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2 May 1991

NOTE TO THE EINSTEIN CORRESPONDENCE FILE IN THE LEO SZILARD PAPERS:

Attached are various copies of various drafts of the letter that Szilard drafted and which Einstein signed and sent to F.D. Roosevelt on 2 August 1939.

There is no facsimile of the actual letter that was mailed to Roosevelt in the Szilard papers, but there is a facsimile in the Harold Urey papers (Box 29, folder 9). This facsimile was distributed with the first-day-of-issue Einstein stamp in 1966. The Szilard papers do contain retyped copies of the final version and are here attached. The original of the letter sent to Roosevelt resides in the FDR papers at Hyde Park, New York.

One of the photocopies in the Szilard papers is annotated "do not photocopy". The signed original of this version, which is not the version actually sent to Roosevelt, was in the Szilard papers when they were first deposited at UCSD. It was later sold by Szilard family members and ultimately purchased by Malcolm Forbes.

Further description of the various drafts of the letter to Roosevelt can be found on p. 94, v. 2, of Szilard's Collected works, together with a transcription of Szilard's original letter to Einstein in German from which the Roosevelt letter was adapted.

copy

Albert Einstein  
Old Grove Rd.  
Nassau Point  
Peconic, Long Island

August 2nd, 1939

F. D. Roosevelt  
President of the United States  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Some recent work by E. Fermi and L. Szilard, which has been communicated to me in manuscript, leads me to expect that the element uranium may be turned into a new and important source of energy in the immediate future. Certain aspects of the situation which has arisen seem to call for watchfulness and, if necessary, quick action on the part of the Administration. I believe therefore that it is my duty to bring to your attention the following facts and recommendations:

In the course of the last four months it has been made probable - through the work of Joliot in France as well as Fermi and Szilard in America - that it may become possible to set up a nuclear chain reaction in a large mass of uranium by which vast amounts of power and large quantities of new radium-like elements would be generated. Now it appears almost certain that this could be achieved in the immediate future.

This new phenomenon would also lead to the construction of bombs, and it is conceivable - though much less certain - that extremely powerful bombs of a new type may thus be constructed. A single bomb of this type, carried by boat and exploded in a port, might very well destroy the whole port together with some of the surrounding territory. However, such bombs might very well prove to be too heavy for transportation by air.

The United States has only very poor ores of uranium in moderate quantities. There is some good ore in Canada and the former Czechoslovakia, while the most important source of uranium is Belgian Congo.

In view of this situation you may think it desirable to have some permanent contact maintained between the Administration and the group of physicists working on chain reactions in America. One possible way of achieving this might be for you to entrust with this task a person who has your confidence and who could perhaps serve in an unofficial capacity. His task might comprise the following:

a) to approach Government Departments, keep them informed of the further development, and put forward recommendations for Government action, giving particular attention to the problem of securing a supply of uranium ore for the United States;

copy

c o p y

-2-

b) to speed up the experimental work, which is at present being carried on within the limits of the budgets of University laboratories, by providing funds, if such funds be required, through his contacts with private persons who are willing to make contributions for this cause, and perhaps also by obtaining the cooperation of industrial laboratories which have the necessary equipment.

I understand that Germany has actually stopped the sale of uranium from the Czechoslovakian mines which she has taken over. That she should have taken such early action might perhaps be understood on the ground that the son of the German Under-Secretary of State, von Weizsacker, is attached to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut in Berlin where some of the American work on uranium is now being repeated.

Yours very truly,

(Albert Einstein)

c o p y

MEMORANDUM

August 15, 1939

Much experimentation on atomic disintegration was done during the past five years, but up to this year the problem of liberating nuclear energy could not be attacked with any reasonable hope for success. Early this year it became known that the element uranium can be split by neutrons. It appeared conceivable that in this nuclear process uranium itself may emit neutrons, and a few of us envisaged the possibility of liberating nuclear energy by means of a chain reaction of neutrons in uranium.

Experiments were thereupon performed, which led to striking results. One has to conclude that a nuclear chain reaction could be maintained under certain well defined conditions in a large mass of uranium. It still remains to prove this conclusion by actually setting up such a chain reaction in a large-scale experiment.

This new development in physics means that a new source of power is now being created. Large amounts of energy would be liberated, and large quantities of new radioactive elements would be produced in such a chain reaction.

In medical applications of radium we have to deal with quantities of grams; the new radioactive elements could be produced in the chain reaction in quantities corresponding to tons of radium equivalents. While the practical application would include the medical field, it would not be limited to it.

A radioactive element gives a continuous release of energy for a certain period of time. The amount of energy which is released per unit weight of material may be very large, and therefore such elements might be used -- if available in large quantities -- as fuel for driving boats or airplanes. It should be pointed out, however, that the physiological action of the radiations emitted by these new radioactive elements makes it necessary to protect those who have to stay close to a large quantity of such an element, for instance the driver of the airplane. It may therefore be necessary to carry large quantities of lead, and this necessity might impede a development along this line, or at least limit the field of application.

Large quantities of energy would be liberated in a chain reaction, which might be utilized for purposes of power production in the form of a stationary power plant.

In view of this development it may be a question of national importance to secure an adequate supply of uranium. The United States has only very poor ores of uranium in moderate quantities; there is a good ore of uranium in Canada where the total deposit is estimated to be about 3000 tons; there may be about 1500 tons of uranium in Czechoslovakia, which is now controlled by Germany; there is an unknown amount of uranium in Russia, but the most important source of uranium, consisting of an unknown but probably very large amount of good ore, is Belgian Congo.

It is suggested therefore to explore the possibility of bringing over from Belgium or Belgian Congo a large stock of pitchblend, which is the ore of both radium and uranium, and to keep this stock here for possible future use. Perhaps a large quantity of this ore might be obtained as a token reparation payment from the Belgian Government. In taking action along this line it would not be necessary officially to disclose that the uranium content of the ore is the point of interest; action might be taken on the ground that it is of value to secure a stock of the ore on account of its radium content for possible future extraction of the radium for medical purposes.

Since it is unlikely that an earnest attempt to secure a supply of uranium will be made before the possibility of a chain reaction has been visibly demonstrated, it appears necessary to do this as quickly as possible by performing a large-scale experiment. The previous experiments have prepared the ground to the extent that it is now possible clearly to define the conditions under which such a large-scale experiment would have to be carried out. Still two or three different setups may have to be tried out, or alternatively preliminary experiments have to be carried out with several tons of material if we want to decide in advance in favor of one setup or another. These experiments cannot be carried out within the limited budget which was provided for laboratory experiments in the past, and it has now become necessary either to strengthen--financially and otherwise--the organizations which concerned themselves with this work up to now, or to create some new organization for the purpose. Public-spirited private persons who are likely to be interested in supporting this enterprise should be approached without delay, or alternatively the collaboration of the chemical or the electrical industry should be sought.

The investigations were hitherto limited to chain reactions based on the action of slow neutrons. The neutrons emitted from the splitting uranium are fast, but they are slowed down in a mixture of uranium and a light element. Fast neutrons lose their energy in colliding with atoms of a light element in much the same way as a billiard ball loses velocity in a collision with another ball. At present it is an open question whether such a chain reaction can also be made to work with fast neutrons which are not slowed down.

There is reason to believe that, if fast neutrons could be used, it would be easy to construct extremely dangerous bombs. The destructive power of these bombs can only be roughly estimated, but there is no doubt that it would go far beyond all military conceptions. It appears likely that such bombs would be too heavy to be transported by airplane, but still they could be transported by boat and exploded in port with disastrous results.

Although at present it is uncertain whether a fast neutron reaction can be made to work, from now on this possibility will have to be constantly kept in mind in view of its far-reaching military consequences. Experiments have been devised for settling this important point, and it is solely a question of organization to ensure that such experiments shall be actually carried out.

Should the experiments show that a chain reaction will work with fast neutrons, it would then be highly advisable to arrange among scientists for withholding publications on this subject. An attempt to arrange for withholding publications on this subject has already been made early in March but was abandoned in spite of favorable response in this country and in England on account of the negative attitude of certain French laboratories. The experience gained in March would make it possible to revive this attempt whenever it should be necessary.

Leo Szilard

From E. Aich

L. Szilard  
Pariserstr. 58.

Bln. den 1 Nov.-26.

Prof. A. Einstein

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor,

vor einigen Tagen habe ich an meinen jüngeren Bruder Dr.Ing. A.Szilard Wien geschrieben um eine unverbindliche Fühlungnahme mit der Bamag-Menguin A.G. Berlin einzuleiten. Sie finden beigeschlossen den Durchschlag meines Briefes. Mein Bruder hat diesen Brief an den Generaldirektor H.Peiser weitergeleitet. ( Ich kenne ihn zwar persönlich aus der Gesellschaft zog aber diesen "Dienstweg vor)

Ihr sehr ergebener

L. Szilard

Draft  
Not Sent

Albert Einstein  
Old Grove Rd  
Nassau Point  
Peconic, Long Island

the President of the United States  
Washington D.C.

Sir:

As a result of a discussion among physicists which took place at my house last week on the initiative of Dr. E.P. Wigner of Princeton University I consider it to be my duty to draw your attention to a new and important development in the field of physics. It would seem that some of the almost certain immediat consequences of this new development may require immediat action on the part of the Administration and I shall attempt to indicate along what lines such action might perhaps be taken.

It has been recently discovered that there is an abundant emission of neutrons from uranium when this element is exposed to a neutron radiation. Consequently it is being suspected that under certain specific conditions several tons of uranium massed together might be induced spontaneously by virtue of a nuclear chain reaction to liberate large amounts of energy. This would lead - according to circumstances - either to explosion or to a continious supply of heat. The discovery of the neutron emission was made early in March independently by Dr. E. Fermi and Dr. L. Szilard, both working at Columbia University, and simultaneously also by Joliot working in Paris. Since then Dr. Fermi and Dr. Szilard

carried out jointly certain experiments which are not yet published but which were brought to my notice. These new experiments make it appear as practical certain that conditions will be found in the immediat future in which nuclear chain reaction can be maintained in a large mass of uranium. If facilities can be found which may be required for carrying out experiments with tons of material rather than with kilogramms it should be possible to demonstrate the large scale liberation of nuclear energy in a very near future.

It is evident that not only a new source of energy would thus be created but also that the chain reaction would yield large quantities of radioactive elements which might be used not only for medical purposes but perhaps also as a light fuel for driving vessels such as for instance submarines. It is to be expected that as soon as these new developments become public knowledge certain powers will attempt to secure stocks of the very rare ore of uranium the chief source of which is at present Belgian Congo. Moreover if it should become possible not only to maintain a chain reaction - this appears now to be almost certain - but also to maintain a chain reaction without slowing down the neutrons - this is still an open question at present - it would then be possible to construct bombs the destructive power of which would be beyond imagination. Such a bomb might be too heavy to be carried by airplanes but not too heavy to be carried by boats and a single bomb of this kind exploded near a port might destroy the port together with the surrounding country side. I should mention that the possibility of such fast neutron bombs is at present more hypothetical than that of the less violent applications of the chain reaction. Nevertheless however remote this possibility may appear it must from now on constantly be kept in mind in view of the disastrous consequences to which it might lead.

With such possible consequences in mind the publication of the discoveries made early in March in this country has been delayed for some time by Dr. Fermi, Dr. Szilard and their colleagues and an attempt was made to keep results of this type from being published by agreement with the French and English physiciens. I understand that it proved to be impossible to obtain the consent of the French laboratories and as a consequence of this results are now being published in this country without any unusual delay. I also understand that an attempt to obtain the cooperation of one branch of the military services was made early in March but that no permanent contacts resulted from this attempt. While at present research along this line in this country seems to be well ahead of other countries the American Government is not aware of this development and consequently not in contact with those who work in this important field. In contrast to this there appears to be a close contact between the German Government and those who work along a similar line in German laboratories which is perhaps incidental to the fact that the son of the Undersecretary of State in Germany, von Weiszäcker, is a physicist working at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut for Chemistry where this line of research is now also being followed up. It is perhaps due to this close personal link that Germany which has advertised the sale of uranium immediately after it has taken over the czechoslovakian mines has since apparently abruptly stopped the sale of this material.

In the circumstances I wish to draw your attention to the following points:

- 1) It appears to be desirable that a man who has your confidence

be in constant touch with those who are at present actively enggged in studying nuclear chain reaction.

- 2) It appears to be desirable that private or governmental funds be available of required for carrying out experiments with several tons of material so as to enable those who work on nuclear chain reactions in this country to find out in the shortest possible time the wonditions under which such reactions can be maintained in uranium.
- 3) It appears to be desirable that a large stock of pitchblend which is the common ore of both radium and uranium be brought over from Belgium or direct from Belgian Congo and be stored in this country for future possible use.

In taking action along this line it would not be necessary to disclose that the uranium content of the ore is the point of interest and action might be taken on the ground that it is of value to secure the ore on account of its radium content for possible future extraction of the radium for medical purposes. Perhaps it might be possible to obtain a large quantity of this ore as a token reparation payment from the Belgian Government; at present this ore is practically without commercial value.

- 4) It appears desirable that the Belgian Government be advised at once of the potential value of the pitchblend in Belgian Congo so that it be in the position to prevent the supply of this ore to countries which must be considered potential enenmies both of Belgium and the United States.

I am sending the present letter to Dr. L. Szilard with whom

I am personally acquainted with the request of forwarding the letter to your office or otherwise bringing the contents of this letter to your notice.

Yours very truly,

( Albert Einstein )

From E. A.

scient.com

DR. LEO SZILARD  
PRIVATDOZENT AN DER UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN  
z.Zt. London SW.2.  
59, Brixton Hill.

London, den 2. April 1929.

Lieber Herr Professor,

ich möchte Ihnen Gutes aus London berichten.

Der erste Mann, mit dem mich der Zufall hier zusammengeführt hat, war so fruchtbare Boden für unsere Ideen, dass es kaum vieler Worte bedurfte. Er ist jetzt eine grosse Stütze für mich und hat u.a. mich auch mit Wells in zwangloser Weise bekannt gemacht, indem er uns einfach Beide zum Essen einlud. Der Zufall will, dass Wells am 13. April auf 3 Tage nach Berlin kommt, um bei einer Veranstaltung, die von Frau Antonina Vallentin arrangiert wird, einen Vortrag zu halten. Wells möchte Sie sehr gerne treffen; ich fürchte allerdings, dass er nicht Deutsch kann, und so ist es unvermeidlich, dass der unvollendete Turm von Babel seinen Schatten auf diese Begegnung wirft.

Es ist mir die Vermittlung der deutschen Uebersetzungen der neuesten Bücher von Haldane u.a. angeboten worden, wobei das Honorar der Uebersetzungen xx hoch bemessen ist, und es wurde mir anheimgestellt, einen Teil des Honorars nach eigenem Ermessen für die Finanzierung unserer Aktion in diesem vorbereitenden Stadium zu verwenden. Wenn es mir also gelingt, die geeigneten Uebersetzer zu finden, wäre auch für den vorläufigen Geldbedarf gesorgt.

Ich melde mich bald bei Ihnen!

Ihr sehr ergebener

Leo Szilard

P.S. Ihre Zeilen lasse ich noch nachträglich Wells zeigen und er hat sich wirklich darüber gefreut.

From Einstein

see Spencer  
p. 76

Archive

London, den 22.III.1930.

X but 5 Gener

Lieber Herr Professor,

ich habe soeben einen langen Brief an Sie geschrieben und muss Sie noch mit diesem zweiten Brief bombardieren.

Ich spiele also hier den Diogenes und ich finde, werden Sie mir das glauben, sogar mehrere Menschen. Ob es daran liegt, dass der Marktplatz besonders gut ist oder an den Fortschritten der Lampentechnik, weiss ich nicht; dass ich bescheidener als Diogenes waere, glaube ich kaum. Nun moechte ich aber etwas Oel auf meine Lampe giessen und dazum brauche ich ~~xxxxxx~~ Ihre Hilfe.

Ich hatte Ihnen schon im Januar von H.N.Brailsford gesprochen, der sich von der aktiven Politik ein wenig zurueckgezogen hat und sich in seiner freien Zeit mit der Kultur primitiver Voelker beschaeftigt. Es scheint hier ein ganzer Kreis von ausgezeichneten Menschen zu existieren, von denen die Meisten mehr oder weniger lose Beziehungen zur Labour Party haben und, was mir sehr bemerkenswert erscheint, einen gewissen inneren Zusammenhang untereinander. Ich moechte so Viele wie moeglich von ihnen sprechen und Brailsford hat sich auch freundlicherweise bereit erklaert, mich mit einigen in Verbindung zu bringen. Da die Menschen auf Grund von einigen Gespraechen sich unmoeglich ein Urteil darueber bilden koennen, ob ich von der Sorte bin, der es mehr darauf ankommt, von einer Idee zu reden, als eine Sache durchzufuehren, welches meine Motive sind und was sonst mit mir los ist, wuerde ich Wert darauf legen, dass eine authentische Information ueber mich in ~~seinem~~ ~~seiner~~ Kreis vorliegt.

Ich werde darum Brailsford bitten, sich bei Ihnen zu informieren und waere sehr froh, wenn Sie seinen Brief nach Moeglichkeit bald beantworten und ihn nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen genuegend ausfuehrlich ueber meine Person informieren koennten.

Ihr sehr ergebener

Levi Kindred

Wir wollen nun den äusseren Rahmen der Organisation schildern, deren Errichtung vorbereitet werden soll. Wir werden ihn in einer Form beschreiben, die dieser Organismus erst mit der Zeit, wenn er sich voll entfaltet hat, wird annehmen können. In Wirklichkeit wird er sich nur schrittweise bis zu einer solchen Abgeschlossenheit auswachsen können.

Die erste Stufe.

Der Nachwuchs an Mitgliedern des Bundes wird von den jungen Menschen gebildet, jedes Jahr in den obersten Klassen der höheren Schulen (also mit 18-19 Jahren), als die "besten" der Klasse ausgesondert werden. Was unter den besten zu verstehen ist und auf welche Weise ihre Auswahl erfolgt, darüber wird noch zu reden sein. Für den Augenblick sei nur so viel gesagt: Erwünscht wären Menschen welche sowohl des selbständigen Denkens wie auch der Hingabe fähig sind, also gewisse Eigenschaften des Herzens wie auch des Intellekt zugleich besitzen. Für den Augenblick wollen wir annehmen, wir besässen das Zaubermittel, um solche Menschen in den einzelnen Schulklassen herauszufinden; sie bilden den Nachwuchs im "Bunde" und seien im folgenden kurz als die "Junioren" bezeichnet.

(Eine Auswahl durch die Lehrer, eine Auswahl durch die "Gesellschaft der Freunde des Bundes" oder den "Bund" selber würde die Gefahr in sich bergen, die besten Schüler zu liefern, bzw. in charakterlicher oder gar in politischer Beziehung einseitig zu sein. So vollkommen aber auch das Zaubermittel sei, es werden bei dieser ersten Auswahl sicher viele vom Standpunkt des Charakters oder des Intellekts unbrauchbare Elemente mitgeliefert werden. Darauf kommt es aber gar nicht an; wichtig ist lediglich, dass eine hinreichende Anzahl von Menschen, die ein warmes Herz und zugleich einen kühlen Verstand besitzen, unter die Junioren kommen. Ein grosser Teil der unbrauchbaren Elemente würden auch später von selbst ausgesondert.)

Es soll als eine Ehre gelten, als Junior vom Bund aufgenommen zu werden. Doch soll der hierzu Auserwählte einen Dienst auf sich nehmen und die übernommene Aufgabe durchführen, ehe er endgültig vom Bund aufgenommen wird. In der Auswahl des "Dienstes" soll ihm eine grosse Freiheit gelassen werden. Der Dienst kann in der Verrichtung irgendeiner Arbeit bestehen, deren Durchführung eine dem Bund angehörige Gruppe übernommen hat. Er kann aber auch in der Aneignung eines bestimmten Wissens oder einer bestimmten Fertigkeit innerhalb einer bestimmten Frist bestehen. Die Erlernung der Sprache eines der Nachbarländer innerhalb Jahresfrist wäre ein Beispiel für einen so gearteten Dienst.

Den Junioren wird nun Gelegenheit geboten, einander gegenseitig näher kennenzulernen, indem man ihnen Klubräume mit Lesezimmern und Vortragsräumen zur Verfügung stellt, wo auch die verschiedenen Jahrgänge miteinander in nahe Berührung kommen. Es soll hier unter der Leitung der Senioren (s. weiter unten) ihr Interesse für die öffentlichen Angelegenheiten geweckt werden. Sie sollen lernen, selbständig zu denken, und dies auf Gebieten, wo die Leidenschaften das klare Denken der meisten Menschen verdunkeln. Sie sollen auch lernen, nicht Stellung zu nehmen zu Fragen, zu denen sie kein eigenes Urteil haben.

