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THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY
Newsletter of The Bertrand Russell Society

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CONTENTS

From the Editor ............. Michael J. Rockler ........................................ p. 1

From the President .... John R. Lenz .................................................. p. 2

Leadership Changes ................................................................. p. 3

Minutes of the 1995 Bertrand Russell Society Annual Meeting .... Donald W. Jackanicz ........................................ p. 3

Minutes of the 1995 Bertrand Russell Society Board of Directors Meeting .... Donald W. Jackanicz ........................................ p. 5

Bertrand Russell Society Library .................................................. p. 7

Report of a Seminar held under the Auspices of the Benaras Chapter of the Bertrand Russell Society .... C. Padia ........................................ p. 9

Russell on Power .......... Peter Stone ............................................. p. 12

Bertrand Russell's Approach to Religion .................. Mamata Barua ........................................ p. 14

Bertrand Russell's Model for Teacher Education .... James L. Alouf ........................................ p. 19

Book Review ................. John Shosky ........................................ p. 23
FROM THE EDITOR
Michael J. Rockler

Welcome to the new Bertrand Russell Society Quarterly! This publication replaces the Society newsletter which you have been receiving quarterly as part of your membership fees. The BRS Quarterly will continue to inform members about the society, describe current Russell scholarship and provide information about many Russell related topics. In addition to continuing the fine traditions established by Lee Eisler and continued by Don Jackanicz, it is my hope that this publication will offer members substantive and original articles about Bertrand Russell.

In this issue you find an article by Mamata Barua--an Indian scholar who has recently passed away. Two papers given at the Russell Society meeting—one by James Alouf and one by Peter Stone--are also included. John Shosky, newly elected vice president of BRS, has provided a book review of John Slater's recent book on Russell.

In order for this publication to be effective, it needs your support and submissions. Members of the Society are encouraged to provide essays for publication in future issues. Articles should be five hundred to two thousand words in length. They can examine any aspect of Russell's life, work, and scholarship which might be of interest to members. As both Lee and Don know, it is difficult to produce a quarterly publication without considerable assistance from members of the Society. So send me material. I am sure there are members who have always wanted to publish on Russell but have never felt comfortable doing so. This new forum is your opportunity to see your ideas about Russell appear in print.

I hope you like the new version of our quarterly publication. Let me hear from you with comments as well as with articles. I intend also to publish letters to the editor if I receive them.

The annual meeting was an enjoyable experience for everyone in attendance. I have received much positive feedback. It was a pleasure to hear the many interesting papers that were presented.

Paul O'Grady, a young scholar from Ireland, received the paper prize and was able to attend the meeting and present his paper. Ken Blackwell accepted the Book award and described his thirty year experience of compiling the Russell bibliography with Harry Ruja. Thus the conference had a nice international flavor to it.

The BRS award was given to Zero Population Growth and accepted on the organization's behalf by Brian Dixon (who is the Director of Government Relations for ZPG).

The Columbia Inn was a pleasant setting; hopefully all future BRS meetings will take place in hotel rather than dormitory settings. The new BRS President, John Lenz, is already planning next year's meeting which will be held in Madison, New Jersey. Plan now to attend the annual gathering and partake in excellent Russell scholarship and warm fellowship.

Through the generosity of Don Jackanicz, the participants set a new record for drinking Red Hackle. Don will be happy to provide details to anyone who is interested.
FROM THE PRESIDENT
John R. Lenz, President, The Bertrand Russell Society

Recently I participated in the "First International Conference on Human Behavior and the Meaning of Modern Humanism," held in the stunning setting of Delphi, Greece on June 14-17, 1995. BRS members Tim Madigan, Paul Kurtz, and Christos and Alice Tzanetakos helped enliven the event. The conference was called to define the meaning and directions of humanism.

The opening papers in this conference were theoretical and historical. It was only a matter of time before someone rose up and objected that this was all too airy for him: he was an administrator and man of action. Then, one night, a fairly large earthquake hit not for away. As we sat listening to talks the next day, Greek television broadcast reports of people trying to save friends and even complete strangers from under the debris of collapsed buildings. One couldn't help wondering, who are the true humanists, we or they?

Humanists need not be philosophers, but humanists and philosophers share certain traits. By nature they are self-conscious and critical about almost everything they do, and how and why they do it. Some call this an occupational hazard, while others (like myself) find it admirable. Thoughts do influence action and attention to one certainly need not, and should not, preclude the other. Who teaches this better than Russell?

Russell was the model of an engaged intellectual in this century. He was a "passionate skeptic," as Alan Wood depicted him, "perhaps the last public sage" in the words of Caroline Moorehead. He insisted that unpleasant aspects of human behavior will not change unless societies re-examine whole systems of belief and thought. This idea, now a truism, was a premise of the Delphi conference. When we witness apocalyptic cults in the grip of ancient myths planning mass destruction, or fundamentalist dogmas becoming mainstream both here and abroad, we see the power of ideas in perverted form. Skeptics and critical thinkers, Russell fearlessly demonstrated, must not lack the conviction to engage the critical issues and to recognize the power of ideas and their consequences.

Thus, while it may not be enough to assuage feelings of guilt or helplessness in times of real crises, I couldn't help feeling that at Delphi we were still doing something of potential long-term usefulness. As an academic, I usually must think this way, anyway, but I take comfort from the belief that Russell would agree.

Similar questions have entered the Bertrand Russell Society. We are not a society of action, and most certainly not a political group, but we discuss how best to honor Russell's legacy. In this way, the BRS constantly defines itself, as it needs to do. In the past, some have spoken about giving our annual BRS award to an individual of action rather than a scholar, to someone who, like Russell, "made a difference." The suggestion was in Russell's spirit, but (I remember my surprise) would Russell deny that the writing of books was useful "action"? More recently, we have debated, from the other side, whether the BRS should beware of identifying itself (specifically in connection with the granting of honorary memberships) with anyone too political.

