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ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

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The Diary OF DR. DAVIS

Leo Szilard

These are the first seven entries of a volume called "The Diary of Dr. Davis," which was written after Dewey's nomination at the Philadelphia Convention in 1948 and before the presidential elections. Presumably, Dr. Szilard, like most other people, expected that Dewey would be elected. Leo Szilard, one of the pioneers in nuclear research, is Professor of Biophysics at the University of Chicago.

FOREWORD BY THE PUBLISHER MAY 1, 1980

THOSE who wish to read the *Diary* of Dr. Davis, the first chapters of which are presented in this popular edition, will want to know something about him, as well as the background of this curious document. It is probably true that no single person carries greater responsibility for the fact that the release of atomic energy occurred during the Second World War. Some people think that if it hadn't been for his researches, the advent of the Atomic Age might have been delayed for another ten years; but this view is disputed by others.

He was found unconscious on the twenty-first of June, the eve of the Republican Convention, in 1948; he did not regain consciousness for one week and spent the rest of his life in a private room in Billings Hospital, where he wrote his *Diary* over a period of TEN years. The doctors were unable to decide just what was wrong with him, if anything. There were two schools of thought which clashed for a number of years at almost every meeting of neurologists and psychiatrists. The one claimed that his condition was due to a brain concussion and that there was organic damage; whilst the other asserted equally positively that his was a purely functional or neurotic condition which was brought about by his pessimistic outlook on world affairs, coupled with his manifest sense of guilt.

This was one of those fruitless medical controversies which invariably disappear in the light of a subsequent dispassionate analysis of the facts. Today medical authorities agree, and the records leave no doubt, that there was some organic damage, whether caused

by concussion or otherwise; but it is equally clear from the records that such organic damage does not suffice to explain all the facts involved.

About two years after the accident he complained that daylight disturbed his eyes, and from then on until the end of his days, his shutters remained closed. But he had no complaint when shortly afterwards fluorescent lamps were installed in his room, although these have essentially the same spectral distribution as daylight. Today, this is considered as evidence that there was an important neurotic component involved in his condition.

He spent most of his day in bed reading, but about dinner time he arose every day and spent one or two hours writing and making entries in his *Diary*. He seemed to think that he was recording the day's events, but actually his entries seem to have had little connection with any of the actual happenings.

Though he refused to read any newspapers, and invariably evaded any discussion of world events with his visitors, somehow, subconsciously perhaps, he must have been aware of what was going on in the world. There are quite a number of indications of this fact, which puzzled the medical authorities of the time more than anything else connected with the case. One possible explanation, which has been put forward lately, is that there was a radio in one of the adjoining rooms which may have been audible, though exceedingly faintly, in his own room. Thus the regular morning broadcast may have registered on his mind, even though consciously he was not aware of it.

There was much in his behavior that indicated that he did, in fact, adjust to current events and that he keenly sensed

the approaching war. Soon after he had the daylight shut out, his "days" and "nights" began to be shorter and shorter, until finally he ended up living on a sixteen-hour cycle. In this way he managed to cover about fifteen years in his *Diary* in ten, but caused considerable inconvenience to his nurse, and to the hospital management, by asking for his meals at times that were certainly odd from the point of view of hospital routine.

Two weeks before the outbreak of the war he completed his *Diary* and asked that it be sent, together with some personal papers of his, to a friend in New Zealand. The first bomb of the war, which detonated over Stagg Field at Chicago, destroyed most of the buildings of the campus, including the Institute of Nuclear Studies and Billings Hospital. It is more likely than not that he perished with all the other patients of the hospital. Naturally, none of the bodies were ever identified in the general disorder.

Sidney Curtis, who figures so prominently in the *Diary*, was not a product of Dr. Davis' imagination. He was a friend who frequently visited Dr. Davis, and who, at one time or another, had in fact been Willkie's secretary. When the *Diary* was first published, many people believed, therefore, that it was a true record of Dr. Davis' conversations with Curtis, and that Curtis somehow managed to help him live in an imaginary world. A more careful analysis of the *Diary* seems, however, to indicate that in his conversations with Curtis, as with the rest of his visitors, Dr. Davis avoided talking about world events, and that what he recorded in his *Diary* were conversations that in fact never took place.

The *Diary* is a remarkable document in so far as it shows that all the suffer-

ing through which the world had to go, the Third World War, the Fourth World War, the forcible establishment of a World Government, and the present upheavals, could have been avoided if the statesmen had had as much insight into the problems of the world as the intelligentsia of those days seemed to have possessed. Dr. Davis was not a man of exceptionally great imagination; there is reason to believe that he did no more than to record the commonsense views of his more enlightened contemporaries. His somewhat clumsy style does not make the Diary easy reading, but the student of political ideas may be rewarded by a deeper understanding of modern political thought, which can be acquired only through the study of its forerunners.

FIRST ENTRY

The nurse brought a glass of orange juice to my bed. "A Mr. Curtis called before you were up," she said. "He will call again in an hour."

"I think I am going back to sleep," I said, "but please wake me up when he comes."

"Oh, yes," she said, "and Mr. Wendell Willkie called you on the telephone."

"Mr. Willkie?" I asked, somewhat astonished. "Has he not died?"

She gave me a queer look. "Well, he telephoned," she said, with an air of finality that did not permit of further questioning. I thought Willkie had died, but somehow I was not quite sure of it. It was only a week since my accident, and I still found it a little difficult to think. I shall ask Sidney about this when he gets here, I thought. He used to be Willkie's secretary at some time or another. For the moment, I only wanted to sleep.

* * *

"Mr. Curtis is here to see you," the nurse said.

"Sidney, sit down," I said. "There was something I wanted to ask you today, but somehow it slipped my mind."

"Did Willkie call you?" Sidney asked.

"Oh, yes!" I said, "That's what it was about."

"I told him of your accident," Sidney said, "and how worried you have been about the Republican nomination. He called to tell you that he got the nomination last night. I suppose you have heard."

"I am confused about this," I said. "I thought that Willkie had died. Everybody thought that Dewey would get the nomination."

"It was Thomas Lamont who died, Thomas Lamont, not Willkie," said Sidney. "Once he was Willkie's most

powerful supporter, but lately he turned against him. He died. You are still very weak from your accident; try to take it easy."

"How did it happen that Dewey lost out?" I asked.

"It was a surprise to all of us," Sidney said. "Incidentally," he said, "Willkie will call on you in the next day or two. He has some rather interesting ideas he wants to discuss with you."

"I do not know," I said, "but somehow I seem to have lost all interest in the affairs of this world since my accident. I do not want to see the newspapers, and I even had the radio taken out of the room. But there is no one I would like to see more than Mr. Willkie. I remember how he urged during the war that a settlement be reached with Russia while the war lasted, while we still had a common enemy. I always thought it was a great mistake not to follow his advice on this point. Many of our troubles, past and present, can be traced to this single mistake. Take the policy of unconditional surrender, for instance; it was wrong, and, besides, it prolonged the war. But what other policy could we have had since we hadn't arrived at any settlement with Russia?"

"I am not going to listen to this," said Sidney. "You must take it easy for a day or two. Why don't you go back to sleep now, and I shall be back soon."

SECOND ENTRY

I was dimly aware of someone having entered my room, and when I opened my eyes, Willkie was standing in the doorway. "The nurse told me you would be up very soon," he said. "I asked her not to wake you. I am glad to hear you are making progress."

"I am very happy to see you, Mr. Willkie," I said. "Have you started campaigning yet?"

"I won't start until September," he said. "I am going to spend the next two weeks in Moscow."

"Will you see Stalin?" I asked.

"Stalin, and some of the others," he said.

"But will such a visit at this time not endanger your campaign?" I asked.

"I do not know," Willkie said. "But by the time I may be elected it may be too late, you know."

"Do you think you will get anywhere with Stalin?" I asked.

"Not this time," Willkie said, "Not yet. This is a really tough situation. Some people seem to think the difficulties can be simply talked away; but I do not share this view. Take me, for instance. I certainly do not want war

with Russia, surely you know that; but at present Russia is a potential enemy, and if there is a war I want the United States to win it. I cannot yield on any point that would appreciably diminish our chances of winning."

"Is not Stalin in the same position?" I asked.

"Of course he is," Willkie said. "That is what makes the situation so tough. You know," he went on, "we should have known that this situation would arise after the war. You cannot have a balance of power if there are only two important military powers left over. Moreover, something new has come into the world with the atomic bomb. I do not mean the bomb only," he added, "but all that it stands for. Something new will have to be introduced into politics too if this is to end well." "Of course," he continued, "the situation would not be quite as bad as it is, if it were not for the mistakes of Yalta and Potsdam."

"Well," I said, "mistakes are always made, aren't they?"

"I knew you would say that," Willkie said, "and I accept it as far as Yalta goes; that is, if you don't quote me. But Potsdam was not so much a single mistake as a set of mistakes arising out of a basically wrong approach to the problem which faces the world today. Did you read Jimmy Byrnes' book?"

"Yes," I said, "I did."

"Well?" Willkie asked.

"You are battering open doors, Mr. Willkie, as far as Potsdam is concerned," I said. "But just what was it you meant with your remark about Yalta?"

"I do not believe," Willkie said, "that enduring peace can be based on appeasement."

"And just what do you mean by appeasement?" I asked.

"Appeasement," Willkie said, "is generosity at some other nation's expense. Compensating Poland at the expense of Germany was appeasement, and I think it was a very great mistake."

"Now that it is an accomplished fact, what do you propose to do about it?" I asked.

"I do not know," said Willkie, "I shall know more when I get back from Moscow."

"Mr. Willkie," I said, "suppose you do come to a settlement with Russia, and they do sign an agreement, what guarantees do we have that the Russians will not break it some time or another? Could the United Nations enforce such an agreement?"

"I am not thinking in those terms at all," said Willkie. "What I would

like to have at first is an agreement that would give both Russia and the United States the right to abrogate it at any time they wish. If the agreement is a good one, both we and Russia would want to renew it each year, even though we may have the right to abrogate it. I would not put my trust in any agreement on any other basis."

"You mean Russia would violate it if it no longer served her interests?" I asked.

"I am not so sure we wouldn't abrogate it either under certain circumstances," he said.

"Why," I said, "the United States, England, France, are different; they like to keep their agreements."

"Of course they like to keep them," said Willkie, "and up to a point they usually do. But if the consequences become too serious, they too manage somehow to wiggle out of them—or have you forgotten Munich?"

"I shall remember it as long as I live," I said. "But England did not break any agreement at Munich, even though France did."

"The thief or the fence," said Willkie, "what's the difference?" "Anyway," he added, "you had better take it easy now. I shall keep in touch with you through Sidney."

"Please do that," I said, "I have nothing to do all day but to think. Maybe I can think up something some time."

When he was gone I rang for the nurse. The light from the window was bothering me. I asked her to draw the curtains.

THIRD ENTRY

"Well," I said to Sidney, "how did Willkie make out in Moscow?"

"Not too well," said Sidney, "but what did you expect?"

"Is he satisfied?" I asked.

"I guess so," Sidney said. "He told me to tell you all about it."

