

Misc

January 11, 1946

Telegram to Eugene Meyer

The Washington Post

Washington, D. C.

RE YOUR LETTER DATED JANUARY 8th. COMMENT ON ELLISTON'S ARTICLE FOR THIS SUNDAY'S EDITION OF POST. AM VERY MUCH IN ACCORD WITH THE GENERAL TENOR OF HERBERT ELLISTON'S ARTICLE. ONLY BY PURSUING A POLICY WHICH REFLECTS GENUINE CONCERN FOR THE WELFARE OF BOTH GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA CAN WE RAISE OUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THEM ABOVE THE LEVEL OF BARGAINING. THE PROBLEM WITH WHICH THE ATOMIC BOMB CONFRONTS US IS NOT CAPABLE OF A SOLUTION ON THE LEVEL OF BARGAINING BUT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF BROAD GENERAL PRINCIPLES WHICH BY VIRTUE OF THEIR INTERNAL CONSISTENCY AND LOGIC WILL GRADUALLY COMMAND THE UNIVERSAL RESPECT WHICH THEY DESERVE.

Signed Leo Szilard

Metallurgical Laboratory

University of Chicago

Chicago, Ill.

The Washington Post

AND

Times Herald

1515 L STREET, N. W. - WASHINGTON 5, D. C. - REPUBLIC 7-1234

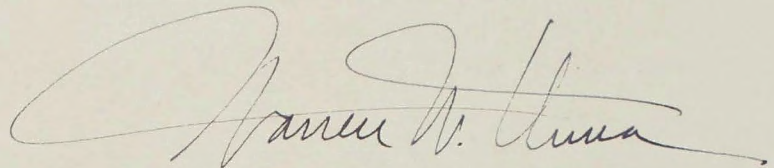
Dr. S --

It was a pleasure meeting and dining with you.

Herewith the Bush transcript.

Let me know when you decide to "open" with your project. And also about your atoms-for-the-lay reader piece.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Warren W. Unna". The signature is fluid and extends across the width of the page.

Warren W. Unna

Wednesday, May 11, 1955.

The Washington Post,
Editorial Offices,
"Letters to the Editor",
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington D.C. 5.

May 11th. 1960

Gentlemen:

Attached is a communication submitted to you as a "letter to the Editor". I shall appreciate your printing it if it can be printed unchanged and in full length prior to the Summit Conference.

I shall be very grateful for your calling me collect over the telephone at ext. 133, at Memorial Hospital, New York, TRafalgar 9 - 3000, anytime between 8 a.m. and 10 p.m. to let me know whether you are able to use this "Letter".

Yours very truly,

Leo Szilard.

Enclosure:

Dr. Szilard's Views on Cessation of Tests

At the risk of becoming eligible for the Lenin Prize, I feel impelled to say that, in the Geneva cessation of bomb tests, we are wrong and the Russians are right, on one important point.

In my view, the general approach which we have adopted in the negotiation with Russia on the cessation of bomb tests has been ill-advised from its inception. The cessation of bomb tests is of no major importance in itself; it will in no way stop the arms race, nor will it eliminate the existing stockpiles of bombs, or stop the further development of the means suitable for the delivery of these bombs.

If our entering into formal negotiations with Russia on the cessation of bomb tests can be justified at all, it can be justified only on the grounds that it may establish a pattern for later agreements that may provide for far-reaching arms limitations.

Our present approach would hardly establish a useful pattern for later agreements of this sort. Illicit bomb tests conducted on Russian territory might perhaps be detected by suitable gadgets if a sufficient number of them were installed. But what kind of gadgets would discover secret evasions of an agreement which limits the number of bombs that may be stockpiled, or restricts the means of delivery?

And what would be the point of going to all the trouble and expense to track down earth tremors which have their focus in Russian territory when Russia could evade the agreement if she desired to do so by conducting her bomb tests on Chinese territory?

The negotiations in Geneva have now taken a new turn, however. Our newspapers reported on May 4 that the Russians have accepted May 11 as a starting date for a meeting of East-West scientists in Geneva to make plans for the research program which would

go into operation with the signing of a moratorium relating to bomb tests. The Soviet Union has asked that the research program and the experimental explosions be carried out "jointly" by East and West.

