NOTES AND REFERENCES

Chapter One


3. It is estimated that Russell wrote about 2,000 essays, reviews, papers and articles. McMaster University, Canada, has recently decided to publish Russell's entire writings, both published and unpublished, in 25 volumes under the title *The Collected Essays of Bertrand Russell*. See Russell: the journal of the Bertrand Russell Achieves, No. 12, Winter 1973-74, pp. 4-10, & pp. 19-27.


8. Lincoln Reis, 'Eminent Victorian', *Commentary*, August 1957, p.177


10. *The New Statesman and Nation*, October 29, 1938, p. 692. It is interesting to note what Joad further writes about Russell's style: "It is a classical style, informed by the classical virtues of order, lucidity, balance and brevity. It blossoms quite naturally into wit, not from any dexterity of verbal collocation, but through the power of thought driving to its logical conclusion." - *ibid.*, p.692. But one critic opines: "His (Russell's) style, though praised for its simplicity and wit, is abstract and often flat." - Maxwell Geisman, 'Apostles of the Rational Mind', *The Nation*, December 8, 1956, p.502. This article is a review of Russell's *Portraits From Memory and Other Essays* (1956).


17. ibid., p.15.
18. Alan Wood, op.cit., p.34.


21. Selected Papers of Bertrand Russell, selected and with a special Introduction by Russell, The Modern Library, N.Y., n.d., p.xi. See also his 'Things that have moulded me', The Dial, September 1927, p.182.


23. As Russell writes: "One effect of that War was to make it impossible for me to go on living in a world of abstraction. I used to watch young men embarking in troop trains to be slaughtered on the Somme because generals were stupid. I felt an aching compassion for these young men, and found myself united to the actual world in a strange marriage of pain. All the high-flown thoughts that I had had about the abstract world of ideas seemed to me thin and rather trivial in view of the vast suffering that surrounded me. The non-human world remained as an occasional refuge, but not as a country in which to build one's permanent habitation." - My Philosophical Development, George Allen and Unwin, London, Second Imp., 1959, p. 212.
24. "The First World War," as A.J. Ayer observes, "was a watershed in Russell's life. Coming after the completion of his great work on mathematical logic, and the breakdown of his first marriage, it took him away from purely intellectual, abstract pursuits and from the comparative serenity of academic life and made him into the storm-tossed, controversial public figure that he has ever since remained." - 'Bertrand Russell in his prime', Spectator, 10 May, 1968, p.632. This article is a review of Russell's Autobiography, 1914-1944.


27. In this essay, he further writes: "The duty in the present day of a philosopher or of any person of academic capacity is, to my mind, completely clear. He must, first, himself study the probable effects of a nuclear war. He must, then, devote himself, by whatever means are open to him, to persuading other people to agree with him as to these effects and to joining him in whatever protest shows the most chance of success."


30. ibid., p. 162.


32. Russell, Portraits From Memory and Other Essays, op.cit., p.38.


34. ibid., pp. 143-4.

35. Quoted in Alan Wood, op.cit., pp. 230-1. We have not been able to determine the origin of the quotation from the broadcast speech in Wood's book. The writer of this dissertation is grateful to Kenneth Blackwell, Archivist, The Bertrand Russell Archives, McMaster University, Canada, for this piece of information.

36. Russell, ibid., p. 11.


39. ibid., p. 730-1.


50. A biographer of Russell writes: "The long life of this man (Russell), who was ninety years old in May 1962, has shown the world that a candid scepticism towards all traditional values need not mean a surrender to nerveless pessimism, and that a clear understanding of things and men can be the basis for vigorous and inexhaustible optimism." - Herbert Gottschalk, *Bertrand Russell: A Life*, trans. from the German by Edward Fitzgerald, Unwin Books, London, 1967, p.83.


52. Erich Fromm, 'Prophets and Priests', in Ralph Schoenman (ed.), ibid., p.76.


54. ibid., p.267.

55. ibid., p.267.

sexual morality, where he takes the humane and sensible view that we should feel free to do so as we want, except when it causes harm to others, and that where there are children it is desirable that marriage should be stable, even at the cost of tolerating some sexual infidelity." - ibid., p.127.


58. Russell, *Autobiography*, vol.1, op.cit., pp.44-5. Elsewhere he writes: "At the age of fourteen I was a completely convinced utilitarian; I thought it obvious that the general happiness should be the end of action." - 'A Turning-point in My Life,' *Saturday Book* (8), 1948, p.144.


64. In his Human Nature in Politics (Constable and Company Ltd., London, 1919, pt.1, ch.1, p.21), Graham Wallas utters a note of caution against exaggerating the importance of intellect and writes: "Whoever sets himself to base his political philosophy on a re-examination of the working of human nature, must begin by trying to overcome his own tendency to exaggerate the intellectuality of mankind." According to him, the politically important impulses are: (1) personal affection, (2) fear, (3) ridicule, (4) the desire of property, (5) the fighting instinct, (6) instincts of suspicion and cruelty, and (7) the desire to excel.


66. ibid., p.8. But the exact sentence is: "Reason is, and ought only to be, the slave of the passions, and can never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them." - David Hume, A Treatise of Human Nature in two volumes, vol.11, with an Introduction by A.D.Lindsay, Everyman's Library, London, 1956, p. 127.


68. Russell, Freedom and Organization, 1814-1914, op.cit., p.120.

69. ibid., p.121.


72. ibid., p. 16.


74. ibid., p. 159.

75. ibid., p. 18.

76. Russell, Sceptical Essays, op.cit., p. 120.

77. ibid., p. 53.

78. ibid., p. 52.


80. Richard Horchler, 'A Witty, Dedicated and Inconsistent
Rationalist*, The Commonweal, April 19, 1957, p.67. This article is a review of Russell's Portraits From Memory and Other Essays (1956).


82. Russell, Portraits From Memory and Other Essays, op.cit., p.8.


85. See ch.VII.

86. Bertrand and Patricia Russell (eds.), op.cit., p.36.

87. ibid., p.36. Russell's brother, Frank Russell, tells us that his mother was "an early pioneer of Women's Rights." - My Life and Adventures, Cassell and Company Ltd., N.Y., Toronto, 1923, p.12.


90. Russell, however, points out: "My grandfather, born, like Shelley, in the first month of the first French Republic, was willing to support anti-governmental movements abroad, especially in Italy, though in English affairs, after the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, he was far from Radical." - The Amberley Papers, vol.1, op.cit., p. 29.


94. Russell writes: "My father's mother was much more Radical than Lord John, and after his death developed opinions of which he would hardly have approved, ..." - The Amberley Papers, vol.1, op.cit., pp. 29-30.


97. Russell, 'Adaptation: An Autobiographical Epitome', in *Portraits From Memory and Other Essays*, op.cit., p.9. Frank Russell writes: "I had to attend morning prayers: I was taken to Church for the first time in my life. Much of the time I received lectures on morals, ethics and conduct with which I did not agree, and for the first time in my life answers were refused to my searching questions." - op.cit., p.34.


99. ibid., p. 22.

100. ibid., pp. 30-1.


102. ibid., p.33.


104. ibid., p.70.

105. ibid., p.74.


109. ibid., p.54.


111. Russell, 'My Mental Development', op.cit., p.41.


116. ibid., pp.14-6. In his essay entitled 'The Status of Women' (1907), Russell considers the arguments against and in favour
of Women's Suffrage, and strongly supports the cause of women's rights. This essay has been published for the first time in Russell: the journal of the Bertrand Russell Archives, No. 14, Summer 1974, pp. 3-12. See also his 'Women's Suffrage', published as a pamphlet under the title Anti-Suffragist Anxieties by the People's Suffrage Federation, London, June 1910.


119. ibid., p. 33.

120. Herbert Gottschalk, op. cit., p. 33.


122. ibid., p. 389.

Chapter Two


3. Russell, op.cit., p.34.


8. cp. Sri Aurobindo. He writes: "The State is a convenience, and
a rather clumsy convenience for our common development; it ought never to be made an end in itself." - The Ideal of Human Unity, in his The Human Cycle, The Ideal of Human Unity and War and Self-Determination, Pondicherry, 1962, p.334.


12. ibid., p.45.

13. ibid., p.43.

14. ibid., p.43.

15. ibid., p.44.


18. A.D. Lindsay thinks that from Green we get "a far higher conception of the State's function than we do from the Utilitarians." - ibid., Introduction, p. xviii.


23. ibid., p.22.


25. As Russell writes: "HUMAN beings find it profitable to live in communities, but their desires, unlike those of the bees in a hive, remain largely individual; hence arises the difficulty of social life and the need of government." - Power : A New Social Analysis, George Allen and Unwin, London, 6th Imp., 1948, p.211. Capital letters in the original.

26. cp. Laski. "Our business is to secure," as he observes, "such a balance between the liberty we need and the authority that is essential as to leave the average man with the clear sense that he has elbowroom for the continuous expression of his personality." - op.cit., p.50.


29. ibid., p. 135.


31. ibid., p. 47.


35. This point has been discussed in greater detail in ch. IV. Russell writes: "I believe that the abolition of private ownership of land and capital is a necessary step towards any world in which the nations are to live in peace with one another." - *Roads to Freedom*, op. cit., p. 156.


Russell elsewhere writes: "It is necessary that there should be rent, but it should be paid to the State or to some body which performs public services; ..." - *Principles of Social Reconstruction*, op. cit., p.88.


41. *ibid.*, p.50.


50. "The English Liberal", as Maurice Cranston writes, "has demanded freedom for the individual from the constraints of the state because he has regarded the individual person as an ethical end, and the state as an instrument of value only in so far as it could serve the interests of the individual" - ibid., pp. 71-2.


55. ibid., p. 49.


Freedom is now-a-days defined by many writers as a behavioural

57. Licke defines liberty in the following words: "For liberty is to be free from restraint and violence from others, which cannot be where there is not law; but freedom is not, as we are told: a liberty for every man to do what he lists - for who could be free, when every other man's humor might domineer over him? - but a liberty to dispose and order as he lists his person, actions, possessions, and his whole property, within the allowance of those laws under which he is, and therein not to be subject to the arbitrary will of another, but freely follow his own." - The Second Treatise of Government, The Liberal Arts Press, N.Y., 1952, pp. 32-3.


