOX 4469/CRESTLINE/CA/92325/ /
MR. MICHEL PAUL /707 IDAHO #315/SANTA MONICA/CA/90403/ /
MR. ALLAN RUBIN /2161 DATE PALM ROAD/BOCA RATON/FL/33432/ /
MR. ABRAHAM B. SMITH /BOX 387/NORFOLK/CT/06058/ /
MS. DEBRA STAFFORD /840 APACHE TRAIL/RIVERSIDE/CA/92507/ /
MR. FREDERICK A. THOMAS /207 - 1850 COMOX ST./VANCOUVER, B.C./ /CANADA/V6G 1R3
MR. CHARLES TUTT /7120 VALLECITO DRIVE/AUSTIN/TX/78759/ /
MS. ELEANOR WOLFF /3137 PATTERSON ST., N.W./WASHINGTON/DC/20015/ /

NEW ADDRESSES

(20) MR. BARRY GOLDMAN /4471 BISHOP/DETROIT/MI/48224/ /
MR. ARTTIE GOMEZ /155 FIRST ST.,2 FLR. FRONT/PITTSFIELD/MA/01201-4723/ /
MR. TIM HARDING /14 SWINDON AV./CHELTENHAM/ /AUSTRALIA/3192
MR. ROBERT M. HICKS /160 HURON ST. #509/TORONTO/ /CANADA/M5T 2B5
MR. MARK HOGAN /195 BELLE VILLA BLVD./BELLEVILLE/MI/48111/ /
MR. JAMES E. MCWILLIAMS /4512 SPEEDWAY #101/AUSTIN/TX/78751/ /
PROF. MICHAEL J. ROCKLER /1029 LINDEN AV., APT. 2/WILMETTE/IL/60091/ /
MR. DEWEY I. WALLACE, JR. /142 BISCAYNE LOOP/LAREDO/TX/78041/ /
MR. RICHARD B. WILK /2144 CREEKSIDE DR./SOLVANG/CA/93463/ /

BR HONORED

(21) OM. In earlier issues, we described the nature of Britain's Order of Merit, which BR received in 1949 (RSN54-5 and RSN55-18.) Here is the document that confers the honor, as it appears in the *Catalog of the Exhibition of Documents from the Bertand Russell Archives in the Mills Memorial Library October 12-14, 1972*

George R.

George the Sixth *by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith and Sovereign of the Order of Merit to Our Right trusty and Right well-beloved Cousin Bertrand Arthur William Earl Russell Fellow of the Royal Society*

Greeting

Whereas *We have thought fit to nominate and appoint you to be a Member of Our Order of Merit We do by these Presents grant unto you the Dignity of Membership of Our said Order and We do hereby authorise you to have, hold and enjoy the said Dignity.*

Given *at Our Court at Saint James's under Our Sign Manual and the Seal of Our said Order this Ninth day of June 1949 in the Thirteenth year of Our Reign.*

By The Sovereign's Command

Arthur Erskine.

Secretary and Registrar

Grant of the Dignity of a Member of the Order of Merit to The Right Honourable Bertrand Arthur William, Earl Russell, M.A., F.R.S.

BRS AUTHORS

(22A) *The Meaning of Life*. Hugh Moorhead's new book was described in RSN61-26, including how to buy it at a 20% saving directly from Hugh. Here are some book reviews:

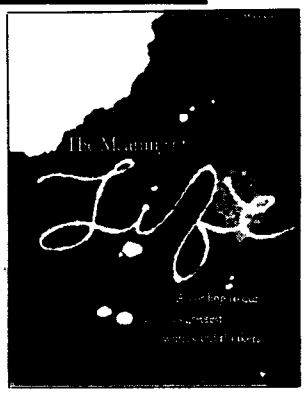
From *The Washington Post* (2/11/89):

What's life all about?

The question is hard to answer, but the attempts are enlightening

By John Blades

Book world



Hugh Moorhead and his book of answers to the Big Question.

When Hugh S. Moorhead wrote to Jessica Mitford, asking her please to explain the meaning of life, she responded promptly and politely but not very helpfully. "Sad to say," Mitford informed him, "I don't really know. ... do you? If so, please advise. It would come in most handy to have the answer. ... "

That was 10 years ago, and, sadder to say, Moorhead, chairman of the philosophy department at Northeastern Illinois University, reports he is no closer to having a definitive answer for either Mitford or himself. But he does maintain, somewhat more cheerfully, "I've gained a greater appreciation for the question."

Besides Mitford, Moorhead directed the "question" to many of "our century's greatest writers and thinkers," among them T.S. Eliot, John Dos Passos, Katherine Anne Porter, Henry Miller, Walker Percy and Margaret Mead. He received more than 350 replies, a majority of which appear in Moorhead's newly published, and appositely titled, anthology, "The Meaning of Life" (Chicago Review Press, $14.95).

The book is perhaps the inevitable byproduct of a obsessive philosophical quest that Moorhead began almost 40 years ago, while he was a graduate student at the University of Chicago. As Moorhead explains, he was surveying the books in his small but rapidly growing library when "it just occurred to me that I would like to know what the authors thought was the meaning or purpose of life."

Not content to simply ruminate and noodle over the matter, Moorhead picked out books by Arnold Toynbee, Albert Einstein, Albert Schweitzer, George Santayana and C.G. Jung. These he bundled up and sent off to the authors, along with requests for their autographs and comments on life's meaning.

The first book came back from Toynbee, Moorhead says. He opened the package eagerly, only to find that Toynbee had quoted a line of scripture on the flyleaf of "A Study of History": "What is the true end of Man?—To glorify God and enjoy Him for ever." Moorhead was vaguely disappointed, explaining, "I guess I expected something more historical."

Moorhead was not exactly elated by the responses from the other authors, only one of whom, Jung, even so much as acknowledged that he had asked the question. And like Mitford many years later, Jung merely said, "I don't know. ... "

Undeterred, Moorhead sent out hundreds of other books over the next decades, eliciting commentary that was earnest, whimsical, inspirational, thoughtful, lyrical, facetious, obtuse, evasive, skeptical and, in a case or two, indignant because he'd been so rude as to ask. The most intemperate of these, Moorhead says, came from Christopher Morley, the essaysist and novelist ("Kitty Foyle").

"He wrote a page and a half, asking how I could presume to interrupt his writing and didn't I know he had arthritis in his right hand? I was more sensitive then, and it took me about two weeks to recover."

If he was wounded by Morley's note, Moorhead was pleased with the flyleaf philosophy from humorist Fred Allen, offered this morbid thought: "Life is a slow walk down a long hall that gets darker as you approach the end."