We aren't all interested in humanism or philosophy or social activism, but we all share an admiration for Russell, a public intellectual. We do need to think how we can foster our goal of promoting knowledge of Russell's life and work.
The annual Society Business meeting was then held, beginning at 11:15 a.m. President Rockler introduced John Lenz and John Shosky, who respectively had been elected the new President and Vice President by the Board of Directors the previous night. President Lenz thanked President Rockler for having organized a fine meeting. Secretary Donald Jackanicz then moved that the reading of last year's annual meeting minutes be suspended; his motion was seconded by Mr. Blackwell and was unanimously accepted. Mr. Jackanicz gave a brief oral report concerning the previous night's Board meeting. Treasurer Dennis Darland reported that the Treasury's fund balance was U.S. $3,533.16. David Johnson moved that the Treasurer's report be accepted; his motion was seconded by Mr. Rockler and unanimously accepted. Discussion turned to three topics: BRS participation in the Eastern, Midwest, and Western Division annual meetings of the American Philosophical Association; how e-mail can be used to promote the BRS and for communication between members; and how to increase membership through advertising strategy and a revival of the Information and Membership Committee. Next considered was this series of honorary membership advisory nominations, which would require affirmative Board of Directors action before honorary membership may be offered:

Nominations by Mr. Blackwell, seconded by Mr. Jackanicz:
--Kenneth Coates. Yes 14, No 1, Abstain 1.
--Elizabeth Eames. Yes 16, No 0, Abstain 0.
--Willard Van Orman Quine. Yes 16, No 0, Abstain 0.
--Michael Foot. Yes 6, No 6, Abstain 5.

Nominations by Mr. Shosky, seconded by Mr. Madigan and Carl Westman:
--Paul Kurtz. Yes 16, No 0, Abstain 1.
--Antony Flew. Yes 15, No 0, Abstain 2.

Lastly Mr. Blackwell discussed the fundraising work of the Bertrand Russell Editorial Project and the mailing recently sent to all BRS members. In accordance with Stephen Reinhardt's motion that was seconded by Mr. Madigan, the Society Business Meeting was adjourned (and the overall meeting was recessed) at 12:55 p.m.

Following a luncheon break, the meeting was reconvened at 2:15 p.m. Mr. Madigan made a presentation, "Russell and Dewey on Inquiry." Following a short break, Paul O'Grady, a lecturer at Trinity College, Dublin and winner of the 1995 Paper Prize Contest, read his paper, "The Russellian Roots of Naturalized Epistemology." The meeting was recessed at 4:30 p.m.

The Red Hackle Hour and Banquet were held in a lounge and dining area outside the Ellicott Room beginning at 5:30 p.m. At the Banquet, past President Rockler introduced Brian Dixon, Director of Government Relations for Zero Population Growth (ZPG), who accepted the 1995 BRS Award on behalf of ZPG. Expressing appreciation for the award, Mr. Dixon spoke about ZPG's efforts through the years and current problems challenging his organization. The Banquet ended at 9:15 p.m.

SUNDAY, JULY 2, 1995

The meeting was reconvened by President Lenz at 9:00 a.m. James Alouf made a presentation, "Bertrand Russell as Teacher Educator." After a short break, a final presentation titled "Problems of Power in Russell's Politics," was made by Perter Stone. Following words of farewell from President Lenz and Past President Rockler, the meeting was adjourned at 11:38 a.m.

MINUTES OF THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING
June 30, 1995
Donald W. Jackanicz, Secretary

The 1995 annual meeting of the Board of Directors of The Bertrand Russell Society was held at The Columbia Inn Hotel and Conference Center, 10207 Wincopin Circle, Columbia, Maryland 21044, U.S.A. on Friday, June 30, 1995. The meeting began in the Ellicott Room on the ground floor. However, after about one hour, it was necessary to relocate the meeting to Secretary Donald W. Jackanicz's hotel room, Room 319. The following directors were present: Kenneth Blackwell, Dennis J. Darland, Linda Egendorf, Lee Eisler, Donald W. Jackanicz, Gladys Leithauser, John R. Lenz, Tim Madigan, Stephen J. Reinhardt, Michael J. Rockler, John E. Shosky.

In the absence of Chairman Marvin Kohl, Secretary Jackanicz called the meeting to order at 9:05 p.m. and explained that Chairman Kohl had asked Kenneth Blackwell to chair the meeting.

The first order of business was the election of Board and Society officers. For Chairman of the Board of Directors, Mr. Madigan nominated Michael J. Rockler, and Mr. Darland nominated Marvin Kohl. The secret ballot vote was as follows:

Mr. Rockler - 7, Mr. Kohl - 3. Mr. Lenz then moved that Marvin Kohl be recognized and thanked for six years of service as Chairman; this motion was unanimously accepted. For the following positions, these officers were nominated by the individuals in parentheses and were elected by acclamation:
--Society President: John R. Lenz (Mr. Jackanicz)
--Society Vice President: John E. Shosky (Mr. Lenz)
--Society Vice President/Information Emeritus: Lee Eisler (Mr. Jackanicz)
--Board and Society Secretary: Donald W. Jackanicz (Mr. Rockler)
--Society Treasurer: Dennis J. Darland (Mr. Rockler)

Mr. Madigan moved that Mr. Rockler and Mr. Jackanicz respectively fill the unexpired Board terms of the late Jack Cowles and Paul Arthur Schilpp; this motion was unanimously accepted.

Discussion turned to the location of the next two annual meetings. Mr. Rockler moved that President Lenz be permitted to decide the 1996 annual meeting site and date; this motion was unanimously accepted. President Lenz then explained that he would work toward holding the 1996 annual meeting on the campus of Drew University, Madison, New Jersey. Mr. Rockler next moved that the 1997 annual meeting be held in conjunction with the joint meeting of Free Inquiry and the Humanist Association of Canada; this motion was unanimously accepted. Mr. Rockler explained that the 1997 annual meeting site would probably be either Toronto or Montreal.
Secretary Jackanicz submitted the report of the committee formed at the 1994 Board meeting to make recommendations about possible new honorary membership nominations. (This report had been mailed to board members on May 24, 1995.) Following discussion, Mr. Rockler moved that all the names listed in the report be laid on the table and a new committee be formed to present five names for nomination at the next annual Board meeting and that the new committee's chairman be appointed by the Board Chairman. The vote on this motion was: Yes -3, No -3, Abstain -3.

On other matters, Secretary Jackanicz read selections from Chandrakala Ppadia's recent letter describing activities of the Benaras Chapter in India. President Lenz reported that the editor of Free Thought Observer had asked for permission to quote Russell Society News material in his publication. President Lenz then explained how he will work on developing a World Wide Web home page for promoting the Society. Mr. Rockler reported he will begin editing Russell Society News with the August 1995 issue and described some of his plans for a new format. Mr. Jackanicz inquired about plans for continued Society participation in annual meetings of the American Philosophical Association (APA). It was informally agreed that Vice President Shosky and David Johnson would work together on promoting the Society through APA activities, if possible with the assistance of Marvin Kohl. President Lenz moved that a letter of thanks be sent to Ray Monk and the University of Southampton for sponsoring the July 14-16, 1995 "Russell and the Origins of Analytical Philosophy" conference; this motion was unanimously accepted.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:58 p.m.

