

Law School of Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Mass.

M 3

January 29, 1962

Mr. Leo Szilard
Hotel DuPont Plaza
DuPont Circle
Washington, D.C.

Dear Leo:

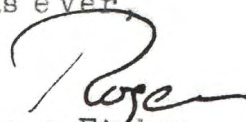
What has happened? Where do we stand? What can I do to be useful?

I will be in Washington on Friday, February 9th and I am free for lunch if that will be convenient.

I have given your name to Mike Forrestal who is resigning from the firm of Sherman and Sterling in New York to become MacBundy's right hand man on the Far East, an area about which Mike claims to know nothing. Mike is a close friend of Harriman's and a good man. He should be starting work after the middle of February.

How did the California trip go?

As ever,


Roger Fisher

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge 38, Mass.

May 1, 1963

Dr. Leo Szilard
DuPont Plaza

Dear Leo -

Enclosed is some biographical data.

Although I am a consultant with the Defense Department the extent of my formal work for them is slight. During 1962 I was paid for five days of consulting.

I am also cleared as a consultant for ACDA but have not yet done any work for them in that status.

So far as I can recall, I have no unbreakable dates. I am supposed to give a speech on May 25th which I would cancel. I should be in Cambridge on May 24 and May 28 to give exams, but this could be waived.

Plans also have been made for the last ten days of June, plans which could be cancelled.

yrs,


Roger Fisher

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge 38, Mass.

May 10, 1963

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel Dupont Plaza
Dupont Circle
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Leo:

I would like to confirm in writing what I told you last week about the Angels project: it ought to go ahead and it ought to go ahead now.

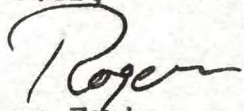
Although, as you know, I do some consulting on disarmament with the Department of Defense, more time has been spent in unofficial discussion with classmates, colleagues and friends in the administration. Several factors convince me that every effort ought to be made at once to complete the arrangements and hold the unofficial meeting of a small group of Soviet and Americans concerned with disarmament.

First, the administration now fully understands the proposition that every disarmament decision involves a weighing of comparative risks. They are no longer looking for the foolproof scheme - the arms reduction arrangement which would involve no risks. In working through its position on the test ban and in trying to explain it to a hostile Congress the administration finally recognized that it must be prepared openly to admit that there are some theoretical possibilities of evasion, but that as a practical matter such risks are small compared to the risks of not having an agreement. It has reached the point where DOD officials have spent time trying to persuade me that the most important issue of which the public needs to be informed is that of comparative risks, and of the extreme risks involved in the world's continuing on its present course. Although the administration and the country has been grossly oversold on "inspection", top officials now know it, and could be expected to look with much more realism on the problem of verification than they would have as recently as a year ago.

Second, the realization that it is no longer possible or reasonable to seek to acquire the capacity to inflict a disabling first strike has caused a significant pause in the thinking underlying our weapons procurement programs. There is some recognition that if the anti-I.C.B.M. programs can be kept modest, the United States is in a position where it could consider significant reductions in missile programs. At the present time we are unilaterally reducing our bomber forces at a surprising rate. Our position is currently quite flexible. It seems a good time to inject some ideas of the most promising directions in which to move. There is a good chance that the administration might respond, perhaps first with "parallel unilateral" measures and then with a formal first stage agreement.

Last November Mr. Khurshchev wrote you, indicating his willingness to try "an unofficial Soviet-American meeting at a non-governmental level to exchange views and examine the possibility of coming to an agreement on disarmament." The current flexibility of positions within the U.S. government convinces me that now is a better time for such a meeting than last fall. None of us would expect that such an unofficial meeting would be promptly followed by the conclusion of a formal disarmament treaty. Perhaps a first stage agreement will not be reached until there has been more restraint exercised by both sides, as in the withdrawal of missiles from Cuba and Turkey and the reduction of bomber forces. But certainly, better understanding on each side of what knowledgeable people, dedicated to disarmament, in the other country think ought to be done may not only hasten the day but may be necessary to make possible a significant first-stage agreement. Your proposal is both important and urgent.

As ever,


Roger Fisher

RF:ap

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge 38, Mass.

May 23, 1963

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel Dupont Plaza
Dupont Circle
Washington, D.C.

Dear Leo:

Feld, Goldberger and I lunched today with Doty, Shulman, Frisch, and Ben Brown, secretary to that project. There was general acceptance to your proposition that there should be no single channel of unofficial conversations on disarmament with the Soviets.

We worked out the following modus vivendi. We would not come back to the Soviets on your project prior to June 10th, which is the day Marshall Shulman is expected back from Moscow.

If as of that time the Doty meeting has been definitely postponed until January (which is the time that Doty will suggest if August or early September is out) we will feel perfectly free to go ahead with our project no later than October without further consultation.

So long as August or September is still a possible date for the Doty meeting we may continue to think about a non-conflicting meeting but will make no proposal to the Russians without giving Doty a chance to talk to us about it even though this may hold us up through July 4th, which is the date Doty is due back from Europe.

There was a good deal of discussion of the fact that useful work could be done by an American team of "Angels" in trying to work out in advance their own ideas on what might be an acceptable first stage mutual deterrence plan.

I will be in touch with you by phone.

