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(1) Highlights: BRS Award to Paul Edwards, Book Award to Alan Ryan, Service Award to Harry Ruja (27). BR's *Why I Am Not a Communist.* (2). The BBC Wyatt Interviews (31). BR's Birthday (3). 1990 Grants expanded (25). Dues are due (10). Kohl challenges Brink (6). Lenz back from Greece (16). Membership record set (35). Toynbee demolished, and about time! (4). The Index is at the end. (41). An asterisk * to the left indicates a request.

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

(2) *Why I Am Not A Communist.* This is not the essay with the same title included in *Portraits From Memory* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1956). This is from *The Meaning of Marx*, Sidney Hook, editor (NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934). (Thank you, TOM STANLEY.)

WHY I AM NOT A COMMUNIST [1]

by BERTRAND RUSSELL

WHEN I speak of a "Communist," I mean a person who accepts the doctrines of the Third International. In a sense, the early Christians were Communists, and so were many medieval sects; but this sense is now obsolete.

I will set forth my reasons for not being a Communist *seriatim.*

1. I cannot assent to Marx's philosophy, still less to that of Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.* I am not a materialist, though I am even further removed from idealism. I do not believe that there is any dialectical necessity in historical change; this belief was taken over by Marx from Hegel, without its only logical basis, namely the primacy of the Idea. Marx believed that the next stage in human development *must be* in some sense a progress; I see no reason for this belief.

2. I cannot accept Marx's theory of value, not yet, in his form, the theory of surplus-value. The theory that the exchange-value of a commodity is proportional to the labor involved in its production, which Marx took over from Ricardo, is shown to be false by Ricardo's theory of rent, and has long been abandoned by all non-Marxian economists. The theory of surplus-value rests upon Malthus' theory of population, which Marx elsewhere rejects. Marx's economics do not form a logically coherent whole, but are built up by the alternate acceptance and rejection of older doctrines, as may suit his convenience in making out a case against the capitalists.

3. It is dangerous to regard any one man as infallible; the consequence is necessarily an oversimplification. The tradition of the verbal inspiration of the Bible has made men too ready to look for a Sacred Book. But this worship of authority is contrary to the scientific spirit.

4. Communism is not democratic. What it calls the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is in fact the dictatorship of a small minority, who become an oligarchic governing class. All history shows that government is always conducted in the interests of the governing class, except in so far as it is influenced by fear of losing its power. This is the teaching, not only of history, but of Marx. The governing class in a communist state has even more power than the capitalist class in a "democratic" state. So long as it retains the loyalty of the armed forces, it can use its power to obtain for itself advantages quite as harmful as those of capitalists. To suppose that it will always act for the general good is mere foolish idealism, and is contrary to Marxian political psychology.

5. Communism restricts liberty, particularly intellectual liberty, more than any other system except fascism. The complete unification of both economic and political power produces a terrifying engine of oppression, in which there are no loopholes for exceptions. Under such a system, progress would soon become impossible, since it is the nature of bureaucrats to object to all change except increase in their own power. All serious innovation is rendered possible only by some accident enabling unpopular persons to survive. Kepler lived by astrology, Darwin by inherited wealth, Marx by Engels' "exploitation" of the proletariat of Manchester. Such opportunities of surviving in spite of unpopularity would be impossible under Communism.

6. There is in Marx, and in current economic thought, an undue glorification of manual as against brain workers. The result has been to antagonize many brain workers who might otherwise have seen the necessity of socialism, and without whose help the organization of a socialist state is scarcely possible. The division of classes is put by Marxians in practice even more than in theory, too low in the social scale.

7. The preaching of the class war is likely to cause it to break out at a moment when the opposing forces are more or less evenly balanced, or even when the preponderance is on the side of the capitalists. If the capitalist forces preponderate, the result is an era of reaction. If the forces on both sides are roughly equal, the result, given modern methods of warfare, is likely to be the destruction of civilization, involving the disappearance of both capitalism and communism. I think that, where democracy exists, socialists should rely upon persuasion, and should use force only to repel an illegal use of force by their opponents. By this method it will be possible for socialists to acquire so great a preponderance that the final war may be brief, and not sufficiently serious to destroy civilization.

8. There is so much of hate in Marx and communism that communists can hardly be expected, when victorious, to establish a régime affording no outlet for malevolence. The arguments in favor of oppression are therefore likely to seem to the victors stronger than they are, especially if the victory has resulted from a fierce and doubtful war. After such a war, the victorious party is not likely to be in the mood for sane reconstruction. Marxists are too apt to forget the war has its own psychology which is the result of fear, and is independent of the original cause of contention.

9. It is said that, in the modern world, the only practically possible choice is between communism and fascism. I do not believe this. It seems to me definitely untrue in America, England and France. The future of Italy and Germany is uncertain. England had a period of fascism under Cromwell, France under Napoleon, but in neither case was this a bar to subsequent democracy. Politically immature nations are not the best guides as to the political future.

[1] Printed by permission of the *Modern Monthly*, issue of April, 1934.

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BR'S BIRTHDAY

(3) A date to remember: May 17...BR's birthday. We've never taken notice of it, and that's been our loss. It's an occasion for celebration. We're glad he was born. He left us a legacy of great thoughts...and gave an example, by his own actions, of moral courage that inspired and influenced many.

We can hardly be expected to have celebrated BR's 100th Birthday in 1972; we didn't exist then. But ever since 1974, when we were founded, we could have done something about it...and didn't.

We are indebted to the Humanist Fellowship of San Diego, for celebrating BR's Birthday this year (RSN63-2), which set a good example.

May 17, 1990 is BR's 118th Birthday. 118 is not a notable number to build a great celebration around. Nevertheless, let's not ignore it. Let's take note of it in some appropriate way:

Please send your suggestions for 5/17/90 to the newsletter.

RECOMMENDED READING

(4) Toynbee demolished, by H. R. Trevor-Roper, who reviews *Arnold J. Toynbee: A Life* by William H. McNeill, in The New York Review of Books (10/12/89). The review starts off this way:

> Thirty-five years ago, Arnold Toynbee's *Study of History* was a world best seller. It was described as "the greatest work of history ever written." It conquered first America, then the Muslim East, then Japan. Its author, hailed as "the most renowned scholar in the world", "a universal sage," circled the globe in triumph, receiving homage wherever he went. At the height of his fame, I rashly wrote a dissentient essay. It was denounced by a Roman Catholic priest (who refused to read it) as "blasphemy" and by a Muslim writer as "a symptom of intellectual chaos." Today the cult has subsided. The ten thick volumes of the *Study* sit undisturbed on the library shelves. Who will ever read them? A few Ph.D. students perhaps, desperate for a subject. Did anyone ever read them in toto? I doubt it.
>
> Still, the fact of that phenomenal success story remains and deserves study, so we must be grateful to Professor McNeill who, at the request of Toynbee's surviving son, has written this biography. It is a work of thorough research, and it is written with skill, sympathy, and discretion. But however sympathetic, however discreet, it makes — casually, obliquely, or in footnotes — some damaging admissions. It will not, I think, restore the credibility, or the credit, of its hero.

As an undergraduate at Balliol, Toynbee had written in a letter: "As for Ambition, with a great screaming A, I have got it pretty strong. I want to be a great gigantic historian."

Here are some of the views that Historian Toynbee expressed at various times during his life: Hitler was essentially a man of peace; it was OK if Hitler won the war; civilization has no value except as a means to religion; Roman Catholicism was to be the religion of the new world empire; America replaced the Nazis as the new "universal state"; the fatal decline of Western civilization began with the Renaissance, when "pagan" Greek culture and freedom of thought fatally weakened the medieval unity of Christendom.

The review ends, many pages later, this way:

> His vanity and complacency cut him off from corrective friendship -- he seems to have had few friends -- and left him an easy prey to the flattery of the press and publishers. I do not regret having exposed the pretentious obscurantism of his work when it was being cried up throughout the world as the ultimate wisdom of centuries; but perhaps I would have been a little gentler if I had known that his father, for his last thirty years, had been mad.

Read the whole thing. You'll be well rewarded.

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(5)

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

BR'S WRITINGS ASSESSED

(6) *Brink, Russell, and Rational Love*, by MARVIN KOHL.

To attempt to briefly say anything about the nature of rational love seems presumptuous, and requires a degree of wisdom I do not possess. But in light of Brink's recent assault[1], it would seem timid, even cowardly, not to say something. The use of the genetic fallacy may have its use in the halls of deception, but, to my mind, has no place in the academe, especially in the halls of responsible psychobiography.

Brink seems disposed — not merely to explain Russell's behavior and beliefs about love in terms of their origin but — to depreciate them because of their problematic origins. "Russell was a flawed moralist," he writes, "torn by love and hate from which he sought deliverance by impersonal service to humanity. Like many obsessional personalities, he was hyper-moral — forced by the war in his ego to be always vigilant lest he destroy more than he could create.[2] "Russell," Brink concludes, "wanted to teach the world to live at peace. The reasons for our inability to do so may be judged from his own hidden, unprocessed, retributive emotions about being imprisoned by women."[3]

Brink forgets that the quality and truth of Russell's writings have nothing to do with his early loss of his parents, his having too many nannies, or his general beliefs about women. Perhaps Russell did have a troubled childhood. Perhaps he did have an unappeasable hunger, a need to be mothered and, therefore, an obsession with finding perfect love. Perhaps his quest for perfect love was unrealistic and often did have a devastating influence upon his relationships. But how does this affect the accuracy of his definition of love or help us understand the importance of being able to distinguish between loving non-rationally and loving only that which is worthy of our affection? Or does Brink believe that all who urge that we ought to love humanity — or hold that if A loves B rationally, then A must love B for what A takes to be worthwhile qualities or features — have simply suffered trauma in childhood?