Um ihren Geist möglichst lange wandlungsfähig zu erhalten, sei es ihnen bis zum 30. Lebensjahr verwehrt, sich - wenn auch nur äusserlich - an eine politische oder weltanschauliche Partei zu binden. Dagegen sollen sie reichlich Gelegenheit haben, sich mit sämtlichen politischen Strömungen vertraut zu machen, indem man sie mit den besten Vertretern der einzelnen politischen Strömungen in Berührung bringt.

Die Junioren sollen mit der Gesamtmasse der heranwachsenden Jugend im Alter von 15-19 Jahren in engen Kontakt gebracht werden, und die Klubräume sollen auch zu diesem Zwecke dienen. Es wird von der Erwägung ausgegangen, dass die intensivste erzieherische Wirkung auf solche Weise erzielt werden kann. Es soll nach Möglichkeit auch nach dem Verlassen der höheren Schule die erzieherische und bildende Arbeit durch persönlichen Kontakt mit den breiten Massen unter Zuhilfenahme der Klubräume des Bundes weitergeführt werden.

Die zweite Stufe.

Die zweite Stufe.

Eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben des Bundes wird es in der nahen Zukunft sein, den Junioren zu ermöglichen, an den Hochschulen weiterzustudieren, falls sie dazu sonst materiell nicht in der Lage wären. Die studierenden Junioren werden an verhältnismässig wenigen Universitäten zusammengefasst und leben in enger Gemeinschaft miteinander. Besondere Seminare und Arbeitsgemeinschaften, solche die von der Universität und solche, die vom Bunde selbst unter Leitung eines Dozenten veranstaltet werden, sollen Gruppen von je 30 - 40 Junioren vereinigen. An diesen Arbeitsgemeinschaften sollen nicht nur die Angehörigen des Bundes teilnehmen, sondern es sollen vom Bunde auch andere Studenten, die durch ihr Können bei der Universität auffallen, aufgefordert werden.

Diese Arbeitsgemeinschaften geben den Junioren Gelegenheit, einander in Bezug auf den Intellekt genau kennen zu lernen; und die einzelnen Gruppen wählen jedes Jahr von jenen Mitgliedern der eigenen Gruppe, die in demselben Jahr ihr Studium beenden, die "Besten" aus. Die so Gewählten sind die Senioren des Bundes. ~~Senioren, die vorher nicht Mitglieder des Bundes waren, kann jetzt keinen Wahlrecht besitzen~~ Es ist anzunehmen, dass diese zweite Auswahl sich in erster Linie nach dem Intellekt richten wird.

Die Arbeitsgemeinschaften und Seminare, die hierbei eine Rolle spielen, werden auf jene Fächer beschränkt sein müssen, welche geeignet sind, als Prüfstein für das Denkvermögen zu dienen. Die Junioren sollen an der Hochschule vollkommen frei jenes Fach studieren, das ihnen am meisten liegt. Es wird aber angenommen, dass trotzdem jeder an einer dieser Arbeitsgemeinschaften teilnimmt, denn es kann ja bei allen Menschen, die sich später mit öffentlichen Angelegenheiten befassen wollen, ein gewisses Interesse z.B. an Nationalökonomie oder dgl. vorausgesetzt werden.

Internationaler Austausch.

Es erscheint heutzutage für Menschen, die auf die Gestaltung der öffentlichen Angelegenheiten Einfluss nehmen wollen, die Kenntnis der Mentalität anderer Völker unerlässlich.

Die Senioren sollen daher ~~zu~~ ein bis zwein Jahre nach Verlassen der Hochschule in einem der Nachbarländer nach ihrer Wahl als Gäste des dortigen Bundes verbringen und dabei entweder weiter studieren oder praktisch arbeiten. Sie müssen sich hierzu während ihrer Hochschulzeit die Kenntnis der betreffenden Sprache angeeignet haben.

Die dritte Stufe.

Viele Senioren werden nach Verlassen der Universität oder nach der Rückkehr aus dem Ausland sich ihren Berufen oder ihrer Familie widmen wollen und jenachdem eine mehr oder weniger lose Verbindung mit dem Bunde aufrecht erhalten. Andere jedoch, die das

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Jene Senioren, die keine Junioren waren, sondern zu den Arbeitsgemeinschaften von ausserhalb hinzugezogen wurden, sollen alle Rechte einschliesslich des passiven Wahlrechtes der anderen besitzen, jedoch nicht das aktive Stimmrecht im Bunde.

Bedürfnis nach einer engeren als blosse intellektuellen oder kameradschaftlichen Bindung haben, soll die Möglichkeit geboten werden, in den Orden des Bundes einzutreten. Der Orden legt seinen Mitgliedern ein Leben der Opfer und des Dienstes auf, und er soll Stufen verschiedener Strenge anbieten, ohne die Arbeitsfähigkeit und Wirkungsmöglichkeit seiner Mitglieder zu beeinträchtigen. Die Opfer, die diese Menschen auf sich nehmen, sollen immerhin so hart sein, dass dieser Weg nur von Wenigen beschritten wird, die vom gewünschten Geiste beseelt sind. Die Ordensmitglieder sollen im Prinzip völlige Freiheit haben, in jenen Berufen und an jenen Stellen zu wirken, wo sie es wünschen. Sie haben alles, was sie an Geld über ein gewisses Existenzminimum hinaus verdienen, an den Orden abzuführen. Die so abgeführten Summen dienen in erster Linie dazu, den Betreffenden auch für später das Existenzminimum zu sichern, während die Ueberschüsse dem Bunde zugute kommen\*. Das Existenzminimum soll bei den verschieden strengen Stufen des Ordens verschieden sein und die Anzahl der Kinder stark berücksichtigen. Für einen Teil (etwa ein Drittel) der Ordensmitglieder würde vielleicht das Coelibat vorgeschrieben werden.

Es ist zu erwarten, dass ein grosser Teil der Mitglieder des Ordens sich auf Gebieten betätigen wird, die mit den öffentlichen Angelegenheiten mehr oder weniger eng zusammenhängen. Der Orden wird sich bemühen, den Mitgliedern behilflich zu sein, einen passenden Wirkungskreis zu sichern. Sie werden vermutlich bald an den Seminaren der Universitäten, in den Industrieverbänden, in den Ministerien, aber auch an den organisatorisch interessanten Posten der Industrie-Unternehmungen zu finden sein. Manche würden im Innendienst des Ordens u.a. zur Aufrechterhaltung des Kontaktes mit den Jungen Verwendung finden.

Die sorgfältige Auswahl, die bessere Ausbildung und die grössere Hingabe der Ordensmitglieder einerseits, der Umstand, dass sie in den aktivsten Jahren, zwischen 25 und 30 Jahren, um die eigene Karriere nicht besorgt sein müssen, sichert ihnen einen grossen Vorsprung vor den übrigen Menschen. So ist es durchaus denkbar, dass der Orden sehr bald die Rolle einer Art Gerüst des öffentlichen Lebens spielen wird, und dass die Mitglieder des Ordens vermöge ihrer Persönlichkeit und vermöge ihres Wirkungskreises tonangebend werden, sodass schon auf diesem Wege der Stempel des Ordens sich dem geistigen Leben aufprägen könnte. Es ist auch wahrscheinlich, dass sich gewisse Organe herausbilden werden, welche die öffentliche Meinung, die sich innerhalb des Ordens in hartem Kampfe herausbildet, auf die breite Öffentlichkeit übertragen würden.

Die Mitglieder des Ordens bleiben in enger Berührung miteinander und arbeiten in Arbeits-Ausschüssen zusammengefasst, an denen natürlich auch Aussenstehende teilnehmen können, über Fragen, die vom Standpunkt der Gemeinschaft von Interesse sind, indem sie gewisse festumrissene Aufgaben durchführen.

Es kann lediglich die Erfahrung lehren, ob und inwieweit sich der Orden bewährt, und ob es ihm gelingt, mit den breiten Massen hinreichend verwachsen zu bleiben. Nur aufgrund einer langjährigen Erfahrung wird man unter Umständen in Erwägung ziehen können, ob man versuchen sollte, dem Orden einen mehr direkten Einfluss auf die Gestaltung der öffentlichen Angelegenheiten einzuräumen.

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Diese Arbeits-Ausschüsse bilden die Zellen, aus denen der Orden aufgebaut ist.

### Die Aufbauarbeit.

Für die Frage des praktischen Aufbaus steht die Frage der Auswahl der Besten mit 18 - 19 Jahren im Vordergrund. Von vornherein abzulehnen wäre eine Auswahl, die allein auf einer Auswahl durch die Lehrer, allein auf Tests oder Prüfungen oder allein auf einer Auswahl durch den Bund selbst oder gar durch die Gesellschaft der Freunde des Bundes beruht. Ob man durch eine Kombination von mehreren, allein untauglichen Mitteln der Auswahl etwas erreichen kann, mag dahingestellt bleiben. Es wird vielleicht verschiedenes versucht werden müssen.

Das erste, was versucht werden soll, ist, durch Befragen der Kinder selbst herauszufinden, welche Kinder von den Kindern selbst als Persönlichkeiten angesehen werden. Es ist sicher, dass die Kinder, die viele Jahre lang in einer Klasse beisammen waren, mit 18 - 19 Jahren einander sehr gut kennen. Trotzdem wird erst die Erfahrung zeigen können, was für ein Menschenmaterial diese Methode unter verschiedenen Umständen liefert.

Es sollen also zunächst aus einer Schulklasse von etwa 30 - 40 Kindern durch Befragen der Kinder selbst die drei besten ausgesucht und von diesen drei noch ein vierter aus der Klasse hinzugewählt werden. Die so ausgesonderten Kinder sind die Junioren des Bundes, und der allmäßliche Aufbau soll derart erfolgen, dass die Organisation mit wenigen Schulen beginnend auf immer mehr Schulen ausgedehnt wird.

### Kinderdienst Geldbedarf Jungen

Der Aufbau soll zumindest in zwei Ländern zugleich erfolgen, damit der internationale Austausch sogleich beginnen kann. Es wird in erster Linie an zwei der drei Länder Deutschland, England und Frankreich gedacht, und für die Entscheidung soll lediglich der geringste Widerstand für die praktische Verwirklichung massgebend sein.

Der Orden des Bundes soll vorerst nicht ins Leben gerufen werden. Und die vorhandenen intellektuellen und finanziellen Kräfte sollen auf die Jungen und auf deren Hochschulstudium konzentriert werden. Für den Geldbedarf steht die Errichtung der Klubräume für die Jungen und die Unterstützung für das Hochschulstudium der unbemittelten Jungen im Vordergrund.

Die notwendigen Gelder sollen teils durch Private, teils durch den Staat und teils durch die Schüler selbst aufgebracht werden. Die von privater Seite aufgebrachten Gelder sollen prinzipiell nicht bedingungslos zur Verfügung gestellt werden, sondern mit der Bedingung, dass etwa die gleiche Summe durch die öffentliche Hand oder die Schüler selbst aufgebracht wird.

Die einzelnen Schulklassen, die Jungen aus ihrer Mitte in den Bund senden, sollen aufgefordert werden, für den Bund mitzuarbeiten, indem sich die Schüler verpflichten, einen geringen Bruchteil ihres Einkommens, welches sie haben werden, nachdem sie die Schule verlassen haben, laufend für den Bund zu opfern. Schulklassen, deren Schüler sich hierauf nicht einlassen wollen, sollen als minderwertig angesehen werden, und es sollen aus diesen Klassen keine Jungen entnommen werden. Die Opfer, die die Kinder auf diese Weise auf sich nehmen, sollen dazu beitragen, das Band, welches sie mit den Jungen verbindet, zu verstärken.

Rx X for Sp

From E. Ander

uen 24.

24. April 1930

Her n H.N.Braislford  
London NW 3,  
37 Belsize Park Gardens

Lieber Herr Braislford:

Ich beantworte Ihren freundlichen Brief erst heute, weil ich noch mit Dr.Szilard sprechen zu sollen glaubte, und zwar wegen Ihrer Frage, ob hier eine organisierte Gruppe existiere, die hinter den von S. vertretenen Ideen stehe. Szialrd hat einen Kreis von vortrefflichen jungen Menschen (meistens Physikern), die mit ihm sympathisieren. Eine Organisation irgendwelcher Art besteht aber noch nicht.

Sie fragen mich, wie ich zu diesen Ideen stehe? Vor allem habe ich die Ansicht, dass S. ein feiner kluger Mensch ist, der sonst nicht zu Illusionen neigt. Vielleicht ist er wie viele derartige Naturen geneigt, die Rolle der Ratio im menschlichen Leben zu ueberschaetzen.

Was nun die Sache angeht, so fuehle natuerlich auch ich brennend die Inkohärenz derer, die grossherzig genug sind, um eine vernueftigere und geordnetere Macht zu ersehnen, die das Schicksal der Menschen im Grossen bestimmen sollte. Aber ich traue mir in praktischen Fragen dieser Art wenig Urteil zu; auch die Zukunftsaussicht der von Szilard vertretenen Idee steht keineswegs klar vor mir. Vor allem sehe ich nicht eine starke bindende Kraft, die einer so ausgewählten Masse einheitliche Wirksamkeit verleihen koennte. Andererseits scheint es, dass man nicht diesen fuer die Menschen wichtigsten Dingen muessig gegenüberstehen sollte, um seinen Kohlgarten zu pflanzen und zuzusehen, wie die Machtgierigen und Besessenen das Gesicht dieses Planeten immer graesslicher verunstalten.

Dies ist keine Antwort auf Ihre Fragen, aber kein Schelm gibt mehr als er hat.

Es gruesst Sie herzlich

Ihr

see E. on Peace  
pp. 103 - 104

Dr. L. Szilard  
Berlin - Wilmersdorf  
Prinzregentenstr. 95.  
Pfalzburg 245.

Berlin, den 27. September 1930.

Lieber Herr Professor,

Bitte entschuldigen Sie meine Faulheit, die aber diesmal ausnahmsweise keine normale Faulheit war. Ich stand, seit ich Sie in Caputh verliess, ausserordentlich stark unter dem Eindruck der politischen Situation, liess alle Korrespondenz liegen und versuchte, mich mit der Aussernwelt ins Gleichgewicht zu setzen, was mir aber noch nicht gelungen ist. Seit 1½ Jahren (der Schachtrede in Paris) deutet, wenn meine Nase mich nicht trügt, von Woche zu Woche neue Symptome darauf, dass mit einer ruhigen Entwicklung in Europa in den nächsten 10 Jahren nicht zu rechnen ist. Da man aber etwas Vernünftiges nicht in einigen Monaten aufbauen kann, wird man, fürchte ich, zurzeit hier eben nicht viel machen können. Ja ich weiss nicht einmal, ob es uns gelingen wird, unsere Kältemaschine in Europa zu Ende zu bauen.

Das Forschungs-Institut hatte gestern seine Kuratoriums-Sitzung, und es wurde, wie Prof. Ramsauer mir heute erzählte, beschlossen, dass 25 % des Forschungsinstituts abgebaut werden sollen. Ob wir darunter fallen oder nicht, soll erst Mitte Dezember geprüft werden von einer Kommission, die dann die Chancen unserer Sache näher untersuchen wird. Die Kommission wird aus Prof. Ramsauer, Petersen und anderen bestehen, deren Personen wohl noch nicht feststehen. Ramsauer ist uns gewiss nicht unfreundlich gesinnt, auch sonst ist wohl eine uns gegenüber freundliche Atmosphäre, aber ich bin in meiner jetzigen Stimmung auf das schlimmste gefasst, und es macht mir Sorgen, was mit unseren Mitarbeitern wird, die, falls der Abbau beschlossen würde, sofort gekündigt würden. Wir müssten natürlich, falls die A.E.G. uns im Stich lässt, sehen, so rasch wie möglich anderswo unterzukommen,

*dampf*  
und ich denke, dass man es mit der General Electric in Amerika versuchen sollte.

An und für sich kann man sich ja nicht wundern, wenn die A.E.G. einmal die Chancen der Sache prüfen will, denn das hat sie bisher noch nicht getan. Auch gestern wurde bei der Besichtigung, auf die wir vorbereitet waren, nicht ernsthaft über die Sache gesprochen, sondern die Herren zuckten sich nur so allgemein das Institut an, wobei sie uns einen freundlichen Besuch von 5 Minuten abstatteten. Wir zeigten Ihnen eine Versuchsmaschine mit Kalium-Natriumlegierung im Betrieb, die Kälte unter 0 Grad lieferte, ~~mit~~ den Motor für Kalium im zerlegten Zustand und verschiedene Einzelheiten.

Immerhin ist mir mit der Gesamtlage im Hintergrund in Bezug auf den Dezember höchst ungemütlich zu Mute.

Nun zum Schalterproblem: Ihre Schaltererfindung No.1 scheint (ich schreibe "so" vorsichtig", weil ich noch garnichts von Schaltern verstehe) noch nicht die nedgültige Lösung zu sein. Ich gehe dabei davon aus, dass man aus mechanischen Gründen  $1/10$  Sekunde Zeit wird aufwenden müssen, um einen Schalter zu öffnen. Das würde bei 10 Schaltern bereits eine Zeit von einer Sekunde sein, und das ist an und für sich sehr viel, weil man bei Kurzschluss eventuell die Leitung sofort abschalten muss. Dazu kommt, dass wenn man ~~100 000 Volt~~ <sup>bei</sup> ~~10 000 Ampere~~ <sup>und nur</sup> Kurzschlussstrom abschalten will (bei Ihrer Methode) soweit gekommen ist, dass die Spannung an dem Widerstand auf 50 000 Volt <sup>gestiegen</sup> und der Strom auf 5000 Ampère gefallen ist, in den Widerständen während  $1/10$  Sekunde soviel Wärme entwickelt, als genügen würde, etwa 100 kg. Wasser auf den Siedepunkt zu erwärmen. Wenn man nun bedenkt, dass man für jeden Schaltvorgang  $1/10$  Sekunde Zeit ansetzen muss, und dass nach Ihrer Methode mehrere Schalter hintereinander betätigt werden, und ~~ich~~ noch bedenke, dass bei Gewittern häufig Ueberschläge an Isolatoren stattfinden (~~und~~ für kurze Zeit einen Kurzschluss verursachen), sodass die Schalter unter

Umständen in kurzer Zeit (also ehe das Wasser abkühlen würde) noch zehn Mal in Tätigkeit treten könnte, so sieht man, dass man sehr viel Wasser als Wärmespeicher brauchen würde. Auch der Raumbedarf Ihres Vielfachschalets würde (so scheint es mir wenigstens) ein Vielfaches der heutigen einfachen Schalter sein, weil die einzelnen Schalter, die zusammen wirken, von einander isoliert werden müssen. Kurz ich glaube, dass wir noch etwas Anderes erfinden müssen.

Ich werde vielleicht nächste Woche, falls ich mich bei der A.E.G. freimachen kann, bei Ihnen auf einer Postkarte wieder anfragen, wann Sie ein paar Stunden für mich frei haben.

Mit herzlichem Gruss

Ihr sehr ergebener

Leo Kland

P.S. Neulich vergass ich, Ihnen zu erzählen, dass inzwischen Herr von Horvath mich besucht hat. Ich habe mich länger mit ihm unterhalten, aber seine Firma scheint eine typische Agentur zu sein und für uns kaum brauchbar.

DR. LEO SZILARD  
BERLIN-WILMERSDORF  
PRINZREGENTENSTRASSE 98  
TELEFON: PFALZBURG 245

Berlin, den 30.Juni 1931.

Herrn Prof.Dr.A.Einstein.  
Caputh bei Potsdam.  
Waldstr.7/8.

Lieber Herr Professor,

ich habe ein Einreise-Visum beim Amerikanischen Konsulat beantragt und die Leute möchten ein Empfehlungsschreiben haben, weil sie ja sonst nicht wissen können, ob ich ein Schwerverbrecher bin und ob ich mich an die Einreisebestimmungen halten werde. Ich habe weiter unten einige Zeilen aufgesetzt und wäre Ihnen dankbar, wenn Sie es auf Ihrem Papier tippen lassen und an meine Adresse zusenden lassen könnten.

Herzliche Grüsse

Ihr sehr ergebener

*Leo Szilard*

An das Amerikanische Konsulat der U.S.A.  
Berlin.