74. Ibid., p. 175.


78. Ibid., p. 175.

79. Humboldt, op. cit., p. 44.

80. Russell, *Sceptical Essays*, op. cit., p. 174. It may be noted that laissez-faire or classical liberalism, according to some writers, is often misunderstood. In his *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) Adam Smith, the founder of laissez-faire liberalism, formulates the theory of economic liberty. The gist of his argument is that the individual, if left free of governmental control and regulation, will be able by his own enterprise to carry the standard of material well-being to heights hitherto unknown and scarcely


83. ibid., p.87. He writes: "The continued existence of society depends upon private property, and since men have need of society, they must hold fast to the institution of private property to avoid injuring their own interests as well as the interests of everyone else. For society can continue to exist only on the foundation of private property. Whoever champions
the latter champions by the same token the preservation of
the social bond that unites mankind, the preservation of culture
and civilization. He is an apologist and defender of society,
culture and civilization, and because he desires them as ends,
he must also desire and defend the one means that leads to
them, namely, private property." - ibid., p.87.

describes himself as a qualified Socialist. Hobhouse writes
that "to maintain individual freedom and equality we have to
extend the sphere of social control." - Liberalism, The Home


88. Russell, Sceptical Essays, op. cit., p.181. He further writes:
"The freedom we should seek is not the right to oppress others,
but the right to live as we choose and think as we choose where
our doing so does not prevent others from doing likewise." -
ibid., p.182.


96. MacIver, op.cit., p.150.


98. ibid., p.149.

99. ibid., p.164.

100. ibid., p.164.

101. cp. Sri Aurobindo. "It is right and necessary," he writes,
"that education should be provided for all and in providing for it the State is eminently useful; but when it controls the education, it turns it into a routine, a mechanical system in which individual initiative, individual growth and true development as opposed to a routine instruction becomes impossible. The State tends always to uniformity, because uniformity is easy to it and natural variation is impossible to its essentially mechanical nature; but uniformity is death, not life." - op.cit., p. 395.


110. ibid., p.112.

111. Laski, op.cit., p.91.

    Italics in the original.


118. T.H. Green, op.cit., p.144.

119. ibid., p.117.

120. Ernest Barker, Principles of Social and Political Theory,


122. ibid., p.38.


125. Ibid., p.175. Following Hegel's metaphysical theory of the State, Bosanquet considers the State as "the operative criticism of all institutions - the modification and adjustment by which they are capable of playing a rational part in the object of human life." The State, according to him, is "the structure which gives life and meaning to the political whole." See his The Philosophical Theory of the State, MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London; The MacMillan Company, N.Y., 1899, p.150. For a critical analysis of the metaphysical theory of the State, see especially Hobhouse, The Metaphysical Theory of the State: A Criticism, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1913.


129. ibid., p.34.

130. ibid., pp. 38-45.


132. The same view has been reiterated by him in his *The Impact of Science on Society*, op.cit., p.30.

133. ibid., pp.29-37.

134. ibid., p.65.


138. Max Weber, op.cit., p.82.

139. ibid., p.88.


142. Laski, op.cit., p.182.


Publishing House, Calcutta, Bombay and New Delhi, 1967, p.60. See also pp. 74-5.


151. ibid., p. 143.


156. For discussion of this point, see chs. III & IV.


161. For discussion of Russell's views on World Government, see ch. VII.


164. See ch. IV.

165. John Lewis, op. cit., p. 78.

166. ibid., p. 79.


170. Ibid., p.632.


172. Ibid., p.141.


175. For Russell's views on Socialism, see ch.IV.

176. See ch.IV.
Chapter Three.


5. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.41.
6. **Russell, Power: A New Social Analysis**, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 6th Imp., 1948, p.197. In his unpublished essay, 'What is Democracy?' (n.d.), Russell makes a distinction between a democracy and a representative government. A representative government, in his view, becomes democratic when almost everybody possesses the right to vote. To quote his words: "Representative government is, in England, much older than democracy, since its beginnings go back 660 years. Under this system the ultimate political power rests with the electors, but they delegate their power to their chosen representatives. This system only becomes democratic when everybody, or nearly everybody, has the vote." (Emphasis added).


18. ibid., p. 378.

19. ibid., p. 49.


21. ibid., p. 19.


27. ibid., p.197.

28. ibid., p.197.


42. MacIver, op. cit., p. 41.

44. Russell, Fact and Fiction, op.cit., p.106.


47. ibid., p.43.


49. Russell, Fact and Fiction, op.cit., p.84.

50. ibid., p.85.

51. See ch. VII.

52. Russell, Understanding History and Other Essays, Philosophical Library, N.Y., 1957, p.28.


54. ibid., p.381.

55. ibid., p.381.


58. Ibid., p.171.


   Italics in the original. Mill further writes: "I ceased to consider representative democracy as an absolute principle, and regarded it as a question of time, place and circumstances;..." - Ibid., p.170.


62. Russell, *Power: A New Social Analysis*, op.cit., p.200. The same point of view is also put forth by Russell in his unpublished essay entitled 'What is Democracy?' (n.d.). Here he writes: "Democracy, if it is to be successful, requires a certain degree of tolerance and mutual forbearance, as between different political parties. It requires give and take, and a capacity for compromise, and it requires that a beaten party shall not be made to suffer intolerably. Given these conditions it has two overwhelming advantages over any other system of government: First that the Government is compelled to take account of the interests of the majority of the population; and secondly that the men who temporarily hold power are
prevented from becoming tyrants by fear of the next General Election.

63. ibid., p.200.


65. ibid., p.184.

66. ibid., p.184.

67. For a detailed discussion, see ch.VIII.


69. ibid., p.90.


78. ibid., p.66.

79. John Stuart Mill writes: "If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind." - Mill, *On Liberty, Representative Government and The Subjection of Women*, Oxford University Press, London, 1963, p.23.


82. ibid., p.88.

83. Russell, Fact and Fiction, op.cit., p.67. For a detailed discussion of Russell's educational ideas, see chs.IV and VII of this dissertation.


86. ibid., p.22.

87. A.D. Lindsay, The Modern Democratic State, Oxford University Press, 1962, p.182.

88. Tocqueville writes: "Of all armies those most ardently desirous of war are democratic armies, and of all nations those most fond of peace are democratic nations." He thus concludes: "These opposite tendencies of the nation and the army expose democratic communities to great dangers." - Tocqueville, op.cit., pp. 242, 243.

In his lecture entitled 'The Problem of Minorities' (1942), Russell says: "De Tocqueville, more than 100 years ago, wrote impressively on the tyranny of the majority in the United States, which he regarded as the peculiar danger of a democracy. What he said deserves as much attention as when he wrote." The lecture has been printed in full in Barry Feinberg and Ronald Kásrils, *Bertrand Russell's America: His transatlantic travels and writings*, vol. I, 1896-1945, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1973, pp. 315-27.

It is interesting to quote in this connexion what Russell writes in his unpublished essay entitled 'The Prospects of Democracy' (1933): "Democracy in no way implies liberty. A democratic government may make rules as to what we shall drink, as to what amusements are permissible, as to what clothes are to be considered correct, and as to what literature it is good for us to read. As a matter of fact English-speaking democracies do legislate on all these subjects. There is hardly any man so conventional as not to belong to some minority. We are, therefore, all liable to oppression unless the rights of minorities are respected.

"There is some reason to fear that under a democracy there is less chance of individual liberty than under a more unpopular form of government. In a democracy oppression is exercised in the name of the majority, and is therefore resisted, on any given issue, only by a minority. Under a tyranny the government is afraid of rousing popular resistance, and therefore avoids
all forms of oppression which are not necessary to its self-preservation. An unpopular government, moreover, by its very unpopularity keeps alive the love of individual liberty, whereas where the tyrant is the majority most people will enjoy the tyranny. Italics in the original.


93. Lord Acton, op.cit., p.97.


95. For further analysis of this point, see ch.II.


98. Joad, op.cit., p.27.

99. Barker, op.cit., p.73.

100. Ivor Brown, op.cit., p.138.


103. See ch.VIII.

104. Joad, op.cit., p.103.


106. ibid., p.97.


111. Lord Bryce, *op.cit.*, p.89.


In his statement to the Labour Party Propaganda Magazine (October 1949), Russell writes: "I rejoice in the socialist measures passed during the present Parliament. I do not wish to see a Government hostile to Socialism repealing or sabotaging these measures. I do not think economic recovery or stability can be secured by unrestricted capitalism, and I abhor the dictatorial tyranny of Communism. I think the British Government should keep to the middle way of democratic Socialism."

128. ibid., p.223.


132. See ch. II.


136. ibid., p.73.

137. ibid., p.73.

138. ibid., p.73.
139. H.G. Wells, *Democracy under Revision*, op.cit., p.27.


144. For further discussion of industrial democracy or workers' control in industry, see ch.IV.


148. As Mandel writes: "History has given ample confirmation of this: the workers will never succeed in liberating themselves from Capital without overthrowing the bourgeois State by centralized political action, and replacing the apparatus of the bourgeois State by a new kind of State altogether, a workers' State." - ibid., p.10.


151. ibid., p.86.

152. ibid., p.88.

153. Tocqueville, op.cit., p.86.


Chapter Four

1. Ken Coates writes: "The exposure to socialist ideas and socialist acquaintances began very early, and was not always
painless." - Coates, 'Bertrand Russell and Industrial Democracy,' The Spokesman, May 1970, No.3, p.17. The article is reproduced in Bertrand Russell and Industrial Democracy, published by Institute for Workers' Control, Nottingham, 1970, pp. 3-10. Here Coates refers to the bicycle accident in which Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell were involved. In Portraits From Memory and Other Essays (London, 1956, p.72), Russell gives a brief account of the accident. Russell's unpublished political essay entitled 'State-Socialism' (1889) is the earliest document of his interest in socialist ideas. Extracts from this essay are given in Appendix I.


3. ibid., p.46.


7. ibid., p.98.

9. ibid., p.233.


12. That Russell in the nineties of the last century became interested in Fabian Socialism can be seen from the fact that in March 1896, he gave a lecture entitled 'Lessons From Germany in Independent Labour Politics' at the Fabian Society. - A.M. McBriar, Fabian Socialism and English Politics, Cambridge University Press, 1966, p.120, f.n.

13. The Fabian Socialists, of course, did not deny the existence of class conflicts. They differed from the Marxists in denying the contention that "the class - struggle was the engine for bringing Socialism into existence." - A.M. McBriar, ibid., p.65. Russell's views on Marxist theories of class struggle, revolution and value have been discussed in ch.V.


15. ibid., pp.120-5.
22. It must not be thought that Russell became a Socialist as soon as the War started. In his letter to Herbert Bryan in July 1915, Russell wrote: "I have been for some time in two minds as to joining the I.L.P. I agree most warmly with the attitude which the I.L.P. has taken up about the war, and that makes me anxious to support the I.L.P. in every possible way. But I am not a socialist though I think I might call myself a syndicalist. I hardly know how much I commit myself to in joining; it is always difficult to sign a declaration of faith without reservations. Perhaps my hesitation is unduly scrupulous; perhaps it will cease; but for the moment I do not quite feel as if I could join you." - Quoted in Marvin Swartz,

Italics added. Kenneth Blackwell, however, informs us that it was during the War that "Russell had resolved his objections to socialism and joined the Independent Labour Party." - Blackwell, 'Bertrand Russell - the radical', McMaster News, Summer 1972, p. 4.


