

23 July, 1955.
41, Queen's Road,
Richmond, Surrey.

Dear Professor Muller,

I am writing to you about the steps to be taken to follow up the statement of which you were one of the signatories. This statement called for the summoning of an international scientific congress of which the purpose shall be to pronounce on probable effects of a large-scale nuclear war. Such a congress, as I envisage it, would not go into the question of how war is to be avoided since this is a political matter in which scientists, as such, have no special competence. What it should do (so at least I think) is to pronounce authoritatively and clearly on the disasters to be expected, and thereby to give a solid basis to opposition to war on the part of public opinion and Governments.

The organization of such a congress will entail a large amount of work and it is not to be hoped that the congress can meet before next summer. It is clear that if it is to be effective there must be no obvious preponderance either of Communists or of anti-Communists. It should have the kind of neutrality that belongs to diplomatic conferences. It has seemed to me that we shall have to have two branches in the organizers of such a congress: the one branch being organized by Communists and the other by those whose sympathies are Western. I have talked this over with Dr. Burhop, who represents the opinion of Joliot-Curie, and he thinks that some such arrangement would be acceptable on the Communist side. My purpose in writing to you is to find out what you think should be done in America and also in Western Europe to organize scientists of Western outlook. There are, for example, the scientists (mainly German) who signed the recent manifesto inaugurated by Hahn and Born. I am not myself personally acquainted with many of the most important men of science in America and I cannot myself do the spade-work which will be necessary in America. Some of my efforts to get in touch with such men have miscarried: for example, I sent the recently published statement twice to Compton but I do not believe that he received either copy, which I regret as I had hoped that he would be a signatory.

It will be necessary that some one, preferably an American of scientific eminence, should take the first steps towards the necessary organization. I imagine that there will have to be a bi-partisan committee with perhaps a small sub-committee. Clearly nothing can be achieved unless considerable funds are forthcoming. I gather that the Communists are prepared to finance their supporters, but I do not know where funds for our side are to be got.

Would you be willing to take the first steps towards the creation of the necessary organization, or, if you preferred it, to sound others who might do so? I should be very grateful if you would let me know what you think about the whole matter and if you would show this letter to any others who, in your judgment, might be helpful.

Yours sincerely,

(signed)

Bertrand Russell

COPY

May 23, 1957

The Right Honorable Lord Russell
Plas Penrhyn
Penrhyndeudraeth
Merioneth, North Wales

Dear Lord Russell:

I have to apologize for answering your letter of March 21st so late. I delayed my answer because it was undecided whether I have to go to Europe in June, and thus I did not know whether I should be available for your meeting. In the meantime, however, it was decided to postpone my trip to Europe and in these circumstances I shall be very glad to attend your meeting in Nova Scotia between the 8th and 11th of July.

Concerning the meeting itself, may I be permitted to raise the following question: On the assumption that you will succeed in getting a really good group of people to meet, is it not rather a waste of a rare opportunity to limit the meeting to three days rather than arrange for the discussion to last for a week or ten days?

I believe that it has become now rather urgent to address ourselves to the real problem which faces us, namely, "How to live with the bomb." I have in the past year given considerable thought to this subject and I believe that scientists could make a very important contribution to it by giving a dispassionate analysis of what needs to be done to have stability in the atomic stalemate.

Clearly there are two ways to arrive at an acceptable solution: We may either ask what should be the moral rules of conduct that nations must obey in the situation in order to save their soul as well as their body. Or else we may ask what need be the rational rules of conduct that nations must adopt in this situation in order to render the atomic stalemate stable.

We can hardly expect governments to follow moral rules. But if we are very clear ourselves in our minds as to what needs to be done in order to eliminate the present instability of the atomic stalemate, then we could at least try to make statesmen see the light also.

I am preparing a paper on the issue of stability in the atomic stalemate but, because of other obligations, I shall be unable to complete this paper by July.

