

Pugwash

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
RESEARCH LABORATORY OF ELECTRONICS
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASS.

September 13, 1957

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

Dear Dr. Szilard:

This is in answer to your recent letter proposing a follow-up to the Pugwash meeting. I am wholeheartedly in favor of this and anxious to participate. The actual location makes little difference to me, though the BWI sounds attractive.

I have slowly come to believe that the only course of action which has any chance of achieving success in the weapons control field is one which ultimately puts all weapons in the hands of a central international government, consequently I am not very anxious to spend much time on such topics as test limitations, etc., important though they are. Given a choice, I would prefer to spend the time trying to understand means for achieving this long term goal.

As you know, I am basically a technologist, and I have spent much of my life working on problems which others have regarded as extremely difficult or impossible of solution. What little success I have had has come from getting a clear picture of the ultimate objective and then searching among the physical phenomena for radical ways to a solution. I have come to believe that a solution to a difficult and worked over problem is seldom found in a trivial change from the status quo. If this were not so, someone would long since have found an answer to the problem in hand.

I know full well the danger of arguing by analogy, none-the-less, I feel that my view does apply in the field of weapons control. I can't believe that any lasting good can

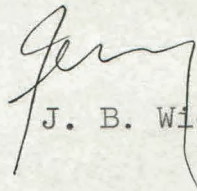
Dr. Szilard

Page 2.

come from negotiating small perturbations from the present position.

I would like to see us explore the larger issue of an international government and police force. I would also hope that we can have a large number of non-Americans in the group for I have an intuitive feeling that in the end we will be saved, if at all, by the initiative and leadership of the smaller and militarily uninvolved countries of the world.

With best regards,


J. B. Wiesner

September 23, 1957

Dr. J. B. Wiesner
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Research Laboratory of Electronics
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Wiesner:

Many thanks for your letter of September 13th.
The answers to my inquiry are now gradually coming in.

I am about to leave for Europe, and this matter
will be handled in my absence by Dr. Morton Grodzins, Chairman
of the Department of Political Science. You may hear from him
or from me again on my return from Europe.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

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MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
RESEARCH LABORATORY OF ELECTRONICS
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASS.

February 12, 1958

Professor Leo Szilard
University of Chicago
Department of Biophysics
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Professor Szilard:

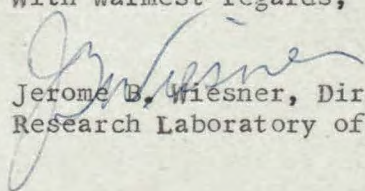
This letter confirms and amplifies our recent telephone conversation. For a number of years M.I.T. has invited a distinguished person to visit as the A. D. Little lecturer. Last year we attempted to change the format of the lecture from a single formal lecture to a series of informal meetings with faculty and students to be culminated in a small dinner involving a limited group at which the guest would talk or lead a discussion in his field of interest. It did not quite work out that way last year, for the visitor was Dr. Edwin Land who chose to spend his time talking with students and faculty about educational problems and created so much interest that we cancelled the plan for a small dinner and had him give his remarks in the Kresge auditorium before an audience of twelve hundred. This year we would like to try the small-group approach. As you suggested, it would appear most profitable for you and us if you centered your activities with Cy Levinthal and the Biology group. I would hope, of course, that you would also spend time with Walter Rosenblith and the others here interested in human communication problems.

In addition, as you well know, there are many people at M.I.T. and Harvard interested in the disarmament issue and who will want to have your attention.

We would like you to be here the two weeks beginning April 28. The A. D. Little lecture fund will pay your travel and living expenses as well as an honorarium of \$500. If you have no preference regarding living quarters, we can arrange to provide quarters for you in the M.I.T. Graduate House.

I am very happy that you are able to spend this period with us. I have told Cy about your acceptance, and he is particularly pleased. If you have any further questions, please write to me. Meanwhile, I shall probably see you in Washington or Quebec.