Dr. Leo Szilard, Privatdozent an der Universität Berlin, hat die Absicht, ein Einreise-Visum nach den Vereinigten Staaten zu beantragen, um sich dort einige Monate hindurch vorübergehend aufzuhalten. Er ist mir seit vielen Jahren durch gemeinsame Arbeit persönlich gut bekannt, und ich kann die Erteilung des Visums <sup>eing</sup> empfehlen. Die geplante Reise hat die Förderung unserer gemeinsamen Arbeit zum Zwecke, sodass ich an der Verteilung des Einreisevisums selbst ein unumstößbares Interesse habe.

LEO SZILARD

p. Adr. Philipsbron,  
Berlin-Wilmersdorf,  
Prinzregentenstr. 95.  
Pfalzburg 245.

z. Zt. London, den 10. Oktober 1931.  
King's Court Hotel,  
Leinster Terrace,  
London W.2.

Lieber Herr Professor,

Ich bin seit einer Woche in England und habe meine Mission so weit vollendet, dass ich Mitte der Woche wieder in Berlin sein werde. Zu dem Generaldirektor Hirst bin ich nicht ~~hier~~ gegangen. Dagegen sprach ich die Leute im Forschungslaboratorium, die grosses Interesse gezeigt haben. Die Direktion wird sich jetzt entscheiden, ob sie überhaupt eine Kältemaschine, die noch nicht fix und fertig ist, aufgreifen will, und wenn ja, werden die Leute nach Berlin kommen, um sich die Sache dort anzusehen.

Ich werde also jetzt dazu übergehen, meine amerikanische Reise vorzubereiten, und zwar möchte ich gern mit einem Dauer Visum herüberfahren. Ich glaube, dass das gehen wird, denn ich habe eine Einladung von der Universität Princeton, als Guest ein Jahr bei ihnen zu verbringen (Dirac, Neumann und Wigner sind jetzt dort).

Sie haben neulich einen Brief an das amerikanische Konsulat in meiner Angelegenheit geschrieben, und ich möchte Sie bitten, jetzt noch einen zweiten Brief zu schreiben. Ich habe den Brief aufgesetzt, damit Sie sehen, worauf ich hinaus will, und Sie können den Brief, ~~wenn~~ <sup>so weit</sup> ~~der Sinn klar~~, in eine Form bringen, die Ihnen richtig erscheint. Ich werde Fräulein Philipsborn bitten, mit dem Brief zu Ihnen hinauszupilgern, und Sie können ihn ihr entweder gleich umdiktieren oder bei nächster Gelegenheit mit Ihrer übrigen Post erledigen. Ich möchte versuchen, die Angelegenheit ~~betrifft~~ <sup>mit</sup> dem Visums in Berlin Mitte der Woche zu erledigen, da ich nicht weiß, ob ich nicht sehr bald wieder nach England zurückfahren muss.

Mit herzlichem Gruss

Ihr sehr ergebener

Leo Szilard

**LEO SZILARD**

p. Adr. Philipsborn,  
Berlin-Wilmersdorf,  
Prinzregentenstr. 95.  
Pfalzburg 245.

z.Zt. London, den 10. Oktober 1931.

Lieber Herr Professor,

Haben Sie noch irgend etwas mit dem Völkerbund zu tun? Ich frage aus folgendem Grunde:

Die Freizügigkeit der Intellektuellen wird von Tag zu Tag stärker eingeschränkt. Deutsche, die nach England wollen, bekommen die Arbeitserlaubnis ebensowenig wie Engländer, die nach Deutschland wollen. Das ist insofern verständlich, weil überall Arbeitslosigkeit herrscht, aber das Resultat der Massnahme ist gleich null, insofern als sich die Wanderungswünsche mit verschiedenen Vorzeichen fast ausgleichen.

Nun ist, (das scheint mir wohl ein typischer Fall zu sein,) mit wenig Mühe etwas vernünftiges zu machen. Man braucht nämlich nichts anderes zu tun als ein Büro in Genf einzurichten, wo ein "Clearing" stattfindet, d.h. wenn ein Deutscher nach England will, muss er eine Karte ausfüllen, die in eine Kartothek kommt; dasselbe gilt für den Engländer. Das Büro stempelt so viele dieser Karten ab als es kann unter der Nebenbedingung, dass für jedes Land die Anzahl der Auswanderungs- und Einwanderungskarten, die gestempelt werden, die gleiche sei. (Bei gestempelten Kästen dann losziehen) Es würde kein Land dadurch Schaden nehmen, denn die Anzahl der Arbeitssuchenden würde in keinem Lande vermehrt werden, und die Freiheit wäre doch etwas grösser als heute. Der heutige Zustand ist eine Barbarei.

Haben Sie irgend Jemanden in Genf, bei dem man etwas derartiges anregen könnte?

Mit herzlichem Gruss

Ihr sehr ergebener

*Leo Szilard*

**LEO SZILARD**

per Adr. Philipsborn.  
Berlin-Wilmersdorf.  
Prinzregentenstr. 95.

den 19. October 1931.

Herrn Prof. Albert Einstein.  
Caputh bei Potsdam.  
Waldstr. 7/8.

Lieber Herr Professor,

ich glaube, ich schrieb Ihnen schon aus London,  
dass ich versuchen möchte, mein amerikanisches Visum auf eine dauerhafte  
Grundlage zu stellen. Falls Sie denken, dass es richtig ist, würde ich  
Sie bitten, ein paar Zeilen an den amerikanischen Konsul zu schreiben,  
aus denen hervorgeht, dass Sie im Juni in dieser Angelegenheit an das  
amerikanische Konsulat geschrieben haben und dass das amerikanische  
Konsulat mir damals ein Besuchs-Visum gegeben hat. Da ich mich aber mit  
der Absicht trage, meine Tätigkeit evtl. ganz nach Amerika zu verlegen,  
um mich dort evtl. auf Jahre hinaus, evtl. sogar für dauernd aufzuhalten,  
scheint es uns richtiger, dass ich das amerikanische Visum zurückgebe und  
ein Non Quota Immigrant Visum beantrage.

Wenn Sie denken, dass es so richtig ist, würde ich  
Ihr Schreiben zusammen mit meiner Karte zum Konsul hereinschicken und ihm  
dann so viel wie nötig erzählen, und auch den Brief, den ich von der  
Universität Princeton bekommen habe, vorlegen.

Ich denke, ich kann diese Angelegenheit in 10 Tagen  
erledigen und bin dann wieder frei in Bezug auf die Breiten- und Längen-  
Grade.

Mit herzlichem Gruss

Ihr

sz. Szilard.

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor,

Dieser Brief ist mir von Szilard  
im Skriptogramm diktiert worden, da er  
heute nicht mehr hierher kommt u. der  
Brief eilig ist, welche ich ihn ohne Szilard's  
Unterschrift u. bitte darin im S. 10. 1931.

Professor A.Einstein

*Szilard*

Caputh b.Potsdam, den 24.Oktöber  
1931

An das amerikanische Generalkonsulat  
B e r l i n

Mein Mitarbeiter, Herr Dr. Leo Szilard, hat die Absicht, von uns gemeinsam begonnene Arbeiten in Amerika fortzusetzen. Da die Durchführung dieser Arbeiten, an welchen ich selbst interessiert bin, wahrscheinlich längere Zeit in Anspruch nehmen wird, so erlaube ich mir hiermit, sein Gesuch um Erteilung eines Non Quota Immigrant Visums zu befürworten.

Mit ausgezeichneter Hochachtung

L. H. Ziller  
Imperial Hotel

Room 115  
Russell Square  
W.C.1  
23.4.33

Vertraulich

April 23. 33

Lieber Herr Professor:-

Meine Absicht war ueber Genf und Ostende zu fahren und Sie unterwegs zu besuchen. Wie Sie sehen bin ich aber schon in London und habe so den Brief verpasst, den Sie wahrscheinlich nach Genf geschrieben haben.

Ich habe Ihnen allerlei Erfreuliches zu berichten. In London traf ich Bohr programmatisch; er ist gestern nach Amerika weitergefahren und wird dort mit den Rockefeller Leuten reden damit die Statuten der jetzigen Lage angepasst werden. Es war auch bisher schon unangenehm, dass Stipendien nur an Leute gegeben werden, die fuer nachher eine Anstellung gesichert hatten.

Ein grosser Triumph ist, dass es gelungen ist Sir William Beveridge, der Direktor der London School of Economics, der zufaellig in meinem Hotel in Wien aufgetaucht ist, fuer die Hilfsaktion zu gewinnen. Er wird die vorbereitende Arbeit in England durchfuehren und versuchen bis Mitte Mai eine geeignete Persoenlichkeit des oeffentlichen Lebens zu finden, der die Sach nach Aussen representieren soll. Der Betroffene soll, wenn Moeglich kein Jude sein (Sir Wm. Beveridge ist auch kein Jude) und die Aktion soll keinen karitativen, sondern Wissenschaftsfordernden Charakter haben. Wir haben bisher Leute wie Lord Macmillan, Lord Euston Percy erwogen, aber auch an Lord Readig gedacht; diese Sache wollte sich Beveridge noch weiter ueberlegen; bei ihm ist jetzt, soweit England in Frage kommt, die genze Frage zentralisiert.

In Wien konnte ich Dr. Karl Schlesinger, Lichtenstein Palais, Wien, soweit fuer die Sache begeistern, dass er sich ganz in den Dienst der Sache gestellt hat. Er ist ein in Oesterreich angesechener theoretischer Nationaloekonom und Finanzmann mit sehr guten Beziehungen; er hat es uebernommen sobald ein Rahmen dazu vorhanden ist, aus Oesterreich, Ungarn und die Czecko

Slovakai soviel Geld aufzubringen, als man eben in diesen armen Laendern aufbringen kann, ausserdem wird er im Mai nach London und Genf fahren um uns behilflich zu sein.

Ein Amerikanischer Freund von mir, Dr. B. Liebowitz, hat sich auf meine Bitte auch vollkommen zur erfuegung gestellt, und wird mit mit herumreisen. Er hat eine Zusammenkunft zwischen Bohr und dem Antropologen Boas (der seinerzeit die Hilfsaktion fuer die deutschen Wissenschaftler geleitet hat) in New York verabredet.

Ich habe mit Harald Bohr (den Mathematiker) mich darueber eingehend unterhalten wie man weiter vorgehen soll und werde morgen mit ihm und Hardwig in Cambridge beisammen sein. Es scheint sich folgende Meinung herauszubilden:

1. Man soll eine politisch vollkommen neutrale Form waehlen, indem man etwa die Notwendigkeit betont Mittel aufzubringen um es einer Anzahl von Wissenschaftlern zu ermoeglichen an bereits bestehenden Instituten, die dazu geeignet sind, Forschungsarbeit zuleisten oder Vortraege zu halten.

2. Es soll verhuetet werden, dass ueber die Bestrebung irgend etwas bekannt wird bevor sie zum Erfolg gefuehrt hat.

3. Es soll kein Geld fuer bauliche Einrichtungen verwendet werden, auch nicht fuer groessere Anschaffungen, eventuell etwas fuer laufende Versuchskosten.

4. Man soll den Weg nicht absperren z.B. Mathematiker (wenn sie es wuenschen) zu ermoeгlichen mit Unterstuetzung einer Stiftung weiter in Deutschland taetig zu sein.

5. Man soll sich auf die Details nicht zu fruehzeitig festlegen.

Ich denke, dass ich Ende der Woche ueber Ostende nach dem Kontinent fahren werde und moechte Sie sehr gerne aufsuchen und mit Ihnen ueber die Sache sprechen. Sind Sie dann in Le Coq und ist es Ihnen recht?

Mit herzlichem Gruss, Ihr sehr ergebener,

Leo Szilard

Le Coq-sur-mer, den 25. April 1933  
Villa Savoyarde

Lieber Szilard,

Entschuldigen Sie meine Schreibfaulheit, ich habe aber ungeheuer viel zu schreiben und zu tun. Ihr Plan leuchtet mir nicht recht ein. Ich habe das starke Gefühl, dass man auf diese Weise nur die gemachten Männer unterbringt, dass aber für die noch unbekannten jungen Universitätslehrer und für die Studenten auf diese Weise nicht gesorgt werden kann. Ich bin vielmehr der Ansicht, dass man versuchen sollte, eine Art jüdische Flüchtlingsuniversität zu bilden, die am besten in England ihren Sitz haben sollte.

Mich zu besuchen hat jetzt wenig Zweck, da ich sehr überlastet bin.

Freundlich grüßt Sie

Ihr

A. Einstein.

Princeton. 12. VII. 42.

Fischer Tyslard:

Es ist traurigstes von Ihnen, dass Sie wieder Leiblichkeit so fürsorglich gedacht haben. Der alte Kasten schwindt wirklicher noch ganz ausständig reparabel zu sein. - Ich muss als alter Friedensstifter bei einem Broadcast mitwirken zugunsten der Resolution für eine Erneuerung der Charter der U.N. Der Eindruck der Formulierung hat mir einige Kopfzerbrechen gemacht: es sollte ehrlich, geistig radikal und nicht aggressiv sein .... Die Formulierung unserer At. Phys. Erklärung hat allen Theilnehmern gnädig gewirkt - nur gibt es keine Waage zur Bestimmung der Thatsachlichkeit Wirkung. Immerhin kommt es mir so vor, dass allenthalben sehr mehr Besonnenheit durchsetzt, trotzdem es die Russen nicht gerade erleichtern.

Ihre menschliche Thren Freude an den biologischen Problemen. Am Leidende fühlte man am besten, wie primitiv unsere Physik noch ist. Beste Wünsche

Herr A. Einstein.

Dr. Leo Szillard

Imperial Hotel, Russell Square

London, den 4. Mai 1933

Lieber Herr Professor:

Ihr Brief und Ihr Telegramm kamen fast gleichzeitig an, und zwar früh genug, um meine Reisepläne rechtzeitig abändern zu können.

Inzwischen hat sich der Plan, den wir seinerzeit in Wien ausgeheckt hatten, durch Gespräche, die in England geführt wurden, abgeschliffen und ist Allgemeingut geworden. Leute wie Beveridge, Bohr, Hardy, Hill sind alle übereinstimmend der Auffassung, dass es sich hier um eine Angelegenheit handelt, die in ihrer allgemeinen Bedeutung über die Judenfrage hinausgeht. Ich glaube, ich kann Ihnen in einigen Tagen darüber berichten, dass in einer der grossen englischen Unterrichtsinstitutionen die Mitglieder des Lehrkörpers für eine Reihe von Jahren auf 5% ihres Gehaltes verzeichnet, um einen Fonds zu schaffen, aus dem Wissenschaftler, die jetztstellung slos sind, dotiert werden können, damit sie als Guest an bestehenden Instituten weiter arbeiten können.

Auch die Ereignisse in Deutschland gehen einen Gang, der es ausschliesst, die Frage der akademischen Judenverfolgung abzusondern. Zum Beispiel wurde in Königsberg der rein arische Mathematiker Reidemeister "beurlaubt", weil er in einem Brief an den Director gegen die Entlassung von Juden protestierte. (Dass Frank, Polanyi, Freundlich und Haber durch Demission protestiert haben, werden Sie wohl wissen.)

Der "Plan" hat im Augenblick eine Form, wie Sie sie aus der Anlage ersehen. Es wird nicht ganz leicht sein, die verschiedenen Gruppen, die es nun überall schon gibt, zu ko-ordinieren und die Gefahr zu verhüten, dass man über den Prominenten die jungen Leute vergisst. In diesem Punkte hätten wir Ihre Hilfe gut brauchen können.

Es ist auch die Idee einer Flüchtlings-Universität von uns viel besprochen worden; der Gedanke hat aber in nicht-jüdischen englischen Kreisen gar keine Resonanz und wäre kaum durchführbar, ohne sehr viel Geld für Bauten und dergleichen zu vergeuden. Wir sehen keine Möglichkeit, die Mittel für etwas derartiges herbeizuschaffen, - am ehesten vielleicht noch, wenn man diese Universität in Palästina machen könnte. Dagegen spricht aber zweierlei: erstens kann man dort einen Lehrbetrieb verhüntigerweise nicht aufrechterhalten, weil der Bedarf an Aerzten etc. im Lande selbst zu gering ist, um einen geregelten Univer-

sitätsbetrieb zu ermöglichen. Zweitens, wenn man auch auf einen Lehrbetrieb verzichtet und Forschungsinstitute errichtet, , so müsste man schliesslich auch die Wünsche derjenigen berücksichtigen, für die man sorgen will und die in ihrer Mehrzahl nicht nach Palästina wollen.

Ich werde im übrigen in den nächsten Tagen Weizman sehen und ihn über die bisherige Tätigkeit der englischen Gruppe informieren. Ich werde dann zugleich hören, wie er über die ganze Sache denkt.

Wenn man mit den Mitteln, die zur Verfügung stehen, beschränkt ist, so muss man Gewicht auf die Chance legen, dass die meisten aus dem Fonds dotierten Leute in 3 - 4 Jahren irgendwohin berufen werden oder irgendwo eine Stellung finden. Eine solche Arbeitsvermittlung ist aber nur wirksam, wenn man die Leute gleich dorthin bringt, wo sie eine Chance haben, bleiben zu können.

Dasselbe gilt für die Studenten. Hier könnte man vielleicht erreichen, dass jede Universität einer bestimmten Quote von Studenten die Gebühren erlässt und dass die Studenten so verteilt werden, dass sie nach Beendigung ihres Studiums gleich an Ort und Stelle eine Chance haben, im Berufsleben unterzukommen.

Es hat keinen Sinn, dass ich Ihnen über die Details ausführlich berichte. Ich werde Sie, so gut es beim Herumreisen geht, über meine Adresse auf dem laufenden halten und Sie bei nächster Gelegenheit, sobald Sie mir schreiben, dass Sie weniger beschäftigt sind, schriftlich oder mündlich ausführlich informieren.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,

Ihr sehr ergebener

London, den 9. Mai 1933.

Lieber Herr Professor,

Ich habe seinerzeit Ihren Brief und Ihr Telegramm fast gleichzeitig erhalten und beides noch so rechtzeitig, dass ich meine Reiseplaene darnach einrichten konnte. Inzwischen hat sich hier einiges ereignet und sicherlich haben Sie auch weiter ueber die Sache nachgedacht. Ich habe fast das Gefuehl, dass ich offene Tueren einrenne, wenn ich Ihnen ueber die Schwierigkeiten schreibe, die dem Plan einer Fluechtlingsuniversitaet entgegenstehen. Nun, das Wesentliche ist kurz gesagt:

- a) Die Errichtung einer neuen Universitaet kostet ungeheuer viel Geld an Bauten, Laboratoriums- und Lehreinrichtungen. Verwendet man das Geld, um daraus Gehaelter an Gelehrte zu zahlen, die als Gast bestehender Institute arbeiten, so kann man sehr viel mehr Wissenschaftler versorgen.
- b) Vom Standpunkt der Studenten aus betrachtet, sollte man darnach trachten, die Studenten auf die Universitaeten so zu verteilen, dass sie nach Beendigung ihres Studiums in dem Lande bleiben koennen, in dem sie studiert haben. Denn wenn der Student dann auch nicht in seiner Heimat ist, so ist er doch im dem Lande, in dem er studiert hat, und waehrend einiger Studienjahre sich angepasst und Beziehungen angeknuepft hat, wodurch es ihm erleichtert wird, eine Stellung zu finden. Bei einer Fluechtlingsuniversitaet wird es schwierig sein, diese Forderungen zu erfüllen.
- c) Was die Universitaet Palaeastina anlangt, so waere es vom Standpunkt der Versorgung der Wissenschaftler und vom Standpunkt der Studenten aus betrachtet, zwar auch nicht zu rechtfertigen, Geld dafuer aufzubringen, aber ich koennte mir anders geartete Argumente denken, um zu begruenden, dass man an die Errichtung einzelner Forschungs-Institute im Rahmen dieser Universitaet jetzt herangehen sollte. Immerhin wuerde man dann durch die Bauarbeiten in Palaeastina eine Beschaeftigungsmaeglichkeit fuer neu Einwandernde - wenn auch nicht gerade fuer eine groessere Anzahl von Wissenschaftlern - schaffen.

Streng vertraulich! Nur fuer Ihren personlichen Gebrauch!

Nun moechte ich Ihnen ganz von Anfang an darueber berichtet welchen Gang die Sachen hier genommen haben.

