

1-26-49

In this memorandum the tasks which might be tackled by ~~the~~ a

Foundation are listed according to increasing importance, ~~which at the same~~
The more important ones are also more difficult
~~time unfortunately means, in this case, according to increasing difficulty.~~

1.) ~~Thus, we start with the least important, and most easy task -- the support~~
of achievement, indispensably
~~of scientific research.~~ *is the effective promotion of scientific*
progress (natural sciences.)

1. The support of scientific research. Whether this is a

task which a private foundation should tackle at all under present day conditions, I do not know. Yet, it should be stated that while there are large sums available which are given to institutions for projects that seem to look worthwhile, the manner in which these grants are handled, as well as the general structure of the career of a scientist in these days, may tend to retard, rather than to promote, scientific progress in the long run. ^P The reason for this is that a very high premium is put on a continuous output of publishable results. A younger man with a certain amount of ability can be sure of a safe career if he attacks problems which are closely connected with current theories, or at least move in those fields which are generally considered to be "interesting." He is ^{thus} induced to work on something which either confirms the current theory, or demonstrates that the current theory is wrong. Which ever he does, he has a publishable result, and will get credit for it. But if a younger man wants to follow up a hunch and do some work in an obscure field, in which no one else is interested at the time being, he will find it very difficult to obtain the funds necessary for his work. If he ^{invests his} invests 5 or 10 years in some such pursuit, he cannot do so without risking his career.

If the present methods of supporting science are ^{mainly based} pursued, there will be a lively activity and numerous publications of interest for a period of time, but gradually the life blood of science ^{is being} will be choked off. New branches of science

originate through unexpected discoveries, made in the course of investigations in some obscure field lying far away from the main ~~through~~ thoroughfares of current scientific interest. *Conditions for such discoveries are at present unfavorable*

To my mind, if funds were to be spent for the promotion of scientific progress, they ought to be spent in a manner very different from those practised at present. What I would want ~~to~~ have done is something of the following type.

I would try to discover as early as possible whether a man had genuine and sincere interest in science, and whether he had a critical ability and the other personal characteristics which are prerequisites of success in scientific research work. Once I ~~am~~ ^{was} satisfied that ~~the~~ ^{a man} meets these basic requirements and shows good promise of being original and creative, I would give him a salary of say \$15,000 ^{annually} for life. Assuming that he is an experimenter, I would further stipulate that ~~he may receive from the Foundation~~ for every \$1000 which he is willing to invest from his own salary into his experimental work, ^{he will receive from the Foundation} an additional \$4000 ~~from the Foundation~~, so that if he is willing to live on \$10,000 a year, and invest \$5000 in his work, he would have at his disposal a total of \$25,000 ^{(the expenses of} for his experimental work. ^{to find a man} He would then be in a position to go to any research institution in the U.S. and state that he has ^{an adequate} a salary and a budget for his experiments, up to \$25,000, and apply for laboratory facilities, ^{No doubt he would} and most probably find a friendly ~~receipt~~ reception, in many places of his choice.

This ~~man~~ ^{their} need not be concerned about ~~his~~ ^{their} career, and ~~they~~ would be in a position to go after problems which seemed important ^{to them} ~~to them~~, even though few or none of ~~the~~ ^{to them} their contemporaries ~~might~~ agree with their judgment. Because there can be no ~~fool~~ fool-proof method of selecting them, there may be a fair number among them who, rather than spending \$5000 of ~~their~~ ^{for research} their own salary, will prefer to spend nothing, and spend their time basking in the sunshine in California, or go

big game hunting in Africa. If so, ~~they are~~ good riddance. They will not clutter up the laboratories with bulky equipment, and they will not fill up the scientific magazines with ^{reports on} their routine measurements. The chances are that the unusual work produced by some of the ~~others~~ ^{men selected} will by far ~~more than compensate~~ ^{make up} for the loss of the ~~first group~~ ^{due to the idleness of some of the selected} ~~if this is a real loss~~ ^{rather} there is a real loss involved in their idleness at all. We cannot hope to get a 100% return for funds spent in support of scientific research, and ~~unless we have the courage to face the possibility of throwing perhaps half of these funds out of the window,~~ ^{or choice is to} ~~we have to face a certainty of wasting 99%~~ ^{risk} of these funds, ~~by support of improving the volume rather than the quality of scientific output.~~ ^{or else to resign ourselves to}

Everything turns, of course, on the method of selecting the candidates for these lifetime fellowships, ~~but~~ I am confident that a method can be ~~worked out~~ ^{found} which will work ~~satisfactorily~~, and which will make it possible to ~~obtain a good selection~~ ^{make} of scientists somewhere between the ages of 24 and 30. ^{individually} Unfortunately, I am not confident at all that the ~~same~~ ^{problem} is capable of solution in the case of social scientists. A similar ~~solution~~ ^{of selection} in the case of social ~~sciences~~ ^{scientists} would transcend in importance by far that of ~~natural~~ ^{until I can} natural scientists, but in the absence of a method of selection which is at least half-way satisfactory, I do not feel that I can be ~~in favor of~~ ^{see some method of selection that would give a reasonable} the application of this same ~~scheme~~ ^{choice of exhibiting} to the promotion of the progress of social science, ~~would not~~ ^{particular the good men} ~~does not appear advisable~~