Russell appears to claim:

(1) There are various kinds of love;

(2) Consummate love[4] or "love at its fullest is an indissoluble combination of two elements, delight and well-wishing.[5]

(3) To love someone, in this sense, is to delight in the contemplation of that person and want that person's good. Accordingly, if A loves B, A must cherish and desire the welfare of B.

(4) There is a distinction between loving consummately without good reason and loving consummately with good reason;

(5) Important things should not be loved unless they are worthy of being loved;

(6) The only love that need never be checked is the love of goodness itself[6]; and

(7) Only active and rational consummate love can save the world.

Critics may disagree. They may wish to remind us that Russell failed to adequately explicate some of these statements. They may want to argue that his theory has no, or little, psychological value. Or that, given relevant evidence, some of the statements are false. Here I only insist: first, that the truth or warrant of the above statements stand or fall independently or Russell's life or personality; second, that to flaw a moralist and his theory simply and only because of his infirmities of childhood is, at best, psychological sleaze.

Notes

1. Andrew Brink, *The Psychobiography of a Moralist*, Atlantic Highlands, NJ:Humanities Press, 1989.

2. Ibid., 129.

3. Ibid., 161.

4. Although I use "consummate love" in a slightly different sense, I am indebted to Robert J. Sternberg for the term and his valuable analysis of various kinds and theories of love. See: *Liking vs. Loving: A Comparative Evaluation of Theories, Psychological Bulletin* 102:3, 1987, 331-345.

5. Bertrand Russell, *What I Believe*, London, Kegan, Paul, Truber, 1925 30-35.

6. Bertrand Russell, *The Pilgrimage of Life* [1902-1903]. In *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell*, Vol. 12, eds. Richard A.Rempel, Andrew Brink, and Margaret Moran. London: Allen & Unwin, 1985, 39.

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

(7) *The Future of Mankind*, from *Unpopular Essays* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1950), with thanks to HARRY RUJA. Notice, incidentally, the highly favorable opinions about life in America expressed by BR, who is sometimes accused of being anti-American.

The Future of Mankind

BEFORE the end of the present century, unless something quite unforeseeable occurs, one of three possibilities will have been realized. These three are:

I. The end of human life, perhaps of all life on our planet.
II. A reversion to barbarism after a catastrophic diminution of the population of the globe.
III. A unification of the world under a single government, possessing a monopoly of all the major weapons of war.

I do not pretend to know which of these will happen, or even which is the most likely. What I do contend, without any hesitation, is that the kind of system to which we have been accustomed cannot possibly continue.

The first possibility, the extinction of the human race, is not to be expected in the next world war, unless that war is postponed for a longer time than now seems probable. But if the next world war is indecisive, or if the victors are unwise, and if organized states survive it, a period of feverish technical development may be expected to follow its conclusion. With vastly more powerful means of utilizing atomic energy than those now available, it is thought by many sober men of science that radio-active clouds, drifting round the world, may disintegrate living tissue everywhere. Although the last survivor may proclaim himself universal Emperor, his reign will be brief and his subjects will all be corpses. With his death the uneasy episode of life will end, and the peaceful rocks will revolve unchanged until the sun explodes.

Perhaps a disinterested spectator would consider this the most desirable consummation, in view of man's long record of folly and cruelty. But we, who are actors in the drama, who are entangled in the net of private affections and public hopes, can hardly take this attitude with any sincerity. True, I have heard men say that they would prefer the end of man to submission to the Soviet government, and doubtless in Russia there are those who would say the same about submission to Western capitalism. But this is rhetoric with a bogus air of heroism. Although it must be regarded as unimaginative humbug, it is dangerous, because it makes men less energetic in seeking ways of avoiding the catastrophe that they pretend not to dread.

The second possibility, that of a reversion to barbarism, would leave open the likelihood of a gradual return to civilization, as after the fall of Rome. The sudden transition will, if it occurs, be infinitely painful to those who experience it, and for some centuries afterwards life will be hard and drab. But at any rate there will still be a future for mankind, and the possibility of rational hope.

I think such an outcome of a really scientific world war is by no means improbable. Imagine each side in a position to destroy the chief cities and centers of industry of the enemy; imagine an almost complete obliteration of laboratories and libraries, accompanied by a heavy casualty rate among men of science; imagine famine due to radio-active spray, and pestilence caused by bacteriological warfare: would social cohesion survive such strains? Would not prophets tell the maddened populations that their ills were wholly due to science, and that the extermination of all educated men would bring the millennium? Extreme hopes are born of extreme misery, and in such a world hopes could only be irrational. I think the great states to which we are accustomed would break up, and the sparse survivors would revert to a primitive village economy.

The third possibility, that of the establishment of a single government for the whole world, might be realized in various ways: by the victory of the United States in the next world war, or by the victory of the U.S.S.R., or, theoretically, by agreement. Or—and I think this is the most hopeful of the issues that are in any degree probable—by an alliance of the nations that desire an international government, becoming, in the end, so strong that Russia would no longer dare to stand out. This might conceivably be achieved without another world war, but it would require courageous and imaginative statesmanship in a number of countries.

There are various arguments that are used against the project of a single government of the whole world. The commonest is that the project is utopian and impossible. Those who use this argument, like most of those who advocate a world government, are thinking of a world government brought about by agreement. I think it is plain that the mutual suspicions between Russia and the West make it futile to hope, in any near future, for any genuine agreement. Any pretended universal authority to which both sides can agree, as things stand, is bound to be a sham, like U.N.O. Consider the difficulties that have been encountered in the much more modest project of an international control over atomic energy, to which Russia will only consent if inspection is subject to the veto, and therefore a farce. I think we should admit that a world government will have to be imposed by force.

But—many people will say—why all this talk about a world government? Wars have occurred ever since men were organized into units larger than the family, but the human race has survived. Why should it not continue to survive even if wars go on occurring from time to time? Moreover, people like war, and will feel frustrated without it. And without war there will be no adequate opportunity for heroism or self-sacrifice.

This point of view—which is that of innumerable elderly gentlemen, including the rulers of Soviet Russia—fails to take account of modern technical possibilities. I think civilization could probably survive one more world war, provided it occurs fairly soon and does not last long. But if there is no slowing up in the rate of discovery and invention, and if great wars continue to recur, the destruction to be expected, even if it fails to exterminate the human race, is pretty certain to produce the kind of reversion to a primitive social system that I spoke of a moment ago. And this will entail such an enormous diminution of population, not only by war, but by subsequent starvation and disease, that the survivors are bound to be fierce and, at least for a considerable time, destitute of the qualities required for rebuilding civilization.

Nor is it reasonable to hope that, if nothing drastic is done, wars will nevertheless not occur. They always have occurred from time to time, and obviously will break out again sooner or later unless mankind adopt some system that makes them impossible. But the only such system is a single government

with a monopoly of armed force.

If things are allowed to drift, it is obvious that the bickering between Russia and the Western democracies will continue until Russia has a considerable store of atomic bombs, and that when that time comes there will be an atomic war. In such a war, even if the worst consequences are avoided, Western Europe, including Great Britain, will be virtually exterminated. If America and the U.S.S.R. survive as organized states, they will presently fight again. If one side is victorious, it will rule the world, and a unitary government of mankind will have come into existence; if not, either mankind, or at least civilization, will perish. This is what must happen if nations and their rulers are lacking in constructive vision.

When I speak of "constructive vision," I do not mean merely the theoretical realization that a world government is desirable. More than half the American nation, according to the Gallup poll, hold this opinion. But most of its advocates think of it as something to be established by friendly negotiation, and shrink from any suggestion of the use of force. In this I think they are mistaken. I am sure that force, or the threat of force, will be necessary. I hope the threat of force may suffice, but, if not, actual force should be employed.

Assuming a monopoly of armed force established by the victory of one side in a war between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., what sort of world will result?

In either case, it will be a world in which successful rebellion will be impossible. Although, of course, sporadic assassination will still be liable to occur, the concentration of all important weapons in the hands of the victors will make them irresistible, and there will therefore be secure peace. Even if the dominant nation is completely devoid of altruism, its leading inhabitants, at least, will achieve a very high level of material comfort, and will be freed from the tyranny of fear. They are likely, therefore, to become gradually more good-natured and less inclined to persecute. Like the Romans, they will, in the course of time, extend citizenship to the vanquished. There will then be a true world state, and it will be possible to forget that it will have owed its origin to conquest. Which of us, during the reign of Lloyd George, felt humiliated by the contrast with the days of Edward I?

A world empire of either the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. is therefore preferable to the results of a continuation of the present international anarchy.