Den Plan, den ich urspruenglich in Wien hatte, kennen Sie. Er entsprang aus dem Gedanken, aus der jetzigen Notlage heraus eine Organisation aufzubauen, die moeglicherweise zu einer Dauereinrichtung von Bedeutung werden koennte. Zwei National-Oekonomen, an die ich mich wandte, Dr.Marschak und Dr.Schlesinger, haben sich sofort in den Dienst der Sache gestellt und der Zufall wollte, dass Sir William Beveridge, der Direktor der London School of Economics, im selben Hotel in Wien abstieg, in dem ich wohnte, sodass ich Gelegenheit hatte, ihm ausfuehrlich ueber die Sache zu erzählen. Tags darauf machten wir einen Schlachtplan, Dr. Schlesinger, Beveridge und ich, und Beveridge versprach zu versuchen, in London eine englische Gruppe zustande zu bringen.

Inzwischen ist die Sache nun in England weitergekommen und steht jetzt so: Beveridge, Hopkins (Praesident der Royal Academy) und G.M.Trevelyan (ehemaliger Unterrichtsminister) arbeiten zusammen, um eine (nicht auf Juden beschraenkte) Hilfsaktion auf die Beine zu bringen. Es tun Rutherford und der Praesident der Royal Academy und Master of Balliol College in Oxford mit und an der Spitze wird wahrscheinlich Lord Grey stehen. Diese Gruppe wird es unternehmen, im Namen der Lehrfreiheit Mittel aufzubringen, um sie im Sinne unseres Projektes zu verwenden. Die ersten Betraege sollen durch freiwillige Gehaltskuerzungen der Professoren in corpore aufgebracht werden, und die London School of Economics hat bereits durch einstimmigen Beschluss des Professorenkolleg einem 3 prozentige Gehaltskuerzung fuer 3 Jahre beschlossen und auch beschlossen, wegen Befolgung dieses Beispiels sich mit anderen Universitaeten in Verbindung zu setzen.

Waehrend ich in England war, ist Dr.Marschak nach Paris gefahren und berichtet von dort ziemlich guenstig.

Drei Punkte sind es, die uns besonders am Herzen liegen, und die wir durchzusetzen hoffen.

- 1) Dass kein Geld fuer Bauten oder Laboratoriumseinrichtungen verwendet wird, sondern nur fuer Gehaelter, und dass die juengeren Wissenschaftler bis zum Studienalter hinein ausgiebig beruecksichtigt werden.
- 2) Dass eine internationale Organisation dafuer sorgt, dass das in England und Frankreich aufgebrachte Geld auch fuer Leute verwendet werden kann, die in anderen, weniger entwickelten Laendern - z.B. Indien und die Balkanlaender - zu arbeiten (versetzen) bereit sind, dass man dadurch vermiedet, Laboratorien von England und Frankreich zu ueberfuellen und gleichzeitig dadurch eine Art Arbeitsvermittlung geschaffen wird.
- 3) Dass man Studenten auf vernueftige Weise auf allen Universitaeten der Welt verteilt.

Besondere die Frage der Studenten macht uns das meiste Kopfaerbrechen und erfordert auch die groesste organisatorische Arbeit, auch ist die Frage der Auswahl der Studenten noch gaenzlich ungeloeest.

Ich fahre am Freitag, den 12.Mai, frisch, nach Ostende und Bruessel und wuerde natuerlich gern ueber all dieses mit Ihnen reden; ich werde aber von Ostende aus keinen Abstecher zu Ihnen machen, es sei denn, dass Sie mir bis Freitag Frisch Telegrafen, dass Sie jetzt weniger ueberlastet sind und mein Kommen Ihnen recht ist.

An Sonnabend, den 13.Mai wuerde mich eine Nachricht in der Fondation Universitaire, Bruessel, erreichen. Der weitere Reiseplan steht noch nicht fest, ich werde Sie aber ueber die weitere Entwicklung in Belgien und Frankreich und wohl bald auch in Amerika jedenfalls schriftlich auf dem Laufenden halten.

Mit herzlichen Gruessen

P.S. Ich moechte Montefiore oder Ihr ergebener Neville Laski, die gemeinsam einen Fond verwalten, ueberreden, eine laufende Summe fuer Studenten herzugeben, denen wir von Seiten der Universitaet eine Gebuehrenermaessigung zu verschaffen hoffen. Kennen Sie einen von den beiden? Und koennen Sie mir dabei helfen?

TRANSLATION of letter from PROF. EINSTEIN  
to Prof. Donnan.

Le Coq sur Mer.

August 16th, 1933.

Dear Colleague,

I remember you very well, and the problems through which I got to know you.

Dr. Szilard is a many-sided and capable physicist. He is rich in ideas in both the experimental and the technical fields; at the same time he also has a flair for the essential in the theoretical field. He is one of those men, rich in ideas, who create intellectual and spiritual life wherever they are. I have grown to esteem greatly his capabilities in the course of several years' co-operation in the technical field.

In the upheaval of this last year his efforts on behalf of his younger colleagues have testified to his personal qualities, and it seems to me only right that he himself should not now be forgotten.

I feel I must tell you how profoundly I appreciate the readiness to help of our English colleagues and the English authorities. I also know very well all the good you yourself have achieved.

(Signed) A. EINSTEIN.

Albert Einstein  
Old Grove Rd.  
Nassau Point  
Peconic, Long Island, N.Y.

August 2, 1939

F. D. Roosevelt  
President of the United States,  
White House,  
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Some recent work by E. Fermi and L. Szilard, which has been communicated to me in manuscript, leads me to expect that the element uranium may be turned into a new and important source of energy in the immediate future. Certain aspects of the situation which has arisen seem to call for watchfulness and, if necessary, quick action on the part of the Administration. I believe therefore that it is my duty to bring to your attention the following facts and recommendations:

In the course of the last four months it has been made probable through the work of Joliot in France as well as Fermi and Szilard in America - that it may become possible to set up a nuclear chain reaction in a large mass of uranium by which vast amounts of power and large quantities of new radium-like elements would be generated. Now it appears almost certain that this could be achieved in the immediate future.

This new phenomena would also lead to the construction of bombs, and it is conceivable - though much less certain - that extremely powerful bombs of a new type may thus be constructed. A single bomb of this type, carried by boat and exploded in a port, might very well destroy the whole port together with some of the surrounding territory. However, such bombs might very well prove to be too heavy for transportation by air.

The United States has only very poor ores of uranium in moderate quantities. There is some good ore in Canada and the former Czechoslovakia, while the most important source of uranium is Belgian-Congo.

*2*

In view of this situation you may think it desirable to have some permanent contact maintained between the Administration and the group of physicists working on chain reactions in America. One possible way of achieving this might be for you to entrust with this task a person who has your confidence and who could perhaps serve in an *official* capacity. His task might comprise the following:

- a) to approach Government Departments, keep them informed of the further development, and put forward recommendations for Government action, giving particular attention to the problem of securing a supply of uranium ore for the United States;
- b) to speed up the experimental work, which is at present being carried on within the limits of the budgets of University laboratories, by providing funds, if such funds be required, through his contacts with private persons who are willing to make contributions for this cause, and perhaps also by obtaining the cooperation of industrial laboratories which have the necessary equipment.

I understand that Germany has actually stopped the sale of uranium from the Czechoslovakia mines which she has taken over. That she should have taken such early action might perhaps be understood on the ground that the son of the German Under-Secretary of State, von Weizsacker, is attached to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut in Berlin where some of the American work on uranium is now being ~~repeated~~ repeated.

Yours very truly

(Albert Einstein)

C O P Y

Albert Einstein  
Old Grove Road  
Nassau Point  
Peconic, Long Island

August 2nd, 1939

F. D. Roosevelt  
President of the United States  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

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Yours very truly,

(Albert Einstein)

Über keins hin

den 9. August 1939

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Ich schreibe Ihnen nur, um zu bestaetigen,  
dass Ihr Brief mit den Beilagen uns erreicht  
hat. Wir werden versuchen, Ihre Mahnung zu be-  
herzigen und so gut es geht unsere inneren Wi-  
derstaende, die zugegebenermassen vorhanden  
sind, zu ueberwinden. Uebrigens wollen wir  
es gar nicht gar zu gescheit machen und sind  
schon zufrieden, wenn wir es nicht gar zu dumme  
machen. Ich werde Ihnen laufend berichten, wie  
es weitergeht.

Ihr

*public records*

Hotel King's Crown  
420 West 116th Street  
New York City

September 27th, 1939

Lieber Herr Professor!

Ich schicke Ihnen in der Anlage die Rede von Lindbergh, die Sie vielleicht nicht gelesen haben. Ich fuerchte, er ist in der Tat nicht unser Mann. Im uebrigen steht die Diskussion ueber das Neutralitaetsgesetz auf einem erbaermlichen Niveau. Man wird dabei Lindbergh gegenueber noch ganz milde gestimmt, denn er gibt wenigstens menschliche Toene von sich.

Soviel ich verstehe, ist Ihr Brief an den Praesidenten schon seit einiger Zeit in Washington. Ich sehe Dr. Sachs (Lehman Corporation) am Freitag und werde vielleicht hoeren, ob irgendetwas erfolgt ist.

Da wir darauf gefaengt sein muessen, dass Belgien an einem dieser Tage ueberrannt wird, will ich versuchen jetzt durchzusetzen, dass wenigstens 50 Tonnen Uranoxide gekauft werden, die man ja spaeter, wenn das Material nicht mehr gebraucht wird, jederzeit auf dem Markt - vielleicht sogar mit Gewinn - verkaufen kann. Ob es gelingen wird, eine Regierungsstelle zu einem solchen Schritt zu bewegen, weiss ich natuerlich nicht. Vielleicht wuerde man es mit einem klugen Spekulanten leichter haben.

Mit freundlichen Gruessen

Ihr sehr ergebener

(Leo Szilard)

L

den 3. 10. 1939

Lieber Herr Professor!

Wigner und ich haben vorige Woche Dr. Sachs besucht, der uns gestanden hat, dass er immer noch auf Ihrem Brief sitzt. Er sagte, er haette wiederholt mit dem Sekretaer von Roosevelt telephoniert und den Eindruck gewonnen, dass Roosevelt so ueberlastet ist, dass es klueger waere, ihn spaeter zu sehen. Er hatte vor, diese Woche nach Washington zu fahren.

Es ist durchaus moeglich, dass Sachs unbrauchbar ist. Gegebenenfalls muessen wir die Sache in die Hand eines Anderen legen. Ich habe mit Wigner verabredet, dass wir Sachs noch eine Frist von 10 Tagen lassen. Dann werde ich Ihnen wieder schreiben, wie die Sache steht.

Mit freundlichen Gruessen  
Ihr sehr ergebener

(Leo Szilard)

Punkte voran

Dec 59 p. 398

# 0977

UNDER  
KNOTT MANAGEMENT

TELEPHONE  
UNIVERSITY 4-2700

Kings Crown Hotel



420 WEST 116TH STREET  
NEW YORK

OPPOSITE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

den 3. 10. 1939

Lieber Herr Professor!

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Mit freundlichen Gruessen

Ihr sehr ergebener

*Leo Szilard*

(Leo Szilard)

*Durch Privatpost*

Hotel King's Crown  
420 West 116th Street  
New York City

den 17. Oktober 1939

Lieber Herr Professor!

Wigner hat Ihnen wohl telephonisch berichtet, dass Dr. Sachs (von Lehman Corporation) vorige Woche in Washington war, dem Praesidenten eigenhaendig Ihren Brief uebergeben hat, und dass der Praesident diesen Brief aufmerksam durchlas. Dr. Sachs sprach am vorigen Samstag telephonisch mit seiner Sekretaerin, diese sprach telephonisch mit mir, ich sprach telephonisch mit Wigner und Wigner telephonierte mit Ihnen. Da diese Art der Nachrichtenuebermittlung vielleicht etwas zu indirekt ist, moechte ich Ihnen heute, nachdem ich Sachs gestern gesprochen habe, brieflich berichten.

Sie haben in Ihrem Brief an Roosevelt den Vorschlag gemacht, dass ein Verbindungsglied geschaffen wird, welches den Kontakt zwischen der Adwministration und den Physikern aufrecht erhaelt. Roosevelt fragte nun Sachs, welche Form er zur Durchfuehrung Ihres Vorschlages empfehlen wuerde. Dr. Sachs schlug vor, zu diesem Zweck ein Komitee von nicht mehr als drei Personen zu ernennen.

Roosevelt hat diesen Vorschlag akzeptiert und ein Komitee ernannt, bestehend aus Briggs, dem Leiter des Bureau of Standards in Washington, aus einem Colonel, der wohl die Armee repraesentiert, und einem Commander, der, wie ich annehme, die Navy vertritt. Briggs hat an Sachs geschrieben und ihn gebeten, zu der ersten Sitzung dieses Komitees (welche jetzt auf Samstag vormittag festgelegt worden ist), nach Washington zu kommen und Wigner und mich mitzubringen,

damit jemand da ist, der ueber technische Einzelheiten Auskunft geben kann. Da es fuer Wigner und mich schwierig sein wuerde, allzu haeufig nach Washington zu fahren, hat Sachs auf meine Bitte Briggs heute telephonisch angerufen und mit ihm verabredet, dass Dr. Teller, der dauernd in Washington ist und den Briggs natuerlich kennt, zu dieser Besprechung zugezogen wird. So werden wir wahrscheinlich nachher ueber Teller den Kontakt mit Briggs auf wirksame Weise aufrecht erhalten koennen.

Falls mich eine etwas harthaeckige Erkaeltung nicht daran hindert, werde ich, bevor ich nach Washington fahre, noch nach Princeton kommen, und ich hoffe, dass wir dann, wenn es Ihre Zeit gestattet, ueber all die schwebenden Fragen sprechen koennen.

Mit freundlichen Gruessen

Ihr sehr ergebener

(Leo Szilard)

420 West 116th Street  
New York City

den 7. Maerz 1940

Lieber Herr Professor!

Den Briefentwurf, den wir zusammen durchgesprochen haben, habe ich Dr. Sachs zugesandt. Er schlaegt, wie Sie aus seinem anliegenden Brief sehen, gewisse Aenderungen vor. Diese und andere Aenderungen sind mit Bleistift in dem letzten Entwurf eingetragen, und Sie koennen jeweils an dem Gekritzel sehen, welche Aenderungsvorschlaege von Sachs und welche von mir stammen.

Im beiliegenden Umschlag finden Sie die neue Fassung, in der ich versucht habe, den Wuenschen von Dr. Sachs, so weit es mir moeglich schien, nachzukommen. Eine Kopie fuer Ihre Akten liegt ebenfalls im Umschlag.

Falls Sie einige der Aenderungen wieder rueckgaengig machen oder sonst etwas aendern wollen, so koennten Sie Ihre Korrekturen in das saubere Exemplar eintragen und mir dieses zur nochmaligen Abschrift zurueckschicken.

Mit freundlichem Gruss

Ihr sehr ergebener

Einstein → Sachs

not sent.

*Not sent*

March 7, 1940

Dr. Alexander Sachs  
c/o Lehman Corporation  
One South William Street  
New York City

Dear Dr. Sachs:

I understand that you are familiar with the situation which has arisen in connection with the study of uranium, and that thanks to your disinterested intervention in October some support will now be forthcoming for certain experiments on uranium.

Last year, when I realized the danger which might arise out of this situation, I thought it my duty to draw the attention of the administration to this point. You will perhaps remember that in the letter which I addressed to the President I also mentioned the fact that C.F. von Weizsaecker, son of the German Secretary of State von Weizsaecker, was collaborating with a group of chemists working on uranium at one of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes, namely the Institute of Chemistry. I have now learned that this research is being carried out in great secrecy, and that it has been extended to another of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes, the Institute of Physics. This Institute has been taken over by the government, and a group of physicists is now working there on

*Not sent*

uranium under the leadership of Weizsaecker in collaboration with the group of chemists at the Institute of Chemistry.

Should you think it advisable to relay this information to the administration in Washington, please consider yourself free to do so. Would you perhaps be kind enough to let me know whether you intend to forward this information?

Dr. Szilard has shown me the manuscripts of two papers which he has sent to the Physical Review. A method for setting up a chain reaction is described in detail in these papers which will appear in print in the near future unless something is done to prevent their publication.

I have discussed this and other aspects of the situation with Dr. Wigner of Princeton University and Dr. Szilard in the light of the information which is at present available. They will let you have a short memorandum informing you of the progress made since October last year, so that you may be able to take such action as you think necessary in the circumstances. You will see that the work of Dr. Szilard has proceeded along a line entirely different from that pursued by Joliot in France, about whose work you may have seen reports in the papers.

Yours very truly,

July 1, 1961

A. Einstein → Sachs.

A. Einstein  
112 Mercer Road  
Princeton, N.J.

March 7, 1940

Dr. A. Sachs  
c/o Lehman Corp.  
1 South William St.  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Sachs:

In view of our common concern in the bearings of certain experimental work in problems connected with national defense, I wish to draw your attention to the development which has taken place since the conference that was arranged through your good offices in October last year between scientists engaged in this work and governmental representatives.

Last year when I realized that results of national importance might arise out of the research on uranium, I thought it my duty to inform the Administration of this possibility. You will perhaps remember that in the letter which I addressed to the President I also mentioned the fact that C. F. von Weizsaecker, son of the German Secretary of State, von Weizsaecker, was collaborating with a group of chemists working upon uranium at one of the Kaiser Wilhelm institutes, namely, the Institute of Chemistry. Since the outbreak of the war, interest in uranium has intensified in Germany. I have now learned that research there is being carried out in great secrecy and that it has been extended to another of the Kaiser Wilhelm institutes, the Institute of Physics. The latter has been taken over by the Government and a group of physicists, under the leadership of C. F. von Weizsaecker, who is now working there on uranium in collaboration with the Institute of Chemistry. The former director was sent away on a leave of absence apparently for the duration of the war.

Should you think it advisable to relay this information to the President, please consider yourself free to do so. Will you be kind enough to let me know if you are taking any action in this direction.

Dr. <sup>Z</sup>Zillard has shown me the manuscript which he is sending to the Physics Review in which he describes in detail a method for setting up a chain reaction in uranium. The papers will appear in print unless they are held up, and the question arises whether something ought to be done to withhold publication. The answer to this question will depend on the general policy which is being adopted by the Administration with respect to uranium.

I have discussed with Professor Weigner of Princeton University and Dr. <sup>Z</sup>Zillard the situation in the light of the information that is available. Dr. <sup>Z</sup>Zillard will let you have a memorandum informing you of the progress made since October last year so that you will be able to take such action as you think in the circumstances advisable. You will see that the line he has pursued is different and apparently more promising than the line pursued by Monsieur Joliet in France about whose work you may have seen reports in the papers.

Yours sincerely,

Albert Einstein  
(Signed)

March 7, 1940

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Dear Dr. Sachs:

In view of our common concern in the bearings of certain experimental work on problems connected with national defense, I wish to draw your attention to the development which has taken place since the conference that was arranged through your good offices in October last year between scientists engaged in this work and governmental representatives.

Last year, when I realized that results of national importance might arise out of the research on uranium, I thought it my duty to inform the Administration of this possibility. You will perhaps remember that in the letter which I addressed to the President I also mentioned the fact that C.F. von Weizsaecker, son of the German Secretary of State von Weizsaecker, was collaborating with a group of chemists working on uranium at one of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes, namely the Institute of Chemistry.

Since the outbreak of the war interest in uranium

has intensified in Germany. I have now learned that research there is being carried out in great secrecy, and that it has been extended to another of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes, the Institute of Physics. The latter has been taken over by the government, and a group of physicists under the leadership of C.F. von Weizsaecker is now working there on uranium in collaboration with the Institute of Chemistry. The former director was sent away on a leave of absence, apparently for the duration of the war.

Should you think it advisable to relay this information to the President, please consider yourself free to do so. Would you perhaps be kind enough to let me know whether you are taking any action in this connection?

Dr. Szilard has shown me the manuscripts of two papers which he has sent to the Physical Review, in which he describes in detail a method for setting up a chain reaction in uranium. These papers will appear in print unless they are held up, and the question arises whether something ought to be done to withhold publication. The answer to this question will depend on the general policy which is being adopted by the Administration with respect to uranium.

I have discussed with Dr. Wigner of Princeton University and Dr. Szilard the situation in the light

of the information which is now available. Dr. Szilard will let you have a memorandum informing you of the progress made since October last year, so that you may be able to take such action as you think in the circumstances advisable. You will see that the line which he has pursued is different from and apparently more promising than the line pursued by M. Joliot in France, about whose work you may have seen reports in the papers.