27. Herbert Gottschalk, Bertrand Russell: A Life, trans. from the


32. ibid., p.116.


These four conditions have been reiterated in Political Ideals, op.cit., p.28.
37. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.271.


42. ibid., p.66. "Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour, the work of the proletarians," Marx and Engels write, "has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine..." - Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, in *Selected Works in three volumes*, vol.1, Moscow, 1969, p.114.


45. Ch.25, pt.7, may be especially read in this connexion.


49. In the Foreword written for the book in 1946, Huxley remarks that "... in the immediate past rapid technological changes, taking place in a mass-producing economy and among a population predominantly propertyless, have always tended to produce economic and social confusion. To deal with confusion, power has been centralized and government control increased. It is probable that all the world's governments will be more or less completely totalitarian even before the harnessing of atomic energy; that they will be totalitarian during and after the
harnessing seems almost certain." - Brave New World, A Penguin International Edn., 1972, pp. 11-2. It may be noted that Huxley finds in decentralization of power the only remedy to totalitarianism and centralization of State power. - ibid., p.12.

50. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.158.

51. ibid., pp. 157-8.


53. ibid., pp.152-3.


55. ibid., p.123.

56. ibid., p.36.


58. In his book entitled The Social and Political Thought of Karl


61. Karl Marx, Critique of 'Hegel's Philosophy of Right', op.cit., p.50.

62. Marx writes: "As for as the individual bureaucrat is concerned, the end of the state becomes his private end: a pursuit of higher posts, the building of a career." ibid., p.47.
63. Ibid., pp. 46-7.


66. Ibid., p. 32.


69. Ibid., p. 217.

70. Ibid., pp. 220-1.

71. Ibid., pp. 220-1.

73. Ralph Miliband, op.cit., pp.278-93.


75. ibid., p. 417.


81. ibid., p.221.

82. A very competent writer on Marxism thus remarks: "As an administrative machinery, the state will not wither away; this is a dream which Marx nor Engels in their maturity, and certainly not Lenin, even cherished." - Adam Schaff, Marxism and the Human Individual, McGraw - Hill Book Company, 1970, p.131.
This point of view, in so far as Marx and Engels are concerned, has been very admirably brought out by Hal Draper in his article entitled 'The Death of the State in Marx and Engels', op. cit., pp.281-306.

83. Engels, op. cit., p.417. Before Engels a similar point of view was held by Saint-Simon. See H. Draper, ibid., p.294.


85. ibid., p.81.

86. Russell, Political Ideals, pp.31-2.

87. ibid., pp.43-57.

88. ibid., p.49.


92. ibid., p.91.

93. ibid., p.92. However, it must be noted that among Guild
Socialists there are differences of opinion on the question of the power of the State. For instance, S.G. Hobson pleads for vesting the State with great and considerable power. G.D.H. Cole, on the other hand, stands for restricting the power of the State to a very large extent. - F.W. Coker, Recent Political Thought, The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1962, pp. 274-8.


97. Russell, Political Ideals, op. cit., p. 36.


99. ibid., p. 92.
"The youngest socialist organisation," as M. Beer writes, "is the National Guilds League. It was founded in 1916, with William Mellor as secretary. It is mainly a propagandist society and looks less for numbers than for effective writers and speakers in sympathy with guild socialism. Among its several members may be mentioned Bertrand Russell, R.H. Tawney, Clifford Allen, George Lansbury..." - M. Beer, op.cit., p.393.


These objections have been referred to by Russell in The Prospects of Industrial Civilization, op.cit., p. 228.

103. Ibid., p. 229.

104. Ibid., p. 159.

105. Ibid., p. 229.

106. Ibid., p. 230.

107. Ibid., p. 230.


111. Russell was scheduled to deliver this lecture in September 1916, in Glasgow. But he was prevented to do so by the War Office, and Bob Smillie, a coal miners' leader, delivered the lecture in Russell's absence. See Bob Smillie, 'How I lectured for Bertrand Russell', The Spokesman, op.cit., pp.20-1. Russell's Foreword to his book, Political Ideals (1917), may also be read in this connexion. The lecture has been published in the aforesaid book (ch.1).


113. In his Autobiography (vol.2, op.cit., p.31), Russell gives a very brief account of the meeting.


117. See Ken Coates, ibid., pp. 17-9.

118. In the Preface to the 1965 edition of German Social Democracy. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, p. V), Russell writes: "The point of view from which I wrote the book was that of an orthodox Liberal."

119. Russell, Principles of Social Reconstruction, op. cit., Chap. IV.

120. In Political Ideals (op. cit., p. 41), Russell writes: "Private ownership of land and capital is not defensible on grounds of justice, or on the ground that it is an economic way of producing what the community needs."
121. Ibid., p.37.

122. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.265.

123. In Political Ideals (1917) Russell, however, sometimes advocates public ownership of private property to a very extensive scale. He writes, for instance, "In everything that concerns the economic life of the community, as regards both distribution and conditions of production, what is required is more public control, not less - how much more, I do not profess to know." - Political Ideals, op.cit., p.59.


125. Ibid., pp.95-6.

126. Ibid., p.96.


128. Ibid., p.23.


133. ibid., p.122.

134. See ch.II.


136. See ch.II.


138. ibid., p.123.

139. Russell's concept of Socialist Democracy has been discussed in ch.III. Eduard C. Lindeman goes so far as to say: "If he (Russell) can have socialism plus democracy, he will welcome the future, but if he is asked to take socialism without democracy, he will choose democracy even though it is

140. See ch.II.


147. ibid., p.58.


149. Tawney, op. cit., p. 155.


154. "The Webbs did not," as Cole writes, "believe that most workers wanted to share in the management of their industries, or that they could be trusted to participate in managing them efficiently." - A History of Socialist Thought, vol. 3, op. cit., p. 213.


161. ibid., p.93.

162. ibid., p.93.

163. ibid., p.94.


167. In his own words: "All students of society who are abreast of their time, Socialists as well as Individualists, realize that important organic changes can only be (1) democratic, and thus acceptable to a majority of the people, and prepared for in the minds of all; (2) gradual, and thus causing no dislocation, however rapid may be the rate of progress; (3) not regarded as immoral by the mass of the people, and thus not subjectively demoralizing to them, (4) in this country at any rate, constitutional and peaceful." - George Bernard Shaw (ed.), op. cit., pp. 34-5.


170. Russell (with Dora Russell), op. cit., p.62. See also ch. V of this dissertation.


Books, Enlarged and Revised Edn., 1969, p.294. Unfortunately, we have not been able to locate Russell's lecture at Changsha. I have been informed to this effect in a letter, dated February 28th, 1974, by Darlene Booth, ex-Assistant Archivist, The Bertrand Russell Archives, Canada.


175. Russell, Political Ideals, op.cit., p.41.


181. ibid., p.154.


184. John Strachey writes: "Force, said Marx in a famous phrase, has always been the midwife of every society pregnant with the new. But he did not mean, as he is sometimes thought to have done, that he advocated the use of force and violence by the oppressed class on behalf of the attempt to establish a new society." - The Theory and Practice of Socialism, London, 5th Imp., 1937, pp.409-10.


186. Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, op.cit., p.262.

188. John Strachey, op.cit., p.403.


191. ibid., p.118.


193. ibid., p.27.


198. cp. John Stuart Mill. According to Mill, any transformation of society in the direction of Socialism will require "an equivalent change of character" on the part of both the


200. Ibid., pp.121-2. Italics in the original.

201. Ibid., p.122.

202. See ch.VI.


205. Ibid., p.119.


209. See ch. III.


213. ibid., p. 758.


215. Like Russell, William Morris also envisages a future socialist society where common men will have opportunity for creative impulse. - 'Art and Socialism' in Selected Writings of William Morris (op. cit., pp. 624-45) may be especially read in this connexion. While discussing Morris's plan of the future society, G.D.H. Cole writes that "he went too far, mistaking the creative impulse that was so strong in him for a common possession of all mankind in equal measure." - ibid., Introduction, p. XVII. The same criticism may be levelled against Russell.


217. ibid., pp. 115-20.

218. ibid., p. 194.
219. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.103.


221. ibid., p.196.

222. ibid., p.111.

223. ibid., p.114.

224. Peter Kropotkin, Anarchist Communism, Quoted by Russell in ibid., p.111, f.n.


228. ibid., p.414.

229. ibid., p.414.

230. ibid., p.416.


232. See especially ch.VII.

234. ibid., p.201.


236. ibid., p.29.

237. ibid., p.18.

238. ibid., p.26.

239. ibid., p.26.


242. ibid., p.13.

243. ibid., p.209.


245. ibid., p.2.

247. It is worthwhile to quote here what Herbert Read says in this connexion: "Roads to Freedom makes sad reading today. It is not that the roads led to nowhere; none of them was ever trodden; and I think Russell himself turned away from any faith in political action, concentrating on the slow piecemeal process of education, the principles of which he practised as well as preached. Someone once expressed the view that the best form of government is tyranny tempered with assassination; Russell would probably substitute democracy modified by direct action. But I hope that he still believes that pure Anarchism is the ultimate ideal." - 'A Philosophical Debt', in Ralph Schoenman (ed.), Bertrand Russell: Philosopher of the Century, Essays in his honour. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1967, p.99.

Italics mine.


249. ibid., p.192.


Chapter Five

1. Russell's best biographer, Alan Wood, writes: "Russell and his wife made two visits to Germany in 1895, and the second was
largely with the object of studying the 'German Socialist movement. This was a rather unconventional, if not shocking, interest for a young English aristocrat." - Bertrand Russell: The Passionate Sceptic, George Allen and Unwin, London, Second Imp., 1957, p.35.

2. ibid., p.36.


4. ibid., p.20.


10. ibid., p.15.
11. In Russell's opinion, Marx's theory of surplus value "is rather to be viewed as a translation into abstract terms of the hatred with which Marx regarded the system that coins wealth out of human lives,..." - *Roads to Freedom*, op.cit., p.28.

12. See ch.XIX.


Though Prof. Robinson thinks that modern economists have much to learn from Marx, she writes: "At the same time, I believe that modern academic economics has something to offer to the Marxists." - *An Essay on Marxian Economics*, MacMillan and Co, London, 1960, Foreword, p.V.


23. A contemporary leading authority on Marx thus writes: "In every
case we can only comprehend the person's theories after clearly grasping the problems he sets out to answer, what he wants his theories to do. Yet, this preliminary task, particularly - it seems to me - as regards Marx's writings, is frequently shirked. The result is that much of the comment on Marxism is simply beside the point, beside, that is, the point Marx was trying to make." - Bertell Ollman, op.cit., p.170. An excellent treatment in defence of Marx's economic theory is to be found in (1) Paul M. Sweezy, The Theory of Capitalist Development (1942), and (2) Ernest Mandel's classic work, Marxist Economic Theory (1962).