BRS LIBRARY

The Society library sells and lends books, audiotapes, videotapes, and other materials by and about Russell. Please direct library inquiries and requests to Tom Stanley, Box 434, Wilder, VT 05088 (tom.stanley@infoport.com).

Books for sale H-Cloth, otherwise paperback. Prices are postpaid. Please send check or money order (U.S. funds only) payable to the "Bertrand Russell Society" to Tom Stanley.

By Bertrand Russell:

Appeal to the American Conscience .................. Spokesman ....................... $3.50
Authority and the Individual .......................... Unwin-Hyman ................... 7.95
Has Man a Future? .................................... Allen & Unwin ................... H 8.00
History of the World in Epitome ....................... Spokesman ....................... 1.00
In Praise of Idleness .................................. Routledge ......................... 8.95
My Philosophical Development ...................... Unwin-Hyman .................... 7.95
Political Ideal ........................................ Unwin-Hyman .................... 7.95
Power: A New Social Analysis ...................... Routledge ......................... 8.95
Principles of Social Reconstruction ................. Unwin-Hyman .................... 7.95
Skeptical Essays ...................................... Routledge ......................... 8.95

By Other Authors:

Bertrand Russell by John Slater ....................... Thoemmes Press ............. $19.00
Bertrand Russell, 1872-1970 .......................... Spokesman ....................... 1.50
Liberty and Social Transformation: A Study in Bertrand Russell's Political Thought by Chandrakala Padia ....... Heritage Publishers .... H. 11.50
The Life of Bertrand Russell in Pictures and His Own Words, edited by Christopher Farley and David Hodgson ....... Spokesman ....................... 10.95

Audio cassettes in the lending library

Speeches:

200 Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech. 1950 45'
201 "Mind and Matter." 1950 52'
202 "Bertrand Russell in Australia." 1950 55'
Four ABC broadcasts: "Guest of Honor", "The World as I See It", "What Hope for Man?" and "My Philosophy of Life".
203 "Living in an Atomic Age." 1951 90'
204 "Life Without Fear." 1951 34'
205 "Portrait from Memory: Whitehead." BBC 1952 15'
206 "Man's Peril." BBC 1954 15'
207 Russell-Einstein Manifesto. 1955 30'
208 "The World and the Observer," BBC 1958 30'
210 "Address to the CND." 1959 30'
REPORT OF A SEMINAR HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE BENARAS CHAPTER OF THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY
Subject: "Crisis of Indian Democracy"
Date: May 10, 1995
Venue: Faculty Lounge, Law School, B.H.U.

The Benaras Chapter of the BRS, USA organised a seminar on 10th May, 1995. Prof. R.S. Sharma, a renowned literary critic and professor of English literature was the chief speaker. Prof. D.N. Mishra, Vice Chancellor, Benaras Hindu University, presided over the function in the first half of the seminar and then, in the later half, Prof. P.D. Kaushik, Head, dept. of political science presided over the function. Dr. Chandrakala Padia, Director, Benaras Chapter of the BRS conducted proceedings of the seminar. Dr. Anuradha Bannerjee and Dr. Aruna Mukhopadhyay acted as rapporteurs.

The seminar started at 9 a.m. In the beginning Dr. Chandrakala Padia welcomed all the participants which included professors, journalists, scientists, engineers, doctors and students. Then she introduced the audience with the aims and objectives of the society, its achievements, and its future plans to promote Russellian scholarship. After this she introduced the theme of the seminar. In this context she highlighted the contribution of Bertrand Russell in promoting democracy at both national and international level. Since Russell was opposed to all kinds of dogmatism, fanaticism and religious fundamentalism, he can be treated as one of the greatest democrats of the world. Moreover, he was amongst those few thinkers who were sensitive to the needs and aspirations of developing nations. His views on industrial democracy, creative impulses, world peace, nuclear disarmament, tolerance, economic imperialism, capitalism, environmental degradation etc. are very relevant for the Third World Countries.

After these initial remarks about the society and Russell's contribution to democracy, she introduced the subject of the seminar: How Indian democracy was at the crossroads, where on the one hand democratic norms were deeply rooted in Indian psyche, culture and institution, on the other hand the politicians and sycophants were determined to strike at its very root. This dilemma can only be resolved when the intellectuals give a serious thought to the entire problem and restore its past glory.

Dr. D.P. Varma, professor of law at B.H.U. then introduced Prof. R.S. Sharma to the audience.

Prof. Sharma first paid rich tributes to Bertrand Russell. He found Russell's two articles entitled 'What is Democracy?' and 'A Scientific Plea for Democracy' very relevant in understanding the meaning and significance of democracy in the present world. He found Russell's views very relevant to the modern writers, thinkers and circumstances. Russell pleaded for democracy, for it can only restore the dignity of human being and scientific way of life. Every man has the right to be free. The crisis of Indian democracy is that this very dignity of the individual is being impaired. A common man's right to participate in the democratic procedure is at stake. Freedom has become the privilege of a few politicians, bureaucrats,
capitalists and corrupt officials. As a result democracy is being exploited to serve the interests of religious leaders, caste mongers, fundamentalists and politicians. However, democracy once delineated from its aims and objectives, can be more dangerous than a military form of government, Prof. Sharma warned the audience.

The basic questions, therefore, is how to redress Indian society from the present evils of democracy. Prof. Sharma came forward with some constructive suggestions. First, the constitution should be reformed in such a way that no person can play with its sanctity. Second, free and fair elections must be ensured. Those found guilty of violating electoral laws should be severely punished. Muscle power and money power should be curtailed to a great extent. Third, a presidential form of government should be introduced in place of parliamentary form of government. A presidential form of government will provide true leadership to the country and thus would be able to check corruption. Fourth, deep commitment to democratic norms and values is required. Today the civilisation is wounded and most of the intellectuals, bureaucrats and professors have become merely salaried class people with no commitment to people or country. This salaried culture of leading lives only for yourself has to be tarnished. And here one can take inspiration from persons like Bertrand Russell.