Yours sincerely,

*File*

April 15, 1940

Dear Dr. Einstein:

In connection with your important communication of March 7th in regard to the research in uranium and its bearing on national defense, I wrote to the President on March 15th, as per enclosed copy, and have at first received an acknowledgment from his secretary, General Watson. It would appear that upon his return to Washington after his trip to the Canal Zone, he decided to adopt the procedure suggested in my original communication. Accordingly, I received on Saturday, April 15th, a letter of his dated April 5th which was postmarked from Washington on April 12th, 5:50 P.M., - a delay which is understandable in view of the tragic international occurrence of the intervening week. In the wake of that letter I also received on the 15th a note from General Watson dated the 5th, and, in furtherance of a telephone call on Saturday, Dr. Briggs's letter of the 15th.

Naturally, having been brought into the orbit of this problem by Dr. Szilard, I have been in continuous touch with him at every stage of the developments and over this weekend and particularly today we have discussed aspects of the appropriate procedure for the forthcoming conference which the President has instructed General Watson and Dr. Briggs to arrange in conformity with the ideas implicit in your original letter. May I add that in the interest of assuring an adequate scale for the experimentation and a right tempo for the work it will be most helpful if you could see your way to attending, along with Drs. Wigner and Szilard, as I am sure that the President would feel all the more confident and would be delighted to know that any program that is worked out will have had your sagacious cooperation and your approval.

I am looking forward to seeing you and conferring with you before the meeting which, owing to the exigencies of conference and the development of a coordinate policy, might require postponement.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Albert Einstein,  
112 Mercer Road,  
Princeton, N. J.

*No Ph*

420 West 116th Street  
New York City

den 19. April 1940

Professor Albert Einstein  
112 Mercer Street  
Princeton, N.J.

Lieber Herr Professor!

Anliegend schicke ich Ihnen den Brief von Briggs zurueck.  
Dr. Sachs sagt mir, dass das Meeting nicht am Montag stattfin-  
den wird. Fuer den Fall, dass Sie absagen wollen, werden wir  
einen hoeflichen anglichen Absagebrief vorbereiten, den Sie  
dann nach Gutduenken benutzen koennen.

Mit Dr. Sachs habe ich verabredet, dass wir Ihre Sonn-  
tagsruhe nicht stoeren werden. Da er Sie gern sprechen moech-  
te, wird einer von uns im Laufe der naechsten Woche bei Ihnen  
anrufen, um Sie zu fragen, wann es Ihnen recht waere, ihn zu  
sehen.

Mit freundlichem Gruss

Ihr sehr ergebener

[A. Einstein] → L. Briggs

April 25, 1940

Dr. Lyman J. Briggs, Director,  
National Bureau of Standards,  
U. S. Department of Commerce,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Briggs:

I thank you for your recent communication concerning  
a meeting of the Special Advisory Committee appointed by  
President Roosevelt.

As, to my regret, I shall not be able to attend this meeting, I have discussed with Dr. Wigner and Dr. Sachs particularly the questions arising out of the work of Dr. Fermi and Dr. Szilard. I am convinced as to the wisdom and the urgency of creating the conditions under which that and related work can be carried out with greater speed and on a larger scale than hitherto. I was interested in a suggestion made by Dr. Sachs that the Special Advisory Committee submit names of persons to serve as a board of trustees for a non-profit organization which, with the approval of the Government committee, should secure from governmental or private sources, or both, the necessary funds for carrying out the work. It seems to me that such an organization would provide a framework which could give Drs. Fermi and Szilard and co-workers the necessary scope. The preparation of the large scale experiment and the exploration of the various possibilities with regard to practical applications is a task of considerable complexity. ~~and~~ I think that given such a framework and the necessary funds, it could be carried out much faster than through a loose cooperation of University laboratories and Government departments.

Yours sincerely,

Copy to Dr. Sachs

*File*

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Mit freundlichem Gruss

Ihr sehr ergebener

[A. Einstein] → L. Briggs

X

April 25, 1940

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U. S. Department of Commerce,  
Washington, D. C.

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Yours sincerely,

Copy to Dr. Sachs

From Einstein  
Arch'co

re film

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

# WESTERN UNION

(27) *BD*

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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P71 DL PD=BDG CHICAGO ILL 27 1228P

1946 JULY 27

PROF ALBERT EINSTEIN=

1946 JULY 27 PM 2 24

112 MERCER ST

HAVE RECEIVED NEW SCRIPT FROM METRO GOLDWYN MAYER AND AM WRITING THAT I HAVE NO OBJECTION TO USE OF MY NAME IN IT SUBJECT TO SOME VERY MINOR CHANGES IN PHRASING. UNDERSTAND THAT SAM MARX HAS MAILED TO YOU AND I WISH TO SUGGEST THAT UPON RECEIPT OF SCRIPT YOU WIRE HIM CARE OF METRO GOLDWYN MAYER CULVER CITY, CALIFORNIA} AND ADVISE HIM WHETHER OR NOT YOU AGREE TO THE USE OF YOUR NAME. REGARDS=

SZILLARD.

SZILARD

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

COPIED FROM ORIGINAL  
IN THIS COLLECTION

Agree with use of my name  
on basis of new script

Einstein.

COPIED FROM ORIGINAL  
~~IN THIS COLLECTION~~

112 Mercer Street  
Princeton, New Jersey  
March 25, 1945

The Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt  
The President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I am writing you to introduce Dr. L. Szilard who proposes to submit to you certain considerations and recommendations. Unusual circumstances which I shall describe further below induce me to take this action in spite of the fact that I do not know the substance of the considerations and recommendations which Dr. Szilard proposes to submit to you.

In the summer of 1939 Dr. Szilard put before me his views concerning the potential importance of uranium for national defense. He was greatly disturbed by the potentialities involved and anxious that the United States Government be advised of them as soon as possible. Dr. Szilard, who is one of the discoverers of the neutron emission of uranium on which all present work on uranium is based, described to me a specific system which he devised and which he thought would make it possible to set up a chain reaction in un-separated uranium in the immediate future. Having known him for over twenty years both from his scientific work and personally, I have much confidence in his judgment and it was on the basis of his judgment as well as my own that I took the liberty to approach you in connection with this subject. You responded to my letter dated August 2, 1939 by the appointment of a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Briggs and thus started the Government's activity in this field.

The terms of secrecy under which Dr. Szilard is working at present do not permit him to give me information about his work; however, I understand that he now is greatly concerned about the lack of adequate contact between scientists who are doing this work and those members of your Cabinet who are responsible for formulating policy. In the circumstances I consider it my duty to give Dr. Szilard this introduction and I wish to express the hope that you will be able to give his presentation of the case your personal attention.

Very truly yours,

A. Einstein.

July 8, 1946

Prof. Albert Einstein  
112 Mercer St.  
Princeton, N. J.

Dear Prof. Einstein:

Following the meeting which Dr. Urey and I had in your house I spent the week, as I said I would, looking into the questions connected with the operation of the "Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists."

In New York I met Mr. Melcher and Father Conway of the National Committee on Atomic Information in Mr. Oram's office. I told Mr. Melcher that when he talked with me over the telephone and when I agreed that my name be used in connection with an appeal for funds to be made by the National Committee on Atomic Information, I was merely agreeing to serve on a Committee sponsoring an appeal made by the National Committee. Participating in a committee, "The Emergency Committee on Atomic Information," which makes an appeal in its own name and collects funds, involves responsibilities, both moral and legal which I am not able to take on unless the Committee is formalized and its relationships with other organizations is clearly defined.

It was Mr. Oram's view that it would be very difficult to raise money for the National Committee of Atomic Information if the plea were made directly by that organization and your group would merely sponsor that plea. Mr. Oram thought that if the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists actually existed as a working organization, it would have a good chance of raising fairly large funds. With this possibility in view I had repeated conversations with Michael Straight, Professor Hecht of Columbia University, and Joe Schaffner in the hope that two out of the three might be

willing to serve as officers if the group should decide to formalize the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists and continue as a fund raising organization. Mr. Joe Schaffner was recommended in the capacity of Treasurer, both by Professor Hecht and Beardsley Ruml.

Naturally, if such an organization is incorporated and is built up in a fund raising drive before the American Public, it will have both moral and material responsibilities. It is my personal view that, apart from having certain well defined commitments with respect to the National Committee of Atomic Information and possibly also ~~or~~ the Federation of American Scientists, it should be its own responsibility to decide how funds entrusted to it might be best used. If the organization is incorporated it will have meetings at regular intervals and the best use of the funds which might be entrusted to it would be the natural topic of discussion at such meetings. As a matter of fact, I can see how such meetings held at regular intervals might lead to a clarification of our own thought and how the results of our deliberations, provided we take sufficient time in our discussions to thrash out controversial issues, might be of some general value. If we are lucky, out of such discussions there might emerge some real contribution toward the solution of the problem around which all this activity revolves, namely, the abolition of war.

There would be of course no objection to giving the National Committee of Atomic Information an assurance that your group would not make any donations to other organizations as long as the National Committee has not received the amount corresponding to the goal of the present fund raising drive as specified by the arrangement which the National Committee made with Mr. Gram. This amounts to \$160,000 or perhaps \$200,000, and the larger amount might perhaps also take care of the immediate needs of the Federation of American Scientists.

Otherwise, however, if the appeal is made by your group in the manner in which the campaign has hitherto been conducted, your group ought to be free to decide according to its own conscience when and in what form to appeal for funds and what the best use of those funds may be which are not earmarked. My feeling is that even if your group were formalized and incorporated, I would rather not be part of it if it is expected to act as a dummy, that is if it cannot exercise any judgment, for in those circumstances I do not believe that your group can discharge its responsibilities which are implied in appealing for funds in its own name.

These are of course only my own personal views and no one else is bound by them. In presenting them yesterday to members of the National Committee of Atomic Information I made this fact clear to all those concerned.

Having stayed away from Chicago for more than a week in place of just the week end as originally intended, I find that I have to return now and will be unable to do anything further about this matter for the time being. Yesterday the National Committee on Atomic Information thought perhaps of proceeding to call a meeting of your group, of officers of the National Committee and of the Federation of American Scientists. I do not know whether this plan will go through but the procedure is so complicated that I personally would rather not become involved in it.

I hope that it will be possible to reach a clarification of the relationship of your group in discussions with the officers of the National Committee and that it will not be necessary to resort to the cumbersome process of calling the meeting mentioned above. If the result of these discussions is consistent with the general views presented in this memorandum I should be glad to serve on a properly formalized committee and to actively participate as much as circumstances permit.

Sincerely,

July 11, 1946

It is recommended that the campaign to raise funds shall be continued on the following basis:

The letterhead on which the appeal for funds is made shall carry the name EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS at the top with the names as appearing on the original letterhead, and with the following addition to the printed matter on the page: "Beneficiaries of the present fund-raising drive are: National Committee on Atomic Information (and) Federation of American Scientists".

It is understood that the campaign on this basis shall continue until a total of \$200,000 has been raised, but not to exceed eight (8) months. Mr. Oram is authorized to proceed with the campaign on this basis as soon as he has received approval from the Secretary of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists.

It is recommended that the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists be incorporated and have a responsible officer to make all necessary arrangements with those concerned.

For the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists

---

Dr. Harold C. Urey

---

Dr. Leo Szilard

For the National Committee on Atomic Information

---

Dr. Ralph McDonald

For the Federation of American Scientists

---

Dr. W. A. Higinbotham

# EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

*Trustees*

ALBERT EINSTEIN  
*Chairman*  
HAROLD C. UREY  
*Vice-Chairman*  
HANS A. BETHE  
T. R. HOGNESS  
PHILIP M. MORSE  
LINUS PAULING  
LEO SZILARD  
V. F. WEISSKOPF

C O P Y F O O C

*New York Office*

ROOM 523, 625 MADISON AVE.  
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.  
Phone ELDORADO 5-0904

October 11, 1947

*Officers*

ALBERT EINSTEIN  
*President*  
HAROLD C. UREY  
*Vice-President*  
SELIG HECHT  
*Hon. Vice-Chairman*  
JOSEPH H. SCHAFFNER  
*Executive Director  
and Treasurer*  
MICHAEL STRAIGHT  
*Secretary*  
LILY PAYSON  
*Assistant Secretary-  
Treasurer*

The Honorable George C. Marshall  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Our colleague, Dr. Leo Szilard, whose deep interest in the welfare of free people has often found expression, as in his very important part in the development of the atomic bomb, has shown us, the Trustees of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, a letter that he has written for transmittal to Mr. Stalin. We desire to support his request that he be permitted to transmit this letter to Mr. Stalin through channels chosen by him. In giving this support to Dr. Szilard's request, the Emergency Committee points out that Dr. Szilard's appeal is his own personal creation, and does not necessarily represent the opinion of the Committee itself. Nevertheless the Committee feels that the state of international affairs at present is such that a personal effort of this sort is worth attempting, even though the chance of success may be very small.

We have the honor to remain,

Very truly yours,

*A. Einstein.*

*R. M. Morse*  
Albert Einstein  
Chairman

Philip M. Morse  
Acting Executive Director

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# WESTER UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN  
PRESIDENT

(01)

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	Ship Radiogram

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MRS CYRIL SMITH

116 BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS 1126 EAST 59 CHGO

THERE IS DISAGREEMENT IN THE COMMITTEE WITH REGARDS TO  
PUBLISHING OUR LETTER TO MARSHALL SO PLEASE DO NOT PUBLISH

IT=

A EINSTEIN

Yzilaw

From Einstein  
Archives May 1976

1155 East 57th Street  
Chicago, Illinois

May 4, 1948

Professor Albert Einstein,  
112 Mercer Street,  
Princeton, N. J.

Dear Professor Einstein:

You remember I believe Henry Usborne's visit to you. He formed a group of members of the British Parliament which leads the movement in England aimed at the setting up of a World Constitutional Convention. No similar movement on any organized basis exists in the United States as yet, though it is my impression that the rank and file members of the World Government organizations show a preference for this approach.

Recently Harris Wofford, (a very remarkable student at the University of Chicago, who as a high school student founded the Student Federalist Movement) managed to get together a group in Chicago who pledged itself to try and see in the next few months whether or not it is possible to launch an organized movement in this country that would more or less parallel the British organization. He succeeded in persuading Stringfellow Bar (up to recently President of St. John's College and one of the authors of the World Constitution, drafted in Chicago) to accept the chairmanship of this group. We thought that perhaps it would be best to call together all those who are known to be sympathetic and who might decide to take some action, to a conference in Princeton to be held towards the end of June, and I am enclosing a letter which I received from Harris Wofford which relates to this proposed conference, and which is self-explanatory.

I would be very grateful if you could let me know, by telegram

(addressed to me collect at Room 7, Social Science Building, University of Chicago) whether you would agree to the use of your name as outlined in the enclosure, and whether you would be in a position to participate in the Princeton Conference.

With kind regards

Very sincerely yours,

*Leo Szilard*  
Leo Szilard

P.S. A copy of the suggested "plan" will be sent to you under separate cover.

J R O'ppenheimer

Walter Oppenheimer

Chet Barard

R Wabuy

San Wells  
Bill Clayton

Pearson Baldwin

Al Rabi

Al Oppenheimer

People Thomas

Russel Luddington

Chris Wan Fung

Braun

Shanks

Harriet Bone

Torrey Brandt  
Edward Shanks Jr.

Judge Curtis

Bob

Philadelphia

Randolph Paul

William H. Davis  
Arthur Schlesinger Jr.  
Henry Steel

Carmaged  
Columbia Union

Sinclair Lewis

Norman Mailer

Harcourt Egan, T.M.  
Dorfman

Steel Rodell  
Yale

Whitney North

Alma Berg

Ed Munro  
Edward Steichen

Dennison

West Coast Frank

N. Shirley, Dales

Paul Appleley  
Grenville Mayor  
former  
minister of  
agriculture

John <sup>to</sup> Max Edminster (Rev. Teach)

Dinner Name

Max Reeder  
Inst. Amer. Studies  
Ed Morgan  
Harvard Law School

Gerhard Fesell  
Tel. Relocation Law  
Brown. Wash.

*for close eye  
for information  
Henry H. Rawler*

Memorandum A

February 23, 1950

H. L. McNaughton  
Richard K. Mellon Pottsby

Dear Professor Einstein:

At the last meeting of the Emergency Committee, we discussed the possibility of bringing into existence a "Citizens' Committee for the Study of Peace," and I was supposed to carry out an exploration in this connection and to report back to the Committee. I discussed the issue involved with the following persons:

Palmer Hoyt, Denver, Colorado	=	Harold Munro [Continental Diner, Inc.] Monday, Wednesday Tuesday, Thursday, Friday	842
Thomas L. Finletter, New York			74
James Warburg, New York			Wilm.
Lloyd Garrison, New York			
Gardner Cowles, New York			
Chester Barnard, New York			
Stringfellow Barr, New York			
Laird Bell, Chicago			
Fowler McCormick, Chicago			
Marshall Field, Chicago		R. H. McLeish, Chicago	
Archibald J. MacLeish, Cambridge, Massachusetts			
Gilbert White, Haverford, Pennsylvania			
Gideon Seymour, Minneapolis, Minnesota			
Pierce Butler, St. Paul, Minnesota			
Miss Adelaide Enright, St. Paul, Minnesota			

*Gray*  
*Bell*  
*Smith*  
*Allen*  
*Thom*  
*Donald*  
*Walt*  
*McN*  
*Orville*  
*Clark*  
*W.H.*  
*All those whom I saw in New York, with the exception of Gardner*

*Dalton*  
*A.*  
*McLone*  
*(Patterson)*  
*Will. R.*  
*Bark*  
*Wolff*  
*Healy*  
*Watson*  
*Young*

Cowles, I saw in the company of Marshall McDuffie, who was much interested in this project and who I hope will maintain his interest in it. Before the war, McDuffie was with John Foster Dulles' law firm. During the war, he was head of the Board of Economic Warfare in the Middle East for about two years; subsequently with the State Department in charge of Lend Lease settlement; and after that, in charge of the UNRRA control commission in the Ukraine. At present, he is with Merck and Company of New York, and his assignment gives him enough free time to be able to render a public service when the need arises. I have known him now for about five years and had often asked him for guidance on issues which involved the public interest.

*Young*  
*Watson*  
*Healy*  
*Young*

All those whom I saw in Minneapolis and St. Paul, I saw in company of Mr. and Mrs. Harris Wofford of Scarsdale, New York, and St. Paul, Minnesota,

*Tom Watson* // *Young*

whom I have known over a period of years and who were very helpful on this occasion; they might make important contributions to this enterprize if they remain interested in it.

Only the names of those are listed above with whom I had a full personal discussion of the issue; the names of those with whom I did not fully discuss the matter or who were contacted by correspondence, are not included in the list.

All those with whom I have spoken showed a friendly interest in the project, the degree of interest varying from person to person. In some cases I was not able to gain a definite impression as to what the final reaction of the man might be if he gave the matter further thought. In one case, I found very strong interest but at the same time also strong concern about the difficulties and obstacles standing in the way of the proposed enterprize.

I believe that the final reaction of most of those whose names are mentioned above will depend on what kind of sponsorship will be forthcoming and on just how in detail we shall decide to proceed. The difficulties and obvious pitfalls of the enterprize were, of course, stressed by both Marshall McDuffie and me in all of our conversations.

The project as it shapes up in my mind at present as the result of all these conversations would be as follows:

- 1) The "Citizens' Committee" consists of a Commission and a Board.
  - a) The Commission is composed of 10-14 men who will serve full time for about six months. For a period of two or three months, the Commission may study jointly the issues involved, hear witnesses, and otherwise gather the required evidence. Then the Commission might find it advisable to split up into two teams of five to seven persons each. These teams would be assigned the task of representing the real interest of America and the real interests of Russia, respectively, and they would engage in discussions or

"negotiations" with each other in order to see whether it is possible for them to reach an agreement on all outstanding issues involved, including the issue of putting an end to the present arms race.

b) The transcript of these negotiations and the final agreement, if one is reached, will go to a Board of no less than 15 or no more than 50 American citizens of national standing, hereafter referred to as the "Board" which will transmit it, together with its own findings and recommendations, to the American people.

The function of the Board is to decide whether the agreement worked out ought to be acceptable to the American people, assuming that it were acceptable to Russia. The Board will naturally not be in a position to say whether such an agreement ought to be acceptable to Russia.

Since the function of the Board is to testify as to the validity of the conclusions reached by the "American Team", the members of the Board (or at least the members of an Executive Committee of the Board which might comprise about 15 Board members) will have to follow the work of the Commission sufficiently closely to be able to form a considered opinion as to the validity of its conclusions.