Perhaps the most noteworthy omission from Moorhead's book is his own answer to what he calls the "ultimate question."He suggested that the meaning of his life is to ask the question, "What is the meaning of life?"

(22B) From *Eleven Magazine* (July 1989), the magazine of the PBS station in Chicago:

The reviewer, John Callaway, offers a pageful of summer reading suggestions and concludes with this ——————————————————>

And, finally, is summer the time when you relax enough to wonder what it's all about? If so, the book for you is, yes, *The Meaning of Life*, a collection of thoughts about life's purposes collected by Chicagoan Hugh S. Moorhead over a thirty-five year period. Moorhead asked such thinkers as Aldous Huxley, Archibald MacLeish, Arthur Miller, e.e. cummings, Bertrand Russell and Paul Tillich to write a brief statement about the meaning of life on the flyleaf of books they had written. This little volume is a delight and a treasure.

(22C) From *The Chicago Tribune* (2/8/89, Section 5 3):

Even brightest haven't slightest

The Meaning of Life
By Hugh S. Moorhead
Chicago Review Press, 232 pages, $14.95
Reviewed by Peter Gorner
A Tribune writer

Thirty-five years ago when he was a graduate student in philosophy at the University of Chicago, Hugh Moorhead sent his copy of "Modern Man In Search of a Soul" to the famous psychiatrist and author Carl Jung and asked him to autograph the book, and perhaps to respond to the following: "Please comment on the question, What is the meaning or purpose of life?"

"Really, I don't know what the meaning or purpose of life is," wrote Jung. "But it looks exactly as if something were meant by it."

Heartened to draw a reply, Moorhead embarked on a game that over the years has become an impressive collection of more than 700 books books similarly inscribed by savants, writers and wits.

Moorhead, who serves as chairman of the philosophy department at Northeastern Illinois University, cheerfully admits to having no particular plan for his book-buying; merely things he wanted to read.

His collection includes such diverse talents as Isaac Asimov, Kingsley Amis, Michael Anania, Erma Bombeck, Erskine Caldwell, Stephen Jay Gould, Emily Kimbrough, Ira Levin, Archibald MacLeish—"who knows, with Buckminster Fuller, that life is a verb"—Margaret Mead, Eleanor Roosevelt, Wallace Stegner, Adlai E. Stevenson, Dr. Seuss, Arnold Toynbee and Robert Penn Warren.

None of Moorhead's correspondents, this grinch feels compelled to point out, could really tell him what the meaning of life is, although his buying their books probably was contributory. E.E. Cummings referred Moorhead to the line of a poem: "not for philosophy does this rose give a damn."

Others referred him to philosophers. "Nietzsche said: Life is an unprofitable episode that disturbes an otherwise blessed state of non-existence," replied comedian Fred Allen. "I say: 'Life is a slow walk down a long hall that gets darker as you approach the end.'" Not bad.

Nobelist Francis Crick—who, with James Watson, defined the molecular structure of life, if not its meaning—wrote that, "If there wasn't anything at all, we wouldn't be here."

Joseph Heller, not surprisingly, said he had no answers to the meaning of life, "and no longer want to search for any."

Paul Tillich helpfully ventured that "The 'Courage to Be' takes the anxiety of non-being into itself," if you've got the time. James Thurber admitted, sadly, that "I have never found the meaning of life."

Some writers quoted philosophers or other writers, like Samuel Butler, who said that "Life is like playing a difficult violin solo in public, and learning the instrument as you go along."

T.S. Eliot autographed his selected essays, but ordered his secretary to scold the cheeky correspondent: "Mr. Eliot says your question is one which one spends one's whole life in finding the answer for, and he is sorry he has not yet got to the point where he can sum it all up on a flyleaf."

Charming though this all is, one longs for deeper lessons from such celebrated minds, and so I turned with anticipation to the distinguished historian Barbara Tuchman, who died Monday. Surely a lifetime spent studying the epic sweep should have imparted something important. "The meaning of life," she suggested, "is what you make of it."

Hey, Harry Golden Sr. did better. "The purpose of life," he wrote Moorhead, "is to live as long as you can."

1990 BRS AWARD AND BRS BOOK AWARD

(23) Suggestions sought. Members are invited to submit candidates for the 1990 BRS Award and 1990 BRS Book Award.

The BRS Award goes to someone who meets one or more of the following requirements: (1) had worked closely with BR in an important way (like Joseph Rotblat); (2) has made an important contribution to Russell scholarship (like Paul Schilpp); (3) has acted in support of a cause or idea that BR championed (like Henry Kendall); (4) whose actions have exhibited qualities of character (such as moral courage) reminiscent of BR; or (5) has promoted awareness of BR or BR's work (like Steve Allen.)

The BRS Book Award goes to the author whose recent book throws new light on BR's life or work in an important way.

Let's have your suggestions, please! Send them c/o the newsletter, address on the bottom of Page 1.

VOLUNTEER WANTED

(24) Editor sought. We are looking for someone to become Editor of this newsletter. Our two current Co-Editors have demands on their time which do not permit them to take on Editorship at this time; they will continue as Co-Editors.

If you'd like to find out what's involved in being Editor, if you'd like to explore the possibility, write to the newsletter. Or phone Lee Eisler at 215-346-7687.

ABOUT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

(25) SOS. Secular Organizations for Sobriety, the freethought alternative to the religiously oriented Alcoholics Anonymous, has issued another splendid newsletter (Spring 1989). A letter from SOS founder, Jim Christopher, mentions the remarkable fact that in less than 3 years, more than 85 groups have been established in the U.S., Canada, Australia and Europe. For their quarterly newsletters, send $12 to SOS Subscriptions, c/o Free Inquiry, P.O. Box 5, Buffalo, NY 14215-0005.

MEMBERSHIP LIST, PART I
July 22, 1989

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(26) This Membership List is provided solely for the personal use of BRS members, and is not to be given to non-members without written permission of the President.

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CHURCH/STATE SEPARATION

(27) Wins the case and loses her job. Last issue (RSN62-7) we reported (with some satisfaction) that Adam Jacobs and two colleagues -- Ann Sorrel and Charles Novins -- had won their case in the New Jersey Supreme Court. They had objected to the words "in the year of our Lord" on their certificate to practice law, as a violation of the doctrine of separation of church and state. This was reported in the *New Jersey Law Journal* (4/13/89).

Later issues of the *Journal* contained a great number of letters to the editor disagreeing with the Court's decision and faulting the 3 colleagues, some in a mocking or abusive way.