40. The expression "economic determinism" has never been used by Marx to his ideas, and "appears to be a caricature foisted upon Marxism by readers who misread his general claims." - Bertell Ollman, op.cit., p.9.


48. ibid., p.413.

49. ibid., p.416.

50. ibid., p.416.

51. Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, in Marx and Engels,
"Dialectical materialism," as John Strachey very rightly observes, "is not, then, a philosophy; it is rather the methodology of scientific thought." - The Theory and Practice of Socialism, 5th Imp., 1937, London, p.381.


54. ibid., p.83.

55. ibid., p.84.

56. Marx himself at least twice has suggested that revolution will first flare up not in industrially developed countries but in the less backward and developed countries. - S. Avineri, The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx, Cambridge University Press, 1969, p.151.

57. Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, op.cit., p.308.


59. Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, op.cit., p.381.

60. ibid., p.381.


63. ibid., p.598.


69. A competent authority on Marxism points out: "... when Marx says 'The mode of production of material life determines the social, political and intellectual processes in general', we must try to understand this claim in a way that allows the latter group of factors to vitally affect the mode of production, and in a way that removes the automatic dependence of the social structure on the economic base. We must do this, because this is how Marx used his theories in practise. Engels
advised a correspondent who had asked about Marx's materialist conception of history to read The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte as a practical case of Marx's use of this theory. This elementary suggestion has never been followed." - Bertell Ollman, op.cit., p.9.

70. Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, op.cit., p.417. Italics in the original.

71. ibid., p.467. Italics in the original.

72. In his letter of September 21-22, 1880, to Bloch, Engels writes: "Marx and I are ourselves partly to blame for the fact that the younger people sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it. We had to emphasize the main principle vis-à-vis our adversaries, who denied it, and we had not always the time, the place or the opportunity to give their due to the other elements involved in the interaction." - Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, op.cit., p.418.


75. George V. Plekhanov, The Development of the Monist View of
History, op.cit., p.164. In this book (pp.162-66), Plekhanov very adequately exposes the falsity and wrongness of the view that Marx regards the economic factor as the prime and sole cause of change.

76. Sorokin, op.cit., p.533.


83. Ibid., p.228.

84. Ibid., pp.228-9.


87. Plekhanov, Fundamental Problems of Marxism, op.cit., p.163. Italics in the original.

88. Ibid., p.164. Italics in the original.

89. Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, op.cit., p.264.


91. Ibid., p.102.

92. Ibid., p.102.

93. Ibid., p.103.


ibid., p.665.


ibid., pp.121-2.


He writes: "The second feature that accounted for the impressiveness of Marxism was its apparent allowance for the role of great men in history. It denied neither their existence nor historical significance... Yet, as we shall see, its concessions were hopelessly at odds with its basic principles. Where it paid adequate attention to the work of great historical figures — for instance, its own heroes, Marx and
Lenin - its historical monism went by the board. Where it interpreted the historical activity of Alexander, Caesar, Cromwell, Peter the Great, Napoleon, as 'expressions' of convergent social pressures or merely as 'instruments' of class interest, it often abandoned its scientific approach for the mystical a priorism which was part of the Hegelian heritage. - The Hero in History: A Study in Limitation and Possibility, Paperback Edn., Beacon Press, Boston, 5th Imp., 1965, pp. 76-7.


105. George Novack, The Understanding of History, Merit Publishers, N.Y., 1967, pp.9-20. Novack writes: "Hook practically nullifies the other and prior determinants by making the October victory wholly dependent upon a single individual. His approach falls below the standards of the most enlightened liberal historians who at least placed objective factors on a par with the ideas and intervention of great men." - ibid., p.15.


107. "I do not wish to suggest," Russell writes, "that intelligence is something that arises spontaneously, in some mystical
unsound manner. Obviously it has causes, and obviously these causes are in part to be sought in the social environment. But in part these causes are biological and individual." - Understanding History and Other Essays, Philosophical Library, N.Y., 1957, p.36.


111. ibid., p.13.

112. T.A. Jackson, op.cit., p.228.

113. George Plekhanov thus writes: "A great man is great not because his personal qualities give individual features to
great historical events, but because he possesses qualities
which make him most capable of serving the great social needs
of his time." - Fundamental Problems of Marxism, op.cit.,
p.176. As Sidney Hook says: "Each society not only has its
own economic organization, its own law of population and its
own art-styles; it has its own criterion of goodness. ... In
politics and religion the 'great man' is the man who can get
himself believed in. To get people to believe in him, he must
in some way gratify or fulfil their need." - Towards the
Understanding of Karl Marx: A Revolutionary Interpretation,

114. Hegel, Philosophy of Right, translated with Notes by T.M.Knox,

115. Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, in Marx and

116. Cited in M. Beer, Fifty Years of International Socialism, Allen
and Unwin, London, 1935, p.158. Also quoted in David Horowitz,

117. Marx and Engels, Selected Works in three volumes, vol.1,
op.cit., p.124.

original.


123. ibid., p. 415.


125. ibid., p. 118.


127. Ryazanoff (ed.), ibid., pp. 170-1. Jack Woodis, therefore, very rightly observes that when Marx speaks of the international solidarity of the working class, he is "putting forward an entire international concept of the ending of capitalism as a world system, and its replacement by world


129. Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, op.cit., p.351.

130. Marx refers to this incident in a letter dated June 20, 1886, to Engels. - ibid., p.179.


135. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.127.


146. John Lewis, *The Life and Teaching of Karl Marx*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1969, p.11. For discussion of the point that Marxism is no blueprint of a future society, see also John
Lewis, The Marxism of Marx, op.cit., pp.227-9. However, it must not be thought that Marx had no prevision of the future society. For Marx's ideas about the future communist society, see David McLellan, The Thought of Karl Marx, MacMillan, 1971, pp.212-6.


148. Ibid., p.504.

149. "They (Marx and Engels) promise," as Vernon Venable writes, "a very great amount of good from communism, and even make it the terminal point for striving in this current stage of history, but nowhere in the texts that I have been able to discover, do they ever commit the utopianism of regarding it as perfect, permanent, or in any way millennial. They claim merely these things: (a) that common ownership of the means of production is on the way and will be realized, (b) that this stage of society will be ceaseless because this is what is meant by common ownership of the means of production (if people or groups continue to compete with one another the struggle will not be class struggle); (c) that this stage of society will approximate more closely to a humanist society than the present stage. Nowhere do they pretend beyond this. Always they speak of classless socialism as the next stage, not the final stage of history, and everywhere they imply, and frequently and explicitly assert, the impossibility of any


But in his unpublished essay on 'German Social Democracy as a Lesson on Political Tactics' (1896), Russell accepts the Marxian thesis and writes: "Thus, more and more, the fatalistic doctrine of the Communist Manifesto has been growing true through being believed: Society has become divided, more and more, into two hostile camps, bourgeoisie and proletariat. Between these two camps, the enmity grows more and more bitter, in proportion as the bourgeoisie grows more and more alarmed; and as the enmity grows more bitter, the radical connecting links become fewer, and compromise becomes increasingly difficult."


162. Ibid., p. 111.

163. Ibid., pp. 107-20.


166. Ibid., p. 112.

168. Russell, Roads to Freedom, op. cit., p. 44. See also German Social Democracy, op. cit., p. 34.

169. C. Wright Mills, op. cit., pp. 86, 109-10. See also John Strachey, Contemporary Capitalism, Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, Third Imp., 1957, pp. 93, 95 & ch. VI. Even so sympathetic a critic of Marxian economics as Joan Robinson writes: "Now, the course of history since Marx's days has despised this prediction (increasing papuerism). In the foremost capitalist countries the level of real wages has indubitably risen, and the gap in the standard of life of the workers and the capitalists has narrowed, most markedly in England and the Scandinavian countries, but to some extent in all capitalist nations. Marx did not foresee to what an extent capitalism would be able to buy off the workers with refrigerators and Ford cars." - 'Marx and Keynes', op. cit., p. 112. She argues that the adoption of welfare programmes and the development of the concept of the welfare State have considerably improved the material condition of the working class in capitalist countries. But, according to J. Steindl, Marx's subsistence level theory should not be taken too rigidly as Prof. Robinson does. He says that Marx himself admits the possibility of an absolute increase in real wages with an increase in the productivity of labour. What Marx says, he thinks, is that even though real wages might rise, they would not rise proportionately to the increase.
in the productivity of labour. In his opinion, Marx's subsistence level theory is thus correct in a very qualified sense. - 'Karl Marx and the Accumulation of Capital', in David Horowitz (ed), op.cit., p.246.

170. Franz Mehring, op.cit., p.149.


172. Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, op.cit., p.222.


175. Franz Mehring, op.cit., p.503. Russell also points out that it is from Malthus that Marx accepts the theory of "iron or starvation law of wages." - German Social Democracy, op.cit., p.26.
176. Franz Mehring, op. cit., p. 150. Mehring, however, points out that in the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels could not completely free themselves from the influence of the bourgeois "theory of increasing misery." - ibid., p. 150.


179. ibid., pt. VI, ch. XIX, p. 507.

180. ibid., pt. VI, ch. XXI, p. 520.

181. ibid., pt. VI, ch. XII.

182. Ernest Mandel, *The Formation of Economic Thought of Karl Marx*, op. cit., p. 151. In *Capital* (vol. 2, op. cit., ch. 25, pt. 7, p. 603), Marx writes that absolute pauperism will be the lot of "the demoralised and ragged, and those unable to work, chiefly
people who succumb to their incapacity for adaptation, due to
the division of labour; people who have passed the normal age
of the labourer; the victims of industry, whose number
increases with the increase of dangerous machinery, of mines,
chemical works, &c., the mutilated, the sickly, the widows,
&c." For Marx's ideas on paperization, see also Paul Mattick,
Marx and Keynes: The Limits of the Mixed Economy, Merlin


185. Marx and Engels, Selected Works in three volumes, vol.1,
op.cit., p.163.


187. ibid., p.164.

188. ibid., p.165.

189. ibid., ch.7, pp.210-38, vol.2; ch.12, pp.393-413.

190. Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society, Weidenfeld and
countries a tendency towards an increasing concentration of
economic power. - ibid., pp.23-8. On this point, see also
Michael Tanzer, The Sick Society: An Economic Examination,
Temple Smith, London, 1971, pp.6-7; and Gabriel Kolko,
Wealth and Power in America: An Analysis of Social Class and

University Press, 1959, p.121.

192. ibid., p.122.

193. Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, Monopoly Capital, Penguin


197. See David McLellan, op.cit., pp.151-6. Ernst Fischer writes
that "while Marx says that the two great classes are
increasingly alone in confronting one another - bourgeoisie
and proletariat - he does not, when carrying out a concrete
analysis, overlook the multitude of 'middle and intermediate' 
classes or the possibility of all kinds of alliances in the
class struggle. The important thing is that more and more powerful means of production and more and more colossal capitals are concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, whilst on the other side the mass of those who own no means of production whatever and are forced to live by selling their labour power is growing incessantly; so that, overshadowing all else, capital and labour loom in opposition to one another.**1 - op.cit. pp. 73-4. Italics in the original.


203. The theory that power in the modern society is switching from the capitalists to a separate class of people, namely, the managers of capitalist undertakings, was put forth long before Burnham by Adolf Berle and G.C. Means in their book entitled The Modern Corporation and Private Property (1932).
In his unpublished essay, "Democracy and a Planned Economy" (1942/43), Russell points out:

"Mr. James Burnham's "Managerial Revolution" (1941) is an interesting and stimulating book, dealing with the character of the planned economy which he expects in the near future. To a considerable extent I agree with him; indeed I had expressed similar views in "Freedom v. Organization", 1934, and in "Power", 1938." But, according to him, Burnham does not give enough importance to politicians and bureaucrats.


*ibid.*, p. 573.


213. ibid., p.128.

214. ibid., p.128.

215. T.B. Bottomore, *Elites and Society*, C.A. Watts and Co., London, 1964, pp.74-5. In Britain, a survey undertaken a few years ago has shown that between 50 to 60 per cent of directors of large public companies had business connexions in the family, another 40 per cent came from families of landowners, professional men, and others from similar social class. — ibid., p.75.


218. ibid., p.46.


220. Issac Deutscher, the famous Marxist historian, observes:

"Property, no matter how much it is divorced from management, still controls the economy. The shareholder's profit is still its regulating motive, subject only to the needs of militarism and of the world-wide struggle against communism. In any case,


222. ibid., p.216.

223. ibid., p.216.


225. See ch.VIII.

226. Karl Popper, op.cit., p.100.

227. He writes: "There is only one quasi-psychological promise in Marx's system: man first of all eat and drink, have shelter and clothing, before he can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc. Therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence, and consequently the degree of
economic development attained by a given society, from the foundation upon which social and political institutions, and even art and religion, have been evolved. Man himself, in each period of history, is formed in terms of the prevailing practice of life which in turn is determined by his mode of production. All this does not mean, however, that the drive to produce or consume is man's main motivation. On the contrary, Marx's main criticism of capitalist society is precisely that this society makes the wish to 'have' and to 'use' into the most dominant desire in man; Marx believed that a man who is dominated by the desire to have and to use is a crippled man. His aim was a socialist society organized in such a way that not profit and private property, but the free unfolding of man's human powers are man's dominant aims." - Beyond the Chains of Illusions: My Encounter with Marx and Freud, Simon and Schuster, N.Y., 1962, p.41. Italics in the original.


229. Scott Nearing and Bertrand Russell, op.cit., p.53.


238. ibid., p.8.

239. ibid., p.8.


245. See Stanley Moore, *Three Tactics: The Background in Marx*, Monthly Review Press, N.Y., 1963, pp.25-6. In the Preface to the first English translation of *Capital* (vol.1, op.cit.,p.17), Engels writes that Marx "certainly never forgot to add that he hardly expected the English ruling classes to submit, without 'a pro-slavery rebellion,' to this peaceful and legal revolution."


"The dynamic force of the doctrine, both in Marx and in his followers, was derived," Hassell says, "from hatred - illogically, since (in his view) the barbarities of the capitalists were fated, and were not due to their individual wickedness." - New Hopes for a Changing World, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, Second Imp., 1956, p.121.


ibid., p.251.


John Lewis, Marxism and the Open Mind, op.cit., p.192.


John Lewis, The Life and Teaching of Karl Marx, op.cit., p.194.

ibid., p.194.

Lenin hints at the true cause of the popularity of Marxism when he said in his speech at the Third All-Russia Congress of the Russian Young Communist League in 1920: "If you were to ask why the teachings of Marx have been able to win the hearts and minds of millions and tens of millions of the most revolutionary class, you would receive only one answer: it was because Marx based his work on the firm foundation of the human knowledge acquired under capitalism. After making a study of the laws governing the development of human society, Marx realised the inevitability of capitalism developing towards communism. What is most important is that he proved this on the sole basis of a most precise, detailed and profound study of this capitalist society, by fully assimilating all that earlier science had produced. He critically reshaped everything that had been created by human society, without ignoring a single detail. He reconsidered, subjected to criticism, and verified on the working-class movement everything, that human thinking had created, and therefrom formulated conclusions which people hemmed in by bourgeois limitations or bound by bourgeois prejudices could not draw." - On Religion, Second Revised Edn., Moscow, 1966, p.51. Even a non-Marxist thinker like G.D.H. Cole finds "in certain of his (Marx's) doctrines, and above all in his methods of social analysis, clearer light than anywhere else by which to seek an understanding of the fundamental economic and political problems of to-day." - Cole, op.cit., p.8.


263. ibid., p.204.

264. ibid., p.204.

265. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.58.

266. See ch.IV.

268. See chs. IV & VI of this dissertation.


270. ibid., p. 152.

271. ibid., p. 160.


273. ibid., pp. 168, 170.


275. See ch. IV.


280. ibid., p.41.


283. ibid., p.28.

284. ibid., p.42.


293. ibid., p.141.

294. ibid., p.140.


296. ibid., pp.252-3.


298. Russell, *Freedom and Organization, 1814-1914*, op.cit., pp.227-8. In his *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* (op.cit., p.60), Russell writes: "Treated as a practical examination, not as an exact metaphysical law, the materialist conception of history has a very large measure of truth."


301. Published in Barry Feinberg and Ronald Kasrils, *Bertrand*


304. ibid., p.130.


307. Paul M. Sweezy observes that it is clear from the Prefaces which Marx and Engels wrote to the various reprints and translations of the Communist Manifesto "that Marx and Engels never for a moment entertained the notion that they were blueprinting the future course of history or laying down a set of dogmas which would be binding on future generations." - The Present as History: Essays and Reviews on Capitalism and Socialism, op.cit., p.7. For discussion of the point that Marxism is not a deterministic or a dogmatic system, see John Lewis, Marxism and the Open Mind, op.cit., ch.2; and The Marxism of Marx, op.cit., ch.16, pp.245-53.
308. Quoted in Engels' letter, dated August 5, 1890, to C. Schmidt, in Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, op.cit., p.415.


Chapter Six

1. The Tribunal (a weekly organ of the No-Conscription Fellowship), May 3, 1917, p.2.


4. The Tribunal, April 5, 1917, p.2.

5. Ibid., May 24, 1917, p.2.

Here he reiterated the point that the Russian Revolution would probably lead to have wholesome and favourable effects upon international relations and would help to secure peace in the war-stricken world.


8. For accounts of the British Labour delegation, see Alexander Berkman, The Bolshevik Myth (Diary 1920-1922), Boni and Liveright, N.Y., 1925, ch.XVIII, pp.133-41; and Emma Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, Doubleday, Page and Company, Garden City, N.Y., 1923, ch.X, pp.90-3. "The most outstanding figure among them (the members of the British Labour Mission)," writes Goldman, "was Bertrand Russell, who quickly demonstrated his independence and determination to be free to investigate and learn at first hand." - Goldman, ibid., p.91. Alexander Berkman accompanied the British Labour delegation on its visits to mills, theatres and schools, and was entrusted with the task to render into English the resolutions presented to the delegation on its arrival in Moscow. He saw Bolshevik Russia very closely during his two years' stay in 1920-22. It is interesting to note here that his practical experiences in Bolshevik Russia were very much similar to those of Russell. Like Russell, he found in Bolshevik Russia widespread poverty, bureaucracy and fanaticism. To quote his words: "Terror and despotism have crushed the life born in October. The slogans of
the Revolution are foresworn, its ideals stifled in the blood of the people. The breath of yesterday is dooming millions to death; the shadow of today hangs like a black pall over the country. Dictatorship is trampling the masses under foot. The Revolution is dead; its spirit cries in the wilderness." - Berkman, op. cit., p. 319. Emma Goldman's experiences were not also different.


15. *ibid.*, p.102. H.M. Hyndman, a British Marxist thinker, wrote in 1920: "That the Bolsheviks gained their position and keep it by terrorism of the most ruthless kind, that they resorted to massacre and torture of their assumed domestic enemies is quite beyond dispute." - *The Evolution of Revolution*, Grant Richards Ltd., London, 1920, p.378.

16. In her own words: "... most of the people are either terribly ill-cad or hungry, probably both. Most of them were suffering from dirt and disease; most of them are actually ill or dying." - *Through Bolshevik Russia*, Cassell and Company Ltd., London, 1920, p.15. John Dewey, the famous American philosopher, visited Russia in 1928. But his impressions of Soviet Russia were very much favourable. He found the Russian régime not only occupied with improving the material conditions of the working class but also very "definitely concerned with expanding and enlarging the actual content of life." - *Impressions of Soviet Russia and the revolutionary world*, New Republic, Inc., N.Y., 1929, p.118.


20. Russell, *Autobiography*, vol.2, op.cit., p.102. "In numerous speeches, both public and private, we had been assured," writes Mrs. Snowden, "not only of the warmth of our welcome, but of the intention of the Bolsheviks to let us see everything - good, bad and indifferent." - Mrs. Snowden, ibid., p.48. And she goes on to add that this freedom was entirely illusory, and that they (the members of the delegation) were everywhere accompanied by the representatives of the Government - ibid., p.48. But in his *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* (1920) Russell holds a somewhat different and opposite view. "We are all allowed," he writes, "complete freedom to see politicians of opposition parties, and we naturally made full use of this freedom. We saw Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries of different groups, and Anarchists; we saw them without the presence of any Bolsheviks, and they spoke freely after they had overcome their initial fears." - *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, op.cit., p.21. We thus see that in his *Autobiography* (vol.2) and *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, Russell has given us two contradictory views.


22. Ibid., p.106.
23. ibid., p.107. Mrs. Snowden writes that "for the most part, the Russian system is utilitarian with, I repeat, Communism as its ultimate purpose, the making of Communists its goal." - Mrs. Snowden, op.cit., p.99.


26. ibid., p.40.


30. ibid., p.29.

31. ibid., p.27.


36. This article was written and published at the time of Lenin’s death in *New Leader*, a defunct organ of the Independent Labour Party, and is reprinted in *The Spokesman*, April 1970, No. 2, p. 3.

37. ibid., p. 3.

38. "Statesman of his calibre," as Russell writes, "do not appear more than about once in a century, and few of us are likely to live to see his equal." - ibid., p. 3.

39. For Russell’s criticisms of Marxism, see ch. V.


41. ibid., p. 55.

42. ibid., p. 7.

43. ibid., p. 56.
44. Scott Nearing and Bertrand Russell, op. cit., p. 89.