There are, however, important reasons for preferring a victory of America. I am not contending that capitalism is better than Communism; I think it not impossible that, if America were Communist and Russia were capitalist, I should still be on the side of America. My reason for siding with America is that there is in that country more respect than in Russia for the things that I value in a civilized way of life. The things I have in mind are such as: freedom of thought, freedom of inquiry, freedom of discussion, and humane feeling. What a victory of Russia would mean is easily to be seen in Poland. There were flourishing universities in Poland, containing men of great intellectual eminence. Some of these men, fortunately, escaped; the rest disappeared. Education is now reduced to learning the formula of Stalinist orthodoxy; it is only open (beyond the elementary stage) to young people whose parents are politically irreproachable, and it does not aim at producing any mental faculty except that of glib repetition of correct shibboleths and quick apprehension of the side that is winning official favor. From such an educational system nothing of intellectual value can result.

Meanwhile the middle class was annihilated by mass deportations, first in 1940, and again after the expulsion of the Germans. Politicians of majority parties were liquidated, imprisoned, or compelled to fly. Betraying friends to the police, or perjury when they were brought to trial, are often the only means of survival for those who have incurred governmental suspicions.

I do not doubt that, if this régime continues for a generation, it will succeed in its objects. Polish hostility to Russia will die out, and be replaced by Communist orthodoxy. Science and philosophy, art and literature, will become sycophantic adjuncts of government, jejune, narrow, and stupid. No individual will think, or even feel, for himself, but each will be contentedly a mere unit in the mass. A victory of Russia would, in time, make such a mentality world-wide. No doubt the complacency induced by success would ultimately lead to a relaxation of control, but the process would be slow, and the revival of respect for the individual would be doubtful. For such reasons I should view a Russian victory as an appalling disaster.

A victory by the United States would have far less drastic consequences. In the first place, it would not be a victory of the United States in isolation, but of an Alliance in which the other members would be able to insist upon retaining a large part of their traditional independence. One can hardly imagine the American army seizing the dons at Oxford and Cambridge and sending them to hard labor in Alaska. Nor do I think that they would accuse Mr. Attlee of plotting and compel him to fly to Moscow. Yet these are strict analogues to the things the Russians have done in Poland. After a victory of an Alliance led by the United States there would still be British culture, French culture, Italian culture, and (I hope) German culture; there would not, therefore, be the same dead uniformity as would result from Soviet domination.

There is another important difference, and that is that Moscow orthodoxy is much more all-pervasive than that of Washington. In America, if you are a geneticist, you may hold whatever view of Mendelism the evidence makes you regard as the most probable; in Russia, if you are a geneticist who disagrees with Lysenko, you are liable to disappear mysteriously. In America, you may write a book debunking Lincoln if you feel so disposed; in Russia, if you write a book debunking Lenin, it would not be published and you would be liquidated. If you are an American economist, you may hold, or not hold, that America is heading for a slump; in Russia, no economist dare question that an American slump is imminent. In America, if you are a professor of philosophy, you may be an idealist, a materialist, a pragmatist, a logical positivist, or whatever else may take your fancy; at congresses you can argue with men whose opinions differ from yours, and listeners can form a judgment as to who has the best of it. In Russia you must be a dialectical materialist, but at one time the element of materialism outweighs the element of dialectic, and at other times it is the other way round. If you fail to follow the developments of official metaphysics with sufficient nimbleness, it will be the worse for you. Stalin at all times knows the truth about metaphysics, but you must not suppose that the truth this year is the same as it was last year.

In such a world intellect must stagnate, and even technological progress must soon come to an end.

Liberty, of the sort that Communists despise, is important not only to intellectuals or to the more fortunate sections of society. Owing to its absence in Russia, the Soviet government has been able to establish a greater degree of economic inequality than exists in Great Britain, or even in America. An oligarchy which controls all the means of publicity can perpetrate injustices and cruelties which would be scarcely possible if they were widely known. Only democracy and free publicity can prevent the holders of power from establishing a servile state, with luxury for the few and overworked poverty for the many. This is what is being done by the Soviet

government wherever it is in secure control. There are, of course, economic inequalities everywhere, but in a democratic régime they tend to diminish, whereas under an oligarchy they tend to increase. And wherever an oligarchy has power, economic inequalities threaten to become permanent owing to the modern impossibility of successful rebellion.

I come now to the question: what should be our policy, in view of the various dangers to which mankind is exposed? To summarize the above arguments: We have to guard against three dangers: (1) the extinction of the human race; (2) a reversion to barbarism; (3) the establishment of a universal slave state, involving misery for the vast majority, and the disappearance of all progress in knowledge and thought. Either the first or second of these disasters is almost certain unless great wars can soon be brought to an end. Great wars can only be brought to an end by the concentration of armed force under a single authority. Such a concentration cannot be brought about by agreement, because of the opposition of Soviet Russia, but it must be brought about somehow.

The first step—and it is one which is now not very difficult —is to persuade the United States and the British Commonwealth of the absolute necessity for a military unification of the world. The governments of the English-speaking nations should then offer to all other nations the option of entering into a firm Alliance, involving a pooling of military resources and mutual defense against aggression. In the case of hesitant nations, such as Italy, great inducements, economic and military, should be held out to produce their co-operation.

At a certain stage, when the Alliance had acquired sufficient strength, any Great Power still refusing to join should be threatened with outlawry, and, if recalcitrant, should be regarded as a public enemy. The resulting war, if it occurred fairly soon, would probably leave the economic and political structure of the United States intact, and would enable the victorious Alliance to establish a monopoly of armed force, and therefore to make peace secure. But perhaps, if the Alliance were sufficiently powerful, war would not be necessary, and the reluctant Powers would prefer to enter it as equals rather than, after a terrible war, submit to it as vanquished enemies. If this were to happen, the world might emerge from its present dangers without another great war. I do not see any hope of such a happy issue by any other method. But whether Russia would yield when threatened with war is a question as to which I do not venture an opinion.

I have been dealing mainly with the gloomy aspects of the present situation of mankind. It is necessary to do so, in order to persuade the world to adopt measures running counter to traditional habits of thought and ingrained prejudices. But beyond the difficulties and probable tragedies of the near future there is the possibility of immeasurable good, and of greater well-being than has ever before fallen to the lot of man. This is not merely a possibility, but, if the Western democracies are firm and prompt, a probability. From the break-up of the Roman Empire to the present day, states have almost continuously increased in size. There are now only two fully independent states, America and Russia. The next step in this long historical process should reduce the two to one, and thus put an end to the period of organized wars, which began in Egypt some 6,000 years ago. If war can be prevented without the establishment of a grinding tyranny, a weight will be lifted from the human spirit, deep collective fears will be exorcised, and as fear diminishes we may hope that cruelty also will grow less.

The uses to which men have put their increased control over natural forces are curious. In the nineteenth century they devoted themselves chiefly to increasing the numbers of *homo sapiens*, particularly of the white variety. In the twentieth century they have, so far, pursued the exactly opposite aim. Owing to the increased productivity of labor, it has become possible to devote a larger percentage of the population to war. If atomic energy were to make production easier, the only effect, as things are, would be to make wars worse, since fewer people would be needed for producing necessaries. Unless we can cope with the problem of abolishing war, there is no reason whatever to rejoice in labor-saving technique, but quite the reverse. On the other hand, if the danger of war were removed, scientific technique could at last be used to promote human happiness. There is no longer any technical reason for the persistence of poverty, even in such densely populated countries as India and China. If war no longer occupied men's thoughts and energies, we could, within a generation, put an end to all serious poverty throughout the world.

I have spoken of liberty as a good, but it is not an absolute good. We all recognize the need to restrain murderers, and it is even more important to restrain murderous states. Liberty must be limited by law, and its most valuable forms can only exist within a framework of law. What the world most needs is effective laws to control international relations. The first and most difficult step in the creation of such law is the establishment of adequate sanctions, and this is only possible through the creation of a single armed force in control of the whole world. But such an armed force, like a municipal police force, is not an end in itself; it is a means to the growth of a social system governed by law, where force is not the prerogative of private individuals or nations, but is exercised only by a neutral authority in accordance with rules laid down in advance. There is hope that law, rather than private force, may come to govern the relations of nations within the present century. If this hope is not realized we face utter disaster; if it is realized, the world will be far better than at any previous period in the history of man.

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If BR's position seems extreme -- that nuclear weapons threaten human existence -- as some have said, it is well to recall his exchange with John Chandos, in his 1961 interview (RSN30-30):

BR: I find it difficult not to get a little fanatical about it because the issue is so large. It's the largest it's been since Noah.

Chandos: And we have no Ark.

BR: No, we have no Ark.

THE NUCLEAR PREDICAMENT

(8) Will this change minds about nuclear power plants? (Thank you, BOB DAVIS.)

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL THURSDAY, AUGUST 17, 1989

Nuclear Reactors Everyone Will Love

By Paul E. Gray

The American nuclear industry is its own worst enemy. By trying to push ahead with vast, costly projects that have been stalled by political opposition, it exacerbates the irrational public fears that have blocked the development of nuclear power in the U.S. Instead, utilities should be exploring a new type of nuclear reactor that recent technological innovation has put within reach: a reactor type that is environmentally sound and economically competitive.

This reactor type uses new fuels, new design methods to dissipate heat, and smaller units that can be built and tested off-site. It has excited scientists and engineers world-wide, but industry and government leaders in this country—pessimistic about the public's willingness to accept nuclear power under any circumstances—are reluctant to adopt it here. That reluctance is wrong. It is time for all of us to take a hard look at modular reactors.

It has become a commonplace to say that the nuclear industry in the U.S., is dead, and that its death looks like a suicide. The problems of Seabrook and Shoreham nuclear plants are persuasive demonstrations of that commonplace.