2. Administration of the promotion of science and social science.

It ~~means~~ ^{would mean} very little to draft a general policy for the support of science and social science if the drafting and the execution of that policy are placed in different hands, and thus we are faced with a seemingly insoluble problem. The ~~drafting of a policy~~ ^{guidance of the} ~~ought to be in the hands of the~~ ^{creative men in the respective fields.} The administration must necessarily lie, so it would seem, in the hands of administrators; for regardless of whether ~~a man~~ ^{he} appointed to ~~an~~ ^a administrative position is a social scientist or an administrator, after a few years in an administrative position, he loses

The progress of the same social and mechanical sciences
 one to find out with a representative skillfully
 in thinking about a foundation
 which will help the work of promotion

whatever originality he may have possessed and becomes an administrator pure and simple. The only way around this difficulty which I can see ~~ex~~ consists in putting the administration of the grants in the hands of a full time board, ~~consisting~~ assisted by a part time advisory group. Eminent scientists and scholars would be induced to join the Foundation for three years in the following manner. Each man would be for two years member of the part time advisory board, which would mean that for two years he would retain his current activities, but attend meetings for perhaps a few days each month. After serving in this way on a part time advisory group for two years, he would become for one year a full time member~~s~~ of the board, which means that for that year he would have to take a leave of absence from his institution. I believe that if a sufficient compensation would be offered to competent men ~~of~~ for this one year's service, say something of the order of \$25,000, ~~there~~^{there}/~~there~~ would be no difficulty in obtaining the services of the best people in our universities. They would feel that they are fulfilling an important social function, and one year's interruption of one's normal work is very often beneficial. I would therefore not anticipate much difficulty in staffing the Board, particularly if the Board were located somewhere in the west, where the attraction of a good climate would represent an added incentive for accepting the appointment. A change of climate, both physical and spiritual, coupled with a fairly high salary, might induce many scholars and scientists to look upon a year spent in this way much as they look upon a year spent on sabbatical leave.

3. One of the dangers in our present world situation is that/^{the} uninformed public of the U.S., which, by exercising its voting rights, exercises by way of the U.S. government considerable control over large parts of the world. Any one who reads the New York Times or the N.Y.Herald Tribune , or some other of the very few major newspapers, ~~can~~^{can} without much difficulty be informed of what is happening in the ~~work~~ world, but only a very small fraction of the population is ~~given~~ within the reach of these newspapers, and even if they are physically within the reach of these papers, they do not contain any of the local news, which the newspaper reader wishes to find in the

papers he buys. What we need in this respect is not a ^{new} newspaper, but ^{rather} the solution of a mechanical problem of how to produce in every town or major community of the U.S. a composite paper, which would contain the international and national news as reported by either the Times or the Herald Tribune, and at the same time ^{present} contain the local news. One of the difficulties in creating such a composite paper consists in the different formats of the various papers which seems to represent a formidable difficulty, in view of the very large investment represented by the various printing presses. It seems that we have to deal with a problem which requires at the same time a solution of a technical problem and also the devising of means by which a collaboration of one or more of the great newspapers like the Times or the Herald Tribune with the local papers can be brought about. If this could be done, and the average man in the U.S. could have available a newspaper that would give him both the local news as well as satisfactory presentation of national and world events, some progress would have been made towards an informed public opinion in the U.S., which would reduce the presently ~~uncomfortably~~ uncomfortable margin that is left to chance as far as major ~~of~~ political decisions are concerned.

4. Assuming that we shall be able to avoid major political world catastrophe, and in time begin to move towards an orderly world, the single most important stumbling block might turn out to be our inability to cope with the problem of birth control in countries like China and India. (In order) to solve this problem, [there] ~~are~~ ^{two things} ~~needed~~ necessary. First of all, some new method of birth control is required, that is capable of being applied satisfactorily in countries like India and China. None of the existing methods seem to be technically satisfactory, with respect to these countries. Secondly, once such a method is available, the question arises as to how to create conditions under which the inhabitants of those countries will avail themselves of the method.

It may be that we do not know enough to say how to go about this second problem, though I am inclined to think that once a suitable method is available, the problem is reduced to the question of how to create a fashion of something like a three-child family in India and China. Perhaps by concentrating on one single province, say in India, and by establishing a fashion there, one could then rely on the spread of the fashion from the boundaries of that ~~province~~ province across the whole territory of India. All this presupposes however a technical advance which has yet to arrive.

That the problem ~~is~~ of birth control in India and China will have to be solved before the standard of living in these countries can be permanently raised to an acceptable level is certain, and a foundation might consider this (problem) as one of the problems which ~~is~~ ^{are} both very important and at the same time capable of immediate scientific attack.