The members of the Board (or at least the members of its Executive Committee) might have to meet with the Commission perhaps for two days every month in order to keep in touch with the progress of study to familiarize themselves with the difficulties that stand in the way of a satisfactory agreement, and in order to fully understand why certain particular solutions were rejected and other particular solutions were adopted.

- 2) Because lawyers, by virtue of their profession, are accustomed to take on the case of a client--for a fee--it is natural to turn to lawyers when looking for men suitable to serve on the Russian team. It would

be desirable to enlist the service of some of the leading corporation lawyers for this purpose, but this does not mean that all members of the Commission need to be lawyers.

Finding a satisfactory Russian team appears to be an easier task than finding a satisfactory American team, because the only requirement for a man on the Russian team is that he be "good", while on the American team, he must not only be "good", but also must enjoy the full confidence of the Board and a certain measure of public confidence. This is so because when it comes to details, the Board will have to rely to a large extent on the say-so of the American team when formulating its own opinion on the merits of the proposed settlement.

February 24, 1950

Dear Professor Einstein:

Most members of the Emergency Committee will probably agree that the Russian-American conflict--in the continued absence of an overall settlement--is the source of grave danger. In the absence of such an overall settlement, international control of atomic bombs is not likely to be agreed upon, or if it is agreed upon, it is not likely to be maintained for very long.

The Acheson-Lilienthal report dealt with atomic energy as an isolated issue and its interrelation with other issues has never been adequately studied by our Government. I believe the time has come for us scientists to turn our attention to what we may regard as the key problem; i.e., "What kind of an overall settlement would provide the framework in which international control of atomic energy could satisfactorily operate?"

I am not proposing that such a study be carried out by the Emergency Committee or some other group of scientists, but rather that we scientists take the responsibility for initiating studies dealing with this issue, and that we see to it that an adequate inquiry into this question is carried out.

In the present circumstances, it is unlikely that the State Department will successfully carry out such a study, and the study will therefore either be carried out by private initiative or it will not be carried out at all. The Secretary of State at his press conference of February 8 made it clear that he has lost faith in the possibility of achieving an overall settlement with Russia and that he bases his thinking on the indefinite continuation of the cold war. Clearly as long as this remains the attitude of the State Department, it will be incapable of solving the problem with which we are concerned. To find a satisfactory solution to this problem will require imagination, resourcefulness, hard work, and devotion, and we cannot look for its solution to those who have lost faith in the possibility of any overall settlement.

2.

If this problem is not worked on now, later on, when the Government of the United States may change its mind and may want to enter into overall negotiations with Russia, it will be handicapped by the fact that not enough serious thought has been devoted to the problems involved.

As specific courses of action that the Emergency Committee might take, I propose:

- 1) that we initiate the creation of a "Citizens' Committee" for the study of the possibility of peace with Russia. See enclosed memorandum A.
- 2) that we invite Russian scientists to attend a ten-day conference to discuss with us what kind of an overall settlement would provide the framework in which international control of atomic energy can satisfactorily operate.  
See enclosed memorandum B.
- 3) that we invite other like-minded scientists to join with us in carrying out the above specific proposals as well as in all other actions which we might undertake in furtherance of the same general objective.  
This might be either achieved by enlarging the membership of the Emergency Committee or by dissolving the Emergency Committee and forming a new organization.

The forthcoming meeting of the Emergency Committee to be held on the fourth and fifth of March, will provide an opportunity to discuss the contents of my present letter. I am sending copies of it to all trustees of the Emergency Committee in order to enable them to give the matter some thought in advance of the meeting.

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

1155 East 57th Street  
Chicago 37, Illinois  
March 30, 1950

Professor Albert Einstein  
112 Mercer Street  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Professor Einstein:

I am enclosing a record of the material which I presented at the last Trustees' Meeting. It is a memorandum written in the form of a letter addressed to you, and it has been prepared for the purpose of acquainting others whom we might approach in connection with our plans of the points of view which were stressed in Princeton.

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

WV

March 27, 1950

Dear Professor Einstein:

At the last meeting of the Emergency Committee, it was decided that the Emergency Committee shall initiate the setting up of an organization to study what type of an over-all Russian and American settlement would provide a framework in which international control of atomic energy could satisfactorily operate. In the following are summarized the considerations which I had presented to the Emergency Committee concerning the plan of setting up a "Citizens' Committee" that would conduct an inquiry into the considerations of a satisfactory over-all political settlement:

Prior to the meeting, between October, 1949, and March, 1950, I had discussed the possibility of setting up such a "Citizens' Committee" with the following persons:

Chester Barnard, New York  
Stringfellow Barr, New York  
Laird Bell, Chicago  
Pierce Butler, St. Paul, Minnesota  
Henry B. Cabot, Boston  
Grenville Clark, Dublin, New Hampshire  
Gardner Cowles, New York  
Miss Adalaide Hyatt, St. Paul, Minnesota  
Marshall Field, Chicago  
Thomas L. Finletter, New York  
Lloyd Garrison, New York  
Palmer Hoyt, Denver  
R. M. Hutchins, Chicago  
Fowler McCormick, Chicago  
Archibald Mac Leish, Cambridge, Massachusetts  
Josiah Marvel, Wilmington, Delaware  
Gideon Seymour, Minneapolis, Minnesota  
James Warburg, New York  
Gilbert White, Haverford, Pennsylvania

Most of those whom I saw in New York, I saw in the company of Marshall McDuffie, who was much interested in this project and who I hope will maintain his interest in it. Before the war, McDuffie was with John Foster Dulles' law firm. During the war, he was head of the Board of Economic Warfare in the Middle East for about two years; subsequently with the State Department in charge of Lend Lease settlement; and after that, in charge of the UNRRA control commission in the Ukraine. At present, he is with Merck and Company of New York, and his assignment gives him enough free time

to be able to render a public service when the need arises. I have known him now for about five years and had often asked him for guidance on issues which involved the public interest.

All those whom I saw in Minneapolis and St. Paul, I saw in company of Mr. and Mrs. Harris Wofford of Scarsdale, New York, and St. Paul, Minnesota, whom I have known over a period of years and who were very helpful on this occasion; they might make important contributions to this enterprise if they remain interested in it.

Only the names of those are listed above with whom I had a full personal discussion of the issue; the names of those with whom I did not fully discuss the matter or who were contacted by correspondence, are not included in the list.

All those with whom I have spoken showed a friendly interest in the project, the degree of interest varying from person to person. In some cases I was not able to gain a definite impression as to what the final reaction of the man might be if he gave the matter further thought. In one case, I found very strong interest but at the same time also strong concern about the difficulties and obstacles standing in the way of the proposed enterprize.

I believe that the final reaction of most of those whose names are mentioned above will depend on what kind of sponsorship will be forthcoming and on just how in detail we shall decide to proceed. The difficulties and obvious pitfalls of the enterprize were, of course, stressed by both Marshall McDuffie and me in all of our conversations.

The project as it shapes up in my mind at present as the result of all these conversations would be as follows:

1) The "Citizens' Committee" consists of a Commission and a Board.

a) The Commission is composed of about 15 men who will serve full time for about six months. For a period of two or three months, the Commission may study jointly the issues involved, hear witnesses, and otherwise gather the required evidence. Then the Commission might find it advisable to form out of its

members two teams of perhaps five persons each. These teams would be assigned the task of representing the real interest of America and the real interests of Russia, respectively, and they would engage in discussions or "negotiations" with each other in order to see whether it is possible for them to reach an agreement on all outstanding issues involved, including the issue of putting an end to the present arms race.

b) The transcript of these negotiations and the final agreement, if one is reached, will go to a Board of no less than 15 or no more than 50 American citizens of national standing, hereafter referred to as the "Board" which will transmit it, together with its own findings and recommendations, to the American people.

The function of the Board is to decide whether the agreement worked out ought to be acceptable to the American people, assuming that it were acceptable to Russia. The Board will naturally not be in a position to say whether such an agreement ought to be acceptable to Russia.

Since the function of the Board is to testify as to the validity of the conclusions reached by the "American Team," the members of the Board (or at least the members of an Executive Committee of the Board which might comprise about 15 Board Members) will have to follow the work of the Commission sufficiently closely to be able to form a considered opinion as to the validity of its conclusions. The members of the Board (or at least the members of its Executive Committee) might have to meet with the Commission perhaps for two full days every month in order to keep in touch with the progress of study, to familiarize themselves with the difficulties that stand in the way of a satisfactory agreement, and in order to fully understand why certain particular solutions were rejected and other particular solutions were adopted.

2) Because lawyers, by virtue of their profession, are accustomed to take on the case of a client--for a fee--it is natural to turn to lawyers when looking

for men suitable to serve on the Russian team. It would be desirable to enlist the service of some of the leading corporation lawyers for this purpose, but this does not mean that all members of the Commission need to be lawyers.

Finding a satisfactory Russian team appears to be an easier task than finding a satisfactory American team, because the only requirement for a man on the Russian team is that he be "good," while on the American team, he must not only be "good," but also must enjoy the full confidence of the Board and a certain measure of public confidence. This is so because when it comes to details, the Board will have to rely to a large extent on the say-so of the American team when formulating its own opinion on the merits of the proposed settlement.

The transcript of the negotiations will show what the difficulties are which stand in the path of a satisfactory agreement, and it might show that the Commission was able to work out an agreement which in their opinion would safeguard the vital interests of America and Russia without infringing upon the vital interests of the other nations involved.

If the Commission succeeds in outlining such an agreement, and if their draft finds wide-spread acclaim in America at the time when it is made public, then it is conceivable that some spokesman of the Russian government and some spokesman of the American government might publicly recognize that draft as a suitable basis of discussion for governmental negotiations.

But even disregarding this possibility, there is much that could be learned from the transcript of the Commission's negotiations. On atomic energy control, for instance, the American government put forward in 1946 the Baruch Plan which the Russians rejected. The transcript of the negotiations might show that the "Russian Team," composed of American citizens charged with representing Russian interests, also finds the Baruch Plan unacceptable. This in itself does not teach us anything much, but the reasoned argument of our "Russian Team," stating why the Baruch Plan

is not acceptable to them, will probably show us what real interests were involved when the Russians rejected the Baruch Plan and thus possibly disclose the real reasons for Russian opposition to the Plan.

When the Russians opposed the Baruch Plan, they did not tell us their real reasons for doing so, and what they told us of their reasons, they said in a language which is not intelligible to the American people. Our "Russian team," on the other hand, will not only tell us why they find the Baruch Plan unacceptable from the point of view of their "client," but they will tell us their reasons in a language which we can understand.

The negotiations in the Commission are, of course, in no way a substitute for real negotiations, but on the other hand, they have from a point of view of intellectual clarification, certain rather important advantages over real negotiations. In the real negotiations, carried out by governmental representatives, the display of imagination and resourcefulness is greatly inhibited; such negotiations have to move with great caution since it is not easy to retract a point once it has been conceded. The negotiations in our "Commission" are not subject to such limitations; here it is possible for a "team" tentatively to concede a number of points and as the over-all picture emerges, either to retain or to reject what has been tentatively accepted. This makes for flexibility and speed in the "negotiations."

For America, faced with a difficult problem of reaching an over-all settlement with Russia, it might be of value to have the real negotiations preceded by such an intellectual clarification as might be attained through the devise here proposed.

3) The work of the Commission, in order to be effective, must be widely known, studied, and discussed. In order to achieve this, it is advisable at the very outset to make arrangements that will give the press a stake in the enterprise. If the progress of the negotiations is followed by the press, step by step when material about them is released, if we can be sure that columnists, radio commentators and editorial writers

6.

study these transcripts, then we may assume that the staff of the State Department too will pay attention to them. And if we could at least achieve that the public discussion of the Russian-American conflict will be henceforth carried on more in terms of the real conflicting interests which are involved and less in the irrational terms in which it has largely been conducted in these last four years, then we would already have achieved something of importance.

4) One of the controversial points that arose in the conversations dealing with the problems of the "Citizens' Committee," was the question what the terms of reference of the Commission should be. Clearly the terms of reference of the Commission should enable them to deal with any issue that is relevant to the creation of a stable peace. On the other hand, most of those with whom I spoke agreed that the issue of transforming the United Nations into a world government or otherwise setting up a world government would go beyond the scope of the work of the Commission, as presently envisaged.

5) An important issue on which there was divergence of opinion is the terms of reference of the Russian team. Shall the men on the Russian team say what they themselves would find acceptable if they had the task of safeguarding Russia's vital interests or should the Russian team say what they think the Russians might find acceptable?

In favor of this latter point, it was argued that the Russians were not guided by rational considerations; that they were guided by irrational desires, peculiar theories about what is going on in the world and that they are suffering from all sorts of misconceptions. The opinion was expressed that the work of the Commission would be meaningless unless the Russian team, in place of saying what they would accept, did study the Russians and they said what they thought the Russians would accept.

To me it seems that we ought to reject this approach. Naturally neither the government of the United States nor the Russian government will in fact follow an

entirely rational course. As far as either of these two governments are concerned, what they can do and what they cannot do will be influenced by the political system within which each one has to operate. Both the American and the Russian team must naturally be cognizant of this factor and even without any conscious effort to do so, they will, of course, take into account the political systems in which the contracting parties will of necessity have to operate.

But while the men on the "Russian team" can say with some degree of assurance what they themselves (using their own judgement and their own appreciation of the issues involved) would accept in the interest of their "client," they cannot with any degree of certainty say what the Russians might find acceptable. Any attempt on the part of the "Russian team" to do so would involve not only the Russians' misconceptions, but also their own misconceptions of the Russian misconceptions. I personally do not think that an attempt to "play the Russian" would be of much value and it certainly could not claim any objective validity.

I believe that this point is so important that it ought to be clarified in the statute setting up the "Citizens' Committee," and that it certainly ought to be clarified before anyone is solicited to serve on the Board or on the Commission or anyone is asked to contribute funds to the "Citizens' Committee."

The difficulty of predicting what the Russian government might do in any given set of circumstances ought perhaps to be compared with the difficulty our meteorologists had a generation ago in predicting the weather. Meteorology was at that time in such a state of imperfection that the simple prediction of fair weather tomorrow if the weather was fair today, or rain for tomorrow if it rained today, could favorably compete with the prediction of the meteorologist. Thus following the thumb rule that "The weather never changes" was about the best prediction that one could make.

8.

Similarly, the thumb rule that the Russian government will act as we ourselves would act if placed in similar circumstances and entrusted with their responsibility will today give as good forecasts (and do it much less painfully) than the controversial forecasts one could obtain by a discussion of Russian psychology.

Naturally, neither of these thumb rules will give the correct answer always. The weather does sometimes change and the Russian government does sometimes act differently from how we would act in similar circumstances. Yet if one accepts the point of view that we have primarily to deal here with the conflict between two nations and their respective allies, and that even this perhaps oversimplified problem will require much ingenuity and resourcefulness for its solution, then one will be inclined to think that its solution would provide us at least with a framework for actual negotiations between the Russian and American governments.

6) The United States and Russia are not the only major countries whose vital interests have to be taken into account in an over-all settlement. While it is probably not practical to have more than two teams negotiating with each other, members of the Commission who are not assigned to any team may be assigned the task of representing the interests of one or another of the countries involved and acting as spokesmen for those interests. These spokesmen would sit in on the negotiations of the two teams and currently make it clear to the two teams where they would infringe upon the interests of those other countries. The countries in Western Europe will certainly be very strongly affected by any over-all settlement that might be reached, but the effect of the agreement on other countries will have to be considered also.

Since the number of men serving on the Commission who are not assigned either to the Russian or the American team will not be large (perhaps no more than five) their assignment to represent other nations will have to be kept rather flexible.

- 7) The Commission must have at its disposal an adequate staff to assist in its work, and must have facilities to obtain the assistance of experts on a part-time basis.
- 8) It was emphasized by various persons that it would be important to clear with the State Department or with the White House this enterprise at the outset or at a somewhat later stage. Some thought that the enterprise could obtain Truman's blessing, perhaps in the form of a letter in which he would ask that a transcript of the negotiations be submitted to him. Others thought that this would be difficult to get without the blessing of the State Department and that rather than asking for the blessing of the State Department, we ought to merely "clear" the matter with the State Department. All these comments were made before Acheson's press conference of February 8, and I do not know these comments would be modified in the light of that press conference.
- 9) Funds for the "Citizens' Committee" may be raised through private donations elicited by personal contacts, through contributions of foundations, and through public fund-raising. The last of these methods has the advantage of giving the public a stake in this enterprise and ought therefore to be used at least as one of the methods by which funds are raised. Fund-raising should be aimed at no less than half a million dollars and no more than one million dollars.
- 10) It was proposed that the Emergency Committee create a Committee of Arrangements which will have the responsibility of initiating the setting up of the "Citizens' Committee." The Committee of Arrangements could help the "Citizens' Committee" to assemble a suitable Commission, but the appointment of the Commission is the responsibility of the Board of the "Citizens' Committee" and not of the Committee of Arrangements. Once the "Citizens' Committee" is set up with its Board complete and the Commission appointed, the Committee of Arrangements will have no further functions.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

May 15, 1950

The enclosed ditto contains copies of communications  
from Carter, Ledyard and Milburn to Harrison Brown  
from David Noyes to James Patton  
from Josiah Marvel, Jr. to Leo Szilard  
from Leo Szilard to Grenville Clark  
from Grenville Clark to Leo Szilard  
from Walter Orr Roberts (Director of the High Altitude  
Observatory of Harvard University and University of Colorado)  
to Leo Szilard  
from Henry B. Cabot, Boston, to Leo Szilard  
from Karl Compton, Chairman of the Corporation MIT  
to Henry B. Cabot  
from Albert Pratt (Paine, Webber, Jackson and Curtis, Boston)  
to Henry B. Cabot  
from J. Killian, Jr., President MIT, to Henry B. Cabot  
from Phillip Ketchum (Herrick, Smith, Donald, Farley, and  
Ketchum, Boston) to Henry B. Cabot  
from Stringfellow Barr to Leo Szilard

CONFIDENTIAL: Please do not transmit to anyone without first checking with Leo Szilard, Harrison Brown or Joseph Mayer.

May 14, 1950

Copies of documents giving reaction to the plan of the Emergency Committee of the Atomic Scientists for setting up a citizens inquiry into the conditions of peace.

Carter, Ledyard and Milburn  
Counsellors at Law  
2 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.

March 16, 1950

Dr. Harrison S. Brown  
Emergency Committee of Atomic  
Scientists, Incorporated  
956 East Fifty-eighth Street  
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dr. Brown:

Since talking to you and Dr. Szilard on Monday, I have discussed your proposals with my partner Jesse Fillman, who is a specialist in the tax law. He confirms the advice which I gave you on Monday.

Inasmuch as I promised Dr. Szilard some confirmation along these lines, and do not know his address, I would appreciate your passing the word along to him.

Sincerely yours,

Edward F. Clark, Jr.

P.S. Fillman has some interesting ideas on how to get an advance exemption ruling.

The following is a telegram from Dave Noyes.

1950 Apr 20 PM 1153

Hon. James Patten  
954 Bonnie Brae Blvd Dvr  
Los Angeles Calif 20

Have just returned from an extended stay in the East. The proposal submitted to you by the distinguished professor is new in concept and provides an interesting approach to the problem. It also however poses many collateral difficulties. I shall be going east again shortly and will be eager to arrange a meeting. With warm regards,

Dave

From: Josiah Marvel, Jr.  
Continental American Building  
Wilmington, Delaware

2.

March 28, 1950

To: Professor Leo Szilard  
1155 East 57th Street  
Chicago 37, Illinois

My dear Professor Szilard:

I was very glad to receive your letter of March 23rd outlining to me the steps which have been taken regarding the establishment of a "Citizens' Committee for Studying the Requirements of an Overall Settlement."

As I indicated during our conversation in Princeton, I am still most interested in the proposals and purposes of this contemplated study, and I look forward to hearing from you what progress is being made.

Sincerely yours,

Josiah Marvel, Jr.

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From: Leo Szilard  
1155 East 57th Street  
Chicago 37, Illinois

April 25, 1950

To: Mr. Grenville Clark  
31 Nassau Street  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Clark:

Since our very pleasant luncheon in New York, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists has decided to initiate the setting up of an organization for the purposes which we discussed in New York. The Emergency Committee has appointed Professors Joe Mayer, Harrison Brown, and myself to act for her in this matter as the "Committee of Arrangements".