I am somewhat apprehensive about the present agenda of your meeting, particularly if the meeting is limited to three days. I have attended several meetings with agendas of this sort and I find they are usually forced to break up very early into sub-committees in order to accomplish their prescribed task. Since the participants are kept busy answering questions, they have no chance to do the most important thing; i.e. to ask themselves whether the questions posed to them are really the right questions to ask.

I do appreciate your having asked me to attend this meeting, and I wish to thank you for the invitation you have extended to me.

Your letter is not clear on this point but I sort of assume that you are in a position to reimburse plane fares from Chicago to Nova Scotia and return. If I am wrong about this point, please let me know for I doubt that I can charge the expenses of this trip to the University of Chicago.

Finally I feel I ought to tell you that I am just now engaged in reading, "Portraits from Memory", and that it gives me very great pleasure indeed.

Yours sincerely,

Leo Szilard

cc: Dr. Eugene Rabinowitch
Dr. Joseph Rotblatt
Dr. C. F. Powell

P.S. I have just talked to Eugene Rabinowitch over the telephone and learned from him that you do not have so far many acceptances from the United States. Based on this conversation, I take the liberty to submit to you on the attached list the names of men whom you might consider if you have not done so already.

Dr. Harrison Brown, Professor of Geology (author of the book: "Challenge for the Future"), The California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California.

Dr. Edward Purcell, physicist (Nobel Prize winner), Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dr. Jerome Wiesner, Head of the Electronics Laboratory, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dr. Victor Weisskopf, physicist, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dr. Hans Bethe, physicist, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

You might further wish to consider H. C. Urey, provided he is returning in time to America from Oxford, and Warren Weaver of the Rockefeller Foundation.

I know all of these men personally, although not all equally well. If necessary I could talk over the telephone to those whom you may want to invite about their possible participation. I feel, however, that I could argue for their participation with much greater degree of persuasion if the meeting were not limited either to a fixed agenda or to such a short period of time as three days.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 • ILLINOIS
THE ENRICO FERMI INSTITUTE
FOR NUCLEAR STUDIES

July 26, 1957

The Honorable Bertrand Russell
Plas Penrhyn
Penrhyndeudraeth
Merioneth, North Wales

Dear Lord Russell:

As a sequel to the Pugwash meeting, I am in the process of conducting an inquiry for the purpose of determining the practicability of holding a certain type of meeting which, I personally think, might serve some useful purpose. The nature of the meeting is described in the attached memorandum, and if your time permits I would very much appreciate your writing me a few lines, giving me your reaction to the proposal made in the memorandum.

A list of those to whom this memorandum is sent you will find attached.

I was very sorry to learn that you were not able to attend the meeting.

~~I am also enclosing a copy of a covering letter to the memorandum which I sent to Topchiev.~~

I hope that by now your wife is on her way to full recovery.

Yours very sincerely,

Leo Szilard

m
Encl.

August 14, 1957

The Honorable Bertrand Russell
Plas Penrhyn
Penrhyndeudraeth
Merioneth, North Wales

Dear Lord Russell:

Enclosed is a note addressed to you and the other members of the Committee set up at Pugwash. I should greatly appreciate a reply at your convenience.

We all regretted very much that you were not able to attend the meeting at Pugwash, and I hope that by now your wife is well on the way to full recovery.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Leo Szilard

m
Encl.

September 20, 1957

Memorandum

From: Leo Szilard
To: Professor C. F. Powell
Professor Eugene Rabinowitch
Professor J. Rotblat
Professor D. F. Skobelczyn
Professor A. V. Topchiev

*Copy sent to
Lord Russell*

Enclosed I am sending you a reply which I received from Weizsäcker to the general inquiry which I had sent out. Since -- as you know -- a group of German physicists under the leadership of Weizsäcker had taken an extraordinarily strong public stand against Germany manufacturing atomic weapons, it seems to me it would be wise to do everything in our power, to strengthen this group. I propose, therefore, that we explore whether these German physicists, operating perhaps under the auspices of the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft (of which Otto Hahn is the President) might not want to take the leadership for calling the next conference of the kind that I have been advocating. If they are willing to take the leadership, I should be in favor of dropping the plan that the University of Chicago call the next conference. As you may remember, the kind of meeting I have proposed (and it would seem from Weizsäcker's reply this is the kind of meeting he would want also) is a meeting of at most 25 scientists who would devote ten days or two weeks to clarifying their own thought, rather than to the drafting of proclamations.

