

DRAFT - to follow on p.4. of HOW DID IT ALL BEGIN

^{The}
~~See use of~~ letters which Dr. Szilard received in the period from November 1961 to the end of May 1962 - in response to his speech - indicated that a proposed political movement would find strong popular support. Two closely inter-related committees the Council and the Lobby for Abolishing War were established in Washington, D.C. on June 2nd.

The same Board of Directors is responsible for the policies of both committees, and the same offices appointed by the Board of Directors are responsible for their operations. The Board of Directors of the Council and the Lobby for Abolishing War are:

Mrs. Ruth Adams	The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Chicago, Illinois.
William Doering	Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
Bernard T. Feld	Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Allan Forbes, Jr.	Cambridge, Massachusetts
Maurice S. S Fox	Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Dr. Margaret Brenman Gibson	Arsenic Centre, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.
Morton Grodzins	University of Chicago, Illinois
James G. Patton	The Farmers' Union, Denver, Colorado.
Arthur Penn	New York, N.Y.
Charles Pratt, Jr.	New York, N.Y.

Daniel M. Singer	General Counsel for the Federation of American Scientists, Washington, D.C.
Franklin Stahl	University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
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the function of the Board of Directors. It is also the function of
the Board of Directors to appoint the officers who are responsible for
the operations of the Council and the Lobby. The role of the members

of the Council and the Lobby may thus be compared to the role of the shareholders of a corporation, who elect the directors of the corporation but have otherwise no control over the policies and operations of the corporation.

HOW DID IT ALL BEGIN?

Starting with the Harvard Law School Forum in the middle of November, 1961, and ending with the University of Oregon in the middle of January, 1962, Dr. Leo Szilard gave a talk at eight universities and colleges. In each case he spoke before large student audiences and afterwards the students distributed mimeographed copies of the speech to ^{among} their elders in their home communities.*

As the result of these activities, Dr. Szilard has received by May 31st about 2,500 letters expressing strong support for the kind of political movement he described in his speech. Because of this encouraging response, the Council and the Lobby for Abolishing Law were set up in June in Washington.

The excerpts taken from the speech of Dr. Szilard, which follow, give a general idea of Dr. Szilard's proposal:

"Ladies and Gentlemen, For a number of years now, you have had an opportunity to observe how we as a nation, respond to the actions of the Russians, and how the Russians respond to our responses. Those of you who have watched closely the course of events in the past six months, may have been led to conclude that we are headed for an all-out war. I myself believe that we are, and that our chances of getting through the next ten years without war are ^{rather} slim.

"I personally find myself in rebellion against the fate that history seems to have in store for us, and I suspect that some of you may be equally rebellious. The question is, what can you do?

"War seems to be inevitable, unless it is possible somehow to alter the pattern of behavior which America and Russia are exhibiting at present. You, as Americans, are not in a position to influence the Russian government; it follows that you would have to bring about a change in the attitude of the American government which, in turn, may bring about a similar change in the attitude of the Russian government.

* The text of the speech appeared in the April issue of the BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTIST and reprints can be obtained from THE BULLETIN at 935 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

.....
"If you stay in Washington, you may gain some insight into the manner in which governmental decisions come about; you may get a feel of what kind of considerations enter into such decisions, and what kind of pressures are at work.

"With President Kennedy, new men moved into the administration. Many of them understand the implications of what is going on and are deeply concerned. But, they are so busy trying to keep the worst things from happening, on a day-to-day basis, that they have no time to develop a consensus on what the right approach would be, from the long-term point of view.

"There are also ^{now} a number of men in Congress, particularly in the Senate, who have insight into what is going on and who are concerned, but mostly they lack the courage of their convictions. They may give a lucid analysis of the trouble in private conversations and then at some point or ^{another} they will say: 'Of course, I could not say this in public.'

"In Washington, wisdom has no chance to prevail at this point.

* * *

"Last September, LIFE magazine printed an article about me which said that I was in Washington trying to find out if there was a market for wisdom. Thereupon, I received a flood of letters from colleges and universities inviting me to give lectures. Most people get some pleasure out of hearing themselves talk, and so do I; yet I did not see much point in going around the country giving talks, if all I had to say was that there was no market for wisdom. Therefore, I declined all these invitations; that is, I declined all, until Brandeis University invited me to attend a special convocation and receive an honorary doctor's degree. At that point, my vanity got the better of me, and I accepted. At Brandeis, I spoke at dinner informally to the trustees and fellows of the university, and this was my closest contact with grass roots since I moved to Washington -- if, indeed, you may regard the trustees and fellows of Brandeis as grass roots.

"I told them at Brandeis that I thought we were in very serious trouble; people asked me what there was that they could do about it, and I had no answer to give.

"Is there, indeed, anything that these people -- and for that matter I, myself -- could do at this point that would make sense?

"When I got back to Washington, I started to think about this, and I believe it will be best now if I simply recite to you how my thoughts developed from this point on.

"The people who are capable of seeing current events in their historical perspective, and ~~capable of realizing~~ what needs to be done to change the seemingly inexorable course of events, are in the minority. Perhaps if this minority were able to unite on a set of political objectives, it would be able to take effective political action.

"The first thought that came to my mind was that such a minority could set up an organization in Washington -- a sort of lobby, if you will -- which would bring to Washington, from time to time, scholars and scientists who would see current events in their historical perspective. These men would speak with the sweet voice of reason, and our lobby could see to it that they be heard by people inside the administration, and also by the key people in Congress.

"The next thing that occurred to me was that these distinguished scholars and scientists would be heard, but that they might not be listened to, if they were not able to deliver votes or campaign contributions.

"Would they be listened to if they were able to deliver votes or campaign contributions?

"The sweet voice of reason alone could not do the job, campaign contributions alone could not do the job, but a combination of the sweet voice of reason and substantial campaign contributions could very well do the job. And if the minority, which this lobby would represent, would be willing to make up for its numerical inferiority by making annually campaign contributions to Congressional candidates in the amount of 2% of their income, they could set up the most powerful lobby that ever hit Washington.

"The contributions of 20,000 people, having an average income of \$10,000, would amount to \$4 million a year. The contributions of 100,000 people, having an average income of \$7,500, would amount to \$15 million a year.

.....
"I did not come here to enlist any of you in such a movement or to launch such a movement; I came here to invite you to participate

in an experiment that would show whether such a movement could be successfully launched.

"First of all, I ask each of you to look into your own heart and try to discover whether you yourself would want to participate in a political movement of the kind described, provided the ^{political} objectives -- as formulated from time to time -- appeal to you and you thought that the movement could be effective.

"Further, those of you who wish to participate in the experiment are asked to show a copy of this speech to people in your home community who might be interested and to determine who of these would be likely to be part of a dedicated minority that would give all-out support to a movement of the kind I have described.

.....
"If the result of this experiment were to indicate that such a movement could get off the ground, provided it were started in the right way and on a sufficiently large scale, then the Council and Lobby for Abolishing War would be set up.

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Who is who on the Board of directors