5. The most important problem that faces the world at the present, but one which perhaps cannot be attacked immediately, is a problem of devising and trying out forms of democratic government other than the parliamentary form (of democracy). The parliamentary form of democracy is perhaps the only form (of democracy) about which we have adequate experience. It is very doubtful, however, that it can be successfully applied to quite a number of very important areas in the world, and it is also rather doubtful whether it would be wise to think of a world government in terms of a parliamentary form of democracy. *The limitations and shortcomings of the p. . .*

~~That~~ ^{and} the parliamentary form (of democracy) ^{in the past, conditions} is ~~one~~ which functions satisfactorily under very specific conditions, which can be realized only rarely, and which ^{at present} are realized only in ~~some~~ ^{few} areas of the world. ^{But this it seems} is not generally recognized ^{in the U.S.} In this respect, political ideas are much further advanced in Britain, where the shortcomings and the dangers inherent in the parliamentary form of democracy have been dealt with by men like Madriaga, G.B.S., and H.G. Wells. ~~The first edition of~~ "The Open

Insert 1

to page 6

5. The most important problem of the world arises from the fact that government has become an important function; yet the political systems upon which ~~government~~ ^{government in the democratic countries} based were devised and developed during the period when this was not the case. ^{originally of England and the U.S.} The best political systems at present ^{are those} embodied in the parliamentary form of democracy, ~~as they are practised in England or in the U.S.~~ ^{whether this} It is ~~very~~ doubtful however that this particular form of democracy can be successfully applied to all the other important areas of the world, ~~and~~ ^{It} is also rather doubtful whether it would be wise to think of a world government in terms of the parliamentary form of democracy.

^P If this view is accepted, it would appear that by far the most important task confronting us consists in devising and trying out forms of democratic government other than those embodied in the parliamentary form of democracy, ^{which} ~~will be~~ ^{either generally applicable or else in particular cases more suitable} more suitable to meet the needs of the world, ~~at a time when government has to fulfill an important function.~~ ^{under modern conditions}

It seems to me that it is not generally recognized today in the U.S. that the parliamentary form of democracy has functioned satisfactorily only under very specific conditions in the past, and that the required conditions can be realized only rarely, and are not ~~not~~ realized at present in most areas of the world. In this respect

P.T.O.

~~* have functioned satisfactorily in the past in fact of these countries but~~ ^{under the conditions} ~~under~~ ^{under the conditions} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ these two countries most of the time during these last few centuries ^{elsewhere} ~~These conditions~~ ^{and} by no means universally in existence ~~today~~ ^{today}

The countenance and shortcomings of the
p. f. of dem. has been under discussion
in England ~~for~~ for the last 3 decades
by men like Walter, G.B.S. H.C. Wells
etc. In particular the Open Conspiracy by
H.C. Wells ~~it does not~~ [even though
it does not contribute make ^{any} ~~specific~~
contribution (any ~~practicable~~ ^{practicable} ~~effort~~)]
~~It does (in the first 12 to 20 pages of the~~
~~its first volume) ably state the nature~~
~~of the problem~~ gives a clear exposition
of the problem ~~with which~~ ^{with} ~~annals~~ ^{annals} its
solution :-

1914

deals with this problem and

Conspiracy" by H. G. Wells, while it offers no satisfactory solution to the problem,

does make important contributions in the first 12 or 20 pages of the first edition.

If we look to In accepting the need ~~of~~ for forms of democracy other than the parliamentary

modern requirements than the parliamentary form, we are faced with an almost insurmountable difficulty: It is of course possibly very

and probably/necessary to describe political systems (which would be fully as democratic

as the parliamentary form of democracy, and yet very ~~different~~ *different* from it. But even this

is a necessary ~~is a necessary~~ if by no means ~~easier~~ *easier* easy task, ~~it~~ does not lead us much further along

the path to the realization of such political systems. Political systems cannot very

well be compared with machinery, which, after careful designing and being put into

blueprint form, is built in the shop and then installed in the factory. ~~Where~~ *(Well put)* political

systems ^{must} (have to) be designed with with utmost care, if they are to survive without

substantial change over a long period of time, yet they must also grow and mature before

it is possible to say with any degree of certainty whether they represent a desirable

political system to which one ~~would want~~ *might desire* to entrust the government of a country. How

can these difficulties be solved? If ~~it~~ *they* can be solved at all, ~~it~~ they can be solved

only if we succeed in creating an organization that will fulfill a useful ~~social~~ *sociological*

function ~~without being entrusted with political decisions~~ *while? it is not* within the framework of the

existing political system. If it is possible for such an organization ~~then~~ gradually

to gain much public esteem and public support, the time may come when the public will

wish to endow it with ~~increasing~~ *same* political ~~influence~~ *same status* and ultimately, perhaps, with

the making of major political decisions. I can illustrate this with a ~~concrete~~ concrete

example, by ~~giving~~ going back to thoughts which I developed in the mid-twenties, when

I was living in Germany. These thoughts, it seemed to me, ~~were~~ *at that time* applicable to Germany.