Oil Spills and Garbage

But oil spills, undisposable garbage, polluted beaches, and—above all—steadily increasing atmospheric pollution from fossil fuel are persuading many political leaders to review their prejudices about nuclear energy. Americans who want a clean, safe and domestically produced energy source should follow—especially because all the practical alternatives to nuclear power present grave hazards to public safety and health. The perceived risks of nuclear power are grossly overestimated and usually stated without reference to the hazards of other energy sources.

There are, however, two major problems with the present generation of water-cooled reactors. The light-water reactors, or LWRs as they are known to engineers, used in nearly all the plants in operation or under construction in the United States, place heavy demands on their builders and operators. The risk they pose to public safety is an accident involving loss of coolant that could lead to the melting of fuel elements and the subsequent release of radioactivity. The safety systems for these light-water reactors are extremely complicated. These safety systems require explicit anticipation of all possible forms of failure and they must necessarily rely on probability analysis. In a world in which probability is not widely understood, such analysis is not reassuring to most of the public. While these methods lead to margins of safety that are quite acceptable, Americans remain, for the most part, skeptics.

It is possible to design and build reactors that could survive the failure of components without fuel damage and without releasing radioactivity.

The second problem is that light-water reactors, which are custom-made at the site, cannot be tested in advance to ascertain what would happen in a true disaster.

It is possible, however, to design and build a series of small reactors that could produce the power of a large plant. These reactors could survive the failure of components without fuel damage and without releasing radioactivity because their fuels can withstand the maximum temperatures possible under the worst of circumstances. Their design limits the power density of the reactor core as well as the actual size of the core, and exploits natural processes to remove heat and avert fuel damage in the event of a loss of coolant.

Such "passively safe" reactors can be designed to suffer the simultaneous failure of all control and cooling systems without danger to the public. And their safety can be demonstrated by an actual test: a West German modular reactor has passed such tests three times.

One of the most advanced of these modular reactors is under study at the Massacusetts Institute of Technology. It is based on the West German reactor that has demonstrated its safety, but adds several technologies in which the U.S. still has a competitive industrial edge. The hot gas that leaves the reactor is used directly to spin a turbine (based on aerospace designs), which, in turn, drives a small, very high speed generator (based on power electronics). This combination results in a power generating system that is substantially smaller and more efficient than current LWR systems, which are based on steam turbines and low-speed generators.

By virtue of its inherent or passive safety features, this small, gas-cooled reactor eliminates the complex, active safety systems needed by current LWRs. The gas turbine eliminates the complex, hard-to-maintain, steam generators common both to nuclear plants and ordinary fossil-fired power plants. The result is a power plant that produces electricity not only at lower cost than nuclear reactors (an easy target), but that is competitive with the projected cost of next-generation "clean" coal-fired plants. Power from such coal generators, the Department of Energy calculated in 1986, would cost an average of 5.5 cents per kilowatt hour. Power from modular reactors can be brought to market for 4.5 cents per kilowatt hour.

These savings can be realized because the new plants will be made to a single, prelicensed design in central factories. Construction costs are estimated to be less than $1,000 per kilowatt of electricity. Costs per kwe for the Seabrook reactor in New Hampshire and the Shoreham project in Long Island were more like $5,000 to $6,000, primarily because of long delays and extensive redesign during construction. Operating costs of traditional nuclear plants are also much higher than those of modular plants would be, because the older type require very large staffs—700 people per plant—to oversee their involuted safety systems. Modular reactors could offer much more safety with staffs only half as big.

These new plants will not only be much cheaper to build, but the added bonus of high efficiency means there will be less heat to throw away. The plants will be easier to site because they cause less damage to the local environment. And, best of all, they will not do harm to the atmosphere.

These new reactors do not eliminate the waste disposal problem, but their ceramic encapsulated fuel does simplify it. A fuel that can survive unscathed in a reactor core during an accident is obviously securely packaged for disposal under more benign conditions (albeit at the cost of a significant increase in waste volume). Many of the problems associated with the high temperature achieved by the fuel of the current generation reactors are eliminated and the potential for burial in deep geological sites is enhanced. This same feature also makes it much more difficult for the discharged fuel to be processed to produce unauthorized nuclear weapons.

Nil Operating Risk

Smaller, modular reactors will produce less energy than present reactors do: 100 to 150 megawatts of electrical power output compared with 1,000 to 1,500 megawatts, but this difficulty can be overcome, if necessary, by linking together a number of small, individual power-producing modules. Since each module would be identical and centrally built, licensing could be standardized and based on full-scale testing of an actual plant. This is an enormous advantage. It would allow actual demonstration of the reactors' response to severe and demanding hazards.

With an operating risk that is virtually nil and the production of significantly less radioactivity in the environment than coal fired electric power plants, second-generation nuclear power could be a major source of environmentally sound energy if we would only take advantage of it. The failure of the government and the nuclear industry to provide leadership in developing a second generation of power plants based on these developments has already cost us dearly.

Mr. Gray is president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

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

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

1988-90: IRVING ANELLIS, BOB DAVIS, JIM MCWILLIAMS, HUGH MOORHEAD, KATE TAIT

1989-91: LOU ACHESON, ADAM PAUL BANNER, KEN BLACKWELL, JOHN JACKANICZ, DAVID JOHNSON, JUSTIN LEIBER, GLADYS LEITHAUSER, STEVE REINHARDT, TOM STANLEY

The 6 BRS Officers are also Directors, ex officio

(10) 1990 DUES ARE DUE

TO ALL MEMBERS: Everybody's renewal dues are due January 1, 1990. The January 1st due-date applies to all members, including first-year members (except those who joined in the final quarter (October/November/December 1989).

Here is the 1990 dues schedule: Regular, $33; couple, $38; Student and Limited Income, $12.50. Plus $7.50 outside U.S., Canada, and Mexico. Plus $2.50 for Canada and Mexico. In US dollars.

Please mail dues to 1990, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

If you want to make our life a little easier, send your dues soon. And if we receive them before January 1st, you'll find your name on the Renewal Honor Roll.

Thanks!

TO FIRST YEAR MEMBERS — members who joined any time during 1989; the rest of this item is for you.

We know from experience that new members sometimes feel put upon when asked to pay dues after less than a year of membership. We understand that. We'll tell you why we do it this way.

In the previous system, a new members's dues covered 12 months of membership. That required us to notify each member individually — on the anniversary date of enrollment — that the next year's dues were due. And after that, we had to follow up on all members, to see whether dues were in fact paid. This went on throughout the whole year. It was cumbersome, provided many chances for error, and took a lot of time. In fact, it took more time than we had. We had to make a change.

The present system is easier to administer, produces fewer errors, and takes less time. Everyone's's dues come due on the same day, January 1st. Simple!

We don't think that the new member whose first year of membership is less (sometimes considerably less) than 12 months has been short-changed in any important way. He/she has received just as many newsletters (and knows as much about the BRS) as the member who joined in January.

All first-year members (except those who enrolled in January) have a first-year membership period that is shorter than a year. Thereafter, the yearly membership period is always a full 12-months.

The one exception to all the above are those who joined in October/November/December 1989. Their renewal dues are not due till January 1, 1991.

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(11) THE MEMBERS VOTE

10 candidates for Director were elected or re-elected: JACK COWLES, WILLIAM FIELDING, DAVID GOLDMAN, STEVE MARAGIDES, FRANK PAGE, CHERIE RUPPE, PAUL SCHILPP, WARREN SMITH, RAMON SUZARA, and THOM WEIDLICH.

We thank the members who voted: LOU ACHESON, IRVING ANELLIS, JAY ARAGONA, RUBEN ARDILA, DENIS ARNOLD, WALTER BAUMGARTNER, JACQUELINE BERTHON-PAYON, GLENNA CRANFORD, PETER CRANFORD, JIM CURTIS, BOB DAVIS, LINDA EGENDORF, WILLIAM FIELDING, STEPHEN FREY, DAVID GLOVER, BARRY GOLDMAN, GERRY GRATTON, TING-FU HUNG, NOBORU INOUE, DON JACKANICZ, KEN KORBIN, HERB LANSDELL, JOHN LENZ, TIM MADIGAN, CARL MILLER, STEVE MOLENAAR, WILLIAM NEWHALL, FRANKLIN NICKERSON, BENITO REY, MICHAEL ROCKLER, HARRY RUJA, CHERIE RUPPE, WARREN SMITH, TOM STANLEY, SHOHIG TERZIAN, DEWEY WALLACE, RICHARD WILK, VINCENT WILLIAMS, ELEANOR WOLFF, JAMES WOODROW, CHARLES YODER...AND 3 UNSIGNED BALLOTS. (Signing is optional.)

Only 14% of the members voted. Pretty bad! Not much of a show of support. What do we have to do to light a fire under the rest of you who did not vote?

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(12) NEWSLETTER MATTERS

We regret the very small print in RSN63-42, the book review of Clark's *The Life of Bertrand Russell*. In our eagerness to get it all on one page, we failed to notice how small the print had become. We'll try not to let that happen again.

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(13) From *The New York Times* (5/18/52), with thanks to STEVE REINHARDT.

Advice to Those Who Want to Attain 80

Don't be afraid of having a good time, says one octogenarian, and by all means be active.

By BERTRAND RUSSELL

N.Y.T. 5-18-52

LONDON.