"Well," I said, "what is there to tell?"

"Stalin listened very politely," said Sidney, "then he asked a few questions—quite pertinent questions, as a matter of fact—and then it was all over."

"What did Willkie tell him?" I asked.

"Willkie was very good, I think," Sidney said. "He told Stalin that if he is elected, his chief concern will be to try to create an orderly and prosperous world. He said that some way must be found to have a rapidly and steadily rising standard of living in Europe and in Russia. China and India are very important also, but they will



have to wait. He said that he would like to see Russia have an important stake in the economic reconstruction of Europe; and that he would like to see, above all, a strong and prosperous consumers' goods industry arise in Russia. He said that he thinks the productive capacity of the United States should in some way be mobilized to render assistance in this respect. He said he was thinking of economic aid to Russia in terms of five billion dollars a year for the next fifteen or twenty years; but that he did not think that this could be achieved by means of loans. He explained that he was thinking in terms of an international agency to be created, to which the wealthy nations would pay annually something like an income tax. Such an agency could then finance the expansion of the consumers' goods industry in Russia, as well as other economic measures necessary for the economic advancement of Europe. Russia would have no direct obligation to repay anything, but as her standard of living rose, she would automatically come under the income tax provisions and would have to begin to make payments to the Agency."

"Does Willkie think of a graduated income tax," I asked, "a tax based on the national per capita income?"

"He does," said Sidney. "He explained to Stalin that it will be very difficult to get Congress to agree to any such scheme as long as the people in the United States think that a war with Russia is possible, or even probable, because no nation wants to strengthen another nation which she thinks she might have to fight."

"'Mr. Stalin,' Willkie had said, 'you and I are in a difficult position. If we lived a thousand years ago, and if you were an emperor and I was a king, your son could marry my daughter and we could also exchange hostages. But as it is, what hostages can my country offer to you to convince you that we want to keep the peace? And what hostages can you offer to us?'"

"'Good,' said Stalin, coming alive for the first time, 'I shall think of hostages.'"

"'I want you to remember, Mr. Stalin,' Willkie said, 'that I am speaking only for myself. If I am elected there are certain things which, as President of the United States, are within my power to do. But I want you to understand how limited the powers of an American President are.'"

"'Mr. Willkie,' said Stalin, 'you are mistaken. We understand very well the limitations of the powers of the

President of the United States. Most of them are written into your Constitution. But you Americans don't seem to understand the limitations of my power.'

"I am here to listen to anything you may want to tell me about that,' Willkie said, 'but let me tell you this first: As President of the United States—if I am elected—I shall go as far as I can in the direction I indicated to you, and, if you are cooperative, I hope, with God's help, to carry the Congress and the people with me. At first this will be difficult; but if I am elected I shall at once recognize your claim to outside help for the economic reconstruction of your country; and I shall do this in the only way which is open to me. And this is what I propose to do:

"You have been asking at Yalta, and ever since, for ten billion dollars of reparations from Germany, payable in ten years from current production. This corresponds to one billion dollars worth of goods that your country would receive every year. I am going to recognize that you have such a claim, not in the amount of ten, but in the amount of thirty billion dollars, which corresponds to three billion dollars worth of goods per year. I know, of course, that German production capacity could not stand such a burden. It could not stand even the burden of one billion. And I know that in one way or another the burden will fall on the productive capacity of the United States. Just how that can be worked out, I cannot tell you at present; and this is as far as I propose to go at first, if elected.'

"What do you want in return?' Stalin asked.

"I do not know yet,' Willkie said, 'I shall let you know when I know.'

"This is a funny way of doing business, Mr. Willkie,' Stalin said.

"Mr. Stalin,' Willkie said, 'we shall have to do business in a funny way from now on or else we shall have war.'

"Is this all?" I asked.

"It is the gist of it," said Sidney.

"What about Germany?" I asked.

"They talked about it a little," Sidney said, "not very much. I have not had the transcript yet."

"Say," said Sidney, "there was one more thing that will amuse you. As Stalin walked Willkie to the door he suddenly said, 'When you were here in 1942, Mr. Willkie, we gave you some maps of the Soviet Union as a souvenir. I am told you gave those maps to the War College. Is that true?'"

"Yes' said Willkie, 'it is true. I have to apologize. I made a mistake.'

"Yes,' said Stalin with a smile. 'Perhaps it was a mistake—the maps were fake.'

"They are suspicious of us, aren't they?" I said.

"Yes," said Sidney, "and why shouldn't they be?"

When Sidney left I started to think about the problem of Germany. This was the toughest problem of all. That there will be a resurgence of virulent German nationalism is certain. Keeping Germany in poverty is no solution. Self-government, with controls imposed from abroad, is a monstrosity that is sure to fail. Four-Power government can not work as long as our men and the Russians disagree on almost all basic political concepts. I would have to think more about it, I thought, when my head got clearer.

FOURTH ENTRY

"Predetermined gradualism," I said to Sidney, "it is an ugly word."

"Can you think of a better one?" Sidney asked.

"Maybe I can," I said, "if you will first tell me what it means."

"You tell me first," Sidney said, "what you are doing these days."

"I am trying to think," I said.

"That's what Willkie is doing," said Sidney. "He is on his farm. Says he won't have any time to think after September, and so this is his last chance. He is trying to compress eight years of thinking into two months."

"Did he say that?" I asked.

"No," said Sidney, "but that's what he is doing. He tells me he is trying to map the road all the way from the present chaos to the establishment of a World Government."

"How many years does that road cover?" I asked.

"Fifty maybe," Sidney said.

"What is the use of doing that now, I asked, "when it is clear the Russians won't go along?"

"No one will ever go along," said Sidney, "unless we can tell them first where we are going."

"And what route we are taking," I said.

"Yes," said Sidney, "particularly what route we are taking."

"Willkie is no fool," Sidney continued. "He knows that you cannot have a world government without law-making powers, and that countries as different as the United States, England, and Russia are today, could not agree on how the laws should be made."

"No," I said, "today they couldn't."

"But Willkie thinks," Sidney said, "that as far as the next twenty or

thirty years go, they could perhaps agree as to what the laws should be, even though they cannot agree on how laws should be made."

"What laws?" I asked.

"Look here," said Sidney, "what is the most important thing in world government? Clearly, to fulfil certain functions. If we can agree with Russia and other nations what these functions should be in the next twenty-five years, we could then proceed to break them down in such a manner that each function could be carried out by a special agency."

"You mean each agency would have its function and its mode of operation defined by its Charter, with nothing left open for future determination by majority vote?"

"Yes," said Sidney. "This could not go on forever, of course, but it would have to go on until there is an accepted method for making world laws."

"Fifty years, maybe?" I asked.

"Yes," said Sidney, "by the end of that time a well-organized world community ought to be in existence, with most of the functions of a world government already exercised by a number of such agencies."

"You mean," I asked, "the scope of these agencies would expand during those fifty years?"

"Yes, of course," Sidney said.

"But how?" I asked. "Does that mean constant negotiations, constant bickering, constant uncertainty?"

"No," said Sidney, "it should not be done that way. Whatever has to be negotiated should be negotiated now, within the next few years; all the Charters agreed upon, and all of them tied together in one single package and made part of the general postwar settlement. The changes in the scope of the agencies would be themselves fixed by these Charters. In the case of each change, the time at which it goes into operation would be determined by some functional criterion."

"The point is this:" said Sidney, "We cannot have sudden changes without upsetting everything and everybody. The changes must be gradual, but we cannot leave them to future negotiations either. That would introduce too much uncertainty. People must be in a position to plan.

"So that is predetermined gradualism," I said.

"Yes," said Sidney. "Suppose we agreed that tariffs ought to be abolished—ultimately, I mean; we would write into the Settlement a clause prescribing that all existing tariffs would have to fall off per so much each year and, in this manner, vanish completely



in fifty years. No one would object very violently; everybody could adjust and plan ahead."

"Reminds me of Ed Shils," I said. "He proposed to solve the problem of the flag that way. This is the most difficult problem," I said, "the problem of the flag. According to Shils, if we agree to set up a World Government, a tiny corner of the flag should show the colors of the World Government. Each year this corner should grow a little, and in fifty years or so it could overgrow the whole cloth."

"I like this," said Sidney, "loyalty to a World Government will grow only slowly. Slowly only will it overgrow the national loyalties. The colors of the World Government could just keep pace with them on the cloth of the flag. "Say," Sidney asked, "could Willkie use this?"

"Go ahead," I said, "I am sure Shils won't mind, and the flag manufacturers should be delighted. What are your agencies?" I asked.

"They fall into three classes:" Sidney said: "economic advancement of the world, supervision of disarmament, migration and population changes. The most important long-range task," he continued, "is to bring about a change in the present pattern of loyalties. Without such a change, no World Government could operate in a satisfactory manner."

"And how do you think such a change can be brought about?" I asked.

"Not by preaching or propaganda," Sidney said, "but if these agencies will function as they should, by affecting our lives, they will affect our loyalties."

"All this is very interesting," I said, "but frankly, I cannot get too much

excited about the next fifty years. What worries me is the possibility that we may have a war within ten years. "Tell me," I said, "who will be Secretary of State if Willkie is elected?"

"I can't tell you that," said Sidney, "but this much I can say. It will be neither a lawyer nor a general."

"That leaves out John Foster Dulles," I said.

"It does," said Sidney.

FIFTH ENTRY

"The President wants to know what you think about this," said Sidney, holding a voluminous document in his hands.

"What is it?" I asked.

"A plan for the solution of the German problem," said Sidney.

"Who wrote it?" I asked. I must have sounded suspicious, because Sidney laughed.

"No one in the State Department," he said. "As a matter of fact, it contains quite an original idea."

"Is that an objection?" I asked.

"Not to my mind," Sidney said.

"Well," I said, "how was it produced?"

"Willkie wrote to Stalin," Sidney explained, "outlining a proposal for a German solution, within the framework of a United States of Europe, a sort of a World Government in miniature. The President proposed that a European Authority be set up with very limited powers at first, and that these powers be increased according to a predetermined schedule, so that in about twenty years the European Authority would have far-reaching powers, executive, judicial, and legislative."

"How did Stalin take it?" I asked.

"He did not take it at all," Sidney said. "Six hours after our Ambassador left the letter with Molotov, he was handed a letter from Stalin, addressed to the President. Stalin wrote that, while he had not yet had time to study the President's proposals, he wished to draw the President's attention to an interesting proposal made by Kutusov, which he enclosed."

"That, of course, does not bind Stalin at all," I said.

"No, it does not," said Sidney.

"Who is Kutusov?" I asked.

"He is a young Russian geneticist," Sidney said, "who has taken Lysenko's place. Lysenko died two years ago; you remember that, don't you?" As a matter of fact, I did not remember it at all. Lysenko was a nuisance, and he was dangerous. He had very nearly ruined Russian genetics; but I did not remember that he had died.

"What is Kutusov's plan?" I asked.