Prof. Sharma's speech generated heated discussion on the subject. Most of the scholars objected to his plea for adopting a presidential form of government. Many other constructive suggestions and recommendations were also given. Prof. Surinder Jetley, dept. of sociology and also Director, Centre for Women Studies, B.H.U. referred to some serious prevailing dichotomies in the Indian democratic system. According to her, no constitutional provision or structural changes can ensure democracy in the country unless an awareness is created in the people for democratic norms and values. Prof. R.C. Sharma, Director Bharat Kala Bhawan said that most of the democratic governments in India are minority governments where majority of the people remain unrepresented. We must see to it that more and more people participate in the elections and a truly representative government comes into existence. Dr. Ashok Kaul, dept. of sociology pointed out the inconsistencies present in the Indian social structure. A successful democracy calls for removing these contradictions of the society.

Prof. R.R. Tripathi, ex Dean, Faculty of Social Science felt that the failure of democracy lies in the lack of commitment to democratic values. The so-called intellectuals have forgotten their responsibilities and have merely become a salaried class. Dr. V.K. Agrawal, a famous neuro surgeon emphasised the need for being conscious about one's own duties and responsibilities.

Prof. Nalini Pant, dept. of political science emphatically favoured electoral reforms in the country. Dr. D.D. Nanda of the same department criticised the growing politicisation of judiciary and high percentage of reservation for the schedule caste and schedule tribe.

Dr. Anil Jain, dept. of economics threw light on the economic impediments to the functioning of Indian democracy. A free liberal economy is very dangerous to the economic prosperity of the country. Dr. Kiran Burman, dept. of economics warned against the invasion of the multinationals. Dr. Madhuri Sivastara of the same department also pointed out the inconsistent emphases of political leaders who on one hand talk about globalisation and liberalisation and on the other hand introduce reservation. Dr. Durg Singh Chauhan drew attention to the misuse of power by the politicians resulting into the separatists' demands in different parts of the country. Regional autonomy and freedom of groups should only be supported to the extent it does not come in the way of national integration.

Dr. D.P. Varma, law school, said that the basic problem of democracy in India is that of democratic culture and values. A successful democracy calls for three things—discipline, consent and negotiation. This is only possible when people effectively participate in the democratic process of the country. Prof. Shambho Nath Pandey, Head, dept. of Hindi, observed that illiteracy is the root cause for the failure of democracy. Prof. Kanakar Mishra, Head, dept. of philosophy, said that democracy is not merely an end in itself. It is merely an instrument to attain higher values. Therefore, more emphasis should be laid on attaining higher values such as creativity, love, peace and liberty. This was said in the true spirit of Russell.

Dr. Chandrakala Padia said that a blind following of the western model is inimical to the development of the Third World Countries. There is a strong need to evolve 'need based indigenous model' which may establish close links between political system and civil society, values and structure, rights and duties, and above all democratic structure and democratic process.

In his presidential address Prof. D.N. Mishra, Vice Chancellor, Benaras Hindu University, held intelligencia responsible for the failure of democracy in the country. A farmer and an artisan of the country was more liberal and adaptable to change, he claimed. Intellectuals have become more sycophants and status conscious people. In the opinion of Prof. Mishra, Russell was one of the greatest democrats of the century as he had the courage to accept his 'wrongs' and reject his old convictions in favour of the newly discovered facts. Prof. P.D. Kaushik, laid emphasis on creating apolitical culture where voters recognise the importance of their vote and remain unaffected by cheap tactics of the politicians for getting the voters' support.

In the end Dr. Chadrakal Padia thanked the chief speaker, the chief guest and other participants. The seminar was attended by about eight scholars who almost represented different faculties, colleges and universities. In the end Dr. D.P. Varma thanked Dr. Padia for taking pains to arrange such a grand seminar.
Russell on "Power"

by Peter Stone

A good working definition of the term "power" remains elusive in the social sciences. Such a definition would have to meet three criteria. It would have to be clear and precise. It would have to accord with the intuitive, everyday sense in which people use the term. And it would have to be useful. In particular, a good definition of "power" would lend itself easily to social criticism. That is, it would allow for critical judgments about political and social institutions.

Bertrand Russell discussed the concept of "power" in two of his many books -- *Power: A New Social Analysis* and *The Prospects of Industrial Civilization* (the latter of which he coauthored with his second wife, Dora). His popular writings rarely lacked for intuition; moreover, a concern for social criticism informed all of his political thought. Unfortunately, Russell rarely offers clear or precise definitions of terms such as "power;" and when he does, the links between his definitions and his broader project of social criticism are often unclear. Nonetheless, Russell was on the right track, and with some modifications, Russell's definitions can prove useful for social criticism without abandoning clarity or precision.

In *Power*, Russell provides his most famous definition of power -- the "production of intended effects" (p. 35). A person has the power to do something if he can cause something to happen when he so chooses. Power can be measured; "given two men with similar desires, if one achieves all the desires that the other achieves, and also others, he has more power than the other" (p. 35). However, the power to do things requires power over things. In a complex interdependent society, this means having power over people. Social critics are generally more concerned with power "over" than with power "to;" Russell's own social criticisms rely more on the former aspect of power than the latter. And so while this definition captures much of what people mean by "power," it does not fit very well with Russell's own critical project.

In *The Prospects of Industrial Civilization*, Russell offers another definition of "power;" here, however, he explicitly talks about what it means to have power "over" someone. He writes that "Power may be defined as the ability to cause people to act as we wish, when they would have acted otherwise but for the effects of our desires" (p. 190). This suggests the following definition:

A person (call him X) has power over another person (call her Y) if and only if X can cause Y to act according to his wishes, given that Y would have acted otherwise had X not acted.

Unfortunately, this definition implies that X's power depends upon his desires. If X wants Y to do something, and X can act so as to induce y to do it, X has power over Y. But if X didn't want y to perform that act, then X does not have power over Y, even if X still could induce y to perform the act if he so chose. Intuitively, if X can make Y act in a certain manner, he has power over Y regardless of his desires. A revised definition might capture this, as follows:

X has power over Y if and only if X can cause Y to act in a particular manner if X so chooses, given that Y would have acted otherwise and X not acted.

Like the power to do things, power over people can be measured. If some person (call her Z) can make Y perform all of the acts that Z can, and some more acts as well, then Z has more power over Y and X does.

This definition suggests a critical distinction between having power over someone and using power over someone. If X has a gun, he might be able to rob a bank. If he did so, he would be using power over Y, the bank teller. But even if X is a nice guy who would never dream about robbing Y's bank, he still has the power to rob the bank, as well as power over Y. In any event, when X uses his power over Y, a power relation exists between X and Y.