IF I were to treat this subject scientifically, I should send a questionnaire to some large list of persons over 80, containing a whole set of queries such as: are you a teetotaler, are you a vegetarian, have you ever lived in the tropics, do you wear wool next the skin, at what age did you cease consulting medical men, and so forth? I should leave a large space at the bottom of the page for "remarks" in which the selected octogenarians should be invited to list their fads. But, unfortunately, I had not sufficiently long notice to be able to adopt this thorough-going method, and I am reduced to the prosy and disjointed reflections of a garrulous elderly gentleman.

The first step which must be taken at the very beginning is a careful choice of ancestors. If your parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents have all lived to be 80 your chances are much improved. I was prudent as regards grandparents and great-grandparents, but not as regards my parents, both of whom died when I was an infant.

But beyond this point, when I think over the old people I have known, I find it very difficult to discover any common quality to which to attribute their longevity. I lived once in a village whose inhabitants, with one single exception, were very earnest Methodists and fanatical teetotalers. The one exception, to the scandal of all the rest, was the oldest inhabitant and an habitual drunkard. I have no wish whatever to draw a moral (or immoral) from this case; as the books would say, the statistical material is inadequate.

Bernard Shaw would tell all and sundry that he owed his long life to abstinence from meat and alcohol. I, however, was never persuaded on this point. I thought that he owed it to pugnacity. There was always "that asinine scoundrel, So and So," to be shown up as the ass he was. And there was always the feeling that if Shaw were dead the job would not be adequately done. Such sentiments (believe me) do much to prolong life. If you really wish to live to be 80, I think you will find a habit of hilarious olympian controversy very helpful.

THERE is one class of very long-lived persons—but unfortunately no mere male can belong to this class. It is the class of those who are born to be widows. I have known a number of eminent ladies who belonged to this type. Many of them had eminent husbands, but the poor fellows had to die in order that their wives might achieve their destiny.

One of the finest examples of this type was an old lady, whom I knew some twenty years ago, who was the widow of a Cambridge mathematician. When I was a boy old-fashioned teachers still used the mathematical textbooks of a man called Todhunter who had been dead for some time, and whose books were being discarded by up-to-date schoolmasters. I asked the old lady whether she had known Todhunter, and, after some reminiscent effort, she replied, "Oh, yes, he was one of the younger Fellows."

One day when I called I was told that she was rather tired and not seeing visitors. I asked solicitously what it was that had tired her, and was told that her car had stuck on an up-hill, and she had got out and pushed it up to the top. She died at last, and I hope that she is now patronizing Todhunter in the Elysian fields.

If you wish to live long, it is a mistake to have a finite and realizable ambition. It used to be illegal in England to marry one's deceased wife's sister. There was a society devoted to getting the law changed in this respect. The society had an energetic and skillful secretary who was appointed when he was quite young, and invariably gave satisfaction. He knew all the arguments, and all the answers to arguments on the other side. Youth passed in the pursuit of his task and middle age likewise. At last, when he had reached the age of 70, the reform to which he had devoted his life was carried, and he was left drifting aimlessly in a world which he no longer wished to change. Life had lost its savor, and he died.

Lord Russell—"I enjoy life at least as much as when I was younger."

THEN there was the eminent Cambridge mathematician who, at the age of 22, discovered a famous theorem which to this day is called by his name. After this he felt that he had done enough in the way of original work, and he devoted the remainder of his life to accumulating mathematical books and papers in his study. He covered the walls with shelves from floor to ceiling, but the shelves became full. He then stacked books and pamphlets on the floor. The whole of the floor became covered except a narrow passage to his desk. At last that, too, was covered. He locked the door and, shortly afterward, expired.

When I was young I knew a man who had retired from business in 1821. I do not, however, recommend this as a means of achieving old age. Most of the men I have known who have retired from work have died of boredom shortly afterward. A man who has been active, even if he has thought throughout his life that a leisurely existence would be delightful, is apt to find life unbearable without some activity upon which to employ his faculties. I am convinced that survival is easier for those who can enjoy life, and that a man who has sufficient vitality to reach old age cannot be happy unless he is active.

From my own practice I have little to say that is either instructive or edifying. I have, I suppose, lived a wholesome life, avoiding every kind of excess and taking abundant exercise. Until the age of 42 I was a teetotaler. But for the last sixty years I have smoked incessantly, stopping only to eat and sleep.

I HATE fresh air indoors, and have found a way of justifying this feeling to fresh air fiends. I say to them, "Have you noticed that old people never like fresh air?" They always agree. I then say, "And do you realize that this is because those who love fresh air never live to be old?"

Although, on the whole, my natural tastes are wholesome, I have never, except when I was ill, done anything on the ground that it was good for health. I eat what I like and don't eat what I don't like, even when I am told that dire consequences will follow. They never do. I am convinced that so long as you are healthy, it is unnecessary to think about health.

I enjoy life at least as much as when I was younger, and I should like to live another ten years provided there is not another world war meanwhile. If there is, there will be something to be said for being dead.

BERTRAND RUSSELL, world-famous philosopher, has a birthday today. He's 80.

(14)

BOOK REVIEWS

The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell, Volume V, The Library of Living Philosophers, Paul Arthur Schilpp, Ed., (Open Court Publishing Co.), reviewed by WILLIAM K. FIELDING.

Reissuance of the 1944 The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell -- Volume V of The Library of Living Philosophers, edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp -- reminds us that intense minds outlive their mortal brains. In Russell's ninety-eight-year life, he managed to explore and clarify so many areas of human concern that contemporary Thought has yet to exhaust all possible discussion of his assertions, hypotheses and questions. As critiqued by the twenty-one contributors to this still-seminal work, Russell survives most of the specialized viewpoints current in his heyday.

When inviting prominent advocates of various, often contentious, branches of philosophy to support or differ-from Bertrand Russell's prodigious outflow of reasonable Doubt (and, frequently, debatable Reason), Dr. Schilpp may have failed to anticipate the parochialism and short-sighted political biases that could infiltrate ostensibly "philosophical" converse. For here we find embedded a great many trivial and evanescent issues of the mid-1940s academic/cultural ferment, now only of interest as history -- echoes of Lost Causes and savants flatly discredited by subsequent trends.

Yet, in the book's final section (also in an Addendum to the 1971 edition), Russell is himself permitted the last word: "Reply to Criticisms." A subtle blend of exegesis and characteristic wit tends to highlight permanently-cogent matters, ignoring or dismissing glaring provincialism. And, it must be said, there are all too many examples of the latter.

Residual traces of traditional logic color the Common Sense obfuscations and tortuous word-games of G. E. Moore, whose perplexities had stimulated Russell near the beginning of his epistemological conditioning. And blatant, wrongly-indoctrinated Marxism masks anything of value hidden in V. J. McGill's apology for totalitarian Power; our later perceptions of Stalin's excesses (and McCarthyism!) vindicate Russell's seemingly-ambivalent avoidance of such political certitude. Defense of Dewey-eyed pragmatic education, seen as directly opposed to BR's alleged permissive thories of tutelege and child-guidance, makes Boyd H. Bode's huff-and-puff attack sound unwarranted and foolish. But these are exceptions to the highly-perceptive and just analyses conducted by most of the other contributors to this on-the-whole invaluable and admirable symposium.

Perhaps more for the general-public reader than for presently-functioning exponents of "technical" (university-endorsed) Philosophy, attention given to Our Knowledge of the External World, The Analysis of Mind and Why I Am Not a Christian demonstrates importance of Bertrand Russell as the spokesman for Common Humanity. Excellent treatment of logical and mathematical and psychological brilliance will remain little diminished by time (by Reichenbach, Gödel, Feibleman, Nagel, Laird, Chisholm and other permanently-respectable commentators writing here); but of even greater future worth is the enlightenment offered to a thoughtprovoked citizenry of tomorrow's Global Civilization. For, beyond any incidental quibbling over minor imponderables, Bertrand Russell will persist in the thinking of all people in all futures as the Grand Unifying Theory of Philosophy. He brought reasonableness to Reason; taught Love to cold ideologues; and showed mankind the dangers of badly-aimed Science. Careful reading of -- and constant reference-to -- this Philosophy of Bertrand Russell will re-orient any human mind toward our common obligation to understand our own natures and to preserve Earth.

Mention must be made of the late Lester E. Denonn's exhaustive bibliography. Denonn, starting from intense personal interest in Russell's ideas, performed what used to be called "yeoman service" -- the often under-appreciated useful labor of collection, correspondence and legwork required of the thorough bibliographer. (All discoverable Russell writings, 1895-1962, are accounted-for.) As in similar listings, intention of the editor is to direct readers to benefits of reading-in-depth original texts of the author presented. Thus, it appears a venal sin-of-omission that this 1989 edition failed to make proper use of updated biblio-data known to be available from Prof. Harry Ruja and Russell Archivist Kenneth Blackwell.

Inevitably, the 21st Century will see this volume in successive reprints, for Bertrand Russell extrapolates beyond our time as the truest observer/critic of a troubled (penultimate?) Age.

REPORTS FROM OFFICERS

(15) President Michael Rockler reports:

The 1990 Annual Meeting will be held at the Russell Archives in Canada. I hope a great many members will attend. It is a sad fact, however, that most members have never attended even one of these Annual Meetings. That's a pity because attending a Meeting and meeting fellow members is a very satisfying experience, quite aside from the fact that you see an interesting program and learn more about Russell.