With warmest regards,


Jerome B. Wiesner, Director
Research Laboratory of Electronics

February 24, 1958

Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, Director
Research Laboratory of Electronics
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Dear Professor Wiesner:

I am writing to thank you for your kind invitation to be the A. D. Little lecturer this year. I shall be very happy to accept and shall plan to spend two weeks in Cambridge beginning April 28. I should very much appreciate your arranging for living accommodations for me in the M. I. T. Graduate House.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,



LEO SZILARD

LS:dw

May 8, 1958

Prof. Jerome B. Wiesner
Electronics Research Laboratory
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Jerry:

Enclosed are two full sets of my correspondence with Dr. Huan Hsiang. I am sending you two sets in case you should want to send on one to Governor Stevenson. Perhaps you might talk to Stevenson over the telephone and then write to Dr. Huan Hsiang, whatever is appropriate in the circumstances. In any case, I assume that you will take the ball from here on.

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

Enclosures
LS:dmp

May 23rd. 1960.

Professor Jerome Wiesner,
Department of Electrical Engineering,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology,
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Wiesner,

You are very photogenic.

Enclosed is the article which I have written for "Look" Magazine which represents my views as of today. If you have time to read it before we meet Wednesday night this might save us some time in the discussion which we may have prior to the filming.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard.

June 10th. 1960.

Professor Jerome Wiesner,
Department of Electrical Engineering,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology,
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Jerry,

I have drafted a letter to Khrushchev which, if sent, will be transmitted through the good offices of a Russian colleague. I have exhausted my clean copies by sending one to Charles Bohlen and one to Leghorn. I must apologize for sending you a messy copy. Please let me know any comments you wish to make in the course of the week of the 13th June.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard.

Enclosure:

September 2, 1960.

Professor Jerome Wiesner,
61 Shattuck Road,
Watertown, Mass.

Dear Jerry,

I understand that both you and Dick Leghorn will go to the London meeting next week at which a new date for the Moscow meeting, which was originally scheduled to start on September 11, may be set. Enclosed is a copy of a letter dated June 27 which I wrote to N. Khrushchev, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and a letter of the Ambassador of the USSR, Mikhail A. Menshikov, transmitting an unofficial translation of Mr. Khrushchev's reply dated August 30.

If the date that you are going to set in London for the Moscow meeting falls within the tenure of office of the present Administration, then I assume that upon your return from the London meeting you would want to take up with the White House the issue raised by the enclosed correspondence with Khrushchev.

If the date set for the Moscow meeting is later, then I suppose one would have to take up the issue with the President-elect. This is a point I would want to discuss with you after your return from London. I have touched upon it in the last paragraph of my letter to Khrushchev.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

P.S. Even though Khrushchev's reply singles out the next Pugwash meeting, nothing much could be accomplished by ~~one-shot~~ operation. Clearly, what we need is the blessing of the U.S. Government, and above all of the President-elect, for conducting informal discussions on a continuing basis, and the scheduling of such discussions must not come to depend on international incidents or setbacks in inter-governmental negotiations if you want to make progress fast enough to do some good.

Copy to: Richard S. Leghorn

March 3, 1961

Professor Jerome Wiesner
Chairman
The President's Science
Advisory Committee
Executive Office Building
17th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Jerry:

I spent a month in Moscow and have now finally descended on Washington. I am trying to find out if there is here a market for wisdom, and I need your advice on how to go about it. Depending on circumstances, I might stay here as long as a month, and am at the Hotel Dupont Plaza. Let me know when you can conveniently see me, preferably away from the bustle of your office. With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

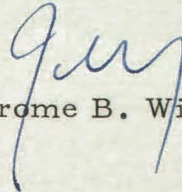
March 4, 1961

Dear Leo:

Yes, who's got it? Seriously, I am pleased to know that you are in Washington and hope to have a chance to get together with you. How about dinner Thursday night, March 15th? If that is a good night for you, I suggest we meet at the Cosmos Club at 7:00 p.m. If your wife is here, I hope that she will join us.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,



Jerome B. Wiesner

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel DuPont Plaza
DuPont Circle &
New Hampshire Ave., N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

March 14, 1961

Dr. Jerome Wiesner
Chairman
The President's Science Advisory Committee
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Wiesner:

While passing through Paris, I had breakfast with Dr. Bertrand Goldschmid, an old personal friend, who represents France on the Governing Board of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. On that occasion he expressed concern about the manner in which the United States is represented on the Governing Board of this agency. He felt that it should be possible to find some scientist or engineer of standing to represent the United States in that body and that it would be important to make a change at this time.