Ms. Sorrel had asked the *Law Journal* to identify her as a "recent law graduate". But the *Law Journal* -- which also didn't like the Court's decision, and had run an editorial denouncing it -- named the firm for which she worked.

As a result, the firm fired her.

The firm -- Hellring, Lindeman, Goldstein, Siegal, Stern and Greenberg -- told Ms. Sorrel, "the article has caused you to be the victim of hate and that reflects on this firm."

Ms. Sorrel now seeks support for a lawsuit "to challenge the illegal termination".

The law firm of Smith, Mullin, and Kiernan -- described by Ann Sorrel as "a law firm with a reputation for its advocacy of civil liberties and specializing in employment discrimination law" -- is willing to handle the case...but, as she says, a lawsuit costs money.

The BRS is not in position to give money to this worthwhile cause. But BRS members who wish to help should send contributions -- any amount is welcome -- to Nancy E. Smith. Smith, Mullin & Kiernan, 100 Executive Drive, Suite 340, West Orange, NJ 07052.

ABOUT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

(28) Peirce---------->

Modern Logic

An International Journal of the History of Mathematical Logic, Set Theory, and Foundations of Mathematics

June 22, 1989

Lee Eisler
Bertrand Russell Society
R.D. 1, Box 409
Coopersburg, PA 18036

Dear Lee,

As BRS members will know, Russell wrote the "Foreword" for James K. Feibelman's book *An Introduction to Peirce's Philosophy* (New York, Harper, 1946). Therefore, BRS members who are interested may wish to attend the upcoming Peirce conference at Harvard later this year.

The Charles S. Peirce Sesquicentennial International Congress will be held at Harvard University (Cambridge, Massachusetts) from 6 to 9 September 1989. The program will cover all aspects of Peirce's thought - philosophy, science, religion, language (semiotics), logic, and mathematics. Registration for the entire program is $150; those wishing to attend for less than the entire program may register at $50/day. For information about registration and housing, contact:

Charles S. Peirce Sesquicentennial Congress
Harvard Graduate School of Education
339 Gutman Library
Cambridge, MA 02138.

Sincerely yours,

Irving

Dr. Irving H. Anellis, Editor

110 McDonald Drive, #8-B
Ames, Iowa 50010-3470, USA
☎
tel. (515) 292-7499

Mathematics
Iowa State University

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(29)

RUSSELL SOCIETY LIBRARY

Tom Stanley, Librarian
Box 434, Wilder, VT 05088

BOOKS FOR SALE FROM THE RUSSELL SOCIETY LIBRARY

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL:

Appeal to the American Conscience	3.15	
Authority and the Individual	3.75	
The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell, Volume I	16.00	H
Volume II	13.00	H
Volume III	11.00	H
Education and the Social Order	4.25	
Essays in Analysis, edited by Douglas Lackey	6.50	H
Has Man a Future?	8.00	H
History of the World in Epitome	1.00	
In Praise of Idleness	3.75	
The Impact of Science on Society	3.00	
An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth	6.00	
Mortals and Others, edited by Harry Ruja	8.50	H
My Philosophical Development	3.75	
Political Ideals	3.75	
Power: A New Social Analysis	5.50	
The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism	3.75	
Principles of Social Reconstruction	3.75	
Roads to Freedom	4.00	
Sceptical Essays	4.25	
The Scientific Outlook	5.50	

BY OTHER AUTHORS:

Bertrand Russell, 1872-1970	1.50	
Bertrand Russell and the Pacifists in the First World War by Jo Vellacott	10.50	H
Bertrand Russell as a Philosopher by A.J. Ayer	2.25	
Essays on Socialist Humanism in Honor of the Centenary of Bertrand Russell, edited by Ken Coates	4.00	
	9.00	H
Into the Tenth Decade: A Tribute to Bertrand Russell	5.00	
The Life of Bertrand Russell in Pictures and his Own Words	6.75	
Mr. Wilson Speaks 'Frankly and Fearlessly' on Vietnam to B.R.	1.75	
The Tamarisk Tree, Volume I by Dora Russell	5.50	H

H Cloth, otherwise paperback

Prices are postpaid. Please send check or money-order, payable to the Bertrand Russell Society, to the Russell Society Library, Box 434, Wilder, VT 05088.

Recent acquisitions:

"Face to Face". An audiocassette of John Freeman's March, 1959 interview with Russell. An edited transcript was published in RSN 46,10. Courtesy of the BBC World Service.

Reviews of Ryan's Bertrand Russell: A Political Life by Hook, Marquand, and Skidelsky. Ken Blackwell.

Problems of Knowledge and Freedom: The Russell Lectures by Chomsky. Tom Stanley.

Antinomies and Paradoxes: Studies in Russell's Early Philosophy, edited by Winchester and Blackwell. Monograph edition. Ken Blackwell.

Bertrand Russell, Skepticism and Education by Michael Rockler. Paper presented at the 1989 annual meeting. The author.

Mathesis: filosofía e historia delas matemáticas, Vols. I-III; Vol. IV, No. 1. Vol. III, No. 1 contains "Bibliografía de B. Russell en español" by Francisco Rodríguez Consuegra. Vol. IV, No. 1 is entirely devoted to Russell. Mathesis es una publicación del Grupo de Filosofía e Historia del Departamento de Matemáticas de la Facultad de Ciencias, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Alejandro Garciadiego.

Library desiderata:

A single copy of each of these out of print paperbacks;

Necessary Russell by William Ready
Bertrand Russell: A Collection of Critical Essays, edited by Pears.
Bertrand Russell's Theory of Knowledge by Elizabeth Eames.

New and forthcoming:

Bertrand Russell's Dialogue with His Contemporaries by Elizabeth Eames. Southern Illinois University Press; $34.95. July.

Rereading Russell: Essays on Bertrand Russell's Metaphysics and Epistemology, edited by Savage and Wade. University of Minnesota Press; Cloth $29.50. A review copy arrived in May.

Bertrand Russell: The Psychobiography of a Moralist by Andrew Brink. Humanities Press; Cloth $39.95, Paper $12.50. Reviewer; David Goldman.

The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell, edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp. Open Court; Cloth $49.95, Paper, $24.95. Reviewer: William Fielding.

Prophecy and Dissent 1914-16, edited by Rempel and Moran. Volume XIII in "The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell". Unwin Hyman; Cloth $125. Reviewer: Bruce Thompson.