I know that -- alas! -- it can be expensive to attend a Meeting. No doubt that's the reason why most of you have not done so. But if you cannot afford to go every year, perhaps you can afford it once in a while; and if so, 1990 is a good year to do it...because the Archives is (are?) a special place. There you can see not only books, but also manuscripts, letters, pictures and posters... and meet Archivist Ken Blackwell and his Archives colleagues. BR's own personal desk (and chair), the one on which he did much of his writing, is there. You can hear him talk, on tape; there's a large library of tapes to choose from.

If you have never attended a BRS Meeting, please know this: the 1990 Meeting -- June 22-24 -- has much to offer!

(16) Vice President John Lenz reports, in a letter dated 10/1/89:

Hello! I am back in business, very glad to be home.

Last summer (1988), I participated in an American excavation at a "dark age" site called Kavousi, in eastern Crete. The purpose of the dig was to find out about this obscure period of Greek history, between the last vestiges of Minoan culture and the rebirth of Greek civilization in the 8th Century B.C. We had architecture from both of these periods. The first day I found human skull bones from a cremation burial with iron weapons, and, in the last week, a late Minoan shrine was discovered with several cult statues in place. After the dig (a long one), I helped out at my old site on Paros (from the same period), then visited several islands off the coast of Turkey. When I returned to Athens, I found *Russell* with my first article awaiting me!

The American School of Classical Studies, where I spent the year, had a full program which entailed visiting almost all the sites in every part of Greece. (This sounds impressively large, but actually isn't. An Embassy fact book compares the size of Greece to Alabama's.) At each site, a student gave a full report on the scholarship. We quickly learned the best places to get souvlaki and the *Herald-Tribune*. In March, our trip to Turkey had some wondering aloud why we had wasted so much time in Greece! The Turkish monuments are often better preserved, and unspoiled because largely still unexcavated. For example, one of the most memorable ancient cities, Heracleia under Mt. Latmos, exists today under and around a small village, where donkeys graze in an ancient senate-house.

My Fulbright grant was generous to me, so I was able to do a little traveling on my own. I continued plugging away at my forthcoming Columbia dissertation, and gave 3 talks on it in Greece. We also dug at ancient Corinth with the American School. In December, Bob Davis, and his friend, Steve Pudenz, visited, so I had the pleasure of showing them some of the best sites in Greece, such as Delphi, Nafplion, Mycenae, Tiryns, and the theatre at Epidauros.

The purpose of my Fulbright was to encourage international understanding, a life-long commitment of Russell's. I was therefore a little dismayed to find myself not relishing life in Greece. Constantly I was reminded of all the things we take for granted; and not "we" meaning Western Civilization, but we in the United States. After 15 months, I found New York absolutely calm and peaceful. (I will never again say New York is fast and busy, at least not in a bad way.) They don't drive on the sidewalk here, smoke non-stop, and you don't have the constant roar of motorcycles, the incessant squabbling between people over most transactions of everyday life. They still have political terrorism there, as you may have noticed in recent news. My experience abroad made me even more glad to be an American.

However, in fairness, Athens was an absolute Mecca when I returned there 3 weeks ago from a trip to Egypt. The monuments in Egypt were spectacular, and I don't see how Greece could not have acquired aspects of its civilization from the Egyptians (for example, temple architecture). (But not as much as is claimed in the sensational new book everyone is talking about, *Black Athena* by Martin Bernal. However an Athenian cabdriver will demand 10 pounds, say, then will be perfectly happy with 2. (In Athens, they go where they want and don't pick you up unless you're going the right way.) Then Egypt Air cancelled my flight on no notice when I arrived at the airport, causing me to miss my long-awaited connection home. (I gave a paper on the history of the 4th Century A.D at a papyrology conference.) So perhaps I'm not made to be a world traveller; not for extended periods, anyway. And perhaps I concur with what may have been Russell's outlook, that desiring international peace and understanding does not mean that all cultures have to be valued equally.

Oh, I also managed to run over to London's Red Lion Square during a 2-week trip to England in July. Russell sits quietly, largely unnoticed by all but pigeons, in this park. A life-size statue of Fenner Brockway was erected at its other end.

I am back at Columbia, teaching first-year Latin, and writing on "Kingship in Early Greece (1100-700 B.C.)" I returned September 12th.

FINANCES

(17) Treasurer Dennis Darland reports on the quarter ending 9/30/89

Bank balance on hand (6/30/89)			6708.35
Income: New members	464.50		
Renewals	80.00		
total dues	544.50		
Contributions	30.00		
Library sales & rentals	69.25		
Misc. income	239.22*		
total income	882.97		+882.97
			7591.32
Expenditures: Information & Membership Committees	794.33		
Library expense	0.00		
Subscriptions to *Russell*	2006.00		
Meetings	275.00		
Doctoral Grant	0.00		
Misc. expense	26.00		
	3101.33		-3101.33
Bank balance on hand (9/30/89)			4489.99

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

NEWS ABOUT MEMBERS

(18) Abercrombie (Neil) is off and running for Honolulu City Council. We wish him luck!

(19) McVeigh (Hugh) sent us his good-looking, lively 10-page newsletter, *The Humanist Monthly*, (Vol. 1, Issue 11, August 1989). "The Voice of Secular Humanism for the Capital District and the Hudson Valley. Capital District Humanist Society Established 1986." [And founded by Hugh.] In one item, he quotes Edd Doerr: The Williamsburg Poll found that 10% of the U.S. population considers itself "secularist"; therefore, if secularists were an organized denomination, they would form the second largest in the country, after Catholics (about 22%) but ahead of the Southern Baptists (about 6%).

Hugh includes a few words of his own, titled *Some Thoughts of an Activist*: "The past 100 years have shown that a small group of thinkers and activists, without benefit of TV, computers, radio or typewriters can greatly affect the WORLD VIEW....The recent social upheavals seem to imply that SECULAR HUMANISM offers one logical way to approach our current dilemmas."

(20) Rey (Benito) invents a portable test instrument, which pleases his boss ---------->

Response Technologies' employee improves Midax

A portable test instrument for checking the ion modulator and ion generator boards in the MIDAX 300 print engine was recently developed by Benito Rey of Moore Response Technologies in Mississauga, Ontario. The advantage of this new development is that it reduces down time due to the capability of testing malfunctioning ion boards using the portable ion board tester as opposed to stopping production and testing the boards while they are in the MIDAX system.

Moore extends its appreciation to Benito for his extra effort to do a quality job.

(21) Paul Arthur Schilpp. The following message was received by DON JACKANICZ, in response to his inquiry:

> Professor Schilpp has been in poor health for many months. He is not able to keep up with correspondence. He sends best wishes to those in the BR Society. (signed) M.S.

Creator of the innovative *Library of Living Philosophers*, and its first Editor, Professor Schilpp received the 1980 BRS Award, and is a BRS Honorary Member. For his remarks -- "My Favorite Russell" -- at the BRS 1980 Annual Meeting in Chicago, see RSN27-16.

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(22)

NEW MEMBERS

We welcome these new members:

MR. BECKRY ABDEL-MAGID /9 COLBURN DR. (2C)/ORONO/ME/04473/ /
MR. ANDREW P. ACOSTA /4103 WILKE ROAD/ ROLLING MEADOWS/IL/60008/ /
MR. ROBERT AMOS/3437 SKYCROFT CIRCLE/ST. ANTHONY/MN/55418/ /
MR. DENIS G. ARNOLD /1820 COLUMBUS AVE. S. #204/MINNEAPOLIS/MN/55404/ /
MR. JOSEPH BROGNA /294 BREMEN ST./EAST BOSTON/MA/02128/ /
MS. JAN BUSH /13044 FIRST AVE. N.E./SEATTLE/WA/98125/ /
MR. MERRILL L. CURTIS /82281, 3600 GUARD RO/LOMPOC/CA/93436/ /
MR. JOHN C. DESHAIES /990 MANATI AV./ST. AUGUSTINE/FL/32086/ /
MR. J. GREGORY GANEFF /HILLCREST N16, U/IOWA/IOWA CITY/IA/52242/ /
MR. JOHN GANEFF /1031 1/2 S. 26TH ST./FORT DODGE/IA/50501/ /
MR. STERLING V. HARWOOD /PHILOS/SAN JOSE STATE U./SAN JOSE/CA/95192-0096/ /
MS. MIRIAM HECHT /315 E. 68TH ST./NY/NY/10021/ /
MR. DAVID A. HENLEY /73 KENNEDY ST./ALEXANDRIA/VA/22305/ /
MR. NOBORU INOUE /1-3-4-503 HARAYAMA,INZAI-CHO/INBA-GUN, CHIBA-KEN/ /JAPAN/270-13
MR. MICHAEL LEE JACOBS /250 W. 100TH ST. #719/NY/NY/10025-5332/ /
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CONTRIBUTIONS

We thank JEROLD HARTER for his recent contribution to the BRS Library.

* Contributions are welcome at any time, in any amount, large or small. Send them c/o the newsletter or the BRS Library, addresses on Page 1, bottom.

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BRS GRANTS

The BRS 1990 Grants have been expanded in scope to include Master's as well as Doctoral candidates. The details are in the announcement shown below. It was mailed on 10/16/89 to 4 departments in each of 28 U.S. and Canadian colleges and universities. Included in the mailing were a press release ("3 SCHOLARS ARE HONORED ...") and an updated BRS Fact Sheet, shown on the following pages.