The policy of the German government concerning the building of atomic weapons is still not settled and if, by our letting the German physicists take now the leadership we may have a chance of influencing that policy, I believe we should not miss that chance.

I am supposed to give a talk at the annual meeting of the German Chemical Society in Berlin on October 7th, and will probably fly to Germany on October 4th. This should give me an opportunity to talk to a number of German physicists and explore this matter further. I should, however, like to have your guidance in this matter before I raise it with our German colleagues. Because of the shortness of time, perhaps it would be well if you wrote to me, not to Chicago, but in care of Professor Max von Laue, Fritz-Haber-Institut der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, Faradayweg 4, Berlin-Dahlem, Germany.

September 25, 1957

Memorandum

From: Leo Szilard

To: Professor C. F. Powell
Professor Eugene Rabinowitch
Professor J. Rotblat
Professor D. F. Skobelzyn
Professor A. V. Topchiev

*Copy sent to Lord Bertizano
Russell*

The copy of Weizsäcker's letter that I sent you a few days ago had a typing error which you will find corrected on the attached copy.

To the issue of whether it might not be wise to give von Weizsäcker's group an opportunity to take the leadership in calling an international meeting of scientists (of the kind that I had proposed) I should like to add the following: Assuming that Weizsäcker's group wants to take the leadership, that does not mean that the meeting which they may wish to call must be held on the territory of West Germany; indeed, there may be strong reasons why this might be inadvisable. In this respect the situation might be quite similar to the one discussed by me in an earlier memorandum, in which I dealt with the possibility that the University of Chicago might assume the responsibility for calling a meeting outside of the United States.

I am leaving Chicago next week for Europe. You might address any communication which you wish to make in the matters under discussion directly to Professor Morton Grodzins, Chairman of the Department of Political Science, The University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois. He is going to look now further into the possibility that the University of Chicago may assume responsibility for arranging a meeting.

m
Encl.

September 26, 1957

The Honorable Bertrand Russell
Plas Penrhyn
Penrhyndeudraeth
Merioneth, North Wales

Dear Lord Russell:

Attached you will find two memoranda and a copy of a letter which I received from Weizsäcker. These two memoranda should have been sent to you earlier but they were not through an inadvertent error of my office.

I should greatly value your opinion on the issue raised by these two memoranda.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

Leo Szilard

m
Encl.

Telephone: Penryhndeuadraeth 242

Plas Penryhn,
Penryhndeuadraeth,
Merioneth,
North Wales.

6th May, 1958.

Dear Professor Szilard,

As a participant of the Pugwash and Lac Beauport conferences, you are familiar with the programme there for cooperation among scientists of different countries for the solution of the critical problems posed for mankind by the discovery of atomic energy, as well as by other contemporary advances of science.

A third meeting is to be held in Kitzbuhel and Vienna, Austria, September 14th to 21st, 1958. As chairman of the Continuing Committee I extend to you an invitation to attend it.

A tentative agenda of the meeting is enclosed. Participation will be restricted to about 80 invited scientists, distributed among the different countries, in approximately the same way as in Pugwash and in Lac Beauport, but with additional participation from countries which were not represented there. The final sessions, planned to be held in Vienna, are to be open for invited guests, but the only conclusions which will be announced there will be those which were agreed upon by the working sessions at Kitzbuhel.

The committee is extending an invitation to all participants of the Pugwash and Lac Beauport conferences, before issuing any other invitations. I would appreciate it if you would inform me without delay - if possible before May 17th, whether you will be able to attend.

The Committee hopes to provide the travelling expenses of the participants; the Austrian government having generously offered to take care of the conference itself. Since the conference is to take place immediately after the termination of the Geneva Atoms-for-Peace Conference, at a season when many other international scientific meetings are being held in Europe, the committee hopes that some of the participants will have their travel funds provided by other sources. I will appreciate it if in your answer to this invitation you will indicate the expenses you will require.