Since Goldschmid knows Seaborg well, having worked with him during the war, I suggested that he contact Seaborg about this. He seemed to feel, however, that because of his official position in France it would not be proper for him to do so.

I am having dinner with Seaborg this Saturday and I might mention to him, on that occasion, my conversation with Goldschmid, but I thought that this is a matter in which you might take an interest, also.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

June 6, 1961

Jerome Wiesner, Chairman
The President's Science Advisory Committee
Executive Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Wiesner:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter I have sent to the President today, with its enclosures. The material is sent to you for your information and files.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Leo Szilard

LS:acb

Enclosures

Confidential

September 8, 1961

Mr. Jerome Wiesner
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear ~~Mr.~~ Wiesner:

Attached to this letter is a document entitled "Appendix" which describes one particular solution to the so-called Berlin crisis -- wrapped up in the form of a package. This package is rather loosely drafted but nevertheless the true intent of its points should be clear enough, particularly if read in conjunction with the memorandum "On the Berlin Crisis" which is enclosed.

I have sent a copy of the Appendix and the memorandum to the White House, but I do not know whether the President got to see it. I have also sent word to the White House, and again I do not know whether it has reached the President -- that if the general approach described meets with the approval of the White House, I would be prepared to go to Moscow and try to sell this approach to Khrushchev.

What matters is not the particular package which I have formulated; this package could be easily modified and perhaps improved. What matters is that we start out with the premise that the United States and the Soviet Union have the same goal in Europe, the goal to make Europe politically as stable as possible, and that we derive a solution, from this premise, on the basis of reasoned arguments.

I personally do not believe that a satisfactory solution can be arrived at as the result of prolonged, catch as catch can horsetrading.

Any comment that you might care to make would be greatly appreciated.

With best wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

Leo Szilard

P.S. I have communicated with the White House through Henry Kissinger, who told me that he liked my approach very much and that he is taking this matter up with McGeorge ~~Mondy~~ *Bundy*

P.S.S. I am leaving tomorrow morning for Stowe, Vermont, to attend the Pugwash conference. I can be reached there in the course of next week at The Lodge.

THE WHITE HOUSE

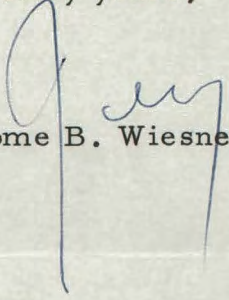
WASHINGTON

September 29, 1961

Dear Leo:

I'd like one of the fellowships! Seriously, I'm leaving this weekend for Pakistan (the President having volunteered my services to help solve their water problem) and I'm frantically trying to get things in order before my departure, so I haven't had time to get in touch with you before I go, but as I told you when we last talked about the idea, I am all for it. I would, however, prefer to see many of the people whom you have in mind working full time for the government. There are many places where they are needed.

Sincerely yours,



Jerome B. Wiesner

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

October 10, 1962

Dr. Jerome Wiesner
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Wiesner:

Since I last saw you, I visited Dobrynin, handed him a document (of which I am enclosing a copy with this letter) and asked him to transmit it with such comment as he might care to make.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Leo Szilard

Encl.

P.S. Would you be kind enough to pass on the enclosed document when you have finished with it to Spurgeon Keeny for his information.

April 25, 1963

Jerome Wiesner
The White House
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Wiesner:

I am supposed to see Adrian Fisher in the afternoon of Monday, the 29th, and I intend to report to you thereafter.

This might be water over the dam, but I wondered whether all has been done that could be done to convince Franklin Long that his contribution is fully appreciated at the highest places and to persuade him to stay at least one more year.

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

May 9, 1963

Jerome Wiesner
The White House
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Wiesner:

I now have Foster's O.K. to the participation of
Louis Henkin.

Preparations for the Angela Project have been moving
rather slowly in Washington, perhaps because I was too dis-
heartened to push them with vigor. Therefore, I have now
asked Roger Fisher, Professor of Law at Harvard, to act as
my deputy and take charge of all the preparations on the
American side.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

cc: Roger Fisher

Geneva, 1 July 1963

Dr Jerome Wiesner
The White House
Washington 25, D.C.
USA

Dear Wiesner,

I am writing from Geneva to confirm our last telephone conversation. I asked you to find out whether the President would be willing to designate someone, through whom the American participants in the Angels Project could communicate their conclusions to the White House, if the Russians were to agree to hold the discussions in August or September in Washington, D.C. There would be no need for this "observer" to attend the sessions, although it would be desirable that he sit in as an observer on a few occasions. If you or Kaysen were willing to fulfil this role this would be excellent. Naturally, we would accept anyone whom the President may designate.