X requires some means if he is to have power over Y -- a weapon, money, a good argument, etc. And the means used by X matter; it makes a difference whether X uses a gun or gentle persuasion to change Y's behavior. With another modification, the definition of power offered here can explicitly take into account the means used by X.

X has power over Y if and only if:
1) X has a resource;
2) X knows this; and
3) X can use this resource to make Y act in a particular manner if X she chooses, given that Y would have acted differently had X not so acted.

The chief virtue of this definition is that provides an excellent vantage point for social criticism. A social critic can compare power relations according to the means used, ranking these means according to some standard. Power relations that involve undesirable means can then become targets of social action.

Russell himself recognized the importance of classifying power relations according to their means. In *The Prospects of Industrial Civilization*, he distinguishes between "force" and "persuasion." The first category includes power relations involving physical force, as well as threats and offers; while the second includes religious authority and propaganda. But the second category also includes power relations in which reason is the means at work. Throughout his life, Russell believed in the value of reason, and so he granted reason a privileged status. If power relations must exist, according to Russell, it would be best if they relied on reason.

A clear understanding of the concept of "power" can be of great assistance in formulating social criticism. Russell's writings on "power" are of great assistance in reaching this understanding.
Bertrand Russell's Approach to Religion
by Mrs. Mamata Barua

[Following is a short extract from one of the chapters of a draft Mrs. Mamata Barua wrote out in 1993 on Bertrand Russell. Unfortunately, owing to her sudden and unexpected death her Ph.D. dissertation on Bertrand Russell. Unfortunately, owing to her sudden and unexpected death her Ph.D. dissertation on Bertrand Russell. Unfortunately, owing to her sudden and unexpected death her Ph.D. dissertation on Bertrand Russell. Unfortunately, owing to her sudden and unexpected death her Ph.D. dissertation...]

Russell's writings on religion can be divided into two groups. One group, which consists generally of some of his pre-First World War writings, reveals on the whole a positive attitude towards the subject of religion. To this group belongs his "Greek Exercises", which was written during his adolescent years (1888-89), The Study of Mathematics (1903), The Essence of Religion (1912), Mysticism and Logic (1914), "Religion and Church", which constitutes the seventh chapter of The Principles of Social Reconstruction (1916) and a novel called The Perplexities of John Forstic (1913) which remained unpublished during Russell's lifetime (1872-1970).

The second group of Russell's writings on religion is mostly of a polemical character and it includes such essays as "What I believe" (1925), "Why I am not a Christian?" (1927), "Has Religion Made useful Contributions to Civilization?" (1930), "Can Religion Cure Our Troubles?" - all published in the collection "Why I am not a Christian", edited by Paul Edwards and published in 1957. Another essay of the same character, "Will Religious Faith Cure Our Troubles?" was published as the seventh chapter of his book Human Society in Ethics and Politics (1954). In these writings Russell emerges as strong critic of the tradition of religion.

In course of our discussion we shall however find that all that is only a part of Russell's total attitude towards religion which is not as destructive as it may appear at times to many readers. He denounced only the harmful effects of the tradition of religion and not its positive essence. This was indicated by Russell himself in his Reply of Criticism. In response to E.S. Brightman's "Russell's Philosophy of Religion", Russell wrote there the following words:

"What makes my attitude towards religion complex is that, although I consider some form of personal religion highly desirable and feel many people unsatisfactory through the lack of it, I cannot accept the theology of any well-known religion, and I incline to think that most churches at most times have done more harm than good".1

In that context, Russell also showed the central significance of the chapter on religion which he had written for The Principles of Social Reconstruction. We may consequently take that chapter as a guidance in our exploration of the nature of Russell's "own personal religion."

Russell believed that human nature is divisible into three elements; namely, instinct, mind and spirit. The life of instinct includes all that man shares with the lower animals; the life of mind is the life of the pursuit of knowledge. It is from spirit that religion comes and derives its impersonal force, but if religion is to be "a living or a real support to the spirit" it is to be "freed from the incubus of a professional priesthood" and "carried on by men who have their occupations during the week". Since these men "know the everyday world" they are "not likely to fall into a remote morality which no one regards as applicable to common life". It is therefore necessary to dissociate religion from professional priesthood.

The life of the spirit centres round 'impersonal feeling' which helps us in 'renunciation' of personal desires and sharing the joys and sorrows of others. "Reverence and worship, the sense of an obligation to mankind, the feeling of impari-tiveness and acting under orders which traditional religion has interpreted as Divine inspiration, all belong to the life of the spirit. "Russell says further that beyond these points there is also "a sense of mystery", which is revealed in religion:

"And deeper than all these lies the sense of a mystery half revealed, of a hidden wisdom and glory, of a transfiguring vision in which common things lose their solid importance and become a thin veil behind which the ultimate truth of the world is dimly seen. It is such feelings that are the source of religion, and if they were to die most of what is best would vanish out of life."5

Instinct, mind and spirit are each a help to the others. All must grow together. The life of spirit does not ignore the demands of instinct and mind, which together foster the growth of individuality in man. Russell says --

"The life of the spirit demands readiness for renunciation when occasion arises, but is in its essence as positive and as capable of enriching individual existence as mind instinct are. It brings with it the joy of vision, of the mystery of profundity of the world, of the contemplation of life, and above all the joy of universal love."6

There is another passage which is also remarkable and it shows Russell's devotion to truth. There he says:

"Better the world should perish than that I or any other human being should believe a lie -- this is religion of thought, in whose scorching flames the dross of the world is being burnt away."7

Earlier in his Study of Mathematics published in 1902 Russell had shown love of truth as the chief of the 'austere virtues.'8 It was in such a spirit that Russell offered his critique of man's slavery to traditional religion. If we are eager for real spiritual progress we will have to discard much in that tradition. That was Russell's view:

"The first and greatest change that is required is to establish a morality of initiative, not a morality of submission, a morality of hope rather than fear . . . The world is our world and it rests with us to make a heaven or a hell . . . the religious life that we must seek will not be one of occasional solemnity and superstitious prohibitions, it will not be sad or ascetic, it will concern itself little with rules of conduct. It will be inspired by a vision of what human life may be, and will be happy with the joy of creation, living in a large free world of initiative and hope."