"This is his basic philosophy," Sidney said. "The German problem can be solved only within the framework of the problem of Europe. Europe is small. The countries in Europe are strongly interdependent, but the political organization of Europe does not so far take into account this interdependence. What we need is a political organization that does. What the German government does—if we allow a German government to exist—affects not only Germany; it also affects France, Belgium, and Holland; it affects all countries in Europe. Kutusov thinks we should have a German Government, responsible to a German Reichstag; but that only perhaps 55 per cent of its members should be elected by the German people, the rest should be elected by the French, the Belgians, the Dutch, and so on."

"Should these members themselves be French, Belgian, and Dutch, or should they be Germans elected by the French, Belgians, and Dutch?" I asked.

"Kutusov's plan is not specific on this point," said Sidney.

"Of course" I said, "all the Communists—German, French, and Belgian, will vote in the Reichstag like one bloc."

"Of course," said Sidney, "but that will not give them voting strength in the Reichstag in excess of their average voting strength in the whole of Europe."

"What does the President think?" I asked.

"There are certain features he likes," Sidney said. "The French and Polish Nationalists, they cannot vote in the Reichstag with the German National-

ists; they will have to vote with the German middle parties. The President thinks this may be a way to stabilize a majority of the middle parties in the Reichstag; if the German people elect only 55 per cent of the Reichstag, then, assuming proportional representation, the German Nationalists could not obtain a majority, even if they obtained almost 90 per cent of the German vote."

"So the President thinks 45 per cent of foreign representation is a guarantee against the German Nationalists capturing the German Government?" I asked.

"This figure is, of course, only tentative," said Sidney, "but the President is inclined to think it may be high enough."

"Kutusov thinks," Sidney continued, "that after a while the European countries which are given representation in the Reichstag ought to agree to have similar foreign representation in their own parliaments. Just a few per cent, to begin with; but within twenty years it shall gradually rise in predetermined steps, to reach about 30 per cent or so."

"So the Russians have now taken to Willkie's principle of predetermined gradualism?" I asked.

"It would seem so," Sidney said.

"How does Kutusov propose to get the French to agree to such a thing?" I asked. "Who is going to sell this to De Gaulle?"

"Kutusov proposes," Sidney went on, "that the Treaty setting up the German Constitution should provide a special clause. According to this clause, those European nations who, after ten years, still persist in refusing to admit foreign representation in their parliaments—as specified by the Treaty—shall lose their seats in the German Reichstag. Those seats would then go to the other participating nations."

"Do you think this will be enough pressure?" I asked.

"No," Sidney said, "I do not. Neither does the President. I shall tell you about his ideas later."

"What about the German police?" I asked.

"You would not expect the Russians to neglect this point, would you?" said Sidney. "Kutusov proposes that the German police be under the German Minister of the Interior, and that the Minister of the Interior be responsible, not to the Reichstag, but to a Special Committee of the Reichstag which has 30 per cent German and 70 per cent foreign representation. Clearly," said Sidney, "there would be no use in

setting up a Constitution in Germany unless one sets up a police force that will safeguard that Constitution."

"And how does the President propose to get the French to agree to admit foreign representation to their Parliament, however limited it may be, and even though it may not start until ten years hence?" I asked.

"You know his pet idea," Sidney said, "an agency for Economic Advancement, to which all wealthy nations would pay an income tax. The President thinks that if he can get the Russians to go along, and if the Agency is in fact set up, acceptance of foreign representation in Parliament might be made a prerequisite for admittance, as far as any of the nations of Europe are concerned."

"Sounds like extortion to me," I said.

"It is extortion," said Sidney.

"Well," I said, "does the President intend to send a favorable reply to Moscow?"

"No," said Sidney. "He suspects that Stalin is more sold on Kutusov's plan than it would appear. He wants to wait until Stalin presses him to accept, and on that occasion settle the problem of the Eastern frontier of Germany."

"But that's Poland, not Russia," I said.

"Of course," said Sidney, "but the President wants to make use of Stalin's good offices when he gets ready to approach Poland."

"What does he think he is going to propose to the Poles?" I asked.

"I believe he wants to propose a Treaty to Poland," Sidney said, "which will provide for the German-Polish frontier to be moved eastward by a five-mile strip every year, until after twenty years Germany would have again reached her pre-war boundaries. Poland would receive goods in the amount of half a billion dollars per year as compensation."

"And who would foot the bill?" I asked.

"I give you three guesses," Sidney said. "I know it will not be easy to put it through Congress," he went on, "but it would be worth fighting for, the President thinks. If the present German frontiers remain, there is bound to be a strong organized German *irredenta* movement, he thinks. The President doubts that Kutusov's scheme would be strong enough to prevent the Germans from fighting for their lost territory. But if Poland agrees to the President's proposal, such a militant nationalist movement could be avoided in Germany because—so the

President thinks—not even the Germans can be made to fight for territory which they know they are going to get anyway."

"Willkie comes himself of German stock, you know," Sidney said, "and he thinks he knows the Germans. 'If you want a peaceful Germany you must give the Germans something to live for,' he told me. He thinks the Kutusov Plan might make this possible."

SIXTH ENTRY

"You have been to Moscow again," I said to Sidney.

"Yes," he said.

"What were you doing there?" I asked.

"The President sent me," he said.

"We have received Intelligence reports that Stalin was suffering from a condition that might endanger his life, unless properly treated. No one in Washington knows who will take over if he dies. We are interested in the continuity of Russian policy. The President hoped I could persuade Stalin to consult Professor McCleod."

"Well," I said, "did you?"

"No," Sidney said, "I did not."

"What happened?" I asked.

"Well," Sidney said, "as soon as I was seated Stalin said: 'So the President is worried about my health?'"

"How the hell did he know?" I asked.

"They have Intelligence too," said Sidney.

"By the way," I said, "how is our Intelligence?"

"As lousy as lousy can be," said Sidney.

"Why does the President not appoint Donovan?" I said. "Some people dislike him, but I sort of have a soft spot for him."

"I know you have," Sidney said, "and at least he is not a horse's ass, like General Weberhans. As a matter of fact, the President mentioned Donovan as a possibility the other day."

"Sorry to have interrupted you," I said. "What else did Stalin say?"

"He said," Sidney went on, "that he could not possibly accept. 'Because,' he said, 'either I get well, then people will say the Americans have kept me alive because I am playing their game; or I die, and then the same people will say that the American doctor killed me.'"

"Did Stalin really think that Willkie might want to kill him?" I asked.

"No," Sidney said, "he seems to trust Willkie now."

"Was this your only business?" I asked.

"Oh, no!" Sidney said. "The President sent me because he is worried about the indifference of the Russians toward all his proposals concerning economic aid to Russia. Stalin was quite frank about this point," Sidney said. "This is how the conversation went:

"At the time of Potsdam,' Stalin said, 'we needed economic aid very badly. One billion dollars per year would have meant much more to us than five billion per year would mean today. We are still interested in economic aid, but we are more interested in the stability of our economy than in the absolute level of our national consumption. Can you guarantee us stability?'

"Well,' I said, 'The President had many consultations with economists lately and it seems that we could pay an income tax of fifteen billion dollars per year to an Agency for Economic Advancement, if such an agency were set up; but we could do so only in times of depression. In boom times, we could pay, at most, half of this amount.'

"Sounds paradoxical, doesn't it' said Stalin. 'Of course I know what you mean. But how is the President going to sell this to Congress? The Democratic leadership—they *ought* to understand this; but they will vote against him anyway because he is a Republican. And if the President can sell this to the Republican leadership, 'I shall eat my hat,' as the Russian saying goes.'

"Maybe you will have to eat your hat, Mr. Stalin,' I said; it was the best I could think of saying at the moment."

"All right,' Stalin said, 'let us suppose that this Congress goes along. But what about the next Congress? And suppose we make a treaty and set up an Agency for Economic Advancement; where is the money to come from if the next time the House refuses to appropriate it?'

"Perhaps we would have to amend the Constitution,' I said.

"How long would that take?' asked Stalin.

"It will not go very fast,' I said.

"All right,' said Stalin, 'let us dream a little longer. Suppose we agree to go along, to take five billion dollars worth of goods every year, and thus help you to stabilize your economy, what do you offer us in return, and what guarantees can you give us that you will not suddenly refuse to pay your tax?'

"Once this system operates,' I said, 'and our economy is geared to the ex-

port surplus which this system entails, how could we jump off the wagon without precipitating the most frightful economic crisis in the history of the United States?'

"That is, of course, true,' Stalin said, 'and once our economy is geared to it, we cannot jump off the wagon either; is *this* what you want? Do you want to *trap* us?'

"Hostages, Mr. Stalin,' I said, 'the President tells me you have liked the idea of hostages.'

"Perhaps I do like it,' Stalin said. 'I shall talk this over with Molotov. But do not expect us to move fast.'

"We cannot move fast either,' I said."

* * *

"This is not too bad, Sidney,' I said. "Or is it?'"

"No," said Sidney, "it is not bad at all."

SEVENTH ENTRY

This is the account Sidney gave me of his latest trip to Moscow.

"Mr. Curtis,' Stalin said, 'Don't you think this is funny. You made the bomb. You have quantities of it, and you make what you call a generous offer to do away with atomic bombs altogether. And we do not jump at your offer. And instead of just shrugging your shoulders about our stupidity you start to holler as if *we* had invented the bomb, and as if *we* had built up a large stockpile of it.'

"Mr. Stalin,' I said, 'We do not understand why you don't accept our offer.'

"Don't you?' Stalin said, 'No? You really don't? Just think for a minute, Mr. Curtis. Suppose there are no atomic bombs; you don't have them, and we don't have them. But you will still have your Navy and your long-range bombers and your fighters and your tank factories. What use are they? They are useful in war. And if there is a war, you will use them to carry the war to Europe and to our territory. We cannot carry the war to your country with long-range bombers and TNT bombs—not on any scale that would be significant. We are not rich enough to afford millions and millions of tons of TNT and thousands and thousands of long-range bombers. No, Mr. Curtis,' Stalin went on, 'doing away with atomic bombs would not necessarily make for peace. The Russian people, if they think of war, think of the devastation of their land, of cities destroyed, of crops

burned. They do not want war. The American people, when they think of war, think of soldiers who are sent abroad; some of them may not come back, but life at home goes on as before. We read your Gallup Polls too, you know. Your people do not say that they want war. They only say they think there will be one. Maybe they do not want war, but they do not mind it very much if there is one. If we cannot have general disarmament, maybe Russia is better off if there are atomic bombs; for if war means that New York and Washington, Boston and San Francisco, Los Angeles and Seattle, will be in ruins, maybe your people will think it worth a serious effort to avoid war.'

"He did not mention Chicago?" I asked.

"He did not," said Sidney.

"What does the President think," I asked.

"He thinks Russia will not accept atomic disarmament without general disarmament," said Sidney.

"But if we have general disarmament," I said, "and peace breaks down before we could rearm, then Russian infantry could overrun France, Holland and Belgium; it could overrun Sweden and Norway."

"Well," said Sidney, "if war broke out today we could not protect any of these countries. If they resisted they would be utterly destroyed. Would it help them much that ultimately we would win the war?" "And England," Sidney continued, "Russia could knock England out of the war just by using V-2 rockets. One fourth of the English live in London alone. And what about Manchester, Liverpool and the rest of the cities?"