As ever,



Roger Fisher

RF:ap

Scrubby Neck
Box 66
Vineyard Haven, Mass.

June 18, 1963

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel Dupont Plaza
Dupont Circle
Washington, D. C.

Dear Leo:

Enclosed is the letter from the President to Hudson Hoagland. I understand that you will make a lot of photo copies of it, and send me several. Please forward on the original to Hudson at the Academy.

I cleared all this with Hudson by phone and opened the letter with his permission.

Enclosed also is a copy of the letter from Hoagland to the President and the "Instructions to Participants" as it was enclosed with that letter. I presume you will want to make copies of these as well. The instructions were revised slightly by me, mostly by way of changing tenses from "would" to "will".

Carl Kaysen's letter to me included the following paragraph:

"The President expressed his concern that you fully understood that you were acting as a private group and not as representatives of the government, and I assured him that this was the case. I know we have discussed this before, but I thought it would be useful to remind you."

I am checking on the continued availability of the other men and will be in touch with you if any problems have developed.

In haste,



Roger Fisher

Geneva, Saturday, 27 July 1963

Mr Roger Fisher
Box 66
Vineyard Haven, Mass.
USA

Dear Roger,

In the meantime you should have received a copy of my letter of 15 July to Chairman Khrushchev, including the Postscript of 16 July, which refers to Carl Kaysen's presence in Moscow, and the text of the message I sent to Kaysen through the US Mission in Geneva. The text of the Postscript of 16 July is attached to refresh your memory.

Today I am writing to add the following information :

The message to Kaysen was sent in the afternoon of Tuesday, 16 July, and should have reached him in the morning of Wednesday, 17 July. Further, I visited in the afternoon of 16 July the Soviet Mission. They told me that while last October they had Teletype to Moscow available, they did not now have such a facility available and therefore they would translate my letter into Russian and thereafter the Russian text would be sent to Moscow over the radio. The translation into Russian would take them a few days.

When I got back to my hotel Friday, 19 July, in the late afternoon, I found a message from Carl Kaysen in which he said that it would be clearly inappropriate for him to discuss with Soviet officials the business of the Academy Study Group in his present capacity. Upon receiving this message I immediately called on the Soviet Mission with the thought in mind of deleting the Postscript in my letter to Khrushchev. They told me that they had changed their mind about the mode of transmission of my letter and that someone, who flew to Moscow in the morning of Wednesday, 17 July, had been given my letter, in the original, in a sealed envelope, and that this document should have reached Moscow by the evening of Wednesday, 17 July.

Thereupon I sent Kaysen a telegram of which I attach the text.

By close of business yesterday, Friday, 26 July, I have not as yet had a reply from the Russian Mission to my letter which they have transmitted to Moscow.

This is how the matter stands at present.

In the next two weeks I expect to be in and out of Geneva. The best address to reach me will be c/o Dr Martin Kapiian, World Health Organization, Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

cc: Bernard Feld
Jerome Wiesner

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge 38, Mass.

Box 66
Vineyard Haven, Mass.
July 29, 1963

Dr. Leo Szilard
c/o Dr. Martin Kaplan
World Health Organization
Palais des Nations
Geneve, Switzerland

Dear Leo:

Thank you for sending me copies of your letters and memos of July 15th and 16th which I received promptly. I decided not to circulate any copies of them, but showed them to Bernie Feld last week when I was in Cambridge for two days.

In the light of developments, I would say that we were proven right, that both governments were prepared to move in the right direction, and that it was a good time to have some "angels" meet with some official Russians. The team the U.S. sent was almost the team you originally picked: Long, Kaysen, McNaughton, Harriman, -- perhaps a little senior to what you had in mind, but certainly a group of those who would not be considered a typical sample.

I also think it was right to send off ^{our} ~~the~~ proposal to keep the avenue open for the future, even though for the immediate future official avenues of communication seem open and flexible.

Although I expect nothing to develop prior to Pugwash, I assume you will notify me promptly of any reply you receive so that I can deal here with the other individuals concerned.

As ever,


Roger Fisher

28 January, 1964

Professor Roger Fisher
The Law School
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Roger:

Enclosed is a response, which I received from Fank Long,
on my paper of January 2, which will appear in the March issue
of *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*.


Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

LS: jm

Enc.

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 Datum - Date - Data	Wörter - Mots - Parole	Taxe - Tassa	Fr.	Rp./Ct.	Befördert - Expédié - Spedito	
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Vermerke - Indications - Indicazioni Via Radiosuisse		Adresse - Indirizzo: LT ROGER FISHER TELEPHONE VINEYARD HAVEN 1590 M STAP BOX 66 VINEYARD HAVEN				
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Die untenstehenden Angaben werden nicht befördert. — Les indications ci-après ne sont pas transmises. — Le indicazioni che seguono non vengono trasmesse.

Adresse des Absenders } **SZILARD, Les Hotel Bernina**
 Adresse de l'expéditeur }
 Indirizzo del mittente }

ROGER FISHER [↑] VINEYARD HAVEN MASSACHUSSETTS
BOX 66 TELEPHONE 1590 M

PLEASE CABLE NAME OF AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS FIRMLY COMMITTED
AND ALSO WIESNERS RESPONSE TO MY LETTER = SZILARD

.....
Leo Szilard
Hotel Bernina
Geneva