To replace the stagnant life of asceticism and "negative sinlessness' with the free life of Initiative and hope is the true role of religion in our life. It will also liberate us from the 'prison-house' of mundane and personal cares."9

7. Russell, B., "Better the world should perish than that I or any other human being should believe a lie -- this is religion of thought, in whose scorching flames the dross of the world is being burnt away." (1902).
8. Russell, B., "The life of the spirit demands readiness for renunciation when occasion arises, but is in its essence as positive and as capable of enriching individual existence as mind instinct are. It brings with it the joy of vision, of the mystery of profundity of the world, of the contemplation of life, and above all the joy of universal love." (1902).
9. Russell, B., "The first and greatest change that is required is to establish a morality of initiative, not a morality of submission, a morality of hope rather than fear . . . The world is our world and it rests with us to make a heaven or a hell . . . the religious life that we must seek will not be one of occasional solemnity and superstitious prohibitions, it will not be sad or ascetic, it will concern itself little with rules of conduct. It will be inspired by a vision of what human life may be, and will be happy with the joy of creation, living in a large free world of initiative and hope." (1902).
10. Russell, B., "To replace the stagnant life of asceticism and "negative sinlessness' with the free life of Initiative and hope is the true role of religion in our life. It will also liberate us from the 'prison-house' of mundane and personal cares." (1902).
The impersonal feeling, which is the centre of life of the spirit, is described in a solemn language in the concluding chapter of Principles of social Reconstruction:

"The world has need of a philosophy, or a religion, which will promote life. But in order to promote life it is necessary to value something other than mere life... some end which is impersonal and above mankind, such as god or truth or beauty. Those who best promote life do not have life for their purpose. They aim rather at what seems like a gradual incarnation, a bringing into our human existence of something eternal, something that appears to imagination to live in a heaven remote from strife and failure and the devouring jaws of Time. Contact with this eternal life -- even if it be only a world of our imagining -- brings a strength and a fundamental peace which cannot be wholly destroyed by the struggles and apparent failures of our temporal life. It is this happy contemplation of what is eternal that Spinoza calls the intellectual love of god. To those who have once known it, it is the key to wisdom."11

Russell's view of religion, which also found such expressions, not unexpectedly made E.S. Brightman write, "Such genuinely religious ideas and experiences reveal a side of Russell that is unsuspected by many of his readers."12

As in Principles of Social Reconstruction, in his other writing on religion, Russell was concerned with the dignity, worth and possibilities of human life. In this context another memorable passage is found in Collected papers of Bertrand Russell:

"Religion is the passionate determination that human life is to be capable of importance, that value and excellence are to be at least in the same rank with the great facts of Nature - the heavens, the march of Time and Destiny. Religion is the feeling of triviality of life... To assert religion is to believe that virtue is momentous, that human greatness is truly great, and that it is possible for man to achieve an existence which shall have significance... for the greatness of littleness of our lives are largely in our own control, and by stern resolution almost any achievement becomes possible. Religion then is concerned with human life, but is not the same thing as morality. Religion is not the good life, but a certain attitude towards the good life."13

Taking all these ideas expressed by Russell himself as the deeper region of his philosophy of religion we may try to trace its development from his early life onwards.

(II)

In "My Mental Development", a piece of writing contained in Philosophy of Bertrand Russell, Russell informs us that at the age of 'fourteen or fifteen' he became 'passionately interested in religion.' This interest, as we find it, was of a rather argumentative or polentical kind. As he explained it, he set to examine the arguments for free will, immortality and God and abandoned them successively.14

This dissatisfaction with religion grew out of Russell's impatience with the strict moral code and the Church dogmas which had been imparted to him mostly by his orthodox grandmother. "The atmosphere in the house was one of Puritan piety and austerity... Only virtue was prizized, virtue at the expense of intellect, health, happiness, and every mundane good."15

The young Russell rebelled against that ideal of religion, 'first in the name of intellect', and sought to examine the basic doctrines of Christianity with the principles of science he was beginning to learn. He also started to write down his doubts and perplexities in Greek letters. Thus came out his "Greek Exercises."16

"In finding reasons for belief in God," he wrote there, "I shall take account of scientific arguments" and by "scientific arguments" he meant arguments based on reason and logic.16

Russell's biographer Ronald W. Clark wrote that "two days after his sixteenth birthday" Russell put on record "the ideas from which his devout agnosticism was to emerge." That young Russell is heard in these words:

"I should like to believe in my people's religion, which was just what I could wish, but alas, it is impossible. I have really no religion, for my god, being a spirit shown merely by reason to exist, his properties utterly unknown, is no help to my life. I have not the parson's comfortable doctrine, that every good action has its reward and every sin is forgiven. My whole religion is this: do every duty, and expect no reward for it, either here or hereafter."16

Side by side with this attitude toward Christianity, a strong impulse towards nature-worship also manifested itself in his writings. Kenneth Blackwell quotes a passage from "Greek Exercises" that reveals a 'pantheistic outlook'. That passage contains such sentences:

"Here in indeed lies the beauty of nature, and the comfort it can afford when the spirit is vexed with doubt, when peace seems a thing never more to bless the soul; then the blessed influence of the stars or the moon descends like balm upon the soul... In human handiwork perfection can never be attained; in nature, perfection appears at every turn, manifesting the perfect soul of the creator."17

Thus in "Greek Exercises" Russell was wavering between belief and unbelief, between faith in the doctrines he learned from his grandmother and an understanding of the modern scientific doctrines. "The search for truth has shattered most of my old beliefs, and has made me commit what are probably sins."18

By the time he joined Cambridge, these ideas became a source of distress to him. "Kirk wills observes that the distress was not so much caused by his rejection of traditional Christian doctrines as by his growing concern with "the larger issues involved in those questions... issues of human worth and purpose, individual responsibility and moral value."19 These issues were always closely connected with his more mature years.

In his Autobiography Russell has given a description of his acquisition of a 'mystic insight'... the influence of which, he says, has always remained with me.20 This experience needs to be given a due weightage in the discussion of Russell's philosophy of religion.

During 1900-1910 Russell was absorbed in writing Principia Mathematica with A.N. Whitehead. Early in 1901, one evening he found Mrs. Whitehead suffering from intense pain owing to a heart attack. At that moment Russell was overcome by "what religious people call 'conversion'... a sort of mystic illumination." During those 'five minutes' he felt that the loveliness of human soul is unbearable,
war is to be abhorred, harshness in education and use of force in all human relations are to be avoided and experienced a desire almost as profound as that of Buddha to find some philosophy which would make human life endurable."