Committee member Irving Anellis is the editor of Modern Logic, a new international journal being planned as a vehicle for rapid publication of high-quality historical studies and expository surveys of nineteenth and twentieth century mathematical logic, set theory and foundations of mathematics. Society member Alejandro Garciadiego is an associate editor. The premier issue is scheduled for early 1990. Criteria for publication of papers and information on subscriptions may be obtained from Irving at 110 McDonald Drive, #8-B, Ames, IA 50010

CONTRIBUTIONS

(30) We thank ABE SMITH and MARK WEBER for their recent contributions to the BRS Treasury. It is appreciated!

We solicit contributions, which are welcome at all times for any amount, large or small. Send contributions c/o the newsletter, address in Page 1, bottom.

INVITATIONS TO WRITE

(31) Joe Ciarrocca "would like to communicate and work with Independent thinkers and Atheists. Have varried interests and experiences." 120 Market St., Hatfield, PA 19440. 215-855-8349

FOR SALE

(32) 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." New reduced USA price, $5 for 90 sheets, postpaid. Canada & Mexico still $6. Order from the newsletter, address on Page 1, bottom.

BRS LOCAL CHAPTERS

(33) The BRS Chapter at McMaster met on May 11 and 18 ---------->

MCMASTER UNIVERSITY

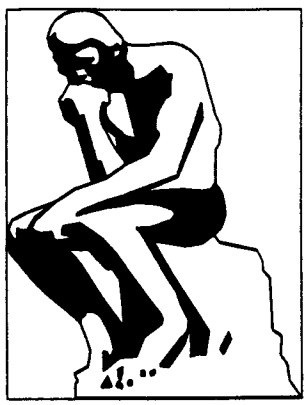
THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE AND CRITIQUE OF RELIGION TO 1914: A PSYCHOPHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

Stefan Andersson

Mr. Andersson, a doctoral student at Lund University, Sweden, has done extensive research into Russell's philosophy of religion, in both its impersonal and personal aspects. He recently published in *Russell* a bibliography of all known research on the subject.

His presentation to the Russell Society will include the outline of the dissertation he will be submitting.



THE NATURE OF RUSSELL'S SOCIALISM

Chandrakala Padia

Dr. Padia teaches political science at Banaras Hindu University, India. She is researching in the Bertrand Russell Archives on a three-month fellowship from the Indian Philosophy Council, her topic being the same as her paper for the Russell Society. In 1982 she completed a doctoral dissertation for Banaras on "The Concept of Liberty in Bertrand Russell" and has since published several articles on his political philosophy. Dr. Padia has also published on the nature of terrorism and other topics.

OBITUARIES

(34) From *The Los Angeles Times* (6/29/89), with thanks to JOHN TOBIN and BOB DAVIS:

Alfred J. Ayer; Noted British Philosopher

From Staff and Wire Reports

LONDON—Alfred J. Ayer, the most celebrated and representative British philosopher of his generation, who believed that philosophical problems are rooted in a vague and muddled use of language, has died. He was 78.

Sir Alfred, regarded as the philosophical heir of the late Nobel laureate Bertrand Russell, died Tuesday night in University College Hospital here after a lengthy respiratory illness.

Although he became widely known outside academic circles for his anti-religious views, his lasting reputation will rest upon his philosophical publications.

His first book, "Language, Truth and Logic," published in 1936 when he was only 25, was considered the first exposition of logical positivism in the English language.

Ayer said that for any statement to mean anything it must be verifiable by experience or analysis, and if that is not possible, the statement is merely an expression of opinion.

This led him to atheism.

Ranging widely between the ideas of linguistic philosophers Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein, the movement Ayer helped develop accepts that language must be strictly analyzed and redefined if there is to be any possibility of using it as an intelligible means of logical argument.

The philosophical school of linguistic analysts now dominates many British and American universities.

"Language, Truth and Logic," which jolted metaphysicians by its assault on "much of what has passed for philosophy," owed a debt to empiricists such as Russell and Rudolf Carnap.

"I maintain that there is nothing in the nature of philosophy to warrant the existence of conflicting philosophical 'schools,'" Ayer wrote. "And I attempt to substantiate this by providing a definitive solution of the problems which have been the chief sources of controversy between philosophers in the past."

"The principles of logic and metaphysics are true simply because we never allow them to be anything else," he added.

Ayer wrote "The Foundations of Empirical Knowledge" in 1940 and "The Problem of Knowledge" in 1956, as well as volumes of philosophical essays and histories of modern philosophy in which he extended the traditions of British empiricism.

Throughout his career Ayer remained firmly in the empiricist tradition of Locke, Berkeley, Hume and Russell. The last two of these Ayer acknowledged as his masters, and his most recent works included two brief studies of Russell (1972) and of Hume (1980). Ayer concluded his autobiographical "A Part of My Life" (1977) with the modest remark that he would consider it "glory enough . . . to be thought even to have played Horatio to Russell's Hamlet."

Sir Alfred, who was knighted in 1970, was born Alfred Jules Ayer, the only child of a well-to-do French-Swiss father and a Dutch-Jewish mother.

Educated at Eton and at Oxford University, he was a philosophy lecturer and research student at Oxford's Christ Church College from 1932 to 1944, and dean of Wadham College, Oxford, from 1945 to 1946. He served as an intelligence officer in France during World War II.

Ayer, known to colleagues and students as Freddie, was professor of mind and logic at University College, London, from 1946 to 1959, then professor of logic at the University of Oxford and fellow of New College, Oxford, until 1978.

He was a visiting professor at New York University from 1948 to 1949; at City College, New York, from 1961 to 1962, and at Bard College in New York State beginning in 1987.

OBITUARIES

(35) From *The New York Times* (6/29/89, p. D21), with thanks to KEN KORBIN and DON JACKANICZ:

A. J. Ayer Dead in Britain at 78; Philosopher of Logical Positivism

By ERIC PACE
Special to The New York Times

Sir Alfred Jules Ayer, the British philosopher who did much to introduce the school of philosophy known as logical positivism to his English-speaking colleagues, died Tuesday at University College Hospital in London after long suffering from a respiratory ailment. He was 78 years old and lived in London.

Sir Alfred, who was known professionally as A. J. Ayer, was knighted in 1970 during his two decades as Wykeham Professor of Logic at Oxford University.

After doing brilliantly as an Oxford undergraduate, he was exposed to logical positivism in 1932 in Vienna, where he sat in on meetings of the Vienna School of philosophers, mathematicians and other scholars. He wrote the influential book "Language, Truth and Logic," published in 1936, which came to be regarded as the basic English-language work on logical positivism.