In contrast to this, the United States feels that the research should be carried out largely on the basis of existing national detection programs with observers from the other side present, and the results then "coordinated." Mr. Tsarapkin said that this would lead to trouble and the questioning of results and declared that the scientists of the two sides should work as a team.

If we are really willing to have an enduring moratorium on bomb tests and are concerned only about the illicit testing of bombs by Russia then we ought to welcome the Russian proposal of a research program carried out jointly by East and West. Moreover, we ought to go one step further and suggest that this proposal be implemented by setting up a project along the following lines:

The Russian and American governments shall each draw up a list of all engineers and scientists who have participated in the past 10 years in the performance and evaluation of bomb tests. Such a list might include perhaps 1500 Americans and an equal number of Russians. These men shall be located with their families for the duration of the moratorium at some pleasant Austrian resort. They may organize themselves into teams which could jointly invent and develop methods for detecting illicit bomb tests.

Experimental explosions could be carried out by such teams through arrangements with the American and Russian governments. There shall be no attempt, however, to limit the members of the Project to working on such a narrowly conceived and perhaps basically ill-advised program and they might thus initiate research and development pro-

grams of far greater importance which could be jointly carried out also.

It is essential that during the moratorium the members of the Project shall frequently visit their homeland and spend as much time as possible at their home base in free communication with their colleagues. It is further essential, that the President of the U. S. and the President of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall make a personal appeal to the members of the Project and ask their help to insure that, if there are secret evasions of the agreement they shall be promptly discovered.

Accordingly, it shall be the patriotic duty of each man to come forward with such information as may lead to the disclosure of illicit bomb tests. In addition to having the satisfaction of performing their patriotic duty, those who make available relevant information shall receive an award of one million dollars from their own government.

Any recipient of such an award who should choose to remain abroad with his family and to enjoy his wealth by living a life of leisure and luxury shall be permitted to do so.

By agreeing to the setting up of a project along the lines here described, Russia could reassure America that she is not engaged in the illicit testing of bombs either on her own territory, or on Chinese territory—without having to permit foreign inspectors to roam freely about the country.

Sooner or later America and Russia might get around to negotiating an agreement providing for far-reaching arms limitations. This would then create a situation in which there would remain no military secrets that need to be safe-guarded and therefore, adequate measures of inspection—which are not acceptable today—may then become acceptable. LEO SZILARD,

The Enrico Fermi Institute for Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago,
New York.

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Washington Post

May 13, 1960

April 19, 1961

The Washington Post
Editorial Offices
"Letters to the Editor"
1515 L Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find a text, sent to you with a request that you publish it as a letter to the Editor. I should greatly appreciate your telephoning me in the course of the day and advising me whether you intend to print it. I am staying in Washington at the Hotel Dupont Plaza, Hudson 3-6000, Room 842. If you cannot reach me, I would appreciate your leaving a message for me to call you back.

Very truly yours,

Leo Szilard

April 19, 1961

Letter to the Editor

Since Cuba is under armed attack by an invading force and since she is a member of the United Nations, the Soviet Union may lawfully render her armed assistance under Paragraph 51 of the United Nations Charter. The President's Note of April 18th seems to indicate that we might resort to force in order to keep Russia from rendering Cuba such armed assistance. Such a course of action on the part of the United States would flagrantly violate the United Nations Charter and it might lead to war. The President did not say in his Note, nor did he as yet explain to the American people, why the United States may be compelled to violate the Charter of the United Nations in the Cuban crisis.

The last flagrant violation of the Charter occurred in a rather similar case when Great Britain (acting jointly with France and Israel) attacked Egypt. But when Great Britain violated the Charter on that occasion, there was vigorous dissent in Great Britain and this dissent was publicly voiced. Now the United States is threatening to violate the Charter, but there seems to be no comparable dissent in America.