Russell wrote that the outcome of this experience was his "A Free Man's Worship" (1903). In the same year (1903), Russell wrote a letter to Lowes Dickinson and it contains a passage which shows the spirit in which Russell came to accept religion.

"But what we have to do, and what privately we do, is to treat the religious instinct with profound respect... and above all to insist upon preserving the seriousness of the religious attitude and its habit of asking ultimate questions."  

To treat the religious instinct with profound interest and seriousness was an attitude which lay embedded in the deeper layer of Russell's philosophy of religion.

References:

21. Bertrand Russell, From logic to Politics in *Portraits From Memory* and other Essays, p. 35

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S MODEL FOR TEACHER EDUCATION
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Above all, every educator who is engaged in an attempt to make the best of the students to whom he speaks must regard himself as the servant of truth and not of this or that political or sectarian interest. Truth is a shining goddess, always veiled, always distant, never wholly approachable, but worthy of all the devotion of which the human spirit is capable.

Bertrand Russell, Fact and Fiction, "University Education," p. 156

Bertrand Russell was one of the foremost minds of the 20th Century. As a philosopher and mathematician, he left us a legacy of ideas that span the length and breadth of human imagination. Many of those ideas are devoted to education, politics, and teaching. The purpose of this paper is to describe Russell's approach to teacher education by looking at Russell's description of the functions of a teacher and to respond to his model in light of recent reform attempts in teacher education.

Many of his ideas about teacher education originate with negative reactions to his own educational experiences and with his experiences as a parent and teacher at Beacon Hill School. Beacon Hill was founded in collaboration with his second wife, Dora Russell, to create a new kind of school where Russell's children, their classmates and teachers were free to explore their natural interests in a spontaneous, creative fashion. State schools were responsible for teaching nationalism, militarism, patriotism, and conformity to the status quo, in Russell's estimation, and therefore were not capable of developing a sense of "intellectual independence" in students, or their teachers. The Russells clearly felt that it was their responsibility to provide an alternative to the indoctrination of government-run schools. Although Russell ultimately considered the school a failure, it was a major influence in the on-going development of his educational theory and practice.

This combination of roles as parent, teacher, and school administrator also convinced Russell that skepticism must be an essential product of schooling. Russell writes of teaching:

"The profession has a great and honourable tradition, extending from the dawn of history until recent times, but any teacher in the modern world who allows himself to be inspired by the ideals of his predecessors is likely to be made sharply aware that it is not his function to teach what he thinks, but to instil such beliefs and prejudices as are thought useful by his employers."


For Russell, modern educators are precluded from the search for the shining veiled goddess of Truth because government seek to perpetuate falsehood through schooling. Teachers, as loyal civil servants, are not free to teach what they think. They are required to teach what the government prescribes. In the Prospects of Industrial Civilization, written together with Dora, the Russells comment:
The governors of the world believe, and have always believed, that virtue can only be taught by teaching falsehood, and that any man who knew the truth would be wicked. I disbelieve this, absolutely and entirely. I believe that love of truth is the basis of real virtue, and that virtue based on lies can only do harm. (p. 252)

How can virtue be taught by educators fettered by the guardians of falsehood, especially when "the teacher has become, in the vast majority of cases, a civil servant obliged to carry out the behests of men who have not his learning, who have no experience of dealing with the young, and whose only attitude towards education is that of the propagandist?" (The Functions of a Teacher, p. 125) Russell's clear response to his question is his firm commitment to skepticism as the primary means of educating teacher and students alike. As he stated in his introduction to Sceptical Essays:

I wish to propose for the reader's favorable consideration a doctrine which may, I fear, appear wildly paradoxical and subversive. The doctrine in question is this: that it is undesirable to believe a proposition where there is no ground whatever for supporting it ... (p. 11)

He continues in Sceptical Essays by suggesting teaching strategies that help students to think critically about important issues through careful examination of the evidence. He writes:

If there is to be tolerance in the world, one of the things taught in schools must be the habit of weighing evidence, and the practice of not giving full assent to propositions which there is no reason to believe true. For example, the art of reading newspapers should be taught. The schoolmaster should select some incident which happened a good many years ago, and roused political passions in its day. He should then read to the school-children what was said by newspapers on one side, what was said by those on the other, and some impartial account of what really happened. He should show how, from the biased account of either side, a practised reader could infer what really happened, and he should make them understand that everything in the newspapers is more or less untrue. The cynical scepticism which would result from this teaching would make children in later life immune from those appeals to idealism by which decent people are induced to further the schemes of scoundrels. (p. 126)

Teachers in a democratic society have the responsibility to inspire and require critical thinking in their students and Russell has supplied teaching strategies to describe and support his contention that skepticism is essential to the prospective teacher.

Russell also argues that the spirit of skepticism and the process of rational discourse discourages those dogmatists who seek to dominate the culture with their competing versions of the truth. The teacher's function is to instill in her students "the habit of impartial inquiry," based upon her own "readiness to do justice to all sides" through her own scientific investigation. Teachers are the guardians of the search for truth and the teaching strategies that they utilize in their classrooms are essential to development of a thinking citizenry.

Not only must teachers practice skepticism and rational inquiry, they must also be the protectors of civilization, not in the physical sense, but in the mental sense. Civilization is "a matter partly of knowledge, partly of emotion." By knowledge of civilization, Russell means that teachers must possess a sense of their places in the cosmos, not as a damper to human spirit but rather as an incentive to "enlarge the minds that contemplates it." From the emotional side, a similar kind of broad perspective is essential so that the teacher understands the many positive contributions to humanity that outweigh the cruelty and oppression that one would also find in the record of human history. If the teacher is a repository of cultural awareness, Russell is convinced that the teacher will convey this awareness to his students. Feelings must also go beyond cultural awareness to interpersonal relations in the classroom. For Russell, teachers can not be effective unless they have genuine feelings of affection for their students and a genuine desire to teach what they feel is valuable. All education, then, is the acquisition of knowledge tempered by love. The teacher's love of his students prevents the destructive use of punishment and cruelty that thwart what is good in his students. Cruelty represses the natural pursuit of happiness and replaces it with envy, a vice that distorts the natural energy and vigor of the student, twisting the development of the person toward unhappiness. Teachers robbed of happiness themselves in childhood or youth may visit the same fate upon their students.