Experiential Test Required

The philosophy, which was also known as scientific empiricism, held that statements in principle that could not be verified by experience were meaningless, and sought to apply the exactness and the methods of the natural sciences and mathematics to the work of philosophers. It spurred a widespread emphasis on linguistic analysis in philosophy.

A 1957 article in The Observer of London said that the movement that Sir Alfred pioneered in Britain "ranges widely between the ideas of Bertrand Russell and those of Wittgenstein," the German philosopher of language.

"Ayer is chiefly responsible for bringing the philosophy of logical positivism, then prominent on the Continent, to the English-speaking world," said Prof. Hilary Kornblith, interim chairman of the philosophy department at the University of Vermont, in commenting yesterday on Sir Alfred's death.

Professor Kornblith, a specialist in the theory of knowledge, a field in which Sir Alfred was prominent, said: "At the age of 26, he published 'Language, Truth and Logic,' which for many served as their introduction to this philosophical view. Ayer and logical positivism continued to have a significant effect on the English-speaking world for decades to come."

As Thelma Zeno Lavine, then Elton Professor of Philosophy at George Washington University, wrote in 1983: "The members of the Vienna Circle had little knowledge of traditional philosophy and less use for it; but they loathed and feared the German idealistic philosophies which appeared to be legitimating the rise of irrationalism in continental politics. Their goal was to replace the dangerous philosophic mystifications of Europe with a tough, empirical 'scientific mentality.' "

'Enfant Terrible'

In writing "Language, Truth and Logic," Professor Lavine observed, Mr. Ayer was "an enfant terrible who cleverly placed a lighted stick of dynamite under all traditional philosophies. The old philosophic landscape has never been fully rebuilt since then."

That book, she continued, "is generally conceded to be one of the most influential books of 20th-century philosophy."

Over the years, Sir Alfred wrote other important works, wielded influence as a teacher, and became known for his quickness in philosophical argument.

It was after a varied academic career at the University of London and elsewhere that he held the professorship at Oxford — and was also a Fellow of New College, Oxford — from 1959 to 1978. He was a Fellow of Wolfson College, Oxford, from 1978 to 1983.

Camera Press, 1977

Sir Alfred Jules Ayer

Prescient, Not Voguish

Even after his views were no longer fashionable, advocates of more contemporary views would come to his lectures, debate with him and find themselves out-argued, his admirers like to recall.

Sir Alfred, an atheist, was so persuasive in argument, the story goes, that when the English writer Somerset Maugham lay dying, he got Sir Alfred to visit him and reassure him that there was no life after death.

In 1968, Sir Alfred's heart stopped for four minutes at a hospital in London, and he wrote later that he had seen a red light and become "aware that this light was responsible for the government of the universe."

The experience left his atheism unquenched, he wrote, but "slightly weakened my conviction that my genuine death — which is due fairly soon — will be the end of me, though I continue to hope it will be."

Education and War Service

Alfred Jules Ayer was born on Oct. 29, 1910, in London, the son of Jules Louis Cyprien Ayer and the former Reine Citroen. He studied at Eton and at Christ Church, an Oxford college, earning a bachelor's degree in 1932 and a master's in 1936.

In World War II, he served in the British Army, rising to captain.

Over the years he was variously a visiting professor at New York University, the City College of New York and at Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y. He also lectured at Harvard and Columbia and was a Montgomery Fellow at Dartmouth.

Sir Alfred's first and second marriages ended in divorce; his third wife died, and earlier this year he remarried his second wife, Alberta Constance Chapman, a writer known as Dee Wells. He had a son and a daughter from his first marriage and a son from his second.

Sir Alfred was an Honorary Member of The Bertrand Russell Society.

(36) From *The Washington Post* (7/15/89. p.B6):

Author, Philosopher Sidney Hook, 86, Dies

Associated Press

STANFORD, Calif.—Sidney Hook, 86, a philosopher, author, educator and leading figure in American intellectual circles since the late 1920s, died of congestive heart failure July 12 at Stanford University Hospital.

Since 1973, Dr. Hook had been a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace on the Stanford University campus. He took the position after retiring from New York University, where he had taught since 1927, and had been chairman of the philosophy department until 1968.

Dr. Hook became a leading proponent of philosopher John Dewey's ideals, known as pragmatism, a peculiarly American philosophy that an idea must be judged by how it works rather than by how it looks. Under the philosophy, an idea may be true under certain circumstances but false under others.

He first became known as a secular humanist. His first book, "The Metaphysics of Pragmatism," published in 1927, was an exposition of Dewey's thought.

He became an international figure in 1933 upon publication of "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx," which was viewed as a sympathetic interpretation of ideas of the philosophical founder of Marxist communism.

He tried to integrate Marxism with the pragmatist philosophy expounded by C.S. Peirce, William James and Dewey. His second book, "From Hegel to Marx: Studies in the Intellectual Development of Karl Marx," published in 1936, is a scholastic classic, considered one of the best critical expositions of Marxism ever by an American philosopher.

SIDNEY HOOK

Dr. Hook never joined the Communist Party and rejected the idea that the attainment of socialism or a planned economy could or should be accomplished by sacrificing democratic ideals and institutions.

His best-known work, "The Hero in History," published in 1943, is still widely used in college classrooms.

In 1951, Dr. Hook founded the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. He was an early critic of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, a controversial Republican who charged that communists had infiltrated the U.S. government.

Dr. Hook expounded his views on issues of that era in two books, one titled, "Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No!"

He was born in New York City on Dec. 20, 1902. He graduated from City College of New York in 1923, earned a master's degree at Columbia University in 1926 and received a doctorate from Columbia in 1927.

He is survived by his wife, Ann, two sons and a daughter.

(37) From *The New York Times* (7/14/89, p. D15):

Sidney Hook, Political Philosopher, Is Dead at 86

By RICHARD BERNSTEIN

Sidney Hook, a major American philosopher who wrote many books on Marxism, public policy and education, died of congestive heart failure Wednesday at Stanford University Hospital in Stanford, Calif. He was 86 years old and lived on the university campus.

Professor Hook had been a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford since 1973. Through most of his academic career he was associated with New York University, where he began teaching in 1927 and was chairman of the philosophy department for 35 years until he retired in 1969.

Dr. Hook was for six decades a vigorous participant in many of the principal intellectual and political debates of this century. He was a thinker and a teacher of philosophy who did not hesitate to enter into the fray of political debate and conflict.

He was best known for his consistent anti-Communist stance and his vigorous defense of political and academic freedom. His critique of Stalinism in the 1930's was one of the first against the Soviet Union by a major figure in leftist intellectual circles.