I could hardly believe my eyes when I read the editorial -- "Cuba in the Balance" -- printed in today's issue of the Washington Post. You say in this editorial that if there is no large out-pouring of popular support for the insurgents, in Cuba, then their predicament will become very serious, and you ask whether this country should resist the pleas of the insurgents to come to their rescue, if the invasion should turn into a rout.

You say that because the United States is associated with the efforts of the Cuban insurgents in the world's eyes, she would lose prestige if the insurgents were defeated, even though Americans are not participating in the present efforts to free Cuba. There is a clear inference that the United States might be compelled to intervene directly in Cuba in order to avoid a loss of prestige, even if Russia does not invoke Paragraph 51 of the Charter.

Contingencies are conceivable where the United States might indeed be compelled to violate the Charter, but this does not justify just any wanton violation of the Charter. If the day comes when public opinion in America holds -- as your editorial seems to hold -- that "loss of prestige" is a valid reason for violating the Charter, then clearly the Charter will have been reduced to a mere scrap of paper.

Leo Szilard
The Enrico Fermi Institute for
Nuclear Studies
The University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

The Washington Post

1515 L STREET, N. W. REPUBLIC 7-1234
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

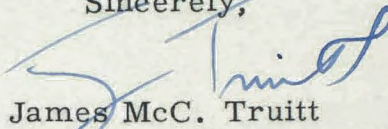
PHILIP L. GRAHAM
PRESIDENT

August 4, 1961

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I'm very glad you can join us for luncheon on Wednesday, August 9th, at 1 p.m. Mr. Alfred Friendly, the managing editor, and Mr. Robert Estabrook, the editor of the editorial page, will join us in Mr. Graham's dining room on the seventh floor of The Washington Post, 1515 L Street, N. W., just behind the Statler Hotel.

Sincerely,



James McC. Truitt
Assistant to the President

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel DuPont Plaza
Washington 6, D. C.

14 December 1961

Mr. Joseph Paull
Editorial Offices
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Paull:

Since writing you a letter which I sent today special delivery I looked again at the galley proofs and find that I would like to change one word on page 409. In the left column in the third paragraph under B, delete the words "an insurance" and replace it by "protection".

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

14 December 1961

Mr. Joseph Paul
Editorial Office
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Paul *ei*:

I have indicated on the enclosed galley proof the passages which I suggest you delete from my article. In toto there will be deleted about 1300 words. Since I am not sure all the corrections have been made on this galley, I would suggest you send to the printer the text actually printed in the Bulletin with the deletions that I have indicated on the enclosed galley.

I also deleted the box on page 408 but perhaps you would want to retain this box. If so, please replace the words "an insurance" with the word "protection" as I have indicated on the galley.

You did not mention over the telephone whether you are able to pay a fee for printing this article. Would you be good enough to advise me about this point by dropping me a line.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

The Washington Post

1515 L STREET, N. W. REPUBLIC 7-1234

WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

December 15, 1961

Mr. Leo Szilard
Hotel DuPont Plaza
DuPont Circle & New Hampshire Ave., NW
Washington 6, D. C.

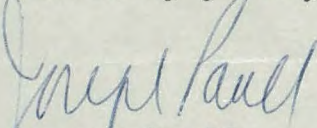
Dear Mr. Szilard:

Thank you for your letter and the marked galleys.

We will comply with your instructions. However, you may have deleted more than necessary to make the article fit the space we have. If so, I would like to reinstate some portions eliminated by you. We would not, of course, change the context. If you object to this, or wish a modification, please call me and we will make arrangements agreeable to you.

Since this article has already been published by the Bulletin, I think \$25 is an appropriate price for a second and one-time use. However, if this seems unfair to you, I am willing to dicker.

Sincerely yours,



Joseph Paull
Assistant Managing Editor

February 24, 1963

Editorial Offices
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I wrote you a letter on February 20 and submitted the text given on the attached sheet as a Letter to the Editor. Today I am writing to ask you to add as one of the signatories the name, James G. Patton, in the proper alphabetical order as indicated on the attached sheet.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

Enclosure

February 20, 1963

THE WASHINGTON POST
Editorial Offices
Letters to the Editor Department
1515 L Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I should appreciate your publishing the attached text as a letter to the Editor in one of your next issues.