One such example of distortion that creates unhappiness in the lives of students is the idea that teaching an unrealistic picture of the world prevents cynicism because the real world would be far too horrible or shocking for the students to withstand. Russell argues that if teachers "aim at training initiative without diminishing its strength," the knowledge of good in the world, coupled with scientific study will produce no such effect. In fact, the search for truth would only be invigorated in those who understand the status quo. Lying to the young, as Russell would put it, is morally indefensible under any circumstances since they have no way to verify what they have been told. Teachers do not protect their students from cynicism, they encourage its formation in adults who ultimately realize that they were never told the truth or were never shown how to find out what the truth really is. Teachers must trained to inquire, to investigate for themselves so that they may show their students the process of thinking independently. Appreciation of the strengths and weaknesses of civilization, skeptical inquiry, and love of students are requisite functions for a teacher. The initiative and curiosity of the teacher focuses his students upon the same habits of mind, the same critical thinking ability that he demonstrates on a daily basis in his classroom.

Finally, Russell wants teachers to combat parochialism engendered by rampant nationalism and ethnocentrism. In fact, he believes "tolerance that springs from an endeavor to understand those who are different from ourselves" is essential to the survival of democracy. The teacher, as guardian of civilized culture, must combat such ignorance no matter what its manifestation may be. Ultimately, Russell blames much of the close-mindedness of a culture upon the tendency of the government to use schools and teachers for maximizing an ethnocentrism. He calls for more freedom for teachers, "more opportunities of self-determination, more independence from the interference of bureaucrats and bigots." He could not be more accurate. The teacher can only function properly where she feels free from "outside authority." If there are no opportunities for free expression, especially in classrooms, Russell believes that democracy and all that is best in man will be crushed.
Is teacher education up to the challenge that Russell describes? It would seem that teachers and teacher education are still heavily regulated by State governments through licensure requirements, both entry and renewal. It seems highly unlikely, therefore, to expect a sudden change in the political climate to support freedom of thought for teachers or teacher education. Tenure, for instance, was initially conceived as a way to provide academic freedom for teachers but recent attacks on tenure have eroded this freedom by allowing teachers or college professors to be "downsized" out of a school district or college position, tenured or not! Tenure remains, however, the most important means of providing teachers at all levels solemn measure of protection from the vagaries of the political marketplace. Teacher education, especially because State governments control licensure regulations and entry into the profession, will always be subject to State control Politics and education are inextricably linked in this fashion. For teacher education, it means that State governments mandate what the teacher education curriculum must look like. How much independent thinking can we expect from teachers whose preparation is governed by State mandate? The answer is not as bleak as one might think.

Russell's approach to teacher education stresses the need for teachers to be skeptics. Teachers must know how to model skepticism for their students by being skeptical thinkers themselves and by utilizing teaching strategies that encourage students to weigh evidence and think for themselves. Teacher education, then, is not just a matter of imparting a set of uniform skills that every prospective teacher must master. It is the function of teacher education to provide the democratic community with teachers trained in skepticism, with teachers whose characters are imbued with a spirit of inquiry, with teachers whose love of learning and culture are unmistakable. Teacher educators everywhere owe a debt to Bertrand Russell for his clear understanding of the purpose of education in a democratic society and for his commitment to skepticism as the primary means of searching for the veiled goddess of Truth.

This is the first in a series of "Bristol Introductions", which will offer, according to the book jacket, "short original texts that aim to present challenging perspectives on philosophical themes, using non-technical language." If this is the goal, then Slater's Bertrand Russell is a most appropriate beginning, written by one of his most encyclopedic students, John Slater of the University of Toronto. Bertrand Russell is a cogent, accessible, well-crafted, and scholarly addition to Russell commentary. I highly recommend it to all those interested in Russell's philosophical, political, and social contributions. In particular, I urge members of the Russell Society to buy it, read it, give it to friends and colleagues, assign it for classes, and cite it in talks about Russell. This is the book that will explain to people why Russell was an admirable, noble, compassionate, and visionary thinker.

Frankly, Russell himself would have surely loved this book. The material covers virtually all major areas of Russell's wide-ranging thought. Ray Monk, who is himself preparing a much-anticipated volume on Russell, humorously refers to Bertrand Russell as a "guidebook of a vast and little-explored country . . . one of the best and most reliable guidebooks available." While Slater claims that there is little in this short volume that is original, the quality and clarity of this survey makes it a remarkable achievement. Others who have tried to present short surveys of Russell's work (Ayer, Gottschalk, and others) have had to pick and choose, emphasizing one aspect of Russell's thought over others. Of course, in 171 pages Slater had to do the same, with thirteen chapters on Russell's life, logic and foundations of mathematics, scientific method in philosophy, metaphysics, epistemology, ethics, religious views, political theory, political activism, study of history, views on education, and achievements. But one feels that Slater's book has balance and perspective, making it a more approachable effort than Clark's monumental biography or Moorehead's lite version.

Of course, given Russell's output and range of interests, few will be thoroughly satisfied with this introduction. That is as it should be -- an introduction should stimulate readers to go back to the original texts. Personally, I would have liked to see more discussion of Russell's contributions to logic and epistemology. In this respect few would argue that this book will displace the technical philosophical analysis on Russell's work by Jager, Eames, Sainsbury, Pears, Griffin, or other philosophers. But one aspect of this book that deserves much praise is the last chapter's evaluation of Russell's scientific approach to philosophy and social/political issues, and his reliance on logical analysis as a progressive methodology. This is an important assessment -- one that should receive more study and cannot be over-estimated in terms of Russell scholarship. Those who argue that Russell constantly changed his philosophy often forget that his methodological approach did not vary, and that analytical methodology is perhaps Russell's (and Moore's) most important contribution to intellectual history. As Slater argues,
Russell favors unity of method in his philosophical work, not unity of results. Slater observes that "in Russell's opinion, simply to adopt a position and forever after defend it would have been to abandon the scientific method, and, hence, the search for truth." Given Russell's "adventurous" mind, consistency of result would have been impossible. But knowing how to generate progressive results took genius, foresight, and courage.

This book is now available in the United States. I purchased my copy in Blackwell's in Oxford because the UK version came out almost a year ago. However, Bertrand Russell should now be obtainable in any major book store or through a special order. If additional information is needed, Thoemmes Books can be reached at 11 Great George Street, Bristol BS1 5RR, England, United Kingdom. Their phone number is 0117 929-1377 and the fax number is 0117 922-1918. Please be aware that the city code for the telephone may have changed in the recent reconfiguration in the UK. The ISBN for the paperback is 1 85506 346 8 and for hardback 1 85506 347 6.