They did not seem to me then, nor do they seem to me now, applicable to the U. S. I

will try to describe them here ~~merely~~ because it illustrates the basic principle of

aspiring at a ~~change of a political constitution~~ *substituting a new political system* by means of creating an organizations

which may grow for a period of two generations, fulfilling a useful social function, be-

fore it may ~~attain political significance and a political function.~~ *begin to exercise the influence with increasing*

within the existing framework long before

In the mid-twenties in Germany I became quite convinced that the parliamentary form of democracy would not have a very long life in Germany, but I thought, quite wrongly as I now know, that it would ^{might} survive one or two generations. The parliamentary system in Germany was not well constructed, and ^{while} by the proportional representation upon which it was based ^{which was the best} seemed to fulfill requirements of justice, it created in the presence of a number of parties, in contradistinction to the British and American two party system, ~~an unworkable parliamentary machinery.~~ ~~I did not~~ ^{did} have the feeling that the Germans did not appreciate democracy, as such, but rather that ~~the parliamentary form of democracy was not suitable to their temperament.~~ ^{that the Germans did not appreciate democracy, as such, but rather that} It seemed to me at that time that it might make good sense to create an organization in Germany which

might fulfill a useful function within the frame work of the then existing political system, and which ^{and be capable of} in addition would stand ready to exercise the functions of a government if and when the parliamentary system in Germany ^{be capable of growing and ultimately, might} collapsed, ~~as I thought~~ ^{as I thought} one or two generations hence. ^{the I thought} In devising such an organization, which I called the Bund, I drew upon ^{the}

rich experience provided by the history of the so-called Jugendbewegung, a spiritual and moral movement among the youth of Germany, which originated and culminated before the First World War. ^{this movement had} It represented what was best in Germany, and had a profound and ^{on the whole} ~~beneficial~~ beneficial effect, ^{extending} ~~lasting~~ for about one generation beyond its cessation. ^{PP}

I proposed that an organization called der Bund be created, ^{in the following} which would be built up ^{which is as follows would be as follows:} in several layers, and would be constructed as follows: ^{PP} Each year/every high school class ^{each the graduation} the class would decide which of its members it ~~chose~~ ^{is this} considered to be the "best."

What ^{was} ~~meant~~ meant by best was not explained, in abstract terms, but it was assumed that the purpose and function of the Bund would be understood by the children, and they would accordingly select those among them who came closest to possessing that rare combination of ^{was an attempt to} scientific mind and ^{is desirable} religious spirit which is so desirable to have represented in ^a the moral and intellectual leadership of the nation. About 3-5% of those finishing

(altogether of men who might capture)

by which I would have been the same as the Bund

was an attempt to represent is desirable a

graduating from
 highschool would in this way be ~~selected~~ ^{winged out and they would become} junior members of the Bund. Those (who have been) selected would have their living expenses and tuition paid, if they chose to attend a university; ~~but~~ ^{and they would have a limited freedom in their choice} they would be required to attend one of the five key universities designated for the purpose. ~~The reason for this restriction was the need for second~~ ^{of a university was much as they} selection to take place after their university studies. ~~The first selection could be~~ ^{to bring to bear} assumed to be rather imperfect, and not giving sufficient emphasis to intellectual abilities, but rather on personality in general and possibly achievements in sports. A more balanced selection was expected to be obtainable at the second stage, but for this purpose it was needed to keep the junior members of the Bund together in groups where they might be in touch with each other, form an opinion of each other's abilities, and thus acquire the basis for a sound selection to the second stage. It was assumed ^{that} in the various ^{key} seminars at the 5/universities which the junior members would attend, that they would have ^a very good opportunity ~~yes~~ to select, at the end of their university studies, each year, those among their ranks who they considered to be the best (~~among~~ amounting perhaps to 5 % of the graduating juniors of each year). Those selected at this stage ^{would become} represented the senior members of the Bund.

The senior members had the choice either of pursuing their normal career, and giving only a small fraction of their time and attention to the Bund, or else entering into close relationships with the Bund, by joining the "Order of the Bund," which will ^{described} be explained later.

Those of the senior members of the Bund who chose the former course, ^{and re-} turned to their own ^{communities} settled in other communities, were expected to participate ^{where they would prove their} mainly in one activity of the Bund, and that is, to participate ^{in a part time basis} in guiding the ^{normal} clubs which the Bund was supposed to maintain all over the country, ^{These clubs} and which were supposed to comprise the junior members of the club, up to perhaps 22 years of age, as well as those students of the highschools, ^{of the district} in which the club was located, who were in their last two years - age group 16-18.

Insert on page 9.

The reason for ^{assembling} ~~establishing~~ the junior members at a few universities, rather than allowing them to disperse among the many universities of the country, was two-fold. First of all, it served the purpose of having the members of the Bund ^{all} speak the same language, in the sense in which the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge in England all speak the same language. Secondly, it was recognized that the first selection that ^{was} ~~had~~ taken place in the graduating high school class must of necessity ~~have been~~ a rather imperfect one. Its emphasis was assumed to be ~~on the~~ personality and possible achievements ~~in~~ sports, and it was believe that intellectual abilities would not be sufficiently taken into account in this first selection. By keeping the junior members of the Bund together at a few universities, where they would be required to attend certain joint seminars, they would be given the opportunity to be in touch with each other, to form ^{an} ~~a reasonable~~ ~~valuable~~ opinion of each other's ~~abilities~~, including ^{their} ~~his~~ intellectual abilities. ~~These~~ Thus the stage would be set for a second selection to take place at the time when the class graduated. ^{from the University} At that time those juniors who attended the same seminars or formed part of the same working group were expected to designate among their own ~~tanks~~ those whom they considered to be the best among them. About 5 % of the graduating juniors ^{might} ~~would~~ ~~thus~~ be selected from each class, and ~~those~~ singled out at the ~~second~~ second selection would become the senior members of the Bund.