46. Scott Nearing and Bertrand Russell, op. cit., p. 59. The same views are also expressed in The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism, op. cit., p. 79.


49. ibid., p. 72.


51. Scott Nearing and Bertrand Russell, op. cit., p. 72.

52. Russell's criticisms of Bolshevism were regarded by his second wife, Dora Russell, as "bourgeois and senile and sentimental." On the other hand, Russell regarded her love of Bolshevism "with bewildered horror." - Russell, Autobiography, vol. 2, op. cit., p. 110.

54. "In the summer of 1931 Bernard Shaw visited Russia in company with Lord Astor and others, came home bubbling with excitement and delivered a lyrical address to the members of the Fabian Summer School." - Margaret Cole, Beatrice Webb, Longmans Green and Co., London, 1945, p.167.

55. ibid., p.166.

56. The Spectator, Nov. 27, 1920, p.705.


69. ibid., p. 221.

70. ibid., p. 185. Because of his adverse criticisms of Soviet Communism, Russell has been taken to task by Maurice Cornforth and has been accused of "the habit of taking on trust whatever the most fanatical reactionaries tell him." - Maurice Cornforth, *Science Versus Idealism: In Defence of Philosophy against Positivism and Pragmatism*, Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., London, 1955, p. 451. Cornforth also charges him with the incapacity of checking his facts. - ibid., p. 451. But we think
that Russell's charges against the Soviet Government were not at least unrelated to facts in the Stalin era. If Russell shows an undue contempt for Soviet Communism, Cornforth also can be accused for showing an undue adulation of Soviet Communism.

71. This point has been discussed in ch.VII.


74. ibid., p.212.

75. In his very short unpublished article, "Why I am neither a Communist nor a Fascist" (n.d.), Russell thus sums up his objections to Communism as follows:

"1. Its philosophy false; I am not a materialist, or believer in dialectical necessity.
2. I cannot accept Marx's theory of value.
3. I dislike a belief in Sacred Books.
5. Preaching class-war leads it to break out when defeat probable.
6. Hate is a dangerous basis for reconstruction."


78. ibid., p.85.


81. ibid., p.87.


83. ibid., p.30. Italics in the original.


85. ibid., p.86.


89. Marxism has nothing to do with one-party dictatorship. Lenin, of course, had suppressed all opposition parties and established the monopoly power of the Bolshevik Party. But the prohibition of opposition parties was introduced only as a temporary measure dictated by certain historical reasons. Stalin, however, distorted the teaching of Marx and enunciated the socialist principle of the dictatorship of one party. See Leon Trotsky, The Revolution Betrayed: What Is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?, Pioneer Publishers, N.Y., 1945, ch.V, sec.2 & ch.X, sec.3; David Horowitz, Imperialism and Revolution, Penguin Books, 1971, pp.132 ff. & ch.8. E.H.Carr writes: "The fiction of a legal opposition was, however, long since dead. Its demise cannot fairly be laid at the door of one party. If it was true that the Bolshevik regime was not prepared after the first few months to tolerate an organized opposition, it was equally true that no opposition party was prepared to remain within legal limits." - The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923, vol.1, Penguin Books, 1969, p.190.


94. Lenin writes: "Marx's concept of the 'state, i.e., the proletariat organised as the ruling class,' is inseparably bound up with the whole of his doctrine of the revolutionary role of the proletariat in history. The culmination of this role is the proletarian dictatorship, the political rule of the proletariat." - *The State and Revolution*, in his *Selected Works*, op.cit., vol.2, p.305. Italics mine.


99. ibid., p.221.

100. ibid., p.223.

101. ibid., p.224.

102. ibid., p.220. Engels also praises the Commune for its democratic and popular character. He writes: "Against this transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society - an inevitable transformation in all previous states - the Commune made use of two infallible means. In the first place, it filled all posts - administrative, judicial and educational - by election on the basis of universal suffrage of all concerned, subject to the right of recall at any time by the same electors. And, in the second place, all officials, high or low, were paid only the wages received by other workers." - Engels' Introduction to the 1891 edition of *The Civil War in France*, op.cit., p.188.


106. See ch. IV of this dissertation. In his *Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, Second Revised Edn., 1964, p. 374), George Lichtheim says that Marx's "hostility to the state was held in check by a decidedly authoritarian doctrine of political rule during the transition period: prior to being consigned to the dustbin of history, the state was to assume dictatorial power." But Ralph Miliband in his authoritative and well-documented study on 'Marx and the State' (op. cit., pp. 278-93) very ably and clearly refutes the charge of Lichtheim. Miliband rightly points out that "far from being any authoritarian imprint, the whole of Marx's work on the state is pervaded by a powerful anti-authoritarian and anti-bureaucratic bias, not only in relation to a distant communist society but also to the period of transition which is to precede it." - ibid., p. 293.


109. George Novack, op. cit., chs. 8 and 12. Similar views have also been put forth by Russell. - See ch. IV.

111. Ibid., p.212.

112. Ibid., chs. 7 and 11.


114. The point has been dealt with in greater detail in chs. V and VIII.


116. For a detailed discussion, see ch. V.


121. ibid., p.127.


123. Rubel, op.cit., p.89.


128. See ch.IV of this dissertation.


131. Engels writes that the socialization of the means of production would mark "humanity's leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom." - *Anti-Duhring*, op.cit., p.421.

133. ibid., p.93.


135. ibid., p.438.


Chapter Seven.


Russell gives his own definition of pacifism in the following words:

"TO ABSTAIN FROM FIGHTING, AND FROM ALL VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION IN WAR BETWEEN CIVILIZED NATIONS; TO USE EVERY EFFORT TO PERSUADE OTHERS TO DO LIKewise; TO BRING ALL POSSIBLE INFLUENCE TO BEAR TO PREVENT THE PARTICIPATION OF HIS COUNTRY IN WAR; AND, WITHIN THE LIMITS OF HIS CAPACITY, TO AIM AT SIMILAR RESULTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES ALSO." - *Which Way to Peace?* Michael Joseph Ltd., Great Britain, 1936, p.223. Capital letters in the original.


10. As Russell says: "Although I did not completely abandon logic and abstract philosophy, I became more and more absorbed in social questions and especially in the causes of war and the possible ways of preventing it." - *Portraits From Memory and Other Essays*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1956, p.35.


13. For the full text of the article, see Russell, ibid., pp.79-81. For Russell's early relationship with the N.C.F., see Jo Newberry, 'Russell in 1916', *Russell: the journal of the Bertrand Russell Archives*, No.2, Summer 1971, pp.9-10. The No-Conscription Fellowship was founded in England in 1914 (by Fenner Brockway, then Editor of the *Labour Leader*, now Lord Brockway) to carry on pacifist propaganda. Russell became
an active member of it only when conscription was actually brought in at the beginning of 1916. - ibid., p.9. For Russell's connexion with The Tribunal, see John G. Slater, 'Bertrand Russell and The Tribunal', Russell: the journal of the Bertrand Russell Archives, No.1, Spring 1971, pp.6-7.

14. Manchester Guardian, August 3, 1914, p.10. Russell was one of the signatories to the statement.


20. ibid., p.142.


23. Rajani Palme Dutt, 'Bertrand Russell 1872-1970', *The Labour Monthly*, March 1970, London, 'Notes of the Month', p. 107. In his unpublished essay, 'On Fascism', written in the 1930s, Russell observes: "Fascism is a mood of reckless violence, supported by Satanic organizations of armament firms which make a profit out of wholesale death. It cannot be combated by counter-violence, but only by a reasoned appeal to men's love of life and hope of less painful times." Italics mine. Russell, however, is bitterly critical of fascist philosophy. He, in his unpublished article, 'Why I am neither a Communist nor a Fascist' (n.d.), succinctly lays down his objections to Fascism:

1. Nationalism.
2. Its aim is the good of a minority.
3. It cannot become a stable system, because it promotes war.
4. If it could, it would re-establish slavery." He regards fascism as the negation of individual freedom and democracy. Force, war, oligarchy, propaganda, rather than argument, peace, democracy, scientific impartiality are, according to him, the characteristics of fascist philosophy. - 'The Philosophy of Fascism' (unpublished, n.d.).


34. David Harley, 'Bertrand Russell on pacifism: his views defined', *Humanist in Canada*, No.26, August 1973, p.35.


38. ibid., p.22.


44. In a letter to the Editor of the *New York Times*, January 27,
1941, Russell wrote: "You print today an Associated Press dispatch from Chicago, quoting me as saying, 'Although I have preached pacifism all my life, I am now convinced for the first time that freedom cannot be preserved without military strength'.

'This report is seriously inaccurate. In fact, I do not make this statement or any having the same meaning.

'It is not true that I have preached all my life or that I have ever been what is called a pacifist. I have not changed my opinion about the war. My opinion about war is exactly what it always was: that war is sometimes justified and sometimes not."


46. "Russell's essay, though not quite the earliest attempt to envisage the consequences of civil disobedience directed against a foreign occupation, foreshadows the later interest in this problem in the West that was to arise from the Gandhian experiments in nonviolence. It represents an extension of pacifist thinking from a perhaps excessive concern for the problems of moral conscience into the realm of international relations." - Peter Brock, op.cit., p.39.

47. ibid., p.53.

48. ibid., p.53.


52. Prof. I.L.Horowitz thinks that "something other than Russell's empiricism must account for his changing views on peace and war; that something is English society, its economic structure and world relations." - 'Bertrand Russell: Man Against Man', in his *The Idea of War and Peace in Contemporary Philosophy*, Paine - Whitman Publishers, N.Y., 1957, p.108. This assessment is a far more correct analysis of Russell's views on pacifism during the Second World War.


55. ibid., Preface.


58. ibid., p.75.


63. ibid., p.86.


65. Lionel Robbins, *The Economic Causes of War*, London, 1939, pp.40-59. According to him, the immediate cause of war lies in the lust for aggrandisement and in the desire of government to maintain or extend their power. - ibid., p.91.


In the last mentioned book (p. 110), Russell writes: "Most wars, it may be admitted, are for power or possessions." However, according to him, the view that war is caused by capitalism is only "a half-truth." - Roads to Freedom, op. cit., p. 146.


74. Russell writes: "He (Prof. McGill) accuses me of believing in 'an ineradicable impulse to war.' I cannot imagine what led him to make such a statement. What I have said is that people whose lives are unhappy or thwarted are apt to develop hatred and impulse towards violence, and that under present social system, there are many such people. He misses altogether my views as to the ways in which circumstances affect character." - ibid., 'Reply to Criticisms', p. 730.

75. Russell, Human Society in Ethics and Politics, George Allen and Unwin, London, Second Imp., 1958, p. 155. Erich Fromm, a very distinguished psychoanalyst of our time, writes that "man is not necessarily evil only if the proper conditions for
his growth and development are lacking. The evil has no independent existence of its own, it is the absence of the good, the result of the failure to realize life." - Man for Himself: An Enquiry into the Psychology of Ethics, N.Y., 1964, p.218.