Advocate of Strong Defense

Dr. Hook was a guiding spirit in organizations of intellectuals whose purpose was to combat what they saw as the threat of totalitarianism. He helped to organize the Congress for Cultural Freedom in 1950 to counter what the group considered to be Communist-led intellectual fronts.

An advocate of a strong military, he debated Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell on the question of disarmament. While fervently anti-Communist, he opposed Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's activities in the 1950's, terming the Senator "a heavy liability to the friends of American democracy and international freedom."

Through dozens of books and hundreds of articles, and in the course on the philosophy of democracy that he taught at New York University for decades, Dr. Hook had a profound influence on the thinking of several generations of American teachers, philosophers and political figures.

In his autobiography, "Out of Step: An Unquiet Life in the 20th Century," published in 1987 by Harper and Row, he provided an illuminating account of his friends and foes as well as his many philosophical battles.

Appraising the book, John Gross wrote in The New York Times that "even those who accept his general view of the world are likely to quarrel with some of his specific conclusions." But Mr. Gross concluded, "It is a fearless book, which gets its priorities right, and one that nobody interested in the ideological battlegrounds of the 20th century should disregard."

In later years, Professor Hook's passionate anti-Communism led many polititical commentators to label him a neoconservative. He angrily rejected the label, variously terming himself "a social democrat" and "a Cold War liberal."

Dr. Hook was a rigorous thinker and writer whose characteristic style was to state a point of view and then support it with an array of tightly woven arguments. His major books were "Toward the Understanding of Karl Marx" (1933), "From Hegel to Marx" (1936), "The Hero in History" (1943) and "Pragmatism and the Tragic Sense of Life" (1974).

An Outspoken Secularist

Dr. Hook's philosophy was based on the three pillars of pragmatism, secularism and rationalism. A student of the pragmatist philosopher John Dewey at Columbia University, Dr. Hook never tired of saying that there were no absolutes. He believed that all ideas had to be tested against the reality of experience.

He was an outspoken secularist who maintained that people must find meaning in a world without a divine presence to impose meaning on it. And he was a supreme rationalist; he believed fervently that proper behavior and correct opinions could emerge only by an examination of problems guided entirely by reason, not by emotion or religious beliefs.

> Intelligence 'in behalf of human freedom.'

He called himself a secular humanist, defining the term in a 1982 interview as "the view that morals are autonomous of religious belief, that they are relevant to truths about nature and human nature, truths that rest on scientific evidence."

'The Greatest Enemy'

For Dr. Hook, even freedom had to be subjected to reason and experience, and not taken as an absolute. He maintained that for one person to insist on his absolute freedom meant depriving someone else of some of his freedom.

"It is the spirit of absolutism that is the greatest enemy of a liberal civilization," Dr. Hook wrote in 1964. "It can be curbed only by the pragmatic temper that tests all principles by their consequences for the quality of human experience."

Dr. Hook was born in Brooklyn on Dec. 20, 1902, and was reared in a slum in the Williamsburg section. After graduating in 1919 from Boys High School in Brooklyn, he went to City College, graduating in 1923, and then to Columbia University, where he became a disciple of Dewey and earned a master's degree in 1926 and a Ph.D. a year later.

Like many other young intellectuals of his generation, Dr. Hook was attracted by the Bolshevik Revolution in the Soviet Union and by Marxist writings. These interests reached a culmination with his publication in 1933 of "Toward the Understanding of Karl Marx: A Revolutionary Interpretation."

Dr. Hook shocked orthodox Marxists, with whom he had earlier been close, by contending in the book that there was a crucial difference between what he called "Marx and Marxism." He maintained that there was a moral and intellectual gulf between what he saw as the humanistic ideals of Marx himself and the Communist orthodoxy that had developed in the Soviet Union.

Retired in 1969

"Orthodoxy," Dr. Hook wrote, "is not only fatal to honest thinking; it invited the abandonment of the revolutionary standpoint which was central to Marx's life and thought."

Dr. Hook joined the philosophy department at New York University as an instructor in 1927, became chairman seven years later and remained in that post until his retirement in 1969. While teaching at the university, Dr. Hook wrote hundreds of books and articles. He became an academic philosopher fully engaged in the political debates of his era.

Professor Hook's most passionate interest was what he viewed as the evils of totalitarianism. After supporting the Communist Party candidate for President in the election of 1932, he broke entirely with the party and with Stalin by the mid-1930's.

In 1950, Dr. Hook joined forces with the American writer James T. Farrell and prominent European intellectuals like Raymond Aron in France to create the Congress for Cultural Freedom with the goal of countering what its founders saw as cultural groups financed and controlled by Communist Parties.

It was later disclosed that the group had been partly financed by the Central Intelligence Agency, though there was never any suggestion that its policies were not entirely independent.

Stanford University, 1987

Dr. Sidney Hook

In the 1960's, Dr. Hook was criticized by the New Left for his positions on the Vietnam War, racial quotas and academic freedom.

He maintained during the American war effort in Indochina that, while a withdrawal of American forces was desirable, it should come only in conjuction with a similar action by the North Vietnamese.

Professor Hook criticized quotas in university admissions designed to redress racial imbalances, calling them perversions of the concept of equality of opportunity. And, while he debated publicly with Bertrand Russell, Dr. Hook criticized American universities for refusing to allow Russell to teach in this country because of his political views.

He received many honorary degrees and other awards, including the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1985.

Professor Hook, in concluding his entry in the 1988-89 "Who's Who in America," offered this l'envoi:

"Survival is not the be-all and end-all of a life worthy of man. Those who say that life is worth living at any cost have already written for themselves an epitaph of infamy, for there is no cause and no person they will not betray to stay alive. Man's vocation should be the use of the arts of intelligence in behalf of human freedom."

Surviving are his wife, the former Ann Zinkin; a son by a previous marriage, John Bertrand Hook of San Francisco; a second son, Ernest Benjamin Hook, of Berkeley, Calif.; a daughter, Susan Ann Goulian of La Jolla, Calif., and three grandchildren.

(38) From *The Los Angeles Times* (7/14/89), with thanks to BOB DAVIS:

Proponent of Pragmatism

Sidney Hook; Noted U.S. Philosopher

From Staff and Wire Reports

Sidney Hook, considered by many to be America's leading philosopher of pragmatism and at the least one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th Century, has died of congestive heart failure at the age of 86.

The philosopher, author and educator, who had been a controversial figure in American intellectual circles since the late 1920s, died at Stanford University Hospital on Wednesday.