They would be, as far as the Bund was concerned, expected merely to participate on a part-time basis in one of the activities of the Bund. The Bund was supposed to maintain all over the country clubs which would be the meeting grounds of the junior members of the club, up to perhaps their 22nd year of age, ~~which~~ with each other, as well as with those students of the high schools located in the club's district, who were in their last two years of their studies, that is, age group 16-18. These clubs were supposed to fulfill an important function, namely, that of maintaining contact between the Bund and the incoming generation of young people. The senior members of the Bund were expected to collaborate in the guiding of these clubs, where controversial issues of the day would be debated, and where the young people would learn the meaning of a dispassionate discussion of those political issues on which ~~the~~ feelings ^{were} most passionate.

Those senior members of the Bund who wished to ~~remain~~ remain in a closer relationship with the Bund were supposed to join the Order of the Bund. The members of the ^{organization} Order themselves might belong to different classes within the ^{organization} Order, ~~according~~ according to how great a sacrifice the members wished to make. Those who joined the Order were supposed to be provided for life with an adequate income, so that they would ^{be} ~~be~~ relieved of any necessity of looking towards success in their ^{careers} ~~careers~~ (for financial reasons). If they chose to follow their inclination and ~~take up~~ ^{take up} any trade or profession of their choice, they were free to do so, but their income, ^{from these pursuits} in this case, or a substantial fraction thereof, would ^{automatically} ~~go~~ to the Bund, rather than to themselves. ^{It} It was expected, ^{however,} however, that a substantial fraction of those who joined the Order would take up work which would give them experience in public life, or would choose professions which would ^{put} give them ⁱⁿ a key position to understand the workings of the economic and political system. Since they could choose their place of work free from any financial considerations, and need not care what kind of prospect they might have in any

particular job, they might have chosen - it was expected ~~that~~ members of the ~~Bund~~ ^{Order} would land in key positions in the management of industrial companies, in the editorial offices of daily newspapers and magazines, in the municipal and state ^(work) services, in research positions in the field of economics, and that a fair number of them would be active in the general field of education. ^P In a sense the Order of the Bund would be a little world in itself. Each member would belong to some group of 30-40 members, on the basis of some common study or enterprise in which these 30-40 persons were engaged. There would be such groups at all levels, and the only way in which a member of the Bund could rise from a group on a lower level to one on a higher level would be to be advanced by his own group. This means that ~~however~~ ^{respect} whoever rose to the next higher level did so because he had the ~~confidence~~ ^{respect} of members of his own group, on the basis of intimate acquaintanceship. ~~THE ORDER OF THE BUND WAS SO DEVISED THAT~~

^P The structure of the Order of the Bund was devised from a point of view of creating an organization which would be ^{and suitable for} capable ultimately of carrying on the functions of government. The Order was not supposed to be something like a political party, it was supposed to represent not ^{one platform political} a particular political philosophy, ^{platform} in contradistinction to some other political philosophy, but rather it was supposed to represent the state. The same political differences of opinion existing in the state would also perforce exist within the Bund. These would have to be fought out within the Bund and in particular these would have to be fought out on the top level, represented by a group composed of perhaps 40-50 people, ^{men at the} ~~which~~ ^{Order} because of the method of selection within the Order of the Bund, it was assumed that the top level of ~~young men~~ ^{outstanding} would be outstanding both from the point of view of their intellect as well as their character. Because of the education of the ~~B~~ ^{Order} members of the Bund from their ~~early~~ ^{early} youth and particularly because all of them were educated at the same ^{five} ~~key~~ universities, they would all speak

the same language, and there would be a good chance that ~~political~~ decisions at the top level would be reached with fair majorities. ^P ~~Because of the~~ structure of the Bund and the position which it could be expected to occupy in the public life, it seemed likely that the Bund as a whole, and ~~that~~ ^{also} the country as a whole, would be ~~susceptible to propositions emanating from the~~ ^{representative for the} top level of the Bund, and that ~~the~~ ^{of the Bund} leadership of the top level ~~of~~ would, in most cases, be followed both by the Bund as a whole and by public opinion in general. All this seemed to be most important if the Bund was ~~ever~~ ever to be entrusted with the task of government, since the consent of the governed is an essential prerequisite for a democratic form of government. If and when the time came when the Bund was supposed to take over the government, it was envisaged that the top group of the Bund, consisting of 40 - 50 people, would ^{choose} among various slates of 3 men, who ran for election; one slate to act as a government and perhaps another slate of three which would be entrusted with the task of watching over the actions of the government. This second group of three would have no administrative functions. In addition to advising the government when they appeared to stand in need of criticism, this second group possessed the right of recalling the government. Whenever an administration was thus removed, from office, its members had to withdraw from political life, but at the ~~same~~ time the members of the advisory group lost their office, and were supposed to withdraw from politics. A new administration as well as a new advisory ^{body} board would then have to be elected by the Bund.