"I do not know about that," I said, "I am not a military expert. But what will preserve the peace if militarily Europe is at the mercy of Russia?"

"We need to create a situation," Sidney said, "where continued cooperation becomes essential for Russia. Incentives" said Sidney, "incentives, not punishment, is the key to the solution. You cannot organize a world community on the basis of fear of punishment alone. If Russia has an important stake in a well-functioning European economy, she will be strongly interested in maintaining European stability. Once a settlement is reached, why should she want to invade any country in Europe, upset everything, and risk ultimate defeat in war? We have to build an organized world community," said Sidney. "There is no other answer to your question."

THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

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THE DIARY OF DR. DAVIS

by

LEO SZILARD

Foreword of the Publisher
May 1, 1980

Those who wish to read the diary of Dr. Davis, the first volume of which is presented in this popular edition, will want to know something about him, as well as the background of this curious document. It is probably true that no single person carries greater responsibility for the fact that the release of atomic energy occurred during the Second World War. Some people think that, had it not been for his researches, the advent of the Atomic Age might have been delayed for another ten years; but this view is disputed by others.

He was found unconscious on the 21st of June, the eve of the Republican Convention, in 1948; he did not regain consciousness for one week, and spent the rest of his life in a private room in Billings Hospital, where he wrote his Diary over a period of ten years. The doctors were unable to decide just what was wrong with him, if anything. There were two schools of thought which clashed for a number of years at almost every meeting of neurologists and psychiatrists. The one claimed that his condition was due to a brain concussion and that there was organic damage; whilst the other asserted equally positively that his was a purely functional or neurotic condition which was brought about by his pessimistic outlook on world affairs, coupled with his manifest sense of guilt.

This was one of those fruitless medical controversies which invariably disappear in the light of a subsequent dispassionate analysis of the facts. Today

medical authorities agree, and the records leave no doubt, that there was some organic damage, whether caused by concussion or otherwise; but it is equally clear from the records that such organic damage does not suffice to explain all the facts involved.

About two years after the accident he complained that daylight disturbed his eyes, and from then on until the end of his days, his shutters remained closed. But he had no complaints when shortly afterwards fluorescent lamps were installed in his room, although these have essentially the same spectral distribution as daylight. Today, this is considered as evidence that there was an important neurotic component involved in his condition.

He spent most of his day in bed reading, but about dinnertime he arose every day and spent one or two hours writing and making entries in his "Diary." He seemed to think that he was recording the day's events, but actually his entries seem to have had little connection with any of the actual happenings. *real*

Though he refused to read any newspapers, and invariably evaded any discussion of world events with his visitors, somehow, subconsciously perhaps, he must have been aware of what was going on in the world. There are quite a number of indications of this fact, which puzzled the medical authorities of the time more than anything else connected with his case. The only possible explanation, which has been put forward lately, is that there was a radio in one of the adjoining rooms which may have been audible, though exceedingly faintly, in his own room. Thus the regular morning broadcast may have registered subconsciously on his mind, even though he was not consciously aware of it.

There ~~was~~ ^{is} much in his behavior that indicated that he did in fact adjust to current events, and that he keenly sensed the approaching war. Soon after he had the daylight shut out, his "days" and "nights" began to be shorter

and shorter, until finally he ended up living on a sixteen hour cycle. In this way he managed to cover about fifteen years in his Diary in ten, but caused considerable inconvenience to his nurse, and to the hospital management, by asking for his meals at times that were certainly odd from the point of view of hospital routine.

Two weeks before the outbreak of the war he completed his Diary and asked that it be sent, together with some personal papers of his, to a friend in New Zealand. The first bomb of the war, which detonated over Stag Field, destroyed most of the buildings of the campus, including the Institute for Nuclear Studies and Billings Hospital. It is more likely than not that he perished with all the other patients of the hospital. Naturally, none of the bodies were ever identified in the general disorder.

The "Diary" is a truly remarkable document, inasmuch as it shows that all the suffering through which the world had to go, the Third World War, the Fourth World War, the forcible establishment of a World Government, and the present upheavals, could have been avoided if the statesmen had had as much insight into the problems of the world as the intelligentsia of those days seemed to have possessed. Dr. Davis was not a man of exceptionally great imagination, though he may have possessed more imagination than many of his colleagues who were considered atomic experts and had highly salaried positions in the various atomic projects of the Government. There is reason to believe that Dr. Davis did no more than to record the commonsense views of his more enlightened contemporaries. His somewhat clumsy style does not make for easy reading of the "Diary," but the student of political ideas may be rewarded by a deeper understanding of modern political thought, which can be acquired only through the study of its forerunners.

First Entry

The nurse brought a glass of orange juice to my bed. "A Mr. Curtis called before you were up," she said. "He will call again in an hour."

"I think I am going back to sleep," I said, "but please wake me up when he comes."

"Oh, yes," she said, "and Mr. Wendell Willkie called you on the telephone."

"Mr. Willkie?" I asked, somewhat astonished. "Had he not died?"

She gave me a queer look. "Well, he telephoned," she said, with an air of finality that did not permit of further questioning. I thought Willkie had died, but somehow I was not quite sure of it. It was only a week since my accident, and I still found it a little difficult to think. I shall ask Sidney about this when he gets here, I thought. He used to be Willkie's secretary at some time or another. For the moment, I only wanted to sleep.

.....

"Mr. Curtis is here to see you," the nurse said.

"Sidney, sit down," I said. "There was something I wanted to ask you today, but somehow it slipped my mind."

"Did Willkie call you?" Sidney asked.

"Oh, yes!" I said, "That's what it was about."

"I told him of your accident," Sidney said, "and how worried you have been about the Republican nomination. He called to tell you that he got the nomination last night. I suppose you have heard."

"I am confused about this," I said, "I thought that Willkie had died. Everybody thought that Dewey would get the nomination."

(First entry)

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"It was Thomas Lamont who had died, Thomas Lamont, not Willkie," said Sidney. "Once he was Willkie's most powerful supporter but lately he turned against him. He died. You are still very weak from your accident, try to take it easy."

"How did it happen that Dewey lost out?" I asked.

"It was a surprise to all of us," Sidney said. "Incidentally," he said, "Willkie will call on you in the next day or two. He has some rather interesting ideas he wants to discuss with you."

X
"I do not know," I said, "but somehow I seem to have lost all interest in the affairs of ^{the} this world since my accident. I do not want to see the newspapers, and I even had the radio taken out of the room. But there is no one I would like to see more than Mr. Willkie. I remember how he had urged during the War that a settlement be reached with Russia while the War lasted, while we still had a common enemy. I always thought it was a great mistake not to follow his advice on this point. Much of our troubles, past and present, can be traced to this single mistake. Take the policy of unconditional surrender, for instance; it was wrong, and besides, it prolonged the war. But what other policy could we have had if we hadn't arrived at any settlement with Russia?"

"I am not going to listen to this," said Sidney. "You must take it easy for a day or two. Why don't you go back to sleep now, and I shall be back soon."

Second Entry

I was dimly aware of someone having entered my room, and when I opened my eyes, Willkie was standing in the doorway. "The nurse told me you would be up very soon," he said. "I asked her not to wake you. I am glad to hear you are making progress."

"I am very happy to see you, Mr. Willkie," I said. "Have you started campaigning yet?"

"I won't start until September," he said. "I am going to spend the next two weeks in Moscow."

"Will you see Stalin?" I asked.

"Stalin, and some of the others," he said.

"But will such a visit at this time not endanger your campaign?" I asked.

"I do not know," Willkie said. "But by the time I may be elected it may be too late, you know."

"Do you think you will get anywhere with Stalin?" I asked.

"Not this time," Willkie said, "Not yet. This is a really tough situation. Some people seem to think the difficulties can be simply talked away; but I do not share this view. Take me, for instance. I certainly do not want war with Russia, surely you know that; but at present Russia is a potential enemy, and if there is a war I want the United States to win it. I cannot yield on any point that would appreciably diminish our chances to win."

"Is not Stalin in the same position?" I asked.

"Of course he is," Willkie said - "That is what makes the situation so tough. You know" - he went on - "we should have known that this situation would arise after the war. You cannot have a balance of power if there are only

two important military powers left over. Moreover, something new has come in-
to the world with the atomic bomb. I do not mean the bomb only," - he added
- "but all that it stands for. Something new will have to be introduced into
politics too if this is to end well." "Of course," - he continued - "the
situation would not be quite as bad as it is, if it were not for the mistakes
of Yalta and Potsdam."

"Well," - I said - "mistakes are always made, aren't they?"

"I knew you would say that," - Willkie said - "and I accept it as
far as Yalta goes - that is, if you don't quote me. But Potsdam was not so
much a single mistake as a set of mistakes arising out of a basically wrong
approach to the problem which faces the world today. Did you read Jimmy Byrnes'
book?"

"Yes," - I said - "I did."

"Well?" Willkie asked.

"You are battering open doors, Mr. Willkie, as far as Potsdam is
concerned," - I said. - "But just what was it you meant with your remark about
Yalta?"

"I do not believe," - Willkie said - "that enduring peace can be
based on appeasement."

"And just what do you mean by appeasement?" I asked.

"Appeasement," - Willkie said - "is generosity at some other nation's
expense. Compensating Poland at the expense of Germany was appeasement, and
I think it was a very great mistake."

"Now that it is an accomplished fact, what do you propose to do about
it?" I asked.

"I do not know," - said Willkie - "I shall know more when I get back
from Moscow."

"Mr. Willkie," - I said - "suppose ^{me} you do come to a settlement with ^{me}
Russia, and they do sign an agreement, what guarantees do we have that the

Russians will not break it some time or another? Could the United Nations enforce such an agreement?"

"I am not thinking in those terms at all," - said Willkie. -
"What I would like to have at first is an agreement that would give both Russia and the United States the right to abrogate it at any time they wish. If the agreement is a good one, both we and Russia would want to renew it each year, even though we may have the right to abrogate it. I would not put my trust in any agreement on any other basis." X

"You mean Russia would violate it if it no longer served her interests?" I asked.

"I am not so sure we wouldn't abrogate it either under certain circumstances," he said.

"Why," - I said - "the United States, England, France, are different; they like to keep their agreements."

"Of course they like to keep them," - said Willkie - "and up to a point they usually do. But if the consequences become too serious they too manage somehow to wiggle out of them - or have you forgotten Munich?"

I wish I could
"I shall remember it as long as I live," I said. "But England did not break any agreement at Munich, even though France did." X

"The thief or the fence," - said Willkie - "What's the difference? Anyway," he added, "you had better take it easy now. I shall keep in touch with you through Sidney."

"Please do that," - I said - "I have nothing to do all day but to think. Maybe I can think up something some time."

When he was gone I rang for the nurse. The light from the window was bothering me. I asked her to draw the curtains.

Third Entry

"Well," - I said to Sidney - "how did Willkie make out in Moscow?"

"Not too well," - said Sidney - "but what did you expect?"