Please post

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

THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY, INC.

Announcements: 1990: A NEW PROGRAM of DOCTORAL and MASTER'S GRANTS

1989: THE DOCTORAL GRANT RECIPIENT

1990. The Bertrand Russell Society will award funds to help defray expenses of currently enrolled Doctoral and Master's candidates for graduate level degrees, whose proposed dissertation (Ph.D.) or thesis (M.A.) best gives promise of dealing in a significant way with the thought, life or times of Bertrand Russell.

Depending on the number and quality of applications, the award money will fall into one of two patterns: (a) $1000 for a doctoral candidate and $500 for a master's, or (b) $500 to each of three candidates for the master's.

Candidates are required to send to the Society:

(1) An abstract of his/her dissertation or thesis, and plan of study.

(2) A letter from the Chairman of the candidate's department which states the following: (a) for the Ph.D. candidate: that all work for the doctorate has been completed except the dissertation, and that its topic has received academic approval; (b) that the candidate for the master's is actively involved in graduate study, and is studying Russell via course work, personal reading, and/or research.

(3) (a) A letter from the dissertation adviser evaluating the applicant and plan of study. (b) A letter from the Chairman or potential thesis advisor evaluating the applicant and probable plan of study.

(4) A statement in the candidate's covering letter saying that if a grant is awarded, he/she will provide the Society, at its expense, with a copy of the completed work as approved by the department.

Applications and supporting documents should reach Professor Hugh S. Moorhead, Chairman, Philosophy Department, Northeastern Illinois University, 5500 North St. Louis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60625 by May 1, 1990. The recipients will be announced on or around July 1, 1990.

Please note: Candidates may be enrolled in any field. Past grants have gone to persons in the fields of History, Mathematics, and Philosophy. English, Education, Sociology and Psychology are other likely fields.

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1989 Doctoral Grant recipient is Jose N. Pecina-Cruz, a doctoral candidate in the Physics Department of the University of Texas, Austin.

According to Mr. Pecina-Cruz, Russell devoted much work to the General Theory of Relativity (Theory of Gravitation), which he (P-C) intends to reconcile with Quantum Mechanics. Russell welcomed physics into new aspects of knowledge.In *The Analysis of Matter*, Russell suggested an approach — now known as the Lattice Gauge Theory — to quantifying gravity.

(27)

Lee Eisler, VP/Information
The Bertrand Russell Society, Inc.
RD 1, Box 409
Coopersburg, PA 18036
215-346-7687

For release
10/21/89

3 SCHOLARS ARE HONORED BY THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY

At its 1989 Annual Meeting -- in New York City, June 23-25 -- the Bertrand Russell Society awarded honors to these 3 Russell scholars:

The 1989 Bertrand Russell Society Award to Paul Edwards, Professor of Philosophy at Brooklyn College and the New School for Social Research, "in recognition of his distinguished contributions to Russell Scholarship and courageous devotion to agnostic skepticism." As teacher, as Editor-in-Chief of the Macmillan's 8-volume *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, and as General Editor of Macmillan's *Great Philosophers* series, he has contributed significantly to the growing renaissance in philosophy.

The 1989 Bertrand Russell Society Book Award to Alan Ryan, Professor of Politics at Princeton University, previously at New College, Oxford, for the originality and perceptiveness of his *Bertrand Russell: A Political Life*, in which he showed, among other things, the compatibility of Russell's philosophical and political views, both stemming from his devotion to the idea of individual freedom.

The Bertrand Russell Society Service Award to Harry Ruja, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at San Diego State University, a member of the BRS since the year of its founding (1974); a Director since 1978; Vice-President 1981; Chairman 1982; resigned Chairmanship 1989. A Russell scholar and bibliographer, editor of the Russell essay collection *Mortals and Others*, he and Russell Archives Archivist, Kenneth Blackwell, are compiling a comprehensive 2-volume Russell bibliography for Unwin Hyman, London.

The Bertrand Russell Society is a company of admirers of Bertrand Russell (1872-1970), philosopher, social reformer, Nobel Laureate, and possessor of one of the seminal minds of this century. A number of Society members are professional philosophers; most are members of the general public. Membership is open to anyone interested in Russell. For information about the Society, write "3", RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

FOR SALE

(28) 15-Year Index of BRS Newsletters, 1974-1988, Issues 1-60, 40 pages, over 2100 entries. Buy it from the newsletter, $7 postpaid (within the USA). Or borrow it from the BRS Library, $2 postage (within the USA). Addresses on Page 1.

(29) 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.

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first spoke them.
Woodrow Wyatt, the inter-

WOODROW WYATT: Lord

little, and I don't want people's imaginations to be limited and en-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

B.R.: A great many people write to me saying they are now completely puzzled as to how they ought to conduct themselves, because they have ceased to accept the traditional signposts to right action and don't know what others to adopt. I think that the sort of philosophy I believe in is useful in this way: that it enables people to act with vigor when they are not absolutely certain that that is the right action. I think nobody should be certain of anything. If you're certain, you're certainly wrong, because nothing deserves certainty, and so one ought always to hold all one's beliefs with a certain element of doubt and one ought to be able to act vigorously in spite of the doubt. After all, this is what a general does when he is planning a battle. He doesn't quite know what the enemy will do, but if he's a good general he guesses right. If he's a bad general he guesses wrong. But in practical life one has to act upon probabilities, and what I should look to philosophy to do is to encourage people to act with vigor without complete certainty.

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

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

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

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

RELIGION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WAR AND PACIFISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

at least as great men.

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

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

TABOO MORALITY

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

B.R.: Taboo morality is characteristic of the primitive mind. It is the only kind, I think, in primitive tribes where, for example, it would be a rule you must not eat out of one of the chief's dishes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

POWER

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

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

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

B.R.: Well, there are different ways of classifying powers. One of the most obvious, I think, is that of direct power over the body. This is the power of armies and police forces. Then there is the power of reward and punishment, which is called the economic power. And then, finally, there is propaganda power, a power to persuade.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

B.R.: Well, certainly we are very much better than totalitarian governments. Very much better. For the reason that we have certain ultimate curbs on power. But I think there ought to be some rather more immediate curb than very occasional general elections. In the modern world, where things are so closely integrated, that is hardly enough, and we ought to have more in the way of referendums.

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

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

WHAT IS HAPPINESS?

W.W.: Lord Russell, you seem to

be a very happy person. Have you always been so?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

W.W.: But how is one to overcome boredom in people, say, girls who are quite well educated? They marry and then have nothing else to do but look after the house.

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

W.W.: Do you think that it helps people to be happy to have some cause to live for and with?

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

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

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

NATIONALISM

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

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

W.W.: Why is nationalism harmful?

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

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

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

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

B.R.: Not a bit less. And in fact because it's rather new with them they probably suffer more at the present moment. I should think that both African and Asian nationalism are, at the moment, more fierce than any that exist among Europeans, because they've just awakened to it. I think it is a very, very great danger. I think nationalism is, apart from the tension and the danger of an East-West war, I think nationalism is the greatest danger that humankind is faced with at the present time.

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

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

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

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

THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

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

B.R.: I'm thinking primarily of activities which an individual can carry out otherwise than as a member of an organization. I think there are a great many very important and very useful, desirable activities which have hitherto been carried out by individuals without the help of an organization, and which are coming more and more to depend upon organizations. The great men of science of the past didn't depend

upon very expensive apparatus—great men like Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, and Darwin. They did their work as individuals, and they were able to.

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

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

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

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

W.W.: Well, this really affects discoveries in the realm of thought rather than in practical science. I mean, nobody minds if somebody invents a machine that will go to the moon.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

W.W.: Do you think any new limitations on liberty are needed?

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

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

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

FANATICISM AND TOLERANCE

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

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

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

B.R.: Well, it's partly that it gives you a cosy feeling of cooperation. A fanatical group all together have a comfortable feeling that they're all friends with one another. They are all very much excited about the same thing. You can see it in any political party. There's always a fringe of fanatics in any political party, and they feel very cosy with one another; and when that is spread about and is combined with a propensity to hate some other group, you get fanaticism well developed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

W.W.: Are you optimistic that people and governments will do the right thing about the H-bomb?

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

THE FUTURE OF HUMANKIND

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

B.R.: Well, I should say that the first thing that is needed is a realization that the evils of the world, including the evils which formerly could not possibly have been prevented, can now be prevented. They continue to exist only because people have passions in their souls which are evil and which make them unwilling to take the steps to make other people

happy. I think the whole trouble in the modern world, given the powers of modern technique, lies in the individual psychology, in the individual person's bad passions. If that were realized, and if it were realized further that to be happy in a modern, closely integrated world, you have to put up with your neighbor also being happy, however much you may hate him. I think if those things were realized, you could get a world far happier than any that has ever existed before.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(32) A comment on *The Humanist's* introduction to *The BBC interviews* ——————————→ (*The Humanist*, Jan/Feb 1983)

Bertrand Russell is clearly one of the great secular humanists of the twentieth century. Few philosophers have placed greater emphasis upon, and been more personally devoted to, the ideals of love and knowledge. We should remember our great heroes and, therefore, I most welcome the "Bertrand Russell Speaks" interview.