We are proposing that an organization to be called "Council of Inquiry into the Conditions of Peace" be set up entirely independent of the Emergency Committee and be organized on a tax-exempt basis. This "Council" might operate along the lines discussed in Memorandum dated March 27 which is enclosed. An appendix to this memorandum, containing a further discussion of the terms of reference of the "Commission" of the "Council," is in preparation.

We are asking Mr. Hutchins to act as chairman of the Board of the "Council", and Mr. Clarence Pickett to act as its vice-chairman. Mr. Hutchins has accepted, and we hope that Mr. Pickett will accept also. We recommend to Mr. Hutchins to choose the initial members of the Board of the Council from among the following list of names, Laird Bell, Henry B. Cabot, Grenville Clark, Marshall Field, Reuben G. Gustavson (University of Nebraska), Fowler McCormick, R. L. Stearns (University of Colorado), and James G. Patton. Mr. Hutchins leaves for Europe on May 2, and by that time we hope

Mr. Grenville Clark -- continued

3.

to have the initial board members lined up so we can proceed to incorporate the Council. Carter, Ledyard, and Milburn, who have been acting for the Emergency Committee, will be asked to act for the Council also and to try to obtain an advance ruling from the Treasury concerning tax exemption. No public announcement of formation of the Council is planned until we have secured a fund of perhaps \$200,000. for the Council.

It is our understanding that Mr. Hutchins will try to reach you before he leaves for Europe and ask you to serve as a member of the Board. We hope very much that you will accept. We realize, of course, that you cannot take on any duties that are very strenuous. Membership on the Board might involve your spending two days a month with the "Commission" of the Council which is the full-time organ of the Council; but if this should prove too strenuous for several Board members, it might be possible to form an Executive Committee of the Board and thereby to ease the burden of the Board members. An Executive Committee might have to be formed in any case if the Board should be enlarged much beyond 15 members.

Lately I have spent a week in Colorado and found such enthusiastic response to our "plan" that I feel quite heartened by it. This experience strengthens me in the belief that the Council will have to draw much of its strength from the Middle West and the West. I am also inclined to think that the formation of regional committees in Minnesota, in Colorado, and perhaps in Oregon might be very useful. These regional committees could be affiliated with the Council and would have the task to keep the people of the "region" informed of the activities of the Council.

With respect to the composition of these regional committees and also the Board of the Council, I believe we ought to make an attempt to enlist outstanding men who, in the past, have kept aloof from public affairs but who now, at last, are really concerned and are willing to take their share of the burden.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

cc: Joe Mayer  
Harrison Brown

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From: Grenville Clark  
Dublin, New Hampshire

May 2, 1950

To: Professor Leo Szilard  
Institute of Radiology and Biophysics  
University of Chicago  
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Szilard:

With regard to your letter of April 25, I am, as I told you in New York last winter, very interested in having carried out a careful study by non-official persons of what can be done to achieve an over-all East-West settlement, and to make progress towards world order. So I am glad to see that you are proposing to go ahead.

As to my own participation, I am complimented to be asked to go on the Board of the proposed Council and, as I also have confidence in Mr. Hutchins, I'd be glad to accept if I saw my way to it. But I regret to say that I cannot. I could not give it the necessary attention because I have all my time and energy tied up for quite a while ahead. I want to try to finish in the next year a piece of work I have in progress with Louis B. Sohn in the shape of "Detailed Proposals for Revision of the U.N. Charter". It is a long and difficult job and, with my other commitments, will take all my working time.

I realize what you say about having an Executive Committee and that not all the Board members would necessarily be expected to come to meetings, etc. But if I were on the Board, I would want to keep in close touch and, in the circumstances, could not do that.

I venture some comments on your letter and your memo. of March 27.

First, and most important from my standpoint, I certainly hope that the idea on p. 6 of your memo, that the "issue of transforming the U.N. into a world government or otherwise setting up a world government" would "go beyond the scope of the work of the Commission, as presently envisaged" will not be adopted. I think this would vitiate the whole project right at the start. This is because I don't think that there can be an East-West settlement or "stable peace" without general and universal disarmament (in all arms and by all nations); and I think it obvious that such disarmament can't be obtained unless a world government limited to the sphere of war prevention is established.

In the sentence on p. 6 preceding the intimation that the question of a world government (any world government apparently) would be excluded, you say that the "terms of reference of the Commission should enable them to deal with any issue that is relevant to the creation of a stable peace." Since I think that the creation of a world government is not only relevant to but a pre-condition of a stable peace, I think the two sentences are contradictory. When I read them together, I couldn't help thinking of the old rhyme: "Mother, may I go in to swim" Yes, my darling daughter. Hang your clothes on a hickory limb, and don't go near the water."

Seriously, I hope no limitation of this or any sort would be put on the Commission's thinking.

Second, I wonder whether the enterprise needs so much elaboration. What is really required is some hard thinking by a few competent independent people who are not over-burdened like the officials, by day-to-day duties and not inhibited by tradition and politics, like most of the State Department. There is ample material; in fact, it is easy to bog down in it. Also, if the Commission is large, they might well bog down in interminable discussions and have too many divergent views. I should think about five good men on full time for six months (with a few assistants) could do better than 15. And I think a Board or Executive Committee or Advisory Committee of 6-10 would be enough to keep in touch, criticize and advise.

When it comes to putting out the Commission's Report and having it widely discussed, that is another matter; and there I can see a function for a large Citizens' Committee and regional committees.

If it were pruned down in this way, \$200,000. should do the whole thing.

Third, I like the idea of two teams. But they needn't necessarily all be Commission members. Two teams of three or four each could be recruited for two-three months after the Commission had defined the issues somewhat, - partly composed of Commission members and partly of others.

Fourth, I don't like any idea of trying to get a governmental blessing for the enterprise. Citizens have a right to study a subject and submit their conclusions to the people and the Government without anyone's blessing. They had better do just that here. I don't know what "clearing" the enterprise with the State Department or White House means. It may seem to imply asking approval. That approval might be withheld and what then? You have either to drop the project or go ahead against the Government's opposition. Or if approval were granted, would it strengthen the enterprise or weaken it by giving the impression that it was a sort of agency of the State Department? In getting up the Selective Service Act in 1940, the Citizens Committee of which I was Chairman, didn't ask the blessing or approval of the War Department or President. We just went ahead, drew our Bill and got it introduced. In this way, we avoided the complications of possible disapproval on the one hand or having it an Administration measure on the other. It was much better that way.

This isn't a case of negotiating with a foreign government, where the Logan Act might apply. It is simply doing what all citizens have a right to do without any permission from anyone.

This isn't to say that any secret should be made of the enterprise or that the State Department and President shouldn't be informed. They both should be, just as we informed the War Department and President Roosevelt of the move for a Selective Service Act. All that needs is two letters politely informing them of the project and its purpose. This should be done, I think, only after the enterprise is actually organized and ready to function; and the letters should be carefully framed to avoid any implication that any permission or approval is requested.

The enterprise will succeed or fail by virtue of the wise and constructive character of the Report or the opposite and the success or lack of success in getting it publicly discussed. It is quite unnecessary and I think unwise to try to "clear" it with anyone in the Government.

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Some of these comments may seem unsympathetic. But that is not my intention. I have long thought that our Government people are incapable (for a variety of reasons) of producing the ideas essential to achieving disarmament and a "stable peace" and that these ideas must come from non-official sources. Believing this, I have been trying myself as a sort of one-man "Commission" to produce a set of ideas and I shall get out a document within six weeks which is what I would recommend if I were a member of a group such as you envisage. It will be in the form of "A Statement for a Sub-committee of the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate". I think I'll have the temerity to call it a "Plan for Peace", since it will purport to be a program of ideas and procedure to achieve an over-all settlement.

So, I'm very sympathetic to such a study and would, indeed, like to see several such, provided they all were by experienced and competent persons. And if the Commission isn't excluded or discouraged from canvassing or recommending limited world government (which, as I say, would, in my opinion, render the enterprise futile or worse), I'd be just as much interested in its work, even though I couldn't be active in it.

Professor Leo Szilard -- continued

6.

I'm sending a copy of this to Bob Hutchins, whom I like and admire.

Sincerely yours,

Grenville Clark

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From: High Altitude Observatory of  
Harvard University and University of Colorado  
Boulder, Colorado

24 April 1950

To: Dr. Leo Szilard  
Institute of Radiobiology and Biophysics  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I have just returned from a long discussion with President Stearns about the committee for Colorado to be associated with the national activities. We also discussed at some length the plan as a whole.

Stearns felt that the choice of Henry, Swan, White, and Hoyt was excellent. Regarding Hoyt he said that he felt that the choice of Hoyt to the committee would assure the minimization of the importance of the group by the Scripps-Howard (competing) newspaper. And it might be possible in some way to get the support of both papers if neither editor or if both editors were on the committee. However, he thought that as a calculated risk the choice of Hoyt alone would be O.K.

So far as Patton is concerned, he felt that Patton was one of the most able members of the committee, would contribute a lot of energy and activity, but that with a large segment of the agricultural population of the state and the area the committee would have a left wing appearance. The reason for this is that Henry, Swan, and White would be relatively little known to the farmers, whereas Patton would be extremely well known.

Stearns thought, however, that Patton should definitely be on the committee, but perhaps balanced by a man active in farm circles of slightly more conservative stripe, but still with great public interest. Stearns suggested two men, father and son, who might well qualify. The father is Harry W. Farr of Greeley, Colorado. The man is an alumnus of the University, and is widely known among farmers in the area for his activities in important farm issues. I regret to say that I failed to find out whether he is associated with the National Grange or some other of the farm groups. I believe that Stearns' implication was that the man is associated with one of the more conservative farm organizations.

The son, William Farr, like his father, is extremely well known in farm circles, and has been very prominent in public affairs, also like his father. Stearns seemed to think that either of the two men would be equally good.

As for myself, I know nothing about either of the men, and so am not able to make any independent evaluation.

Very sincerely yours,

Walter Orr Roberts

---

From: Henry B. Cabot  
140 Federal Street  
Boston 10, Massachusetts

May 10th, 1950

To: Professor Leo Szilard  
1155 East 57th Street  
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I sent your memorandum about a settlement with Russia to the following persons: Mr. Albert Pratt, a partner of Paine Webber Jackson and Curtis, an investment firm; Mr. Lloyd Brace, President of the First National Bank of Boston; Mr. Phillips Ketchum, one of our leading lawyers; Judge Raymond Wilkins, a Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; Mr. Thomas Mahony, another leading lawyer; Mr. James R. Killian, President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Mr. Erwin Canham, publisher of the Christian Science Monitor; Mr. Harold Hodgkinson, General Manager of Filene's, one of our largest stores; and Mr. Karl Compton, Chairman of the Board of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I have written replies from all except Messrs. Brace, Wilkins, Mahony and Canham. Mr. Canham is away in Europe and I haven't heard from him. Mr. Brace told me that he felt that the situation in the world was so serious that any step which might even have a very small chance of improving our relations with Russia should be taken and that he felt that a study such as you suggest was one of them. Mr. Mahony's reactions were very similar to those of Mr. Grenville Clark but, in addition, he felt that your memorandum put too great restrictions on the general point of view of the Russian team. Judge Wilkins was the only person who was unfavorable to the idea. He felt that it would be a good education for those participating in the project but for nobody else. I am enclosing the reports of all the other gentlemen.

My own feeling remains that a general study of the relations between the West and Russia would be beneficial. However, I agree with Mr. Clark that to leave out of consideration world federation is to leave out an essential part of any possible settlement and, as your memorandum stands today, I would not be prepared to go along with it for that reason. I have some other but lesser criticisms. I also judge from the reactions of these gentlemen that the question of raising money will not be easy.

Yours Sincerely,

Henry B. Cabot

From: Karl Compton  
Chairman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

8.

To: Mr. Henry B. Cabot  
140 Federal Street  
Boston 10, Massachusetts

May 1, 1950

Dear Mr. Cabot:

I have read the memorandum by Professor Szilard which you sent with your letter of April 25, and I am returning it to you with the following comments.

The suggestion is an interesting one, but I find it very difficult to come to any conviction as to whether it would likely work out successfully or not. On the one hand there is obviously a very important point in bringing about public understanding and public consideration of these questions, and there is also the fact that an independent committee of very able citizens might be able to make the suggestion which would break the present impasse. What may be needed might be a new idea or it might be some face-saving mechanism.

If this plan is carried out it would seem to me that a logical extension of its basic idea would be to provide two Russian teams, and not one. The first of these teams might approach the problem from the point of view of Russian self-interest along the lines suggested in Szilard's memorandum. We must admit the possibility, however, that the Russian government will not act, even as a first approximation, the way we would, and that it may have objectives definitely in view which are not susceptible or argument on the assumption of a desire for world peace and a free society. It might therefore be advisable to have a second Russian team which would go to the worst extreme possible, and assume that all the Russian objectives were of the type which we most dislike and most fear.

I have some qualms about the suggestion at the bottom of page five to the effect that the press should be brought into these discussions at the very outset. I would be afraid that this might result in an avalanche of political or prejudiced outpourings which would handicap the project at the start. I would think that a better procedure would be to carry through the study on a rather confidential basis until it has reached the stage of at least some tentative conclusions and some definitive formulation of arguments. Then might be the time to bring in the press for their reaction and for securing the reaction of the public through them.

Finally, there is another obvious difficulty. In order to bring in people who are best informed it would probably be necessary to call in people who have also been associated as members or advisers of the State Department on these issues, - to say nothing of men who have been associated with the work of the Atomic Energy Commission. On the other hand, it would be extremely difficult for any of these men to operate objectively, if at all, because it would be impossible for them to dissociate themselves with the arguments concerning these same questions in which they may have been involved in their governmental duties. Perhaps I feel rather keenly about this because I have had to write myself out of a number of interesting situations, since leaving the Research and Development Board, simply because I could not divorce myself from the discussions of these questions which I had heard in the War Council and other agencies.

As you may see, therefore, I am very much on the fence as to whether this is a good project or not, and by good I mean a project which can reasonably be expected to produce results commensurate with the cost in time and money. I do think that Szilard has made a very straightforward and skilful presentation of the plan.

Very sincerely yours,

Karl Compton  
Chairman

---

The following is a copy of a letter from Albert Pratt of Paine, Webber, Jackson and Curtis, 24 Federal Street, Boston 10, Massachusetts.

Mr. Henry B. Cabot  
140 Federal Street  
Boston 10, Massachusetts

April 25, 1950

Dear Harry:

I have read with interest Professor Szilard's memorandum. I think he is overly optimistic of the possible results of his plan. I doubt that such a recommendation of a private commission can ever be accepted by both the American and Russian governments as a basis for negotiations. However, I do believe that his idea has merit as a method of devising possible solutions, provided that the highest calibre brains are employed to work out a new approach entirely unhampered by preconceived ideas.

In this connection I think there is some danger in unduly restricting the "terms of reference" as suggested in Professor Szilard's paragraph four.

I also have some doubt as to his conclusions in paragraph five as to the point of view which the Russian team should adopt. It seems to me that this team must try as best it can to take into the act the Marxian method of thinking of the Russians. Otherwise the procedure will be entirely unrealistic and of no value.

I also doubt the practicality of the press coverage proposed in paragraph three. I don't think that it is the kind of "news" that will be used and there is some doubt in my mind as to whether premature publicity might not destroy the value of anything which the commission is able to work out.

I am returning to you the memorandum as you requested.

Sincerely,

Albie

---

From: J. R. Killian, Jr.  
President, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

10.

To: Mr. Henry B. Cabot  
140 Federal Street  
Boston 10, Massachusetts

May 8, 1950

Dear Mr. Cabot:

It was good of you to send me a copy of Professor Szilard's letter to Professor Einstein. I return the copy as you requested.

I feel very strongly that we need more public discussion of the whole atomic energy problem, and particularly we need to face up to the question of the advisability of a further effort to reach an agreement with Russia. For this reason I am generally in favor of systematic efforts to study the problem. You may be interested in the marked passage in a speech of mine made on the west coast some weeks ago in which I discussed this problem.

I was awfully disappointed that I could not get to the meeting at your house recently.

Yours sincerely,

J. R. Killian, Jr.  
President

---

From: Herrick, Smith, Donald, Farley and Ketcham  
1 Federal Street  
Boston 10, Massachusetts

April 27, 1950

To: Henry B. Cabot, Esquire  
140 Federal Street  
Boston, Massachusetts

I received yours of April 24th with the enclosed memorandum of Leo Szilard which I have read with great interest. It raises two questions.

1. Would the Commission which he plans produce a valuable advance in thinking about a possible agreement between Russia and the U.S.A. within which there could be International control of Atomic Energy?

2. Would the money, namely, from \$550,000. to \$1,000,000. for the work of the Commission and the Board be obtainable?

Dealing with the second question first, I think it would be extremely difficult to raise the money unless a few large donors were prepared at the outset to give most of it.

Herrick, Smith, Donald, Farley and Ketchum -- continued

11.

As to whether the Commission would produce a worthwhile idea, I feel unable to have a sound opinion. The chances I should think would not be as favorable as 50-50. Inevitably such a Commission works in a somewhat academic atmosphere and the ability of those representing Russia to really understand the Russian point of view would be subject to considerable doubt. A great deal would depend upon the genius of the members of the Commission working on the two teams. How could one assume a probability that they would be up to the job? I find myself in a haze. I return herewith the memorandum.

Yours sincerely,

Phillip Ketchum

---

From: Stringfellow Barr, President  
Foundation for World Government  
Fifty-eight Park Avenue  
New York 16, New York

May 5, 1950

To: Mr. Leo Szilard  
1155 East 57th Street  
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Szilard:

May I confirm in writing what I told you orally at the Waldorf Saturday, namely, that at a meeting of our trustees on April 28 your application of April 24 was carefully considered. In view of their own present plans and policies they felt unable to go further than a token grant of \$10,000. which I hope may be of some help.

Will you tell me how payment should be made. Is the Emergency Committee willing to accept money from the Foundation? You may recall their public statement that they were not. On the other hand, our trustees would want to make the grant to some tax exempt body.

Cordially yours,

Stringfellow Barr

Hold

November 6, 1952

Professor Albert Einstein  
112 Mercer St.  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Professor Einstein:

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists may have to go out of circulation if they do not raise \$20,000 within a very short period of time. About half of this amount seems to be assured, and I am breaking my head about where the other half is to come from.

If you have not seen the issue on the refusal of visas to scientists I wonder whether you could look at it now. I would particularly like you to read Dr. Monod's letter to the American Consul in Paris which you will find on Page 236.

This last issue made front page news in the New York Times and got many favourable editorials in the press. As a result of this, the State Department was forced to say that they shall immediately review the 26 cases presented by the Bulletin.

Harold Oram, who at one time had raised funds for the Bulletin, told me that he would be willing to make an appeal for funds and that he would bear the cost if the return should not be sufficient to cover it. If this offer is accepted, the question will arise who should sign the letters. No doubt Oram would much rather have you sign them than anybody else.

I want to think about this for a few days and in the meantime you may want to think about it too. I propose to call you by telephone

later on and let the Bulletin know as early as I can the result of our conversation.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

Enclosure

LS/llt

A. EINSTEIN  
112, MERCER STREET  
PRINCETON,  
NEW JERSEY, U.S.A.

April 6th, 1955

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi, India

Dear Mr. Nehru:

All reasonable people here are very much concerned about the worsening of the American-Chinese conflict. They try to think how the acute danger of war might be eliminated, which centers on the issue of Quemoy and Matsu. Dr. Leo Szilard of the University of Chicago, who is as concerned about this danger as I am, wrote me a letter which you will find attached. It contains a thought which I believe ought to be considered if it has not been considered heretofore.

For this reason, I would greatly appreciate your reading the attached copy of Dr. Szilard's letter. Also I would greatly appreciate your transmitting at an opportunity of your own choosing, the enclosed copy of this communication to China so that they may be in the position to judge the validity of these considerations on their merit.

On this occasion I wish to express my sincere appreciation of your untiring constructive efforts in the field of international relations.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

---

Albert Einstein

X  
EINSTEIN,  
102, MURGER STREET,  
PRINCETON,  
NEW JERSEY, U.S.A.

April 6th, 1955

Mr. Krishna Menon  
Permanent Mission of India  
to the United Nations  
3 East 64th Street  
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Krishna Menon,

you will find enclosed a communication  
which I have sent to Prime Minister Nehru. I felt  
I ought to inform you of this step which I have taken.  
I believe you will understand our serious concern.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Albert Einstein.