76. I.L. Horowitz, op.cit., p.111.


79. Kenneth K. Waltz, op.cit., pp.26-41. In his words: "To attempt to explain social forms on the basis of psychological data is to commit the error of psychologism: the analysis of individual behaviour used uncritically to explain group phenomena." - ibid., p.28.

80. Russell, Political Ideals, op.cit., p.27.


83. See ch.IV.

85. See ch.IV.

86. Aldous Huxley, op.cit., p.94.


89. Russell, *Has Man A Future?*, Penguin Books, 1964, p.31. While criticizing Kahn's view in a letter, published in *Columbia University Forum* (Winter 1961/62, p.3), Russell writes: "Mr. Kahn's attempts to minimize the casualities omit a number of factors. There would be a complete disruption of communications, destruction of hospitals, and an enormous proportion of deaths among medical men and hospital nurses. There would be prolonged fallout causing renewed casualities for years. And if one may judge by advertisements about civil defence and pronouncements of Jesuit divines, a great many Americans would be killed by other Americans who do not want their shelters to be over-filled. Such matters, being not military, tend to be ignored by Mr. Kahn."


95. See Russell, *Principles of Social Reconstruction*, op. cit., ch. III.


110. In his book, *Has Man A Future?* (op.cit., p.75), Russell lays down his own arrangement at the present time. The arrangement is as follows: (1) China; (2) India and Ceylon; (3) Japan and Indonesia; (4) the Mohammedan World from Pakistan to Morocco; (5) Equatorial Africa; (6) the U.S.S.R. and her Satellites; (7) Western Europe, Britain, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand; (8) the U.S.A. and Canada; (9) Latin America. He thinks that such countries, for example, Yugoslavia, Israel, South Africa and Korea which do not come in this arrangement, present difficulties.


120. Published in Barry Feinberg and Ronald Kasrils, op. cit., pp. 285-8.


125. ibid., p.77. Here one may also refer to his 'Values in the Atomic Age', in M.L. Oliphant, et al., The Atomic Age, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1949, pp.97, 100. In his short unpublished article, 'Can the League of Nations Prevent War?' (n.d.), Russell lays down the following three possible roads to peace:

"(1) Pacifist Sentiment - good if universal, not otherwise.
(2) Transcending nationalism by some new creed such as Communism - again only successful if widespread.
(3) Domination of a nation or group of nations - probable after the next Great War." He then concludes: "I believe world-peace will come fairly soon, by this last method."


127. Russell's letter was published in Saturday Review, October 16, 1954, p.25. Although Russell ultimately admitted the fact that he had ever advocated an atomic war against Soviet Russia, he at first denied it. See Russell, Autobiography, vol.3, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1969, p.18; and also Kingsley Martin, Editor, op.cit., p.196. Russell wrote in a letter to the Editor of the Nation (October 17, 1953, p.320): "The story that I supported a preventive atom war against Russia is a Communist
invention. I once spoke at a meeting at which only one reporter was present and he was a Communist, though reporting for orthodox newspapers. He seized his opportunity, and in spite of my utmost efforts I have never been able to undo the harm. Krishna Menon, with whom I had collaborated for years on Indian affairs, turned against me. The New Statesman in London wrote assuming the truth of the report, and it was only by visiting the editor in company with my lawyer that I induced the New Statesman to publish a long letter of refutation from me. You are at liberty to make any use you like of this letter, and I shall be glad if you can make its contents known to anybody who still believes the slanderous report."

128. This becomes manifest from the letter he wrote to the New York Times of November 30, 1948. The letter is as follows:

"An address which I gave recently at a New Commonwealth Schools Conference at Westminster School has been widely misrepresented. I did not, as has been reported, urge immediate war with Russia. I did urge that the democracies should be prepared to use force if necessary, and that their readiness to do so should be made perfectly clear to Russia.

"It has become obvious that the Communists, like the Nazis, can be halted in their attempts to dominate Europe and Asia only by determined and combined resistance by every means in the democracies' power - not excluding military means, if Russia continues to refuse all compromise." See also Rupert Crawshay-Williams, Russell Remembered, Oxford University Press, London, 1970, pp.23-9.


132. Herbert Gottschalk, op.cit., p.78. "Looking back, this change of mind," he writes, "on Bertrand Russell's part is seen to reflect changed political conditions and is easy enough to understand." - ibid., p.78.


135. ibid., p.25.


144. Ibid.


146. I.L. Horowitz, op.cit., p.121.

147. Ibid., p.121.


In his unpublished essay, 'What India Can do for the World' (8 October, 1954), Russell writes: "I should like to see the Indian Government appointing a Commission of five or six persons to investigate the harm which a major conflict between Communist and non-Communist Powers would do to India and to mankind. There would have to be on such a Commission an expert on air warfare, a nuclear physicist, a bacteriologist, an economist, and a man of wide experience in international affairs. They should draw up a report showing that war would be suicidal for all parties. They should send the report to all the Governments likely to be involved in a war and invite their opinion upon its findings. It might in this become possible to get all the great powers to admit to India what they would not admit to each other, namely, that war is no longer a method of achieving anything that any Government desires." In this connexion, we may refer to Russell's other unpublished essays on India, namely, 'What India Can Do for Mankind (October 21, 1953), 'What India Can Do' (December 11, 1953), and 'India Can Save the World' (February 23, 1955).


155. Russell, Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare, op.cit., p.54.

156. ibid., pp.66-8.


161. Almost the whole of ch.3 of the third volume of Russell's Autobiography is devoted to his activities in connexion with the C.N.D. and the Committee of 100.

162. In his article on 'The Medieval Mind of Gandhi' (1952), Russell writes: "If you want to understand Gandhi's thinking, you must not put him alongside modern thinkers, with a single exception. This exception is Tolstoy. Otherwise there is no
modern thinker that is really in the same realm of ideas as Gandhi. You will do better to compare him with men of the Middle Ages - St. Bernard, or even St. Francis - or of an earlier time, if you want to understand Gandhi's mentality. It is not a modern mentality." - Institute of Social Studies, vol.1, No.7, Fall 1962, p.73.


165. ibid., p.122.

166. Herman Kahn, op.cit., p.537.


168. ibid., p.122.


170. See Barry Feinberg and Ronald Kasrils (eds.), op.cit., p.68.

171. Russell discusses in detail the case for British nuclear disarmament in his essay entitled 'The Case for British Nuclear Disarmament', op.cit., pp.6-10. In this connexion, see also his 'The Case for British Neutralism', in
Fact and Fiction, op. cit., pp. 263-5. This article was first published in New York Times Magazine, 10 June, 1960, pp. 2-8.

172. Herman Kahn, op. cit., p. 236. Italics in the original. Raymond Aron also thinks that the pacification of international relations through general disarmament is highly improbable. Like Russell, he argues that as soon as the war is started, the great Powers will start producing demonicical weapons. - Aron, 'Political Action in the Shadow of Atomic Apocalypse, in Harold D. Lasswell and Harlan Cleveland (eds.), The Ethics of Power: The Interplay of Religion, Philosophy and Politics, Published by the Conference of Science, Philosophy and Religion in relation to the democratic way of life, N.Y., 1962, pp. 453-4.


175. Philip Noel-Baker, op. cit., p. 263.


177. ibid., p. 113.


188. Russell, 'Is Nationalism Moribund?', *Seven Arts*, October 17, 1917, pp. 674-5.

189. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.20.

190. ibid., pp.64-5.


195. Published as a Report of the British Administration in India by the India League in London in 1933.

196. ibid., p.XII.


199. *Asia*, June 1942, pp.338-40. Russell wrote a large number of
articles on India, and in many of them he espoused the cause of India's freedom. For instance, in 1944, he wrote: "Great Britain should, at the earliest possible moment, join with the United States, Russia and China, in an offer of self-government to India, terminating all special British rights. This would come into effect six months or a year after the end of the war with Japan." - 'My Program for India', Common Sense, February 1944, p.52.


201. Russell, Autobiography, vol.2, op.cit., p.128. The name of the article is 'The White Peril in China' (September 1926). But no copy of the article is extant. I have been informed to this effect by Mr. Kenneth Blackwell, Archivist, The Bertrand Russell Archives, McMaster University, Canada, in a letter dated 27.8.1973.


203. ibid., p.227.


of the Russell War Crimes Tribunal, Bertrand Russell Peace

207. Ibid., p.38.


Tribunal are to be found in Against the Crime of Silence; 
Proceedings of the Russell War Crimes Tribunal, ed., John
Duffett, introd., Bertrand Russell, Foreword, Ralph
Schoenman, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, N.Y., & London,
1968; Second Edn., Simon and Schuster, N.Y., introd., Noam
Chomsky, and in Prevent the Crime of Silence, eds., Peter
Weiss, Peter Limqueco and Ken Coates with a Preface by Noam

211. Russell's opening statement to the second session of the

212. Ibid., p.49.

Horowitz tell us that "the media of the Western world entered
a loose conspiracy to take revenge against Russell by
portraying him as a senescent, bird-like and wrinkled creature who should have done himself the favour of dying when his reputation as a humanist and philosopher was unsullied by such follies as intruding in global politics on the side of the weak and oppressed." — op. cit., p. 14.


218. Mr. Kenneth Blackwell wrote to me in a letter dated August 27th, 1973: "We don't know any reaction of the Communist countries, except on the part of North Vietnam, to the War Crimes Tribunal. The North Vietnam's reactions will be found in the published hearings of the Tribunal." Ken Coates writes: "If the Western press showed little charity to the Tribunal,


Chomsky, *At War With Asia*, op.cit., p.226. Prof. Edward F. Sherman correctly sums up the significance of the Russell War Crimes Tribunal in the following words:

"The force of such a tribunal lies not in its power to impose sanctions, for it has none, but in its ability to invoke the moral outrage of the peoples of the international community. It recognizes that although the nations have failed to implement the international law standards established at Nuremberg and in the international conventions regulating the laws of war, moral approbrium is still a potent force. It also helps to maintain international common law standards which might otherwise be lost by failure of nations to recognize them as customary international law." — Bertrand Russell and the Peace Movement: Liberal Consistency or Radical Change?, in George Nakhnikian (ed.), *Bertrand Russell's Philosophy*, Duckworth, London, 1974, p.263.

John G. Slater, 'One Hundred Years of Bertrand Russell: An Appraisal', Public Lecture Series 1971-72, University of Toronto, Canada, p.27.


ibid., p.108.

Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.243.
230. ibid., p.243.


234. H.G.Wells, op.cit., p.64.


237. ibid., p.9. In this article, Russell gives many interesting suggestions in connexion with the International University.


239. Green, op.cit., p.178.


243. ibid., p.115.