Since it was assumed that the parliamentary system in Germany would break down within one or two generations, and that ~~some organization like~~ the Bund would then be the natural heir of political power and might be called upon to take over the functions of the government, it seemed important to make certain that in exercising the functions of government the Bund would govern with the consent of the governed. This requirement ^{could} ~~could not~~ be met in a satisfactory ~~manner~~ ^{only} if the dominant opinions within the Bund were ^{just} at variance with the ^{dominant} public opinion of the country. ^{as a whole. That this would be the core was hoped for the following reasons:} All controversial questions could be expected to ~~be~~ undergo constant discussion in the Bund. Because the members of the Bund spoke the same language, ^{groups of the} ~~because~~ those reaching the higher levels in the Bund had the respect of those who belonged to groups at lower levels, it appeared likely that ~~gradually~~ something like a political platform would be formulated ^{in this} ~~by~~ the Bund that would have the approval of a substantial majority of its members. Because of the position which the members of the Bund were supposed to occupy in public life, ^{because} ~~because~~ they were expected to occupy key positions in education and in other fields of ~~public~~ communication, and also because of the close contact which the Bund was supposed to maintain by means of its junior clubs with the incoming generation, it was assumed that the country as a whole would be responsive to the leadership of the Bund, and that there was not much danger that the policies which gradually become victorious within the Bund would not command ^{the} ~~sufficiently~~ strong support of the people.

Some thought was given to the ^{stage} ~~stage~~ at which the Bund would actually represent the government of the country, and to the ~~checks~~ ^{checks} and balances which such a situation would require in order to make certain that the political system be democratic in the true sense of the word, even though its form does not resemble any of the customary forms of democracy. ^{R Bund} (I will not go into this ^{any further} ~~in detail~~ at this time, since my ^{only} ~~main~~ ^{here} purpose at the moment is to stress the need for experimenting

with forms of democracy by means of creating organizations that fulfill a useful function within the present political systems, but which are so designed that they can grow and in time be capable of exercising political functions, if so desired.

~~Unfortunately, what kind of organization could fulfill a useful purpose at present in the U.S. in the sense in which the ~~XXX~~ Bund ^{perhaps} could have fulfilled a useful purpose in Germany in the mid-twenties, I do not know. I have, not ~~yet~~ given the problem sufficient thought ^{even} to make general comments ~~in~~ ^{on} the subject. ~~Discussions carried on political ideas~~ this respect. ~~The political discussion carried on in the U.S. at the present time is not very enlightening in this respect.~~ There are frequent professions of faith in "democracy." As a matter of fact, these professions are so frequent that one is inclined to suspect that they cover up some uneasiness. ~~But from such vague uneasiness to a constructive discussion of the problem of government which faces us is not an easy path~~ ^{to the clear need for it}~~

~~at the problem ^{is} and it's possible~~

~~have not reached in the U.S. a state ^{approaching} maturity~~

~~or perhaps we have still a long way to go. —~~

The discussion of pertinent political ideas has not reached in the U.S. a state approaching maturity. There are frequent professions of faith in "democracy", as a matter of fact, so frequent that one is inclined to suspect that they are trying to cover up some uneasiness; but from such vague uneasiness to the clear recognition of the problem and its possible solutions we have still a long way to go. ¶ Because of the inherent difficulties of the problem with which we are faced, it might not be possible for any foundation to make any significant contribution in this field. Perhaps the best ~~a~~ ^a foundation could do at the moment would be to try to promote the maturing of political thought, but how this could be achieved, I do not know. ¶ Be it as it may, the problem dealt with here is in my opinion the ~~most~~ crucial problem of our times, and if we ~~cannot~~ cannot go any further than to admit that we have ~~the~~ ^a a problem, then let's begin by admitting that that is the case.

February 16, 1949

Memorandum concerning my recollection of the conversations which I had with Mr. Strauss during 1938. This memorandum is compiled entirely from memory and details could be filled in if necessary by looking through my files.

Leo Szilard

1. Early in 1938 I met Mr. Strauss through Dr. Theodore Vogelstein, who had interested Mr. Strauss in certain inventions of Mr. Brasch and in inventions covered by an American patent application of mine. Dr. Vogelstein, Mr. Brasch, and I had conversations with Mr. Strauss through most of the year 1938. From the very beginning Mr. Strauss was advised that Mr. Adam of Danzig held an exclusive license concerning my American patent application. Mr. Adam was represented in these discussions by Dr. Vogelstein, but in the first period of the discussions, Dr. Vogelstein had authority from Mr. Adam only for carrying out preparatory discussions with Mr. Strauss, with no authority to enter into a binding agreement with him, or to free me from my agreement with Mr. Adam.

During this first period of the 1938 discussions Dr. Vogelstein, Mr. Strauss, Mr. Brasch and I reached a consensus in principle as to what kind of an agreement we proposed to conclude. The consensus reached was embodied in an aide memoire prepared by Mr. Strauss and this aide memoire formed the basis of further conversations during some of the subsequent periods of the 1938 discussions.