"Is he satisfied?" - I asked.

"I guess so," - Sidney said. - "He told me to tell you all about it."

"Well," - I said - "what is there to tell?"

"Stalin listened very politely," - said Sidney - "then he asked a few questions - quite pertinent questions, as a matter of fact - and then it was all over."

"What did Willkie tell him?" I asked.

"Willkie was very good, I think," - Sidney said - "He told Stalin that if he is elected his chief concern will be to try to create an orderly and prosperous world. He said that some way must be found to have a rapidly and steadily rising standard of living in Europe and in Russia. China and India are very important also, but they will have to wait. He said that he would like to see Russia have an important stake in the economic reconstruction of Europe; and that he would like to see above all a strong and prosperous consumers' goods industry arise in Russia. He said that he thinks the productive capacity of the United States should in some way be mobilized to render assistance in this respect. He said he was thinking of economic aid to Russia in terms of five billion dollars a year for the next fifteen or twenty years; but that he did not think that this could be achieved by means of loans. He explained that he was thinking in terms of an international agency to be created, to which the wealthy nations would pay annually something like an income tax. Such an agency could then finance the expansion of the consumers' goods industry in Russia, as well as other economic measures necessary for the economic advancement of Europe. Russia would have no direct obligation to repay anything, but as her standard of living rose, she would automatically come

under the income tax provisions and would have to begin to make payments to the Agency."

"Does Willkie think of a graduated income tax," - I asked - "a tax based on the national per capita income?"

"He does" - said Sidney - "He explained to Stalin that it will be very difficult to get Congress to agree to any such scheme as long as the people in the United States thought that a war with Russia was possible, or even probable, because no nation wants to strengthen another nation which she thinks she might have to fight."

"Mr. Stalin," - Willkie had said - "you and I are in a difficult position. If we lived a thousand years ago, and if you were an emperor and I was a king, your son could marry my daughter and we could also exchange hostages. But as it is, what hostages can my country offer to you to convince you that we want to keep the peace? And what hostages can you offer to us?"

"Good," - said Stalin - coming alive for the first time. - "I shall think of hostages."

"I want you to understand, Mr. Stalin," - Willkie said - "that I am speaking only for myself. If I am elected there are certain things which, as President of the United States, are within my power to do. But I want you to understand how limited the powers of an American President are."

"Mr. Willkie," - said Stalin - "you are mistaken. We understand very well the limitations of the powers of the President of the United States. Most of them are written into your Constitution. But you Americans don't seem to understand the limitations of my power."

"I am here to listen to anything you may want to tell me about that," - Willkie said - "but let me tell you this first: As President of the United States - if I am elected - I shall go as far as I can in the direction I indicated to you, and if you are cooperative I hope, with God's help, to carry the

(Third entry)

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Congress and the people with me. At first this will be difficult; but if I am elected I shall at once recognize your claim to outside help for the economic reconstruction of your country; and I shall do this in the only way which is open to me. And this is what I propose to do:"

"You have been asking at Yalta, and ever since, for ten billion dollars of reparations from Germany, payable in ten years from current production. This corresponds to one billion dollars worth of goods that your country would receive every year. I am going to recognize that you have such a claim, not in the amount of ten, but in the amount of thirty billion dollars, which corresponds to three billion dollars worth of goods per year. I know, of course, that German production capacity could not stand such a burden. It could not stand even the burden of one billion. And I know that in one way or another the burden will fall on the productive capacity of the United States. Just how that can be worked out, I cannot tell you at present; and this is as far as I propose to go at first, if elected."

"What do you want in return?" Stalin asked.

"I do not know yet," - Willkie said - "I shall let you know when I know."

"This is a funny way of doing business, Mr. Willkie," Stalin said.

"Mr. Stalin," - Willkie said - "we shall have to do business in a funny way from now on or else we shall have war."

"Is this all?" I asked.

"It is the gist of it," said Sidney.

"What about Germany?" I asked.

"They talked about it a little" - Sidney said - "not very much. I have not gotten the transcript yet."

"Say," - said Sidney - "there was one more thing that will amuse you."

(Third entry)

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As Stalin walked Willkie to the door he suddenly said, 'When you were here in 1942, Mr. Willkie, we gave you some maps of the Soviet Union as a souvenir. I am told you gave those maps to the War College. Is that true?'

"Yes," - said Willkie - 'it is true. I have to apologize. I made a mistake.'

"Yes," - said Stalin with a smile. - 'Perhaps it was a mistake - the maps were fake.'

"They are suspicious of us, aren't they?" I said.

"Yes," - said Sidney - "and why shouldn't they be?"

When Sidney left I started to think about the problem of Germany. This was the toughest problem of all. That there will be a resurgence of virulent German nationalism was certain. Keeping Germany in poverty was no solution. Self-government, with controls imposed from abroad, was a monstrosity that was sure to fail. Four-Power government could not work as long as our men and the Russians disagreed on almost all basic political concepts. I would have to think more about it, I thought, when my head got clearer.

Fourth Entry

"Predetermined gradualism," - I said to Sidney - "it is an ugly word."

"Can you think of a better one?" Sidney asked.

"Maybe I can," - I said - "if you will first tell me what it means."

"You tell me first," - Sidney said - "what you are doing these days."

"I am trying to think," I said.

"That's what Willkie is doing," - said Sidney. "He is on his farm. Says he won't have any time to think after September, and so this is his last chance. He is trying to compress eight years of thinking into two months."

"Did he say that?" I asked.

"No" - said Sidney - "but that's what he is doing. He tells me he is trying to map the road all the way from the present chaos to the establishment of a World Government."

"How many years does that road cover?" I asked.

"Fifty maybe," Sidney said.

"What is the use of doing that now?" - I asked - "when it is clear the Russians won't go along?"

"No one will ever go along," - said Sidney - "unless we can tell them first where we are going."

"And what route we are taking," - I said.

"Yes," - said Sidney, - "particularly what route we are taking."

"Willkie is no fool," - Sidney continued - "He knows that you cannot have a world government without law-making powers, and that countries as different as the United States, England and Russia are today, could not agree on how the laws should be made."

"No" - I said - "today they couldn't."

"But Willkie thinks," - Sidney said - "that as far as the next twenty or thirty years go, they could perhaps agree as to what the laws should be, even

that
though they cannot agree on how laws should be made." *X*

"What laws?" I asked.

"Look here," said Sidney, "what is the most important thing in world government? Clearly, to fulfill certain functions. If we can agree with Russia and other nations what these functions should be in the next twenty-five years, we could then proceed to break them down in such a manner that they could be carried out by a number of special agencies."

"You mean each agency would have its function and its mode of operation defined by its Charter, with nothing left open for future modification by majority vote?"

"Yes," - said Sidney - "this could not go on forever, of course, but it would have to go on until there is an accepted method for making world laws."

"Fifty years, maybe?" I asked.

"Yes," - said Sidney - "by the end of that time a well organized world community ought to be in existence, with most of the functions of a World Government already exercised by a number of such agencies."

"You mean," - I asked - "the scope of these agencies would expand during those fifty years?"

"Yes, of course," Sidney said.

"But how?" - I asked - "Does that not mean constant negotiations, constant bickering, constant uncertainty?"

"No" - said Sidney - "it should not be done that way. Whatever has to be negotiated should be negotiated now, within the next few years; all the Charters agreed upon, and all of them tied together in one single package and be made part of the general post war settlement. The ^{subsequent} changes in the scope of the agencies would be themselves fixed by these Charters. In the case of each change, the time at which it goes into operation would be either fixed by date or would be determined by some functional criterion." *✓*

"The point is this," - said Sidney - "We cannot have sudden changes without upsetting everything and everybody. The changes must be gradual, but we cannot leave them to future negotiations either. That would introduce too much uncertainty. People must be in a position to plan."

"So that is predetermined gradualism," I said.

"Yes," said Sidney - "Suppose we agreed that tariffs ought to be abolished - ultimately, I mean; we would write into the Settlement a clause prescribing that all existing tariffs would have to fall off per so much each year and in this manner vanish completely in fifty years. No one would object very violently; everybody could adjust and plan ahead."

"Reminds me of Ed Shils," - I said. "He proposed to solve the problem of the flag that way. This is the most difficult problem" - I said - "the problem of the flag. According to Shils, if we agree to set up a World Government, a tiny corner of the flag should show the colors of the World Government. Each year this corner ~~sh~~ould grow a little, and in fifty years or so it ~~w~~ould overgrow the whole cloth." X

"I like this," - said Sidney - "loyalty to a World Government will grow only slowly. Slowly only will it overgrow the national loyalties. The colors of the World Government could just keep pace with ~~them~~ on the cloth of the flag. Say," - Sidney asked - "could Willkie use this?" X

"Go ahead," - I said - "I am sure Shils won't mind, and the flag manufacturers should be delighted." "What are your Agencies?" I asked.

"They fall into three classes," - Sidney said: - "Economic advancement of the world, supervision of disarmament, migration and population changes." X
" // The most important long-range task," - Sidney continued - "is to bring about a change in the present pattern of loyalties. Without such a change no World Government could operate in a satisfactory manner."

"And how do you think such a change can be brought about?" I asked.

(Fourth entry)

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"Not by preaching or propaganda," - Sidney said - "but if these agencies will function as they should, by affecting our lives, they will affect our loyalties."

"All this is very interesting," - I said - "but frankly, I cannot get too much excited about the next fifty years. What worries me is the possibility that we may have a war within ten years. Tell me," - I said - "who will be Secretary of State if Willkie is elected?"

~~"Can you keep a secret?" Sidney asked.~~

~~"Yes, I can," I said.~~

"I am not free to say"

"So can I," - said Sidney. "But this much I can tell you," - he added - "it will be neither a lawyer nor a general."

"That leaves out John Foster Dulles," I said.

"It does," - said Sidney.

Fifth Entry

"The President wants to know what you think about this," said Sidney, holding a voluminous document in his hands.

"What is it?" I asked.

"A plan for the solution of the German problem," said Sidney.

"Who wrote it?" I asked. I must have sounded suspicious, because Sidney laughed.)

"No one in the State Department," he said. "As a matter of fact, it contains quite an original idea."

"Is that an objection?" I asked.

"Not to my mind," Sidney said.

"Well," - I said - "how was it produced?"

"Willkie wrote to Stalin" - Sidney explained - "outlining a proposal for a German solution, within the framework of a United States of Europe, a sort of a World Government in miniature. The President proposed that a European Authority be set up with very limited powers at first, and that these powers be increased according to a predetermined schedule, so that in about twenty years the European Authority would have far-reaching powers, executive, judicial, and legislative."

"How did Stalin take it?" I asked.

"He did not take it at all," - Sidney said - "Six hours after our Ambassador left the letter with Molotov, he was handed a letter from Stalin, addressed to the President. Stalin wrote that, while he had not yet had time to study the President's proposals, he wished to draw the President's attention to an interesting proposal made by Kutusov, which he enclosed."

"That, of course, does not bind Stalin at all," I said.

"No, it does not," said Sidney.

"Who is Kutusov?" I asked.