244. cp. Sri Aurobindo, a great sage and savant of India and one of its greatest intellectuals. Like Russell, he also finds in the moral elevation of man the ultimate solution of war. He writes: "A long peace, even a certain organisation of peace, may conceivably result, but so long as the heart of man remains what it is, the peace will come to an end; the organisation will break down under the stress of human passions. War is no longer, perhaps, a biological necessity, but it is still a psychological necessity; what is within us, must manifest itself outside." - *War and Self-Determination*, in his *The Human Cycle, The Ideal of Human Unity and War and Self-Determination*. Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1962, pp.818-9.

245. But in his unpublished essay, 'What is wrong with Western Civilization?' (1924), Russell writes: "Many of those who see the evils of the present state of affairs urge a change of heart as the only cure. I wish to say as emphatically as I can that I regard this as a perfectly vain hope. Christ preached a change of heart with more force and eloquence that we can hope to command; his disciples acquired the government, and no change of heart resulted. **It is not a change of heart that we must seek to bring about, but a change of system.** The mass of men are by nature selfish, and we have
to make their selfish interests as nearly as possible, and so obviously as possible, identical with those of the world at large." — Italics added. Russell sometimes becomes too much pessimistic to think that "a fundamental change in the psychology of man is no more than a mere utopian dream." — Fact and Fiction, op.cit., p.133. In New Hopes for a Changing World (op.cit., p.160), he observes: "The change that is wanted is sometimes thought to be a moral change, but my own belief is that nothing is required beyond a just estimate of self-interest." In Russell's writings, one is thus confronted with many conflicting views and statements.


249. Aldous Huxley, op.cit., p.121.


253. ibid., p.55.
Chapter Eight


4. Ibid., p.68.


6. Ibid., p.53.

7. Ibid., pp.53-4.


9. Ibid., p.10.

10. Ibid., p.10.

11. Ibid., pp.12-3.

12. Ibid., p.15.


23. Morgenthau, *Scientific Man Vs. Power Politics*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illions, 1946, p.195. "The test of political power," he continues to add, "is the degree to which one is able to maintain, to increase, or to demonstrate one's power over others." - ibid., p.196.

is concerned with power relations within the institutional system, and with a broader aspect of settlement of terms."


29. ibid., p.164.

30. Treitschke, Politics, trans. from the German by BIANCHE DUDGALE and TORBEN DE BILLE, introd., RT.HON.ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, Constable and Company Ltd., London, 1916, vol.2, p.39. He writes: "We may state that power is the vital principle of the State, as faith is that of the Church, and love that of the family." - ibid., vol.1, p.23.

32. By power J.S. Mill means: "Not thews and sinews; otherwise pure democracy would be the only form of polity that could exist. To mere muscular strength add two other elements, property and intelligence, and we are nearer the truth but far from having yet reached it. ... The power in society which has any tendency to convert itself into political power is not power quiescent, power merely passive, but active power - in other words, power actually exerted; that is to say, a very small portion of all the power in existence." - Considerations on Representative Government, Forum Books, N.Y., 1958, pp.12-3.


43. Tawney, op. cit., pp. 175-8.

44. MacIver, *The Web of Government*, op. cit., p. 87. In his *Power Transformed* (op. cit., p. 71), he defines power as "the capacity to control, regulate, or direct the behaviour of persons or things." Power has been defined in *The Modern State* (op. cit., p. 47) as "the effective exercise of will."

45. Morton A. Kaplan, *System and Process in International Politics*, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., N.Y., 1957, p. 12. Talcott Parsons defines power as "the capacity of a social system to mobilize its resources" for the attainment of collective goals. *Politics and Social Structure*, op. cit., pp. 200, 205, 206. It may be seen that his definition of power bears a close resemblance to that of Hobbes. C.B. Macpherson distinguishes between two concepts of power: 'developmental' or 'ethical' and 'extractive' or 'descriptive'. By the 'developmental'
concept of power he means a man's ability to use and develop his capacities. The 'extractive' concept of power has been defined as control over others. In his opinion, most political scientists, from Machiavelli and Hobbes to the modern empirical theorists, have defined power in the 'descriptive' or 'extractive' sense. (See his Democratic Theory, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1973, pp.40-6). In this book (pp.46-9), he makes a brief and critical review of the current empirical theorists' concept of power.


47. Russell, Power: A New Social Analysis, op.cit., p.36.


49. Lasswell and Kaplan, op.cit., p.75.


52. ibid., p.75.


55. ibid., p.23.


59. See ch.V.


63. ibid., p.92.

64. Lasswell and Kaplan, op.cit., p.94.

65. Tawney, op.cit., p.231.


67. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.189.

68. ibid., p.189.

69. ibid., p.189.


72. Ibid., p.198.

73. C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, *op.cit.*, see especially ch.9.

74. Russell (with Dora Russell), *op.cit.*, p.190.

75. Ibid., p.223.


77. Ibid., p.38.

78. Ibid., p.106.

79. Ibid., p.39.


81. Ibid., p.139.

83. ibid., p.41.

84. ibid., p.41.

85. ibid., p.108.

86. ibid., p.99.

87. ibid., pp.97-8. The word 'religion' has been used by Russell in its widest sense.

88. Tawney, op.cit., p.176.


90. See ch.V.


94. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.222.

95. Lasswell and Kaplan, op.cit., p.163. Italics in the original.

96. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.225.

97. ibid., p.225.

98. ibid., p.226.

99. ibid., p.225, f.n.

100. Laski, Authority in the Modern State, Yale University Press, 1919, pp.73-4.

101. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.231.

102. ibid., pp.231-2.

103. ibid., pp.240-1.

104. For Russell's conception of Socialist Democracy, see ch.III.


106. See ch.IV.

108. Ibid., p. 307.

109. Ibid., p. 297.

110. Ibid., p. 303. Italics in the original.

111. Ibid., p. 308.

112. Ibid., p. 279.

113. Ibid., p. 309.

114. For Russell's ideas on World Government, see ch. VII.


117. For further discussion of Russell's educational ideas, see chs. IV and VII.


123. ibid., p. 268.

124. ibid., p. 273.


126. ibid., p. 586. Italics in the original.

127. ibid., p. 587.


129. ibid., p. 33.


"Although power and influence are useful concepts for many kinds of situations, they have not greatly helped us to understand many of the natural social-choice mechanisms, to


133. Bertrand Russell Speaks His Mind, Arthur Barker Ltd., Second Imp., 1961, p.79. This book consists of 13 dialogues with Russell filmed for television during four and a half days in the spring of 1959. Woodrow Wyatt was the interviewer.


135. For further discussion, see ch.V.

136. See ch.V.

Chapter Nine


7. Ibid., p.631.


11. Ibid., p.253.

13. Russell (with Dora Russell), op.cit., p.146.


20. Ibid., p.22.

21. Ibid., p.162. Italics in the original.

23. Alan Wood, Russell's best biographer, writes: "In politics the fundamental consistency was one of fierce human compassion, and he went into action in the mood of a man raising a standard which he meant to defend against all attacks." - Bertrand Russell: The Passionate Sceptic, George Allen and Unwin, London, Second Imp., 1957, p.75.


32. *ibid.*, ch. 3.


34. Erich Fromm, 'Prophets and Priests', in Ralph Schoenman (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 74.

35. See Russell, *Autobiography*, vol. 3, *op. cit.*, ch. IV. His humanitarian impulse must have certainly led Russell to condemn apartheid policies in South Africa and in Rhodesia. But we have not been able to find out any statement of Russell condemning such policies. In reply to my letter of March 25, 1975, Kenneth Blackwell, Archivist, the Bertrand Russell Archives, Canada, in his letter dated April 3, 1975, wrote to me: "I am unable to put my finger on any such statements, though one or two probably exist." We will, however, find some remarks on
Apartheid in Russell's *New Hopes for a Changing World* (1951), ch. XII.

36. ibid., pp. 81-2.


42. Russell, *Portraits From Memory and Other Essays*, op. cit., p. 57.

43. In this connexion, one may especially refer to his unpublished article, 'Democracy and a Planned Economy' (1942/43). For extracts from this article, see Appendix II.
44. Edith Russell, 'Message to the Bertrand Russell Centenary Celebration at Linz', in Spheres of Influence in the Age of Imperialism, Spokesman Books, Nottingham, 1972.

45. Russell, 'Is Nationalism Moribund?', Seven Arts, October 1917, p.673.


Elsewhere he writes: "I agree that he (Russell) has had no great influence on practical politics, and that for the simple reason that he has never undertaken political analysis: in current discussions of the Vietnam war, where I agree to some degree with his conclusion, he never analyses the forces that are at work and why we are in this situation." - 'The Influence of Bertrand Russell', The Listener, April 20, 1967, p.518.
49. Stuart Hampshire, op.cit., p.262.


52. ibid., p.438.


54. Kingsley Martin, 'Unmistakably a genius', *New Statesman*, March 1967, p.367. In his *Editor* (op.cit., p.196), Martin writes: "Later he (Russell) became wholly one-sided, strongly supporting China against India and the Vietcong against America. I do not myself take so simple a view of the Sino-Indian dispute, ..."


56. A.J. Ayer, *Russell*, Fontana/Collins, 1972, p.11. cp. Maurice Cornforth. The British Marxist thinker says that Russell has achieved lasting fame as a great and original thinker on account of his immense contributions to formal logic and
mathematics, and not because of his contribution to philosophy.


60. Herbert Gottschalk, op.cit., p.87.


66. Russell, "What is Philosophy?", in *Bertrand Russell Speaks His Mind*, London, Second Imp., 1951, pp. 14-5. In his *My Philosophical Development* (George Allen and Unwin, London, Second Imp., 1959, p. 230), Russell writes: "Although I feel strongly about the importance of analysis, this is not the most serious of my objections to the new philosophy. The most serious of my objections is that the new philosophy seems to me to have abandoned, without necessity, that grave and important task which philosophy throughout the ages have hitherto pursued. Philosophers from Thales onwards have tried to understand the world." Marx, on the contrary, writes: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it." - *Theses on Feuerbach*, in *Marx and Engels, Selected Works in three volumes*, vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 15. Italics in the original.


70. I.F. Stone, "To Oppose the Stream", in Ralph Schoenman (ed.), op. cit., p. 60.


73. Victor Purcell, 'Fifty Years' Influence', in Ralph Schoenman (ed.), op. cit., p. 41.

74. ibid., p. 54.


77. Kingsley Martin, Editor, op. cit., p. 196.

78. I.F. Stone, op. cit., p. 60.


81. H.W. Leggettt, Bertrand Russell, O.M., Philosophical Library, 1960, p. 8. Although the book was written long before the death of Russell, it represents, we think, a fairly correct assessment of Russell's influence.

82. Julius Caesar, Act V, Scene V.


84. Rajani Palme Dutt, 'KNIGHT-ERRANT OF HUMANITY', op. cit.