Since 1973, he had been a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford. He took the position after his retirement from New York University where he had taught since 1927 and served as chairman of the philosophy department until 1968.

Hook almost always challenged accepted ideas and refused to substitute passion for logic in arguing a case.

Key Belief

He wrote in his autobiography that his key belief was that "the central problem of our time is ... the defense and enrichment of a free and open society against totalitarianism."

In a 1987 review of his autobiography, "Out Of Step: An Unquiet Life in the 20th Century," Time magazine wrote: "To '30s conservatives, he seemed a Marxist apologist; to '60s New Leftists, he was a cold warrior . . . [but] the only group to whom Hook paid strict allegiance was the party of one."

Hook became a leading proponent of philosopher John Dewey's ideals, known as pragmatism, a peculiarly American philosophy that an idea must be judged by how it works rather than by how it looks. Under the philosophy, an idea may be true under certain circumstances but false under others.

Hook first became known as a secular humanist, and his first book, "The Metaphysics of Pragmatism," published in 1927, was an exposition of Dewey's thought.

Hook became an international figure in 1933 upon publication of "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx," which was viewed as a sympathetic interpretation of ideas of the philosophical founder of Marxist-Communism.

Hook tried to integrate Marxism with the pragmatist philosophy expounded by William James and Dewey. His book, "From Hegel to Marx: Studies in the Intellectual Development of Karl Marx," published in 1936, is a scholastic classic, considered one of the best critical expositions of Marxism ever made by an American philosopher.

But Hook never joined the Communist Party and rejected the idea that the attainment of socialism or a planned economy could or should be accomplished by sacrificing democratic ideals and institutions. He was one of the first outspoken opponents of Soviet communism under Joseph Stalin.

He founded the Committee for Cultural Freedom in 1939, an organization of more than 200 intellectuals opposed to Stalinist repression. The same year, he became a full professor in the philosophy department of NYU, despite demands for his ouster by some of the nation's press.

Came Under Fire

The Hearst newspaper organization particularly regarded him as a communist although the Communist Party itself called him a renegade and even a "fascist."

Hook's best-known work, "The Hero in History," published in 1943, is still widely used in college classrooms.

Hook also founded in 1951 the American Committee for Cultural Freedom and was an early critic of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.).

Hook expounded his views on issues of that era in two books, one titled, "Heresy Yes—Conspiracy, No!"

Despite the furor his Marxist views had generated over the years, in 1985 he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, one of this country's highest honors.

FINANCES

(39) Treasurer Dennis Darland reports on the quarter ending 6/30/89

Bank balance on hand (3/31/89)			6349.20
Income: New members	455.00		
Renewals	898.20		
total dues	1353.20		
Contributions	55.00		
Library sales & rentals	39.00		
Misc. income	20.00		
total income	1467.20		+1467.20
			7816.40
Expenditures: Information & Membership Committees	871.73		
Library expense	4.10		
Subscriptions to *Russell*	0.00		
Meetings	450.00		
Doctoral Grant	0.00		
Misc. expense	232.22*		
	1108.05		-1108.05
Bank balance on hand (6/30/89)			6708.35

*The Bank accidentally debited us 232.22 in the 2nd quarter. This has been reversed in the 3rd quarter.

THE DIRECTORS VOTE

(40) The ballot at the end of this newsletter is in 2 parts. Part II is for Directors only. Directors will vote on 2 proposals:

Proposal #1: to create an Executive Committee, to consist of the Chairman, the President, and the Vice President, with the authority to act and make decisions, subject to later approval by the Board.

An Executive Committee will permit important decisions to be made quickly — in cases where speed seems desirable.

Proposal #2 is about the Benares [Chapter] Plan. The Plan is described in (3). It would be good to have a decision quickly -- on whether or not to approve the Plan; the Executive Committee, if it existed, could make that decision quickly.

If there were no ballot in this August issue, then — without an Executive Committee -- we would have to canvass all Directors, now dispersed around the continent, for their approval (or disapproval) of the Benares Plan. That would be time-consuming, as well as inconvenient and an expense. And that's why it would be useful to have an Executive Committee, which could act quickly .

We ask you to vote on 2 things, Proposal #1, the Executive Committee, and Proposal #2, the Benares Plan.

Directors, please turn to the ballot, and vote on these Proposals now.

ELECTION OF DIRECTORS

(41) Here is the list of Candidates. As you will notice, we have 10 Candidates for 10 openings. That means that all 10 Candidates will be elected. Then why go through the motions of having an election?

We should have had -- and expected to have -- more than 10 Candidates. We tried to get more of them, but evidently didn't try hard enough. The fault is ours.

Next year, things will be different! We have already lined up 20 potential Candidates for next year. We think many of them will accept an invitation to be a Candidate.

But please vote anyway. Your vote is a gesture of support, even though in this particular instance, we can't say we have earned it.

We are to elect 10 Directors, to bring the total to 24. Use the ballot at the end of this newsletter. Here are the candidates, in reverse alphabetical order:

THOM WEIDLICH, 26, 5-year member, currently pursuing a Ph.D. in American History at Columbia University. Now writing his Master's Essay on the 1940 City College case in which BR lost his post at CCNY as a result of conservative religious/political pressure. It will also be the subject of his dissertation.

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."

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 (retired). Recording studio owner. Winner of the Leavey Award from the Freedom Foundation of Valley Forge (RSN50-23).

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.

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).

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."

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).

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.

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.

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.

Why not use the ballot (on the last page) <u>right now?</u>

BOOK REVIEWS

(42) From *The Washington Post* (1/18/76):

The Washington Post BOOK WORLD JANUARY 18, 1976 G9

Crusader of the Mind

THE LIFE OF BERTRAND RUSSELL. By Ronald W. Clark. Knopf. 706 pp. $17.50

By GODFREY HODGSON

Illustration by Richard Wilson for The Washington Post

WHAT A LIFE! What a task and what an opportunity for a biographer!

Bertrand Russell lived to be 97. When he died, more than 60 of his books were still in print. His output of articles, ranging from austere exercises in mathematical logic for learned journals to "Should Socialists Smoke Good Cigars?" for the Hearst papers, poured from his pen with the steady profusion of a man whose mind was so efficient that he rarely needed to change a word of what he had written. To one of his mistresses, Lady Ottoline Morrell, he wrote more than 1700 letters.