I only wish to take exception to a statement made in the opening paragraph of the introduction. Strictly speaking, Russell devoted his life to the pursuit of truth and not "the pursuit of scientific, philosophic, and moral truth." He did not believe that there were different kinds of truth. He certainly did not hold, as the interview itself reveals, that philosophic truth differs from scientific truth. What makes philosophy different is not that it has a different way of truth but that it addresses the larger and more important questions and believes that, even where exact knowledge is not yet possible, greater understanding is. . . .

Marvin Kohl
Fredonia, NY

(33) There is also another collection of BBC Interviews. The interviewer is John Freeman. An audio cassette of these is available from the BRS Library, Item 228. A transcript is included in *The Future of Science* (NY:Philosophical Library, 1959), reproduced in RSN46-10.

(34)

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Speeches

200 Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech. 1950
201 "Man's Peril". BBC Broadcast. 1954
202 Russell-Einstein Manifesto. 1955
203 "Address to the CND". 1959
204 "Appeal to the American Conscience". 1966

Interviews, debates

225 "Is Security Increasing?". NBC Broadcast. 1939
226 Russell-Copleston Debate on the Existance of God. BBC 1949
227 "Bertrand Russell". Romney Wheeler Interview. NBC 1952
228 "Face to Face". John Freeman Interview BBC Broadcast. 1959
229 "Bertrand Russell Speaking". Interviews by Woodrow Wyatt. Russell discusses philosophy, taboo morality, religion, and fanaticism. 1959
230 Woodrow Wyatt Interviews. Russell discusses the role of the individual, happiness, power, and the future of mankind. 1959
231 "Close-Up". Elaine Grand Interview. CBC Broadcast. 1959
232 "Speaking Personally: Bertrand Russell". John Chandos Interview. 1961
233 David Susskind Interview. 1962
234 "On Nuclear Morality". 1962
235 Interview on Vietnam. CBC Broadcast. 1965

Lectures, broadcasts

250 "Bertrand Russell" by Rev. Paul Beattie. 1975
251 "Bertrand Russell as a Philosopher" by A.J. Ayer. BBC 1980
252 "Bertrand Russell" by Prof. Giovanni Costigan. 1986
253 "Portrait of the Father as Philosopher" by Katherine Tait. (In German)

Documentaries

275 "The Life and Times of Bertrand Russell". Soundtrack of BBC film. 1962
276 "Sound Portrait of Bertrand Russell" NPR dramatization. 1980
277 "Bertie and the Bomb" Soundtrack of BBC television broadcast. 1984

Annual meeting papers

300 "Bertrand Russell on Israel" by Harry Ruja. 1979
301 "Bertie and Litigation" by Lester Denonn. 1979
302 "Psychotherapy and Bertrand Russell" by Albert Ellis. 1979
303 "Bertrand Russell's Response to Marx" by Jack Pitt. 1979
304 Katharine Tait Reminiscences about her father. 1979
305 Presentation of Russell Society Award to Paul Arthur Schilpp. 1980
306 "The Primary Good" by Marvin Kohl. (incomplete) 1987
307 "Bertrand Russell on Education" by Michael Rockler. 1987
308 "Bertrand Russell on Ethics, Sex, and Marriage". (incomplete) 1987
309 "Bertrand Russell's World View" by Paolo Dao. 1987
310 "Bertrand Russell on Impulse: Critique of John Lewis" by Chandrakala Padia. 1987
311 "Bertrand Russell and the Greeks" by John Lenz. 1987
312 "Bertrand Russell and the Scientific Spirit" by Sam Labson. 1987

Cassettes may be borrowed for $1.00 per tape.

Recent acquisitions:

"Is Security Increasing?" Audiocassette of radio discussion with Russell, Walter Laves and Albert Hart. The University of Chicago Roundtable, Jan. 15, 1939. 30 min. Purchased with a donation from Jerold Harter.

"Terms and Propositions in Russell's Principles of Mathematics" by Leonard Linsky. Offprint. Donated by the author.

"An Annotated Bibliography of Some of the Principal Writings of Bertrand Russell on Education" by Joe Park. Offprint. Donated by the author.

The Spinozistic Ethics of Bertrand Russell by Kenneth Blackwell. Donated by the author.

"The Russell-Hook Debates of 1958: Arguments from the Extremes on Nuclear War and the Soviet Union" by William Gay. Paper read at the 2nd National Conference of Concerned Philosophers for Peace. Donated by the author.

Misc:

The Society needs a reviewer for Savage and Wade's Rereading Russell: Essays in Bertrand Russell's Metaphysics and Epistemology. There is no deadline. Review copies remain the property of the Society, and are only available for loan after a review has been published in the NEWS. Watch for Justin Leiber's review of Language, Mind and Matter, 1919-1926 in a forthcoming issue.

* Can anyone cite the source of this quotation, attributed to Russell?

"It is impossible to be an optimist if you were born around 1914."

Please send your response to Shari Haber, Metropolitan Cooperative Library System Headquarters, 2235 N. Lake Ave., Suite 106, Altadena, CA 91001.

New book:

A reviewer is needed for the recently published Bertrand Russell's Dialogue with His Contemporaries by Elizabeth Eames. The work is an exploration of the development of Russell's philosophy with ten of his contemporaries: Bradley, Joachim, Moore, Frege, Meinong, Whitehead, Wittgenstein, Schiller, James, and Dewey. Southern Illinois University Press, 288 pages, $34.95.

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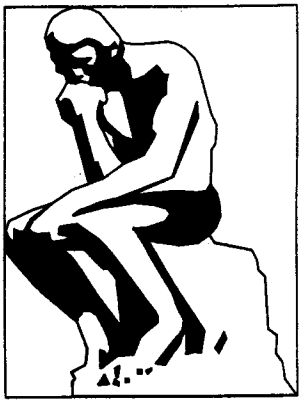
STATISTICS

298 paid-up members on 10/28/89. We're bound to have well over 300 members before year is over, a new record. Help keep us in position to continue to grow: *renew your membership now.* That will help prevent the year-end slump. Send your renewal dues *today.* Please don't put it off. Now's the time to do it. That's right; right now. OK?

(36) BRS LOCAL CHAPTERS



The BRS Chapter at McMaster met on 9/15/89, and heard a talk by Bansrajh Mattai, titled *Education And The Emotions, The relevance of the Russellian perspective.*

Dr. Mattai did his early work in Bertrand Russell's philosophy of education and completed a Ph.D. at the University of Southampton with a dissertation on *Bertrand Russell's Educational Thought: A Critique.*

He is now teaching in the Sociology Department of Joliet Junior College, Illinois.

The meeting also discussed plans for organizing the annual meeting of the Bertrand Russell Society, Inc., to be held at McMaster on June 23-25, 1990. The theme for submission of papers is *Illusion vs. Reality: Education and Religion.*

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

(37) Freethinkers' Society, Inc. has sent us its 4-page newsletter, *International Freethinker*, Vol 1, No. 2. The Society is "allied with other societies with compatible goals. Foremost among these is THE TRUTH SEEKER...first published in 1873." It quotes President John Adams saying: "This would be the best of all possible worlds if there were no religion in it." For more information: P.O.Box 2832, San Diego, CA 92112.

(38) NACH, *The North American Committee for Humanism*, holds its Fourth Annual Humanist Weekend...in conjunction with the *Bragg Symposium* ...in Kansas City, MO, November 17-19,1989. The principle speakers: Paul Kurtz, Donald Kaul, and William Jones. The theme: *Humanist Ethics, what makes them different?* The site: All Souls Unitarian Church, 4500 Warwick, Kansas City, MO 64111. For information: 816-444-2283.

(39) NECLC, the *National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee*, announces its Bill of Rights Dinner, on Friday, December 1, 1989, 7 pm, at the Sheraton Centre Hotel, NYC. Its Tom Paine Award will go to Congressman Barney Frank (in 1962 it went to BR), and the Clark Foreman Memorial Award goes to The Chaney-Goodman-Schwerner Coalition. Reservations $75 per person. NECLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, NY NY 10010.

(40) FFRF, *Freedom From Religion Foundation*, as written up in *The Atlanta Constitution*, October 6, 1989, p. C1:

Atheists Gather to Keep Faith With Each Other

Doug Jager

By Gayle White
Staff Writer

Their T-shirts proclaim, "Blasphemy Is a Victimless Crime," their songs ring out with the words, "I don't need Jesus," and in tones reminiscent of camp-meeting testimonials, they describe their "deconversion" experiences.

Atheists and agnostics from across the country are gathering in Atlanta this weekend for the annual convention of the Freedom From Religion Foundation.

The organization, founded in Madison, Wis., in 1978, has two purposes: to further the cause of separation of church and state and to educate the public about non-theistic thought.

The convention gives members a chance for fellowship and exchange of information. It also gives them a chance to buy "Reason's Greetings" cards to mail out in December, "Freethinker" bumper stickers, and coffee mugs bearing pictures and quotations of famous atheists and agnostics.

Foundation members are not hostile to God, said Tom Malone, Southeast region vice president and head of the local chapter. "How can you be hostile to something that doesn't exist?"

The foundation does not attempt to pull people away from the church,

ATHEISTS Continued on **C4**

We'll print the rest of this fine story in our next issue. It needs a full page, and we've run out of space.

HAVE YOU MAILED YOUR RENEWAL DUES?

(41) INDEX

SORRY TO BE SO REPTITIOUS

BUT IT'S REALLY IMPORTANT

THAT YOU MAIL YOUR RENEWAL DUES

AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY

WHICH IS PROBABLY TODAY