"He is a young Russian geneticist," - Sidney said - "who has taken Lysenko's place. Lysenko died two years ago, you remember that, don't you?" As a matter of fact, I did not remember it at all. Lysenko was a nuisance, and he was dangerous. He had pretty nearly ruined Russian genetics; but I did not remember that he had died.

"What is Kutusov's plan?" I asked.

"This is his basic philosophy," Sidney said. "The German problem can be solved only within the framework of the problem of Europe. Europe is small. The countries in Europe are strongly interdependent, but the political organization of Europe does not so far take into account this interdependence. What we need is a political organization that does. What the German government does - if we allow a German government to exist - affects not only Germany; it also affects France, Belgium and Holland; - it affects all countries in Europe. Kutusov thinks we should have a German Government, responsible to a German Reichstag; but only perhaps fifty-five per cent of its members should be elected by the German people, the rest should be elected by the French, the Belgians, the Dutch, and so on."

"Should these members themselves be French, Belgian and Dutch, or should they be Germans elected by the French, Belgians and Dutch?" I asked.

"Kutusov's plan is not specific on this point," said Sidney.

"Of course," - I said - "all the Communists, Germans, French and Belgians will vote in the Reichstag like one bloc."

"Of course," - said Sidney - "but that will not give them voting strength in the Reichstag in excess of their average voting strength in the whole of Europe."

"What does the President think?" I asked.

"There are certain features he likes," - Sidney said - "The French and Polish Nationalists, they cannot vote in the Reichstag with the German Nation-

alists; they will have to vote with the German middle parties. The President thinks this may be a way to stabilize a majority of the middle parties in the Reichstag; if the German people elect only fifty-five per cent of the Reichstag, then, assuming proportional representation, the German Nationalists could not obtain a majority, even if they obtained almost ninety per cent of the German vote."

"So the President thinks forty-five per cent of foreign representation is a guarantee against the German Nationalists capturing the German Government?" I asked.

"This figure is, of course, only tentative," - said Sidney - "but the President is inclined to think it may be high enough."

"Kutusov thinks," - Sidney continued - "that after a while the European countries which are given representation in the Reichstag ought to agree to have similar foreign representation in their own parliaments. Just a few per cent, to begin with; but within twenty years it shall gradually rise in predetermined steps, to reach about thirty per cent or so."

"So the Russians have now taken to Willkie's principle of predetermined gradualism?" I asked.

"It would seem so," - Sidney said.

"How does Kutusov propose to get the French to agree to such a thing?" I asked. "Who is going to sell this to De Gaulle?"

"Kutusov proposes," - Sidney went on - "that the Treaty setting up the German Constitution should provide a special clause. According to this clause, those European nations who, after ten years, still persist in refusing to admit foreign representation in their Parliaments - as specified by the Treaty - shall lose their seats in the German Reichstag. Those seats would then go to the other participating nations."

(Fifth entry)

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"Do you think this will be enough pressure?" I asked.

"No," - Sidney said - "I do not. Neither does the President. I shall tell you about his ideas later."

"What about the German police?" I asked.

"You would not expect the Russians to neglect this point, would you?" - said Sidney. "Kutusev proposes that the German police be under the German Minister of Interior, and that the Minister of the Interior be responsible, not to the Reichstag, but to a Special Committee of the Reichstag which has thirty percent German and seventy per cent foreign representation. Clearly," - said Sidney - "there ^{is} ~~would be~~ no use in setting up a Constitution in Germany ~~unless~~ ^{if one sets up} ~~one sets up~~ a police force that ~~will~~ ^{will} (safeguard that Constitution."

"And how does the President propose to get the French to agree to admit foreign representation to their Parliament, however limited it may be, and even though it may not start until ten years hence?" I asked.

"You know his pet idea," - Sidney said - "an Agency for Economic Advancement, to which all wealthy nations would pay an income tax. The President thinks that if he can get the Russians to go along, and if the Agency is in fact set up, acceptance of foreign representation in Parliament might be made a prerequisite for admittance, as far as any of the nations of Europe are concerned."

"Sounds like extortion to me," I said.

"It is extortion," said Sidney.

"Well," - I said - "does the President intend to send a favorable reply to Moscow?"

"No," - said Sidney - "He suspects that Stalin is more sold on Kutusev's plan than it would appear. He wants to wait until Stalin presses him to accept, and on that occasion settle the problem of the Eastern frontier of Germany."

"But that's Poland, not Russia," I said.

"Of course," - said Sidney - "but the President wants to make use of Stalin's good offices when he gets ready to approach Poland."

"What does he think he is going to propose to the Poles?" I asked.

"I believe he wants to propose a treaty to Poland," Sidney said, "which will provide for the German-Polish frontier to be moved eastward by a five-mile strip every year, until after twenty years Germany would have again reached her pre-war boundaries. Poland would receive goods in the amount of half a billion dollars per year as compensation."

"And who would foot the bill?" I asked.

"I give you three guesses," Sidney said. "~~I know~~ it will not be easy to put it through Congress," - he went on - "but it would be worth fighting for, the President thinks. If the present German frontiers remain, there is bound to be a strong organized German irredenta movement, he thinks. The President doubts that Kutusov's scheme ^{John Shultz} would be strong enough to prevent the Germans from fighting for their lost territory. But if Poland agrees to the President's proposal, such a militant nationalist movement could be avoided in Germany because - so the President thinks - not even the Germans can be made to fight for territory which they know they are going to get anyway."

"Willkie comes himself of German stock, you know" - Sidney said - "and he thinks he knows the Germans. 'If you want a peaceful Germany you must give the Germans something to live for,' he told me. He thinks the Kutusov Plan might make this possible."

Sixth Entry

"You have been to Moscow again," I said to Sidney.

"Yes," he said.

"What were you doing there?" I asked.

"The President sent me," - he said - "we have received Intelligence reports that Stalin was suffering from a condition that might endanger his life, unless properly treated. No one in Washington knows who will take over if he dies. We are interested in the continuity of Russian policy. The President hoped I could persuade Stalin to consult Professor McCleod."

"Well," - I said - "did you?"

"No," - Sidney said - "I did not."

"What happened?" I asked.

"Well," - Sidney said - "as soon as I was seated Stalin said: 'So the President is worried about my health?'"

"How the hell did he know?" I asked.

"They have Intelligence too," said Sidney.

"By the way," - I said - "how is our Intelligence?"

"As lousy as lousy can be," said Sidney.

"Why does the President not appoint Donovan?" I said. "Many people dislike him, but I sort of have a soft spot for him."

"I know you have" - Sidney said - "Personally, I think he is something of a fool, but at least he is not a horse's ass, like General Croter. As a matter of fact, the President mentioned him as a possibility the other day."

"Sorry to have interrupted you," - I said - "What else did Stalin say?"

"He said," - Sidney went on - "that he could not possibly accept - 'Because' - he said - 'either I get well, then people will say the Americans have kept me alive because I am playing their game; or I die, and then the same people will say that the American doctor killed me.'"

"Did Stalin really think that Willkie might want to kill him?" I asked.

"No," - Sidney said - "he seems to trust Willkie now."

"Was this your only business?" I asked.

"Oh, no!" Sidney said. "The President sent me because he is worried about the indifference of the Russians towards all his proposals concerning economic aid to Russia. Stalin was quite frank about this point," Sidney said. "This is how the conversation went:"

"'At the time of Potsdam' - Stalin said - 'we needed economic aid very badly. One billion dollars per year would have meant much more to us then than five billion per year would mean today. We are still interested in economic aid, but we are more interested in the stability of our economy than in the absolute level of our national consumption. Can you guarantee us stability?'

'Well,' - I said - 'The President had many consultations with economists lately, and it seems that we could pay an income tax of fifteen billion dollars per year to an Agency for Economic Advancement, if such an agency were set up; but we could do so only in times of depression. In boom times, we could pay at most half of this amount.'

"'Sounds paradoxical, doesn't it?' - said Stalin. - 'Of course I know what you mean. But how is the President going to sell this to Congress? The Democratic leadership - they ought to understand this; but they will vote against him anyway because he is a Republican. And if the President can sell this to the Republican leadership, I shall eat my hat.'

"'Maybe you will have to eat your hat, Mr. Stalin,' I said; it was the best I could think of saying at the moment.

"'All right,' - Stalin said - 'let us suppose that this Congress goes along. But what about the next Congress? And suppose we make a treaty and set up an Agency for Economic Advancement; where is the money to come from if the next time the House refuses to appropriate it?'

"'Perhaps we would have to amend the Constitution,' I said.

"How long would that take?" asked Stalin.

"It will not go very fast," I said.

"All right," - said Stalin - "let us dream a little longer. Suppose we agree to go along, to take five billion dollars worth of goods every year, and thus help you to stabilize your economy, what do you offer us in return, and what guarantees can you give us that you will not suddenly refuse to pay your tax?"

"Once this system operates," - I said - "and our economy is geared to the export surplus which this system entails, how could we jump off the wagon without precipitating the most frightful economic crisis in the history of the United States?"

"That is, of course, true" - Stalin said - "and once our economy is geared to it, we cannot jump off the wagon either; is this what you want? Do you want to trap us?"

"Hostages, Mr. Stalin," - I said - "The President tells me you have liked the idea of hostages."

"Perhaps I do like it;" - Stalin said - "I shall talk this over with Molotov. But do not expect us to move fast."

"We cannot move fast either," I said.

"This is not too bad, Sidney" - I said - "or is it?"

"No," - said Sidney, "it is not bad at all."

Seventh Entry

This is the account Sidney gave me of his latest trip to Moscow.

"Mr. Curtis," - Stalin said - "Don't you think this is funny. You made the bomb. You have quantities of it, ~~and~~ and you make what you call a generous offer to do away with atomic bombs altogether. And we do not jump at your offer. And instead of just shrugging your shoulders about our stupidity you start to holler as if we had invented the bomb, and as if we had built up a large stockpile of it."

"Mr. Stalin," - I said - "We do not understand why you don't accept our offer."

"Don't you?" - Stalin said - "No? You really don't? Just think for a minute, Mr. Curtis. Suppose there are no atomic bombs; you don't have them, and we don't have them. But you will still have your Navy and your long-range bombers and your fighters and your tank ~~factories~~. What use are they? They are useful in war. And if there is a war, you will use them to carry the war to Europe and to our territory. We cannot carry the war to your country with long-range bombers and TNT bombs - not on any scale that would be significant; ~~We~~ we are not rich enough to afford millions and millions of tons of TNT and thousands and thousands of long-range bombers." "No, Mr. Curtis," Stalin went on, "doing away with atomic bombs would not necessarily make for peace. The Russian people, if they think of war, think of the devastation of their land, of cities destroyed, of crops burned. They do not want war. The American people, when they think of war, think of soldiers who are sent abroad; some of them may not come back, but life at home goes on as before. We read your Gallup Polls too, you know. Your people do not say that they want war. They only say they think there will be one. Maybe they do not want war, but they do not mind it very much if there is one. If we cannot have general disarmament, maybe Russia is better off if there are atomic bombs; for if war means that New York and Washington, Boston and San Francisco, Los Angeles and Seattle, will be in ruins, maybe your people will think it

worth a serious effort to avoid war."