The aide memoire provided for the setting^{UP} of a corporation with a capital of either \$100,000 or \$150,000 (the correct amount, if relevant, could be ascertained by looking through my files).

This aide memoire was discussed with Mr. Adam of Danzig who visited the United States. Mr. Adam had a conversation with Mr. Strauss, and before leaving the United States, authorized Dr. Vogelstein ~~to enter into a binding~~

to release me from my contract with himself so as to make me free to enter into an agreement with Mr. Strauss along the lines of the aide memoire. This aide memoire provided that Mr. Brasch and I must be in unencumbered possession of our inventions before an agreement would go into effect.

2. At a meeting of Mr. Strauss, Mr. Brasch and myself, held at Mr. Strauss' apartment in New York, Mr. Strauss stated that there would be some delay in implementing the plans embodied in the aide memoire. Mr. Brasch asked then that some arrangement be made which would enable him, in the meantime, to begin setting up an experimental plant (at the California Institute of Technology). Mr. Strauss and Mr. Brasch agreed on this in principle, and Mr. Brasch estimated that the arrangement would involve a sum which, I believe, was about one-tenth of the capital specified in the aide memoire. I stated that as long as the arrangement was limited to such a small scope I would not wish to participate in it; and that I preferred to wait until such time as the full scale plans could be put into effect. I heard no suggestion at that time or at any other time later that Mr. Adam of Danzig should be brought into the picture, within the framework of the small scope arrangement, or that he could be induced to release me from my contract with him, on the basis of that small scope arrangement.

3. Some time in the fall of 1938 Mr. Morton Adams submitted to me a draft of an agreement between Mr. Strauss and myself relating to the American patent application for which Mr. Adam of Danzig still had an exclusive license. I informed Mr. Adams that I was not in a position to sign that draft agreement.

4. It is my understanding that an agreement was in fact concluded between Mr. Brasch and Mr. Strauss and that an experimental plant was in fact

set up at the California Institute of Technology. Subsequently I understand this experimental plant was discontinued and Mr. Brasch returned to the East. After this no further communications reached me concerning the proposition outlined in the original aide memoire either from Dr. Vogelstein or from Mr. Strauss, and this proposition was obviously considered as dead by all those who were concerned.

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Memo on World Government

1. None of those who have little doubt that world government will be in existence some day can indicate today with any degree of certainty which way it will in fact come about. The question which we ought to ask ourselves under the present circumstance is "What ought to be the first step that we should take in the desired direction?"

There are those who believe that the first step ought to be the calling of a world constitutional assembly. Such a proposal has been bandied around now for over two years, and there is no sign as yet that it has succeeded in appealing to the imagination of the people. ~~XX~~ This in itself will make it impossible to bring about a constitutional convention in the near future, but even if it were possible to set up such a convention of ~~people~~ popularly-elected delegates, it is difficult to believe that they would be able to make much progress towards the drafting of a constitution that would be acceptable to a substantial majority of the convention, and beyond that, acceptable to the peoples whom the delegates would represent. In drafting a constitution the delegates would have to deal with abstractions, and it is difficult to see that, if a body of men with any previous experience in arriving at a common stand with respect to major concrete issues, and without having acquired the habit of reaching a consensus on such an abstract and () issue as a constitution which would be ~~XX~~ ~~acceptable~~ workable on a world scale.

A body of men engaged in this activity will hardly be able to attract and to hold the imagination of the peoples. Under these circumstances, there is little reason to hope that a constitution produced by such a body will have an appreciable chance of finding acceptance on the part of those people whom the delegates to the convention represent.

It would seem that the first step in the desired direction ought to be not the calling of a constitutional convention, but rather the creation of a world assembly

that would be representative of the peoples of the world, rather than the governments of those people, and that would enable the peoples' voice to be heard on all the major issues with which we are ~~fractured~~ faced today. This world assembly could very well consider it as its responsibility to present in due time a world constitution, but that would be only one of its tasks, and not the most urgent one. A world assembly of this sort ought to consider itself as sitting in permanence, though with perhaps appropriate interruptions, until such time as a world constitution goes into effect, and a world government is in fact set up. Such a ~~world~~ world assembly could meet whenever the U.N. Security Council meets, and it ought to be willing to take up any case that is before the U.N. Security Council, provided that some of the peoples involved wish to bring the issue before the assembly. Such an assembly could very well invite members of any government to appear before it, even though they would have no legal power to compell the appearance of anyone, and the members of the assembly could then ask questions in much the same manner as questions are asked by members of the British cabinet in the House of Commons.

How could such a world assembly be brought into existence--that would, of necessity, have to be an elected rather than appointed body, and the members of which would represent their constituents rather than their government or the country as a whole? One conceivable way of doing this would be for a group of intellectual leaders in the field of education, as well as outstanding scientists and scholars, to perhaps take upon themselves the responsibility of bringing about the first meeting of such a world assembly. Before explaining further in detail the action which such a group might take, it is necessary to mention certain features of the world assembly which appear to be desirable.