I enclose copies of letters exchanged between Hudson Hoagland and President Kennedy. I also enclose the text of a cable which I have received from Herbert York, Chancellor of the University of California in La Jolla.

Foster's ruling that no employee of his Agency and no member of the Advisory Committee of his Agency may attend the sessions has made it difficult for us to assemble a group of American participants whose names would be recognized by the Russians as carrying substantial influence.

According to present plans the American participants in the Angels Project would be Murph Goldberger, Murray Gell-Mann, Roger Fisher of the Harvard Law School, Louis Henkin of the Law School of Columbia University (recommended by Franklin Long) and Steven Muller of Cornell University.

You will probably agree with me if I say that all of these are excellent men who have given considerable thought to the problem of disarmament, are adequately informed, and are "Angels" in the sense that they realize the need of giving up, if necessary, temporary advantages for the sake of making the United States more secure in the long run. Most of them have the imagination and resourcefulness which members of such a group must have. However, I believe you will also agree with me that the Russians might not recognize the names of any of them as carrying substantial influence. I am therefore at this point uncertain of whether or not we should go forward with this project and I propose to defer writing to Moscow until I receive your answer to this letter.

If, upon receiving your answer, we decide to go ahead, I would write to Moscow and propose to hold the discussions in Washington, D.C. in August or September of this year. This would make it possible for the American participants to have private conversations with Angels - junior grade - who are employed by the Government. The American participants would be asked to stay away from members of the Administration who are

in a decision-making position, in order to safeguard them against having their thinking influenced by what may or may not be currently acceptable to the Government.

I should greatly appreciate your sending me a cable after you have talked to the President, in order to advise me whether the President would designate someone through whom the American participants may individually communicate their conclusions to the White House. Please cable me c/o Weisskopf, CERN, Geneva.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Leo Szilard

ENCL.

cc: Carl Kaysen
Roger Fisher

Geneva, 27 July 1963

Dr Jerome Wiesner
The White House
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Wiesner,

On 15 July I wrote a letter to Chairman Khrushchev, to which I added a Postscript on 16 July. A copy of this Postscript and a copy of a message I sent to Kaysen in Moscow, through the US Mission in Geneva, are enclosed.

Enclosed also is a copy of a letter which I wrote today to Roger Fisher, reporting about the message I received from Kaysen and the text of my reply.

All this for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

Jerome Wiesner
The White House
Washington 25, D.C.

Geneva, 2nd August, 1963

Dear Wiesner,

Enclosed you will find, in the form of a letter written to Tamm and a letter written to Harrison Brown, my proposal for setting up a joint Russian-American operation in molecular biology. Enclosed is also the response which I have received from the National Academy.

Since I had no answer from Tamm, I sent him a telegram and he wrote me to say that my letter did not reach him. He also said that he is about to go to the mountains and that no business could be transacted in the summer-time.

He suggested that I raise the matter with officials of the Academy of the U.S.S.R. at the Dubrovnik meeting, September 20th - 25th.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

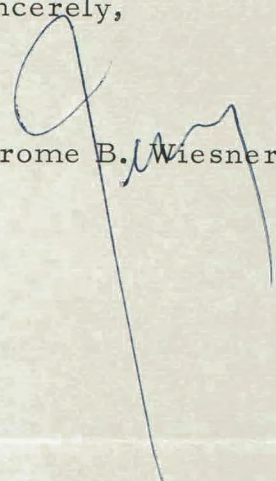
August 23, 1963

Dear Leo:

Thank you for your note on the proposal for a molecular biology center. I will be interested to hear what reaction you get in Dubrovnik.

Personally, I think that any such effort should be on a broad international basis rather than a bilateral one, but it would in any case be interesting to see how the Russians will respond.

Sincerely,



Jerome B. Wiesner

Dr. Leo Szilard
c/o Professor Victor Weisskopf
Director General
CERN
Geneva, Switzerland