"He did not mention Chicago?" I asked.

"He did not," said Sidney.

"What does the President think?" I asked.

"He thinks Russia will not accept atomic disarmament without general disarmament," said Sidney.

"But if we have general disarmament," - I said - "and peace breaks down before we could rearm, then Russian infantry could overrun France, Holland and Belgium; it could overrun Sweden and Norway."

"Well," - said Sidney - "if war broke out today we could not protect any of these countries. If they resisted they would be utterly destroyed. Would it help them much that ultimately we would win the war?" "And England," - Sidney continued - "Russia could knock England out of the war just by using V-2 rockets. One fourth of the English live in London alone. And what about Manchester, Liverpool and the rest of the cities?"

"I do not know about that," - I said - "I am not a military expert. But what will preserve the peace if militarily Europe is at the mercy of Russia?"

"We need to create a situation," Sidney said, "where continued cooperation becomes essential for Russia. Incentives" - said Sidney - "incentives, not punishment is the key to the solution. You cannot organize a world community on the basis of fear of punishment alone. If Russia has an important stake in a well-functioning European economy, she will be strongly interested in maintaining European stability. Once a settlement is reached, why should she want to invade any country in Europe, upset everything, and risk ultimate defeat in war? We have to build an organized world community," said Sidney - "There is no other answer to your question." X

Eighth Entry

"No," - said Sidney - "the President is not going to force the issue. With the Democrats from the midwest voting with the Republicans, it would be easy to break the filibuster of the south. But the President does not favor that course."

"What is he thinking?" I asked. X

"He is very anxious not to weaken States Rights," - said Sidney - "but to strengthen them. States Rights, he says, can be retained as we are going to move towards world government, but little or nothing will ultimately remain of the authority of the Federal Government of the United States. Besides, the President does not think federal laws are very practical for protecting minority rights in the South."

"What, then, does he propose to do?" - I said - "Half of his speeches were about civil rights during the campaign."

"He proposes federal aid for migration within the United States," - said Sidney - "Any Negro who wishes to leave Mississippi, for instance, should be able to do so. Free transportation and federal loans to help them establish a farm or build a house."

"How does the South react to that?" I asked.

"They are mad as hell," - said Sidney - "but they are not going to filibuster. The Democrats from the midwest, however, threaten to do so."

"Will they dare to do that?" I asked.

"No," - said Sidney - "at least we do not think they will."

Ninth Entry

This is what Sidney told me today:

"Listen to this: I had the surprise of my life in Moscow this time. I raised the question with Stalin of an International Bill of Rights, and an International Court with the right to issue and enforce writs of habeas corpus. We were quite sure Stalin would say no, and the State Department wanted to use this as a bargaining point. But Stalin said he had no objection provided this part of the Treaty becomes operative no sooner than in twenty years. He saw that I was surprised about his agreeing at all.

"Look here, Mr. Curtis' - he said - 'you are forgetting that I am over sixty-five.'

"What about the Politbureau?' I asked.

"Most of them are over sixty' - he said - 'Besides, Russia is bound to change, and so is the world. You, Mr. Curtis, seem to think we are arch conservatives. But,' - Stalin continued - 'there will have to be changes in the United States also.'

"What do you have in mind?' I asked.

"Your newspapers,' - Stalin said - 'they are misleading the people, and Congress is elected by the people. This,' - Stalin said - 'is a danger to peace.'

"Our newspapers,' - I said - 'have very little influence with the voters. Most newspapers opposed Roosevelt, but he was always elected by a fair-sized majority.'

"Can you tell how much larger his majority would have been if all those newspapers had supported him rather than opposed him?' Stalin asked.

"No,' - I said - 'I cannot.' And by this time I felt I was getting pretty mad. 'Mr. Stalin,' - I said - 'the editorials in our papers may be biased, but you have to admit that any man in America who wants to find out the truth can do so by reading our newspapers.'

"I will admit that, Mr. Curtis!" - Stalin said - 'But your American will have to read through three or four newspapers every day, and that will take him two hours every day. How many of your voters can afford to spend that much time on reading newspapers?'

"What do you want us to do?" - I said.

"Nothing right now" - Stalin said - 'Nothing at all. But twenty years from now, if an International Bill of Rights goes into operation, I would want to see a political reform go into operation in your country also.'"

"Just what do you have in mind, Mr. Stalin?" I asked.

"I would want to see you cutting down the number of your voters to about a million and give those who have the right to vote an opportunity to get acquainted with world events, foreign countries, and with the candidates for whom they are supposed to vote."

"Mr. Stalin," - I said - 'we could never accept anything that would be contrary to the fundamental principles of democracy.'

"You do not seem to understand" - Stalin said - 'what I am proposing. You could draw by lot, say every four years, one million names. Surely, with one million names you could have what you call a representative sample. Pay them a few thousand dollars each to enable them to take time off. Let them read the newspapers for two hours every day. Let them visit China. Let them visit Russia. Four years later, another million voters will take their place. What is there undemocratic about this?'

"You would be satisfied if some such reform went into operation twenty years from now?" I asked.

"Yes," Stalin said.

"I shall report this to the President" ^{at once} I said, took my leave and returned ^{home} to Washington ~~at once.~~ ~~the airport~~ X

"What does Willkie think?" I asked.

"He is quite taken with the idea" - Sidney said. - "He spent three weeks once as a juror, and for three weeks he sat, talked, and ate with fellow jurors only. He was much impressed at how these men and women, drawn from all walks of life, took their job as jurors seriously. They all seemed to feel that they were selected to have a special responsibility, and they took that responsibility damned seriously. The President thinks that voters selected like jurors, by lot, would feel much the same way."

"Not one fourth of the present Congress could be re-elected," - I said - "if the voters knew the candidates personally and understood enough of the issues involved."

"No," - said Sidney - "I don't think they could be re-elected. Incidentally," - Sidney said - "the President talked to Connally and Vandenberg about this. Neither of the senators seemed to have any objection. The President made it clear, of course, that the reform would not take effect for another twenty years."

"Both of them are above sixty-five;" I said, "but what about the rest of Congress?"

"You seem to forget" - Sidney said - "that all those in the Senate who have anything to say are well above sixty."

"For heaven's sake!" - I said - "and I always used to complain about the Seniority Rule in the Senate. I used to say that if only it were replaced by a Juniority rule the world would be a better place."

"God's ways are not our ways," said Sidney.

"Since when have you got religion?" I asked.

"I am just beginning to get it," Sidney said.

Tenth Entry

This is Sidney's account of his latest trip to Moscow:

"I know very well what World Government means" - said Stalin. "It means that there are laws and policemen to enforce the laws; policemen, not armies. There would be one standing in front of the White House, and there would be one standing here in front of the Kremlin. And if your President, or I, violate the law, the policemen would walk in and make an arrest. I agree that that would safeguard the peace."

"Then you agree?" I said.

"Of course I don't agree" - said Stalin - "How do I know the policeman wouldn't walk in and arrest me even though I do not violate the law?"

"Oh," - I said - "the policeman could not arrest you without a warrant."

"He could not?" - said Stalin - "Who could prevent him? He would have a gun, wouldn't he - and no one else would have a gun, or would they? Look here, Mr. Curtis" - Stalin said - "you can't have your cake and eat it too. Either you have more than one armed force, then you have not made war impossible. Or else the police is the only armed force, then the police can take over whenever it wants to." X

"The United States Army" - I said - "is for all practical purposes the only armed force in the United States; yet there was never any attempt on the part of the Army to take over."

"All right" said Stalin - "and what prevents them from taking over? Their loyalty to something that is pretty hard to define. And how long did it take to grow that loyalty? And what about Brazil, and Spain and the Argentine? And what about all the other examples of history?"

"Perhaps" - I said - "we should not think of World Government in such farreaching terms. Even the Federal Government of the United States does not have the farreaching powers which you seem to think the World Government ought to have. And yet our Government has been in existence now for over a hundred and fifty years."

"Why do you want to have a World Government?" - Stalin said - "To prevent war, isn't it? Did your Federal Government prevent war? Did you not have the most devastating war in 1861?"

"That was a Civil War," I said.

"You can call it any name you please" - said Stalin - "The fact is that it has ruined the Southern States for almost fifty years. I know of no war in modern times that was more devastating; and it was not fought with atomic bombs, mind you, ~~just with bows and arrows - or rifles, if you wish!~~ And, incidentally" - Stalin said - "what was it fought about? A house divided against itself cannot stand; a rather modern slogan, isn't it? Tell me, Mr. Curtis, do you really think the Negroes would be worse off in the South today if there had been no war in 1861?"

"I did not know you knew American history so well, Mr. Stalin," I said just to gain time. Stalin laughed.

"I was briefed," he said.

"Anyway," - I said - "a war between the States of the Union is unthinkable today."

"Yes," said Stalin, "that is what safeguards peace within the United States today, isn't it? But do you want to safeguard peace on a world scale by making war unthinkable? And just how do you propose to go about it? Tell me, I am very interested."

"Mr. Stalin," - I said - "the Joint House Senate Resolution calls for a limited world government with powers sufficient to safeguard the peace."

"To safeguard the peace?" - Stalin said - "For how long? For ten years? For fifty years? Or for three hundred years? For ten years" - he said - "there will be no war in any case. There wouldn't be one even if Mr. Dewey had been elected. I know" - he said, when he saw that I was about to speak - "you disagree with me on this point. You are a Willkie man. Your loyalty to Willkie obscures your judgment. For fifty years" - Stalin continued - "we could safeguard the peace

(Tenth entry)

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even without a world government, if Russia and the United States were to arrive at a settlement. 'And, tell me,' he said, 'what kind of a World Government would be needed to safeguard the peace for three hundred years? Surely not Senator Vandenberg's limited World Government.'"

"'Mr. Stalin' - I said - 'the United States could not agree to world government along the lines of the Vavilov plan. Free migration under such a World Government would mean that there would be conquests without wars.'"

"'Mr. Curtis,' - said Stalin - 'the only difference between you and me is that I admit we do not have the answer, and you do not admit it.'"

Eleventh Entry

"The President asked me to show you this," said Sidney. He had a silky-looking piece of string, about three inches long, in the palm of his hand.

"What is it?" I asked.

"The President thinks it is the greatest invention of the century - greater than the atomic bomb."

"Isn't that an unnecessary comparison?" I said.

"Sorry," said Sidney.

"It concerns India and China above all," - he went on - "It is impossible to raise the standard of living there unless they control the birthrate. However fast their production capacity may be increased, as long as the natural birthrate persists, with infant mortality pretty soon down to fifty per thousand, their population will grow fast, until it catches up with their production capacity; and then once more starvation, manifest or latent, will set the limit to their population."

"Is yours not an academic question anyway?" - I asked - "Russia and Europe take all that we can spare. We have nothing left over to help to raise the standard of living in India."