Please send your answer in care of:

Professor Eugene Rabinowitch,
Box 61,
5734, S. University Avenue,
Chicago 37, ILLINOIS.

Yours sincerely,

Bartrand Russell

Telephone: Penryngebresth 245

Penryngebresth
Merioneth
North Wales

6th May 1958
Professor Leo Szilard,
University of Chicago,
1155, East 57th Street,
Chicago 37,
ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

Dear Professor Szilard,

As a participant of the Pugwash and Lac Beauport conferences, you are familiar with the programme there for cooperation among scientists of different countries for the solution of the critical problems posed for mankind by the discovery of atomic energy, as well as by other contemporary advances of science.

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Please send your answer in care of:
Professor Eugene Rabinowitch,
Box 61,
5734 S. University Avenue,
Chicago 37, ILLINOIS.

Yours sincerely,

Barbara Rabinowitch

PROVISIONAL AGENDA FOR THE SEPTEMBER CONFERENCE

To be held in Kitzbühel, Austria September 14th-19th
and in Vienna, September 20th-21st.

"DANGERS OF THE ATOMIC AGE AND WHAT SCIENTISTS CAN DO ABOUT THEM"

A Meeting in Kitzbühel

Sunday, September 14th

1. Dangers of Atomic War

Evaluation of consequences of a nuclear war (mechanical destruction, economic dislocation, effects on health and genetic endowment).

Monday, September 15th

2. Relaxation of Tensions.

Political agreements; international cooperation and other ways of creating international trust.

Tuesday, September 16th

3. Disarmament

Possible sequence of steps; technical, political and psychological problems.

4. World Security System

Wednesday, September 17th

5. Living in the Scientific Age

Education for the age of science.
Constructive uses of science and technology.
Energy, resources and population problems.
Responsibilities of scientists in the atomic age.

Thursday, September 18th and Friday, September 19th.

6. Discussion of Formation of National and International Organizations

7. Discussion of a Statement

B Meeting in Vienna

Saturday, September 20th and Sunday, September 21st

- 8. Addresses, including one by the President of Austria
- 9. Announcement of conclusions agreed at Kitzbühel

The participants at the Kitzbühel session will be restricted to about 80 individually invited scientists. The invitations will be issued by the Pugwash Continuing Committee under the signature of the Chairman, Lord Russell. A fair distribution of invitations among the different nations will be attempted including the ones not represented at Pugwash and Lac Beauport.

During the first three days of the conference, 9 reports will be given, followed by a discussion with 2 hours assigned to each topic. During the fourth day a division of the conference may be necessary into parallel groups.

The prepared papers will be distributed in advance in English and Russian. An attempt will be made to limit the presentation of each paper to 20 minutes, so as to give more time for discussion, but exceptions may be made for papers not adapted to brief summary presentation.

Telephone: Penryhndeuadraeth 242

Quelbec
Plas Penryhn,
Penryhndeuadraeth,
Merioneth,
North Wales.

Dear Professor Szilard,

As you know the Pugwash meeting set up a Continuing Committee to arrange for further meetings, should they appear desirable. This committee, of which the members are Professors Powell, Rabinowitch, Rotblat and Skobelczyn, and of which I am the Chairman, met in London on December 16th to 18th; it had the benefit of advice from Professors von Weizsäcker and Szilard.

The committee had before it the results of a questionnaire addressed to a number of scientists in the U.S.A. and in Britain. This made it clear that there is among scientists of these countries a widespread sense of the grave urgency of the present situation and a desire to contribute to diminishing the dangers. Evidence was also presented for the existence of similar sentiments in other countries, particularly U.S.S.R., Germany and Japan. The committee found that there is a general consensus of opinion that it was no longer sufficient for scientists to issue general warnings, but that it was necessary to attempt to make a contribution to the resolution of present problems.