It would seem that the world assembly should not be a body that is appreciably larger than is usual for parliaments~~ary~~ of democratic nations. Secondly, it is necessary

to avoid unbalance of the type which is found in the U.N., where a ~~dispro~~ disproportionately large number of delegates represent the South American nations. While it will have to be left to the world assembly itself to write its own ticket, a group that takes upon itself the organization of the first assembly will have to decide on a bases of representation ~~at~~ ^{for} the meetings to be held during the first year of the assembly's existence. The following principle might perhaps find general acceptance as both fair and practicable: There ought to be one member representative in the assembly for each ten millions of population, except that no nation shall be represented by a total of more than 10 delegates at ~~xx~~ any one time. Nations which, on the basis of their population, are not entitled to even one delegate, shall have a delegate in the assembly only part of the time, the fraction being determined by the amount of the population. Now to the question of how can such a world assembly be brought into existence by the organizing committee, which has no authority other than the universal respect which its members command in the civilized world. This is the way that it could perhaps be achieved. The organizing committee could draw by lot the names of ten senators, with the proviso that no two senators may be selected from the same state, and ask each one of them if they would be willing to serve as members of the world assembly. For each one who declines another name is drawn and so on until such time as the 10 vacant places are filled. (Five of these might serve for ^aone year term, and the five others for a two year term.) Those who would accept would undertake the obligation of attending the meetings of the assembly, and would have to understand that they would be replaced if they remained absent unexcused for a significant number of meetings. They would have to undertake to seek the approval of their constituents at their next election for their representing the state from which they come. Only 10 of the 48 states would be represented at one time. Within 10 years all the states could have their turn. Similarly, an appropriate number of representatives will be drawn by lot from the

~~MEMORANDUM~~

Memo on W. G. -4-

parliaments of other nations, and unless there is an extraordinarily large number of refusals, which would make it impossible to have a world assembly in which a significant number of nations was represented, a world assembly composed of persons who ~~may~~ owe their offices to popular election could come into existence ~~within~~ within a short period of time.

Clearly the response that an action initiated by a private group will get will depend to a great extent on how this group manages itself. It would be hardly wise as a first step to draw the names of U.S. senators and ask them if they would accept. It would be probably much better to approach the Scandinavian countries, and India, first. After favorable response has been achieved, other ~~countries~~ ^{countries} would have to be approached, and only as a last step would the U.S. and Russia be brought into the picture. If the members of the parliaments of most relevant countries reacted favorably, it would not matter ~~if both~~ very much if difficulties arose with regard to the participation of Russia and the U.S. It might even perhaps be preferable to have the world assembly begin its activities in the absence of these two countries, and one might then await without impatience the time when some of the states of the U.S. will begin to feel that they would rather be represented, and will bring pressure upon their senators to state that they would be willing to participate in the world assembly, if their names were drawn.

It is not difficult to think of schemes for a world assembly which would, in many respects, be more favorable than the one described above, but all schemes which require special popular elections of delegates have ~~these~~ ^{their} difficulties both with respect to financing the world assembly, and also otherwise.

July 12, 1949

Memorandum concerning the financial consequences
of a 25% staff reduction

This memorandum is based on the following premises:

- (1) That the University could reduce its total teaching output as represented by classes and lectures by 25% and could correspondingly reduce its staff by 25% without losing anything of its value as an educational institution and a place of research.
- (2) That a member of the faculty costs the University on the average 1.6 times his salary.
- (3) That a large fraction of the faculty would elect to accept the new plan which is explained further below.

Let us assume for the sake of a numerical example that 100 members of the faculty who have tenure and an average salary of \$5000 a year would wish to come under the new contract discussed in this memorandum. 60 of their names would then be drawn and these 60 would remain in the employment of the University. Of the remaining 40 the University would select 15, and these too would remain in the employ of the University. The remaining 25 would leave the employ of the University.

Those who leave the employ of the University would retain their full salary until such time as they find employment elsewhere for the first five years of unemployment and beyond that retain 80% of their salary for as long as they remain unemployed. This provision would represent a diminishing load on the University's finances which under the most pessimistic assumption would thus start out in the first year with the full salary load of the 25 men, i.e. a load of \$125,000 but even so would lead to an immediate saving of \$75,000 per year. When in time this financial load disappears completely the University would then have available an amount of \$200,000 a year to spend.

The University could thus immediately upon the institution of this scheme raise the salaries of the 75 faculty members who remain by 20% merely by utilizing the \$75,000 per year saving which becomes available at the outset. Ultimately when funds need no longer be made available for the support of the 25 men who leave the University, the University might use the full amount of their salary, that is \$125,000, towards a salary raise of the remaining 75 members amounting to 33.3% of their old salaries and use the remaining \$75,000 per year to reduce the deficit of the University.

In order to make the new contract even more attractive from the point of view of those who may leave the University, the University could offer to those who leave and find other employment to pay them one-third of their old salaries during the first five years of their new employment.

In the rehiring of 15 men for every 100 who come under the new plan, the University would probably be guided by two considerations. The University would probably wish to rehire men who are particularly valuable to it, and also it would probably wish to rehire men who have a poor chance of being hired elsewhere and therefore are likely to remain a financial burden to the University. A policy of rehiring based on these two considerations would have the advantage that no particular stigma would be attached to those who have not been rehired and the absence of this stigma should make it easier for these men to find employment elsewhere.