A short list of his human valencies suggests the protean scope of the man. His life reached back into the mainstream of English history, and spread into the farthest

He was a descendant of the protomartyr of the Glorious Revolution. When the Whigs of 18th-century England tossed the good old cause, they drank to the faith for which "Sidney died in the field, and Russell on the scaffold." His grandfather was one of Victoria's ablest prime ministers. He was the brother-in-law of Bernard Berenson, the pupil of G.E. Moore, the collaborator of A.N. Whitehead, the tutor of Ludwig Wittgenstein. He argued with Trotsky, and lived to correspond with Khrushchev. He was a friend of John Dewey, Lytton Strachey, G.M. Trevelyan, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Aldous Huxley, John Maynard Keynes.

In his work, he was the great all-rounder. He wrote books on *Marriage and Morals* and on *German Social Democracy*. In his fifties, he set himself to reform the theory and practice of education, and in his eighties and nineties, to save the world from the danger of nuclear war.

As a technical philosopher, he tried his hand at logic, at the theory of knowledge, and on the problem of matter: his greatest gift was for translating the technicalities of academic philosophy into books and articles that could be read with enlightenment by the general reader. He was one of the half-dozen greatest mathematicians of his time, yet his Nobel Prize was for literature.

If the word "philosophical" carries connotations of stoicism, detachment and self-abnegation, Russell was a most unphilosophical philosopher. It would be truer to say that his life demonstrates the shallowness of the popular assumption that logic and passion are antithetical.

He was a man of passions. For mathematics; for landscapes — from the ordered Cumbridge of his youth to the wild North Wales of his old age; for children; for women. He was married four times, but the two great passions of his life were for two women he never married, Lady Ottoline Morrell and Lady Constance Malleson.

Yet, apart from these six major attachments, up into his seventies he was forever falling in love. Through he once wrote in Outline that truth was the divinity he had mainly served, the sad fact seems to be that in his dealings with women he was almost compulsively deceitful. He was capable of writing to a mistress to describe his life in the greatest detail, passionately insisting how much he missed her — and tactfully omitting to mention that another woman was with him as he wrote.

His greatest passion, after all, was perhaps for work. There were times when even his supremely fluent intellect was blocked for months, either by the sheer difficulty of the task, as happened when he was writing *Principia Mathematica*, or — as happened when Wittgenstein had sowed seeds of doubt about his theory of knowledge — by the fear that an elaborate structure had been erected on faulty foundations; yet work it was almost always easy for him, and almost always a pleasure.

It was also a consolation. Nothing could be more mistaken, now that — thanks to Ronald Clark's labors — we have access to Russell's private correspondence and, for part of his life, to his journal, than to go on thinking of him as he has so often been pictured, as a sort of 20th-century Voltaire, a cheerfully amoral, rationalist wit who had somehow survived from the century of lights.

There was a dark background to his intellectual highlights. Much of his long life was lived, and much of his vast output of work accomplished, in despair. More than once, he said himself, only the feeling that his work was worth doing deterred him from suicide.

There was darkness in another sense, too. Generosity of character, lucidity of intellect, courage about everything he did were marred by pride, conceit, snobbery, cruelty in personal relations, and a certain persistent habit of untruthfulness in matters both personal and political.

Men and women never recover, they say, from an absence of love in early childhood. Russell's childhood, in the puritanical splendors of his grandmother's home after the death of both his parents, did lack love.

Ronald Clark is inclined to attribute to the chilling legacy of that childhood that lasting inability to reconcile his intellect and his emotions which made Russell's life, for all its triumphs, a tragedy. Certainly the tragic recurrence of the irrational in his story reminds one of Horace's line about how you can drive out nature with a pitchfork, but she keeps coming back.

Just on 40, he gave up serious philosophy, essentially for life, because he sensed — not because it was proved to him — that Wittgenstein would destroy his work and perhaps his reputation. Just on 50, it seemed that his sexual life was about to come safely into harbor, and that he would marry "Colette" Malleson. Instead he abruptly left for China with Dora Black, who became his second wife. With her he embarked on a generous but absurd venture in school teaching.

It ruined him financially and condemned him to years of the most desperate hack journalism. Through sheer courage, and talent, and work, he survived. Yet it is impossible not to feel that his true vocation was as a mathematician and philosopher, rather than as the pamphleteer and publicist he became.

Ronald Clark has dealt honorably and courageously with this gigantic task. His greatest weakness is that he does not sufficiently explain the exact nature of Russell's achievement as a mathematician and logician: he should have been willing to risk boring us more in order to make sure we understood the most important achievements of his subject. The surface of his prose is marred by a tin ear for false notes, and by occasionally clumsy syntax.

In his modest, conscientious way, he has enabled us to feel the force of the thing that drove this passionate logician, the thing which, in a love letter to Colette he called "not love or hate or pity or scorn, but the very breath of life, fierce and coming from far away, bringing into human life the fearful passionless force of non-human things."

It was that which made Bertrand Russell something more than the sum of the great philosopher he was in his youth and the great crusader he became in his old age: which made his life, for all its flaws and contradictions, one to which after his death attention should be paid, just as when he was alive it never crossed anyone's mind to deny that he was a great man. □

GODFREY HODGSON is a former editor on the London Sunday Times and coauthor of *An American Melodrama*.

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PLEASE USE THE BALLOT (NEXT PAGE) IF YOU HAVEN'T ALREADY DONE SO

BALLOT

(43) Ballot is in 2 parts. Part I is for all members. Part II is for Directors only.

Part I (for all members)

10 Directors are to be elected for 3-year terms starting 1/1/90.

Make a checkmark next to each of the 10 candidates for whom you wish to cast your vote. Information about the candidates is provided in (41).

( ) Thom Weidlich	( ) Frank Page
( ) Ramon Suzara	( ) Steve Maragides
( ) Warren Smith	( ) David Goldman
( ) Paul Schilpp	( ) William Fielding
( ) Cherie Ruppe	( ) Jack Cowles

Part II (for Directors only)

Please make one checkmark on each line:

I approve of the Benares Plan. ( ) Yes. ( ) No.
I approve of having an Executive Committee. ( ) Yes. ( ) No

***

Comments are welcome, on any topic_____

_____

_____

Member's name optional_____ date_____
Director's name required

Please remove this page and fold it according instructions on the other side. It is addressed and needs no envelope. It needs a stamp (25¢ in the USA). Must be postmarked before October 1, 1989

(44)

1st, fold along this dotted line

.....

Place
US25¢
stamp
here

FIRST CLASS

The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc.
RD 1, Box 409
Coopersburg, PA 18036 USA

.....

2nd, fold along this dotted line

3rd, staple or tape closed at C. C