In the light of the evidence, the committee took a number of decisions, among which was one to hold a small private meeting in Canada from March 31st to April 11th, 1958. Again, we are greatly indebted to Mr. Cyrus Eaton who has given a most generous promise of support.

The theme of the proposed meeting is "The dangers of the present situation in the atomic arms race, and ways and means of diminishing them". The intention is that the conference should be attended by about 25 people, representing different countries and opinions; they should meet to discuss in private some of the issues which might contribute to the reduction in international tension and the diminishing of the dangers. A list of suggested topics for discussion is enclosed. The purpose of the meeting is to give an opportunity for discussion and reflection with a view to the possibility of making a contribution to international thinking on these issues. To allow time for reflection and private discussion, the meeting has been planned to take nearly two weeks, with formal sessions limited to a few hours in the mornings.

It is not intended that any public statement should be issued at the conclusion of the meeting, other than a description of the subjects that were discussed.

I should be very glad if you would be able to attend this

meeting.

Further, the committee would be grateful if you would comment on the topics enclosed and make any suggestions you think fit for other subjects of discussion. Should you be able to attend we shall make arrangements for your subsistence whilst in Canada, as well as for your travelling expenses if required.

Yours sincerely,

Bertand Russell

The committee had before it the results of a questionnaire addressed to a number of scientists in the U.S.A. and in Britain. This made it clear that there is among scientists of these countries a widespread sense of the grave urgency of the present situation and a desire to contribute to diminishing the dangers. Evidence was also presented for the existence of similar sentiments in other countries, particularly U.S.S.R., Germany and Japan. The committee found that there is a general consensus of opinion that it was no longer sufficient for scientists to issue general warnings, but that it was necessary to attempt to make a contribution to the resolution of present problems.

In the light of the evidence, the committee took a number of decisions, among which was one to hold a small private meeting in Canada from March 24 to April 11th, 1958. Again, we are greatly indebted to Mr. Cyrus Eaton who has given a most generous promise of support.

**Professor Leo Szilard,
University of Chicago,
Chicago 37,
ILLINOIS,
U.S.A.**

The theme of the proposed meeting is "The danger of present situation in the atomic arms race, and ways of diminishing them". The intention is that the conference should be attended by about 25 people, representing different countries and opinions; they should meet to discuss the various issues which might contribute to the reduction in international tension and the diminishing of the dangers. A list of suggested topics for discussion is enclosed. The purpose of the meeting is to give an opportunity for discussion and reflection with a view to the possibility of making a contribution to international thinking on these issues. To allow time for reflection and private discussion, the meeting has been planned to take nearly two weeks, with formal sessions limited to a few hours in the mornings.

It is not intended that any public statement should be issued at the conclusion of the meeting, other than a description of the subjects that were discussed.

I should be very glad if you would be able to attend this

SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

at the meeting on

"The Dangers of the Present Situation in the Atomic Arms Race, and Ways and Means to Diminish them".

1. Self-imposed restraints in the use of weapons in the present situation in the armaments race; e.g. the possibility of an agreement not to use atomic armaments, or to limit their use to particular circumstances.
2. The possibility of establishing international agencies; e.g. United Nations Police Force.
3. The possibility of exchange of information on atomic weapons between the Great Powers, coupled with an exchange of scientists and technical personnel working on military projects.
4. Solution of local problems by local measures; regional settlements such as the neutralization of particular countries.
5. Ways of dealing with the dangers arising from the existence of large amounts of fissile material among many nations, in connection with the widespread use of nuclear power.
6. The possibility of widespread exchange of students and scientists between different countries.

Among other topics which could be discussed in the Conference are specific problems of disarmament, such as the different possible technical forms of controls, and the political conditions needed to make these controls possible.

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Holiday Greetings

by WESTERN UNION

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 LT PROFESSOR SZILARD FLOOR H9 NEWYORK
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RR
 THE PUGWASH COMMITTEE MEETING IN LONDON SEND YOU
 BEST WISHES AND LOOK FORWARD TO DISAGREEING
 WITH YOU AT FUTURE PUGWASH CONFERENCES=

= BERTRAND RUSSELL •••