Kelvin

April 6th. 55

*concerned*

All reasonable people here are very much distressed about the worsening of the American - Chinese conflict. They can't help trying to think how the acute danger of war might be eliminated, which centers on the issue of Quemoy and Matsu. Dr. Leo Szilard of the University of Chicago, who is as concerned about this danger as I am, wrote me a letter which you will find attached. It contains a thought which I believe ought to be considered if it has not been considered heretofore.

For this reason, I would greatly appreciate your reading the attached copy of Dr. Szilard's letter. Also I would greatly appreciate your transmitting at an opportunity of your own choosing, the enclosed copy of this communication to ~~W. A. Clinton~~ so that they may be in the position to judge the validity of these considerations on their merit. (continuing)

On this occasion I wish to express my sincere appreciation of your constructive efforts in the field of international relations.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Albert Einstein

SCOPED FROM ORIGINAL OWNED  
BY MALCOLM FORBES [ESTATE]

Lieber Herr Scilard!

Ich habe gleich beide Briefe unterschrieben, würde  
aber ebenfalls dem ausführlicheren den Vortag geben.  
Eine Einführung am Lindbergh liegt auch bei. Nur aber  
hoffe ich, dass Ihr endlich die innere Widerstand überwindet,  
es ist immer bedenklich, wenn man etwas gar zu  
geschickt machen will!

Mit herzlichem Gruss Ihr

A. Einstein.

ENCLOSURE TO MR. ALBERT EINSTEIN'S LETTER OF  
MARCH 25, 1945 TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

by

L. Szilard

The work on uranium has now reached a stage which will make it possible for the Army to detonate atomic bombs in the immediate future. The "demonstration" of such bombs may be expected rather soon and naturally the War Department is considering the use of such bombs in the war against Japan.

From a purely military point of view this may be a favorable development. However, most of those scientists who are in a position to make allowances for the future development of this field believe that we are at present moving along a road leading to the destruction of the strong position that the United States hitherto occupied in the world. It appears probable that it will take just a few years before this will become manifest.

Perhaps the greatest immediate danger which faces us is the probability that our "demonstration" of atomic bombs will precipitate a race in the production of these devices between the United States and Russia and that if we continue to pursue the present course our initial advantage may be lost very quickly in such a race.

If a nation were to start now to develop atomic bombs, so to speak from scratch, it could do so without reproducing many of the expensive

installations which were built by the War Department in the United States. For over a year now we have known that we could develop methods by means of which atomic bombs can be produced from the main component of uranium which is more than one hundred times as abundant than the rare component from which we are manufacturing atomic bombs at present. We must expect that a cost of about \$500 million some nations may accumulate, within six years, a quantity of atomic bombs that will correspond to ten million tons of TNT. A single bomb of this type weighing about one ton and containing less than 200 pounds of active material may be expected to destroy an area of ten square miles. Under the conditions expected to prevail six years from now, most of our major cities might be completely destroyed in one single sudden attack and their population may be killed.

Twenty-three percent of the population of the United States live in cities with a population of over 250,000 and a consideration of this and other factors involved indicates that the United States will be much more vulnerable than most other countries.

Thus the Government of the United States is at present faced with the necessity of arriving at decisions which will control the course that is to be followed from here on. These decisions ought to be based not on the present evidence relating to atomic bombs, but rather on the situation which will confront us in this respect a few years from now. This situation can be evaluated only by men who have first-hand knowledge of the facts involved, that is, by the small group of scientists who are actively engaged in this work. This group includes quite a number of eminent scientists who are willing to present their views; there is,

however, no mechanism through which direct contact could be maintained between them and those men who are, by virtue of their position, responsible for formulating the policy which the United States might pursue.

The points on which decisions appear to be most urgently needed are as follows:

1. Shall we aim at trying to avoid a race in the production of atomic bombs between the United States and certain other nations?
2. Can a system of controls relating to this field be devised which is sufficiently tight to be relied on by the United States and which has some chance of being accepted under otherwise favorable conditions by Russia and Great Britain?
3. Can we materially improve our chances to obtain the cooperation of Russia in setting up such a system of controls by developing in the next two years modern methods of production which would give us an overwhelming superiority in this field at the time when Russia might be approached?
4. What framework could immediately be set up within which the scientific development of such "modern" methods could vigorously be pursued both under present and postwar conditions? In particular, should this framework be set up under the Secretary of Commerce or under the Secretary of the Interior, or should the scientific development be under a Government owned corporation jointly controlled by the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of War?

5. Should the scientific development work be based on the assumption that a race in the production of atomic bombs is unavoidable and accordingly be aimed at maximum potential of war, say in six years from now, or should the scientific development be rather aimed at putting us into a favorable position with respect to negotiations with our Allies two or three years from now?

6. Should, in the light of the decisions concerning the above points, our "demonstration" of atomic bombs and their use against Japan be delayed until a certain further stage in the political and technical development has been reached with a view to putting the United States in a more favorable position in negotiations aimed at setting up a system of controls?

Decisions of lesser urgency may relate to the following points:

7. Should the Department of the Interior undertake a study in order to determine to what extent the vulnerability of the United States to this new development could be decreased by a fundamental change in future city planning?

8. Should the scientific development be aimed at *transforming* the power economy of the United States in such a way that ten or fifteen years from now power based on uranium will be abundantly available in regions which cannot easily be supplied with coal and oil?

If there were in existence a small subcommittee of the Cabinet (for instance, the Secretary of War, either the Secretary of Commerce or the Secretary of the Interior, a representative of the State Department,

and a representative of the President, preferably acting as the Secretary of the Committee), the scientists could submit to such a committee their recommendations either by appearing from time to time before the committee or through the secretary of the committee. The latter, <sup>if so authorized</sup> designated by the President, could also act as a liaison to the scientists before the subcommittee itself has actually been constituted.

If such a man were authorized by the President ~~thus~~ to act as liaison to the scientists, a memorandum could be placed at his disposal which has been prepared in an attempt to analyze the consequences of the scientific and technical development which has to be anticipated. This memorandum was prepared on the basis of consultation with ten scientists belonging to six different scientific institutions in the United States. Other eminent scientists (who could not be consulted before preparing this memorandum) would undoubtedly avail themselves of the opportunity of presenting their views to <sup>a</sup> ~~any~~ man authorized by the President who could devote adequate time to the study of this question preliminary to presenting his recommendations to the President.

112 Mercer Street  
Princeton, New Jersey  
March 25, 1945

The Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt  
The President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I am writing you to introduce Dr. L. Szilard who proposes to submit to you certain considerations and recommendations. Unusual circumstances which I shall describe further below induce me to take this action in spite of the fact that I do not know the substance of the considerations and recommendations which Dr. Szilard proposes to submit to you.

In the summer of 1939 Dr. Szilard put before me his views concerning the potential importance of uranium for national defense. He was greatly disturbed by the potentialities involved and anxious that the United States Government be advised of them as soon as possible. Dr. Szilard, who is one of the discoverers of the neutron emission of uranium on which all present work on uranium is based, described to me a specific system which he devised and which he thought would make it possible to set up a chain reaction in un-separated uranium in the immediate future. Having known him for over twenty years both from his scientific work and personally, I have much confidence in his judgment and it was on the basis of his judgment as well as my own that I took the liberty to approach you in connection with this subject. You responded to my letter dated August 2, 1939 by the appointment of a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Briggs and thus started the Government's activity in this field.

The terms of secrecy under which Dr. Szilard is working at present do not permit him to give me information about his work; however, I understand that he now is greatly concerned about the lack of adequate contact between scientists who are doing this work and those members of your Cabinet who are responsible for formulating policy. In the circumstances I consider it my duty to give Dr. Szilard this introduction and I wish to express the hope that you will be able to give his presentation of the case your personal attention.

Very truly yours,

A. Einstein.

ENCLOSURE TO MR. ALBERT EINSTEIN'S LETTER OF  
MARCH 25, 1945 TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

by

L. Szilard

The work on uranium has now reached a stage which will make it possible for the Army to detonate atomic bombs in the immediate future. The "demonstration" of such bombs may be expected rather soon and naturally the War Department is considering the use of such bombs in the war against Japan.

From a purely military point of view this may be a favorable development. However, many of those scientists who are in a position to make allowances for the future development of this field believe that we are at present moving along a road leading to the destruction of the strong position that the United States hitherto occupied in the world. It appears probable that it will take just a few years before this will become manifest.

Perhaps the greatest immediate danger which faces us is the probability that our "demonstration" of atomic bombs will precipitate a race in the production of these devices between the United States and Russia and that if we continue to pursue the present course, our initial advantage may be lost very quickly in such a race.

If a nation were to start now to develop atomic bombs, so to speak from scratch, it could do so without reproducing many of the expensive installations which were built by the War Department during the War.

For over a year now we have known that we could develop methods by means  
of which atomic bombs can be produced from the main component of uranium  
which is more than one hundred times as abundant than the rare component  
from which we are manufacturing atomic bombs at present. We must expect  
that a cost of about \$500 million some nations may accumulate, within six  
years, a quantity of atomic bombs that will correspond to ten million tons  
of TNT. A single bomb of this type weighing about one ton and containing  
less than 200 pounds of active material may be expected to destroy an  
area of ten square miles. Under the conditions expected to prevail six  
years from now, most of our major cities might be completely destroyed  
in one single sudden attack and their populations might perish.

In the United States, thirty million people live in cities with  
a population of over 250,000 and a consideration of this and other factors  
involved indicates that the United States will be much more vulnerable  
than most other countries.

Thus the Government of the United States is at present faced with  
the necessity of arriving at decisions which will control the course that  
is to be followed from here on. These decisions ought to be based not  
on the present evidence relating to atomic bombs, but rather on the situation  
which can be expected to confront us in this respect a few years from now.  
This situation can be evaluated only by men who have first-hand knowledge  
of the facts involved, that is, by the small group of scientists who are  
actively engaged in this work. This group includes a number of eminent

scientists who are willing to present their views; there is, however, no mechanism through which direct contact could be maintained between them and those men who are, by virtue of their position, responsible for formulating the policy which the United States might pursue.

The points on which decisions appear to be most urgently needed are as follows:

1. Shall we aim at trying to avoid a race in the production of atomic bombs between the United States and certain other nations?

2. Can a system of controls relating to this field be devised which is sufficiently tight to be relied on by the United States and which has some chance of being accepted under otherwise favorable conditions by Russia and Great Britain?

3. Can we materially improve our chances to obtain the cooperation of Russia in setting up such a system of controls by developing in the next two years modern methods of production which would give us an overwhelming superiority in this field at the time when Russia might be approached?

4. What framework could immediately be set up within which the scientific development of such "modern" methods could vigorously be pursued both under present and postwar conditions? Should, for instance, this framework be set up under the Secretary of Commerce or under the Secretary of the Interior, or should the scientific development be under a Government-owned corporation jointly controlled by the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of War?

5. Should the scientific development work be based on the assumption that a race in the production of atomic bombs is unavoidable and accordingly be aimed at maximum potential of war, say in six years from now, or should the scientific development be rather aimed at putting us into a favorable position with respect to negotiations with our Allies two or three years from now?

6. Should, in the light of the decisions concerning the above points, our "demonstration" of atomic bombs and their use against Japan be delayed until a certain further stage in the political and technical development has been reached so that the United States shall be in a more favorable position in negotiations aimed at setting up a system of controls?

Other decisions, which are needed but which are perhaps less urgent, would come within the competence of the Department of the Interior.

If there were in existence a small subcommittee of the Cabinet (having as its members, the Secretary of War, either the Secretary of Commerce or the Secretary of the Interior, a representative of the State Department, and a representative of the President, acting as the secretary of the Committee), the scientists could submit to such a committee their recommendations either by appearing from time to time before the committee or through the secretary of the committee.

The latter, if so authorized, by the President, could also act as a liaison to the scientists prior to the designation of such a subcommittee. At his disposal could then be placed a memorandum which has been prepared in an attempt to analyze the consequences of the scientific and

technical development which we have to anticipate. The memorandum was prepared on the basis of consultations with ten scientists from six different institutions in the United States. These and other eminent scientists who were not consulted would undoubtedly avail themselves of the opportunity of presenting their views to a man authorized by the President, assuming that such a man would have the time at his disposal which a study of this kind would require.

[COPIED FROM ORIGINAL OWNED  
BY MALCOLM FORBES (ESTATE)]

*Dr. Einstein  
must wait!*

Albert Einstein  
Old Grove Rd.  
Nassau Point  
Peconic, Long Island

August 2nd, 1939

F. D. Roosevelt  
President of the United States,  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Recent work in nuclear physics made it probable that uranium may be turned into a new and important source of energy. New experiments performed by E. Fermi and L. Szilard, which have been communicated to me in manuscript, make it now appear likely that it will be possible to set up a chain reaction in a large mass of uranium and thereby to liberate considerable quantities of energy. Less certain, but to be kept in mind, is the possibility of making use of such chain reactions for the construction of extremely powerful bombs. Such bombs may be too heavy for transportation by air plane, but not too heavy for being carried by boat, and a single bomb exploded in a port might very well destroy the port together with the surrounding territory.

This being the situation, you may find it desirable that some contact be established between the Administration and the group of physicists who are working in this country on the subject of chain reactions. One possible way of achieving this would be for you to entrust a person who has your

confidence, and who could perhaps act in an inofficial capacity, with this task.

I understand that Germany has stopped the sale of uranium. That she should have taken such early action might perhaps be understood on the ground that the son of the German Under-Secretary of State, von Weizsäcker, is attached to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut in Berlin where some of the American work on uranium is now being repeated.

The United States has only poor ores of uranium. Better ores in moderate quantities are mined in the former Czechoslovakia and in Canada, while the most important source of uranium is Belgian Congo.

Yours very truly,

*A. Einstein*.

(Albert Einstein)

*short*

Albert Einstein  
Old Grove Rd.  
Nassau Point  
Peconic, Long Island

August 2nd, 1939

F. D. Roosevelt  
President of the United States,  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

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This being the situation, you may find it desirable that some contact be established between the Administration and the group of physicists who are working in this country on the subject of chain reactions. One possible way of achieving this would be for you to entrust a person who has your

confidence, and who could perhaps act in an inofficial capacity, with this task.

I understand that Germany has stopped the sale of uranium. That she should have taken such early action might perhaps be understood on the ground that the son of the German Under-Secretary of State, von Weizsäcker, is attached to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut in Berlin where some of the American work on uranium is now being repeated.

The United States has only poor ores of uranium. Better ores in moderate quantities are mined in the former Czechoslovakia and in Canada, while the most important source of uranium is Belgian Congo.

Yours very truly,

(Albert Einstein)

112 Mercer Street  
Princeton, New Jersey  
March 25, 1945

The Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt  
The President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I am writing you to introduce Dr. L. Szilard who proposes to submit to you certain considerations and recommendations. Unusual circumstances which I shall describe further below induce me to take this action in spite of the fact that I do not know the substance of the considerations and recommendations which Dr. Szilard proposes to submit to you.

In the summer of 1939 Dr. Szilard put before me his views concerning the potential importance of uranium for national defense. He was greatly disturbed by the potentialities involved and anxious that the United States Government be advised of them as soon as possible. Dr. Szilard, who is one of the discoverers of the neutron emission of uranium on which all present work on uranium is based, described to me a specific system which he devised and which he thought would make it possible to set up a chain reaction in un-separated uranium in the immediate future. Having known him for over twenty years both from his scientific work and personally, I have much confidence in his judgment and it was on the basis of his judgment as well as my own that I took the liberty to approach you in connection with this subject. You responded to my letter dated August 2, 1939 by the appointment of a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Briggs and thus started the Government's activity in this field.

The terms of secrecy under which Dr. Szilard is working at present do not permit him to give me information about his work; however, I understand that he now is greatly concerned about the lack of adequate contact between scientists who are doing this work and those members of your Cabinet who are responsible for formulating policy. In the circumstances I consider it my duty to give Dr. Szilard this introduction and I wish to express the hope that you will be able to give his presentation of the case your personal attention.

Very truly yours,

A. Einstein.

365-6

Albert Einstein  
Old Grove Rd  
Nassau Point  
Peconic, Long Island

~~Send the President of the United States  
Washington D.C.~~

Sir:

As a result of a discussion among physicists which took place at my house last week on the initiative of Dr. E.P. Wigner of Princeton University I consider it to be my duty to draw your attention to a new and important development in the field of physics. It would seem that some of the almost certain immediat consequences of this new development may require immediat action on the part of the Administration and I shall attempt to indicate along what lines such action might perhaps be taken.

It has been recently discovered that there is an abundant emission of neutrons from uranium when this element is exposed to a neutron radiation. Consequently it is being suspected that under certain specific conditions several tons of uranium massed together might be induced spontaneously by virtue of a nuclear chain reaction to liberate large amounts of energy. This would lead - according to circumstances - either to explosion or to a continious supply of heat. The discovery of the neutron emission was made early in March independently by Dr. E. Fermi and Dr. L. Szilard, both working at Columbia University, and simultaneously also by Joliot working in Paris. Since then Dr. Fermi and Dr. Szilard

carried out jointly certain experiments which are not yet published but which were brought to my notice. These new experiments make it appear as practical certain that conditions will be found in the immediate future in which nuclear chain reaction can be maintained in a large mass of uranium. If facilities can be found which may be required for carrying out experiments with tons of material rather than with kilogrammes it should be possible to demonstrate the large scale liberation of nuclear energy in a very near future.

It is evident that not only a new source of energy would thus be created but also that the chain reaction would yield large quantities of radioactive elements which might be used not only for medical purposes but perhaps also as a light fuel for driving vessels such as for instance submarines. It is to be expected that as soon as these new developments become public knowledge certain powers will attempt to secure stocks of the very rare ore of uranium the chief source of which is at present Belgian Congo. Moreover if it should become possible not only to maintain a chain reaction - this appears now to be almost certain - but also to maintain a chain reaction without slowing down the neutrons - this is still an open question at present - it would then be possible to construct bombs the destructive power of which would be beyond imagination. Such a bomb might be too heavy to be carried by airplanes but not too heavy to be carried by boats and a single bomb of this kind exploded near a port might destroy the port together with the surrounding country side. I should mention that the possibility of such fast neutron bombs is at present more hypothetical than that of the less violent applications of the chain reaction. Nevertheless however remote this possibility may appear it must from now on constantly be kept in mind in view of the disastrous consequences to which it might lead.

With such possible consequences in mind the publication of the discoveries made early in March in this country has been delayed for some time by Dr. Fermi, Dr. Szilard and their colleagues and an attempt was made to keep results of this type from being published by agreement with the French and English physicists. I understand that it proved to be impossible to obtain the consent of the French laboratories and as a consequence of this results are now being published in this country without any unusual delay. I also understand that an attempt to obtain the cooperation of one branch of the military services was made early in March but that no permanent contacts resulted from this attempt. While at present research along this line in this country seems to be well ahead of other countries the American Government is not aware of this development and consequently not in contact with those who work in this important field. In contrast to this there appears to be a close contact between the German Government and those who work along a similar line in German laboratories which is perhaps incidental to the fact that the son of the Undersecretary of State in Germany, von Weiszäcker, is a physicist working at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut for Chemistry where this line of research is now also being followed up. It is perhaps due to this close personal link that Germany which has advertised the sale of uranium immediately after it has taken over the czechoslovakian mines has since apparently abruptly stopped the sale of this material.

In the circumstances I wish to draw your attention to the following points:

- 1) It appears to be desirable that a man who has your confidence

be in constant touch with those who are at present activly engged in studying nuclear chain reaction.

2) It appears to be desirable that private or governmental funds be available of required for carrying out experiments with several tons of material so as to enable those who work on nuclear chain reactions in this country to find out in the shortest possible time the vonditions under which such reactions can be maintained in uranium.

3) It appears to be desirable that a large stock of pitchblend which is the common ore of both radium and uranium be brought over from Belgium or direct from Belgian Congo and be stored in this country for future possible use.

In taking action along this line it would not be necessary to disclose that the uranium content of the ore is the point of interest and action might be taken on the ground that it is of value to secure the ore on account of its radium content for possible future extraction of the radium for medical purposes. Perhaps it might be possible to obtain a large quantity of this ore as a token reparation payment from the Belgian Government; at present this ore is practically without commercial value.

4) It appears desirable that the Belgian Government be advised at once of the potential value of the pitchblend in Belgian Congo so that it be in the position to prevent the supply of this ore to countries which must be considered potential enenmies both of Belgium and the United States.

I am sending the present letter to Dr. L. Szilard with whom

I am personally acquainted with the request of forwarding the letter to your office or otherwise bringing the contents of this letter to your notice.

Yours very truly,

( Albert Einstein )