"That's true" - Sidney said - "But Russian production is rising rapidly. In twenty years they should pay "tax" at the rate of ten billion dollars per year to the Agency for Economic Advancement. Even if there is a general tax reduction that will halve our own contribution and cut it down to eight billion, there still will be more funds available than takers. You know that the Agency is prohibited by its Charter from developing any territory until the birthrate is under control."

"Well, what do you want the Indians to do, adopt our Western methods of birth control?" I asked.

"No," - said Sidney - "that would not work, not until the country becomes more urbanized. The only solution is to persuade couples who have had enough

children not to have any more."

"And suppose they agree, and promise?" I asked, "How do they keep the promise? Of course," - I added - "if the man is willing to be sterilized, that is simple enough. All it takes is to cut the vas deferens."

"Nothing could be simpler," - said Sidney - "it takes just about five minutes, and it could easily be done on a mass scale at very little cost. But," - he said - "we tried it on a small scale on college graduates in Bombay and it was a miserable failure."

"Septic infections?" I asked.

"Oh, hell, no!" - Sidney said - "but no man, it seems, can stand the thought that he can have no more children. There were divorces, melancholias and suicides."

"Why did they not just have the vas deferens restored?" I asked.

"That's where the trouble comes in" - said Sidney - "That is not so simple. We were unable to undertake to do that on a mass scale."

"What is the difficulty?" I asked.

"Well" - Sidney said - "it seems that when you cut the vas deferens the two ends separate and sort of get lost. There may also be shrinkages and adhesions. In any case, it is not easy to find the two ends and put them together again."

"But now," - Sidney continued - "it seems that McCleod has found the answer. This piece of string here is part of it. If, after cutting the vas deferens, you tie the two ends together with a piece of string, forming a sort of a loop, later on when you wish to restore you just have to go in and pull out the loop. We have tried this on a hundred patients. It took an average of five minutes, and all of them had fertility restored."

"So it can be done on a mass scale," - I said - "That is fine. What I do not understand is this, though: what have you gained if all these Indians who let themselves be sterilized come back and have everything restored again?"

"They won't," Sidney said - "Some of them will, but most of them won't. Most of them are like this. They want to be able to have more children; but if they can have them they do not want them."

"Look here," - I said - "You have sold me on this. Now how do you propose to sell four hundred million Indians on it?"

"There is a plan," - Sidney said - "but tell me first what determines whether a couple wants to have two children or ten? I will tell you - the neighbors. The Smiths and the Jones'."

"Maybe you are right," - I said - "I remember I once talked to an English girl who just got engaged. She did not approve of all those childless couples she heard about. She wanted to have many children."

"How many?" I asked.

"Oh, between one and two," she said. "The Jones' had one, and the Smiths had two, you see..."

"Did she study statistics?" Sidney asked.

"London School of Economics," I said. "But tell me, who are the neighbors of India?" I asked.

"Don't be silly," - Sidney said - "We are going to start with Bombay Province. The Agency for Migration will offer a high monthly allowance to every man in the Province who has three or more children, and who undergoes 'interruption of fertility,' as we shall call it. As long as he remains in that condition he will draw the allowance. Within twenty years, Bombay Province will be prosperous, both on account of these allowances, but even more so, because of the limited growth of its population. The example will be catching - or so we think - and the new fashion of three-children families will spread from village to village, starting from the boundaries of Bombay Province."

"And you will end up paying an allowance to every man in India?" I asked.

"Oh, no," - Sidney said - "We shall pay no allowance outside of Bombay

(Eleventh entry)

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Province. In the ^{adjacent} ~~surrounding~~ Provinces we shall perform interruption of fertility free of charge, though." X

"And elsewhere in India?" I asked.

"We shall charge cost," - Sidney said - "one dollar per person, and restoration will be free."

Twelfth Entry

"No," - Sidney said - "it is we who are going slow on this. The President says that a Constitution is a whole, like a living organism. It is no use adopting a World Constitution that would have to be amended in any of its essential points, say one hundred years from now. History shows that Constitutions which correctly foresaw the conditions under which they would have to operate, survived for a very long time. But once it became necessary to amend a Constitution it became necessary to amend it again and again; and in such a case the Constitution always went rapidly to the dogs."

"What is the hurry?" - I said - "if the Constitution will not go into effect for another fifty years in any case?"

"The President," - said Sidney - "is very anxious to have the Second Treaty signed and ratified before his second term is over, and the World Constitution must be an integral part of the Treaty. " " The President thinks," - he went on - "that the problems which will face the World Government (after a transitional period of perhaps a hundred years or so which may be devoted to clearing up the present mess) will be very different from the problems which have ever faced any of the national governments. He thinks that balancing the interests of the current generation against that of the coming generations might be one of the important functions of the World Government and he is not at all sure that the representative or parliamentary form of democracy is the best form of democracy under these conditions."

"Apparently," - I said - "he is thinking of the congressman who said 'Why should I do anything for posterity? What did posterity even do for me?'"

"Maybe so," Sidney said - "Do you remember the bodies of the first automobiles?" - he went on - "They looked exactly like horse-drawn carriages, didn't they? It is natural for us to pattern a World Constitution on some one of the national constitutions."

"A natural mistake," - I said - "but a mistake nevertheless, you mean?"

"The trouble is, Willkie thinks," - said Sidney - "that very little thought has been given to possible forms of democracy other than the familiar parliamentary form. One has almost to go back to Plato for inspiration, and this is really going back a long way. The President thinks," - Sidney went on - "that perhaps if we were to gather the best social scientists and set up a project with ample funds, something of value could be worked out within two or three years. We mentioned the Manhattan Project, which gathered the physical scientists, and which produced the atomic bomb in less than three years, and at a cost of less than two billion dollars. The President thought of going to Congress and asking for a few hundred million dollars for such a project."

"For heaven's sake, Sidney," I said - "get him to promise to talk to me about this before he proceeds any further with this plan."

"I am sure the President would be very glad to talk this over with you," Sidney said, "but it is not easy for him to get away from Washington these days."

"No, I suppose it is not," - I said - "I would be very happy to go to Washington, you know that, but this daylight is bothering me more and more, and besides, I am very much tied to this hospital routine."

"You just take it easy until you feel stronger," said Sidney.

"You know, Sidney," - I said - "I am going to make an effort to imagine what kind of a world we ^{shall} ~~would~~ have under a world government when all this present mess is cleared up, and the real problems of mankind begin to emerge." X

"For one thing," Sidney said - "there will be no newspapers. Imagine that! Surely they will disappear in an orderly world. What is there that could happen that everybody would want to know right away? Magazines - yes - they might survive; but not newspapers."

"I have no quarrel with that," - I said - "I used to spend an hour a day reading the newspapers before I gave them up. Progress of medicine might

prolong life, but at best it will prolong it at the very end of it; progress in politics, however, if it makes it unnecessary to read newspapers, will prolong life right in the middle of it."

"How do you keep up with world events," - Sidney asked - "if you do not read any papers?"

"I rely on what you tell me about them," I said.

"Come on," - Sidney said - "you are a scientist. What evidence have you that what I am telling you is the truth?"

"It is consistent," I said.

"Is that proof conclusive?" Sidney asked.

"Not quite," - I said - "but almost."

"Nurse," - I said when Sidney had left - "would you mind keeping these shutters permanently closed from now on."

"You will ruin your eyes, reading all day by these dim lights," - she said - "would you care to have fluorescent lamps installed instead?"

"Yes," - I said - "that would be fine."

"I shall clear it with the doctor tomorrow," she said.

POSTSCRIPT OF THE PUBLISHER

This ends the first volume of the "Diary," written over a period of two years: the first two years of Dewey's presidency. Upon its conclusion, the shutters of his windows having been permanently closed, the "days" and "nights" of Dr. Davis became shorter and shorter, so that the days of his later entries no longer correspond to the actual dates.

Sidney Curtis was not a product of the imagination. He was a friend of Dr. Davis', who frequently visited him, and who, at one time or another, had in fact been Willkie's secretary. When the "Diary" was first published, many people believed, therefore, that it was a true record of Dr. Davis' conversations with Curtis and that Curtis somehow managed to help him live in an imaginary world. A more careful analysis of the "Diary" seems, however, to indicate that in his conversations with Curtis, like with the rest of his visitors, Dr. Davis avoided talking about world events, and that what he recorded in his "Diary" were conversations that in fact never took place.

The subsequent volumes of the "Diary" contain detailed presentations of thoughts touched upon in the first volume. Since most of these subjects have been equally well or better treated by later authors, the bringing out of a popular edition of these volumes would not seem to be justified.

There is one thought, though, which seemed to have occupied Dr. Davis repeatedly, and which is not touched upon in the first volume. A few words about it would seem, therefore, to be in order.

Dr. Davis was much concerned to find out under what conditions it is both possible and desirable to have social equality replace racial discrimination. His view was that the underlying cause of racial discrimination is fear; fear by one race that it will disappear and be replaced by another race, or a mixture of the two races. He pointed out that in this case - as in most other cases - fear is not an adequate basis for rational action. He showed with elaborate

statistics that racial discrimination was in fact quite inadequate to prevent racial intermixing, and the gradual replacement of the two pure racial components by the mixed race.

Dr. Davis seemed to regard a complete intermixing of all races inhabiting the earth as undesirable, and he emphasized that this process of intermixing is to all practical purposes irreversible. The replacement of a multiplicity of races with a homogenous mixture of these races he seemed to consider as an impoverishment of the world.

He pointed out that the racial feeling which is the basis of racial discrimination can, of course, be eradicated by bringing up the children of the different races together, just as you can have cats and dogs live in friendship if they have been brought up together as puppies.

His position was that originally, under primitive conditions, the racial feeling served a useful purpose in maintaining separate races in existence, but that under modern conditions it ~~is not~~ ^{does not fulfill this function} ~~adequate for this purpose any longer.~~ Under modern conditions, he said, the racial feeling serves no useful purpose, and it leads to racial discrimination which, in modern society, cannot be tolerated ~~any longer.~~ ✓

Dr. Davis discussed at length the proposition that social equality between the races and the preservation of the pure racial components are perfectly compatible. He showed that the solution did not lie in forbidding or discouraging mixed marriages, but that it lay in keeping the birthrate of the pure components higher than that of the mixed races, and thereby compensating for mixed marriages. He said that in a community where this condition is fulfilled there is racial security; no race is displacing any other race; and he was convinced that once racial security is established in a society the essential obstacle to social equality of the races has been removed.

He included with his papers tables giving, for different population mixtures and mixed marriage rates, the relative birthrates which satisfy the condition of racial security. It is indeed curious that no one before Dr. Davis had ever pointed out this simple method for maintaining a status quo, but we must remember that the problem of "conquest without war" is of comparatively recent origin, and that little attention was paid in Dr. Davis' time to problems of this type.

It is interesting to note that up to this day we do not know whether Dr. Davis' interest in maintaining the separate races in existence was a legitimate one. We do not know whether the manifest physical differences between the races are accompanied by any significant differences which would show up in the behavior and attitudes of the individual observed under carefully controlled conditions, either as a member of a group or in isolation. The intelligence and personality tests of the 1950's were, of course, far too crude to make any useful contribution to this question.