I should be grateful for your advising me over the telephone at the Hotel Dupont Plaza, HUDSON 3-6000, whether this is possible.

Yours sincerely,

Leo Szilard

Letter to the Editor

February 20, 1963

It would seem that the Administration finds itself in a corner on the issue of Cuba; if it doesn't extricate itself from it, rumors that Russian rockets are being re-introduced into Cuba will keep on recurring and may each time be exploited for domestic political purposes. In the end, such rumors might force the President to choose between again risking war over Cuba or risking losing the next elections.

It is hardly practicable for the Secretary of Defense to refute such rumors, again and again, by going each time before the American people and showing aerial photographs of Cuba. Also, it is one thing to take aerial photographs of Cuba in an emergency and quite another thing to continue the aerial surveillance of Cuba indefinitely, in violation of international law, and by courtesy of the Russians who restrain the Cubans from shooting down our aircraft.

During the Cuban crisis, the U. S. asked for U. N. inspection of Cuba and offered in return to guarantee Cuba against a U. S. supported invasion. At that time U Thant conveyed that Cuba would accept U. N. inspection provided it would cover not only Cuba but also the adjacent Caribbean areas, including Florida, from which an invasion against Cuba might be staged.

U. N. inspection of Cuba on a continuing basis might solve the problem which currently plagues us. The Secretary General of the United Nations could then take appropriate action whenever it becomes necessary to refute new rumors about Russian rockets being in Cuba and he would be immune to the charge of having a domestic political axe to grind, a charge which can be levelled against any spokesman of the Administration.

February 20, 1963

Year after year, America has been prodding Russia to accept measures of reciprocal inspection which America deemed to be necessary. By accepting the kind of United Nations' inspection of Florida which would offer assurances to Cuba against a surprise invasion, America would set just the precedent that is needed. It seems to us that if another opportunity were to present itself to obtain United Nations' inspection of Cuba, on the terms described by U Thant, America ought not to let it slip by again.

It is a foregone conclusion that nationalistic sentiments opposed to United Nations' inspection of Florida would be exploited for domestic political purposes also. This would not be as dangerous, however, as pressure for a blockade of Cuba which is likely to recur if there is no inspection of Cuba.

February 20, 1963

Council for a Livable World

William Doering
Bernard T. Feld
Allan Forbes, Jr.
Leo Szilard

June 5, 1963

Karl Meyers
Editorial Department
WASHINGTON POST
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Meyers:

You might like to print the attached text as a Letter to the
Editor in the WASHINGTON POST.

Please don't print it though before first checking with me.

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

file drafts 163

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

June 5, 1963

Sir:

Since the United States is spending ^{new} large funds on space research, would it be too much to expect that if the Space Agency does an experiment, it ^{will} also do the control experiment which is necessary to permit us to draw a valid conclusion. If the Space Agency puts an astronaut into orbit, they ought to arrange for him to address a joint session of both Houses of Congress, not only after the flight but also before the flight. Then, if an astronaut on his return to Earth gives a morbid speech in addressing the Congress, at least it will be possible to know whether this may be due to a congenital condition or whether it may be attributed to brain damage, caused by prolonged exposure of the astronaut to a state of weightlessness.

Leo Szilard
June 5, 1963
Washington, D.C.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

June 5, 1963

Sir:

Since the United States is spending ^{very} large funds on space research, would it be too much to expect that if the Space Agency does an experiment, it ^{will} also do the control experiment which is necessary to permit us ^{the drawing of} ~~to draw~~ a valid conclusion. ⁸⁴ If the Space Agency puts an astronaut into orbit, they ought to arrange for him to address a joint session of both Houses of Congress, not only after the flight but also before the flight. Then, if an astronaut on his return to Earth gives a moronic speech in addressing the Congress, ~~at least~~ ^{would} it ~~will~~ be possible to know whether this may be due to a congenital condition or whether it may be attributed to brain damage, caused by prolonged exposure of the astronaut to a state of weightlessness.

Leo Szilard
June 5, 1963
Washington, D.C.